THE YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION 1938

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PREFACE

THE YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION, founded in 1932 by Sir Robert Evans, was singularly fortunate in ving as its Editor-in-Chief for the first four years e Right Honourable Lord Eustace Percy, formerly linister of Education, under whose direction it ame a publication of international repute. The t three volumes presented a survey of the structure Education in Great Britain, the British Common- alth of Nations and many Foreign Countries. In 5, however, it was felt, in view of the ever-changing ds of Education, that a valuable service could be dered by continuous original research into specific blems of Education, and that the fruits of such earch should have a permanent place in THE YEAR OK OF EDUCATION, in addition to the features which l hitherto been included. With this aim in view, e University of London Institute of Education s invited to form, with the Editor, a Joint Editorial rd, which would hereafter be responsible for the torial contents of the YEAR BOOK. The ownership responsibility for the production of the YEAR)K remain, as formerly, with the Publishers.

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INTRODUCTION

WITH the publication of the 1938 volume of the YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION we have to announce two important changes in the personnel of the Joint Editorial Board. The first follows naturally upon the policy of the YEAR BOOK to associate the United States of America with every survey of an educational problem within the British Commonwealth of Nations. It is, therefore, with very great pleasure that we announce that Dr. I. L. Kandel has consented to join the Board as a representative of the United States, and it is hoped that this action will assist still further to cement the cultural bonds which exist among the group of English-speaking nations. We are glad, too, to welcome Professor Cavenagh, whose wide knowledge of education will prove invaluable.

In general structure, the present volume of the YEAR BOOK follows the plan outlined by Professor Clarke in his Introduction to the 1937 volume. The Editorial Board has kept constantly in mind the sweeping changes now taking place in the social life and education of whole peoples, in the belief that the future of civilisation, particularly in the West, is largely dependent upon the ability of the educational machine to adapt itself to new conditions. For, as Professor Clarke has pointed out, " when great issues of faith and destiny divide man, then education is, as it were, laid bare as a central nerve of society." In short, the present volume of the YEAR BOOK is not a collection of academic essays of purely professional interest, but contains discussions of problems of vital interest to all who wish to be acquainted with movements which are destined to change the face of human society as we know it to-day.

In pursuance of this policy, when dealing with a subject such as Examinations (Part IV), we have not been content merely to produce a survey of their content, but under the able direction of Sir Philip Hartog, each contributor was asked to define the *purpose* of each examination, so that its value could be assessed in relation to the needs of the modern world.

In subsequent Parts, a whole series of problems are dealt with which not only have much in common, but which possess a fundamental social significance. The whole problem of after-school education in its widest sense is raised, and the various methods which have been adopted to find a satisfactory solution. The survey of Adult Education, for instance, should be read in conjunction with Dr. Schairer's account of the growth of what he has called *Educationalism*. Every apparent advance of society, such as the reduction in the hours of work, tends to create a social problem. The reduction of time spent at work, for example, raises the whole problem of leisure-time education. Organised Adult Education is one approach to the problem, and Recreative Physical Training, as described by

Miss P. C. Colson, another. Then, again, the survey of the Youth Movement in Germany and the Report of the Board of Education on Physical Education in the same country will prove invaluable for purposes of comparison. For whereas in the Board's Report there is a clear indication that the German methods are open to criticism, there is a frank admission that the " Napoli " schools " will be watched with interest, not only in Germany, but by others."

Arising out of post-school education in all its varying phases, a direct challenge is now being given to the normally accepted standards of education, particularly in the elementary schools. This has been further accentuated by recent legislation regarding the raising of the school-leaving age. Grave doubts have been expressed, in certain quarters, as to the educational value of the additional year at school if it is merely to be utilised for an extension of the present curriculum. The French have appreciated the possible danger of school fatigue in this additional year, and in the chapter dealing with the New Trends in French Education, an outline is given of the steps which are being taken in France to provide an alternative course. The use of the additional year for pre-apprenticeship training will doubtless receive criticism from those who believe that the elementary school should not be used for this purpose, but that it is the duty of industry to provide its own apprenticeship training. This does not apply, of course, to the wide field of frankly vocational technical education, the growth in importance of which has been accelerated following rearmament programmes. In this connection, the contribution of Dr. Schacht, President of the Reichsbank, is extremely interesting, since it reveals the attempt of a nation to create technical-mindedness.

We must now make mention of the contributions dealing with India and Tropical Africa. In both these territories fundamental changes are taking place which are likely to have an effect upon the whole future of civilisation as we know it to-day. In India an increase of higher education has already created a grave social problem, since many of the products of the high schools and universities cannot be absorbed into the professions for which they have been trained. In Tropical Africa it is not yet clear whether the native peoples will attempt to copy the industrial West, or whether they will decide that their future prosperity depends upon a development of agriculture. These, and many other problems, are dealt with by Sir George Anderson and his collaborators, and Mr. H. S. Scott.

Finally, the origin of most of the social problems discussed throughout this volume can often be best explained by a study of Dr. Hans' discussion of the five fundamental factors which, in varying groups, affect the whole development of nations.

H. V. U.

PART I

Notes on Current Educational Problems

1. A Critical Survey of Recent Board of Education Reports

In The Year Book of Education for 1937 we published a critical survey of legislation rather than a bare outline of facts. This policy is now being applied to some of the recent reports of the Board of Education. Mr. E. H. Carter, formerly one of His Majesty's Inspectors of Schools and of Training Colleges, has been invited to deal critically with *The Handbook of Suggestions*, *The Report on Homework*, *The Education of Backward Children*, and the *Report on Physical Education in Germany*.

(a) The Handbook of Suggestions

The year 1937 has seen the publication by the Board of Education of a completely revised edition of their "*Handbook of Suggestions* for the use of teachers and others concerned in the work of Public Elementary Schools."[1] The Suggestions, as the Handbook is usually called, have always exercised a profound influence on the development of the schools of this country, so that a study of them is essential to anyone who would wish to gain a proper idea of the nature of English elementary education.

The previous edition of the Handbook bears the date 1927. The reasons for a new edition are set out in the general introduction, and in the eyes of the Board (as a Prefatory Note by the late Permanent Secretary, Sir Henry Pelham, explains) they are such as to call for a restatement of the Board's views on the purpose of the Public Elementary School. Some of these reasons are given in the general introduction, where we are told that the world in which the modern child is growing up has changed a good deal since 1927. "The universality of motor-transport, of broadcasting, and of the sound-film in the cinemas presents new features in the common life, while better housing, the increasing use of electrical and other mechanical devices, the probability of increased leisure and wider social contacts for all, with their opportunities for the enrichment of experience, make it necessary for those engaged in education to review their task afresh." The kind of education now needed must therefore be characterised by broader aims: e.g. greater emphasis must be laid upon the social development of children, and much greater regard must be had for linking up the teaching within the school with the life led by the children outside.

Once again as before, however, it is declared that the Handbook

[1] *His Majesty's Stationery Office*, 2s.

is one of suggestions and not of commands. "The only uniformity of practice that the Board desire to see in the teaching of Public Elementary Schools," says Sir Henry repeating the words of the 1927 edition, "is that each teacher shall think for himself, and work out for himself such methods of teaching as may use his powers to the best advantage, and be best suited to the particular needs and conditions of the school."

It may be remembered that the keynote to the 1927 edition was sounded in a passage quoted from the Code for use in Public Elementary Schools (1904–1926). This well-known passage, from the pen of Sir Robert Morant, stated the aim of elementary education as follows: "The purpose of the Public Elementary School is to form and strengthen the character and to develop the intelligence of the children entrusted to it, and to make the best use of the school years available, in assisting both girls and boys, according to their different needs, to fit themselves practically as well as intellectually, for the work of life."

On at least three points of importance the doctrine of the new Handbook differs from the Morant doctrine. Firstly, as already noted, we must think now in terms of the social education of children as well as of their practical and intellectual education. Secondly, we must prepare them for the leisure of life as well as for the work of life. And, thirdly, we must give up the idea that the schoolmaster can "form" character and accept the view that it is his duty rather to prepare an environment in which a good character will develop naturally.

The keynote of the new Handbook is an expression of faith, almost fervent, in the power of the intelligently managed child to make educational progress by the exercise of his own good sense. The teacher must seek to devise means of guiding the spontaneous interests of his pupils, but at the same time he must also know how to awaken in them a desire to acquire the knowledge and master the techniques which are indispensable to good citizenship. Thus, the Handbook represents a typically British standpoint of compromise between the view that education must at all costs give the child what he thinks he wants, and the view that he must be made to learn what is good for him.

In a summary of what the schools can do we read that their function is: "(1) to provide the environment which is best suited to individual and social development; (2) to stimulate and guide healthy growth in this environment; (3) to enable the children to acquire the habits, skills, knowledge, interests and attitudes of mind which they will need for living a full and useful life; and (4) to set standards of behaviour, effort and attainment, by which they can measure their own conduct."

The emphasis upon school *life* as an educational influence was well worth while. Those who are thoroughly familiar with schools know that it is easy enough for an expert to sense the sort of life which animates any one of them; its quality and vigour (or lack

of them) strike the experienced visitor before anything about its achievements has been discovered. The modern school, then, is not merely a place of instruction. It must be looked to as a civilising agency, and the Board, therefore, are wise in suggesting that school life must be made to resemble as far as possible the life which can be lived in a well-placed and intelligently organised home. We are not, of course, speaking here of what does not already exist. A much less rigid discipline in the classrooms than was common twenty years ago—which was, indeed, becoming fairly common when the last Handbook was published—is now the rule. Serious disciplinary trouble is rare. The discipline which exists is usually such as wins the willing assent of the pupils. Attempts at self-government in the senior schools are not unknown. There can be no doubt, in short, that the vast majority of elementary school children enjoy their school life, and throughout their school careers remain on the best of terms with their teachers.

The emphasis in the older type of elementary school was on the teaching of the Three Rs. The new emphasis on habits, skills, knowledge, interests and attitudes of mind, as the objectives to be kept in mind, serves to show how far away from the older position we have moved. Not instruction within narrow but well-defined limits is now the main concern of the teacher, but growth, and growth in the widest sense—physical growth, which includes development in all the bodily co-ordinations and skills necessary for active physical existence ; growth in the capacity for self-dependence, in emotional poise, in social adaptability, and in the power of understanding, and making use of what is understood, up to the full limits of the pupils' natural endowment. The passage in which the emphasis on habits, skills, knowledge, interests and attitudes of mind is amplified is worth quoting as illustrative both of the soundness of the position now taken up by the writers and of the clearness and felicity of expression which from time to time they achieve :

" The wider aims before us cannot be reached, then, without the development in the children of certain general attributes : habits that cannot be shaped without a good deal of drill ; skills that involve the integration of well-trained physical and mental elements ; knowledge, which if it is to be real knowledge, involves the power to see relations of increasing complexity and generality ; interests that issue from spontaneous self-direction ; and attitudes of mind that bespeak a growing sense of values. Any attempt to develop these attributes in isolation, however, must be unsatisfactory, sometimes dangerous. Unless under enlightened control, habit may obstruct the free play of intelligence ; skill in any direction may degenerate into unadaptable routine ; knowledge may be no more than mere lifeless information ; interests may become so narrow and limited as to threaten the balance of personality ; while attitudes of mind may harden into intolerance of whatever is unfamiliar or new."

There are many signs throughout the new volume that the writers have been concerned to bring their several points of view together. More than ever before, the doctrines enunciated in the Handbook appear to rest upon the same philosophic basis. Thus, to take one example only, the reasons for dividing the curriculum into " subjects " are discussed in the general introduction and the view is expressed that subjects should " emerge " as necessity dictates, and that " the emergence of subjects, in the strict sense of the term, is determined by the pupils' experience and degree of maturity." In the rest of the volume the writers are at pains always to show the part which the " subjects " should play (if any) at different stages in the child's development, and what the principles should be that govern the selection of teaching material in any subject for a given age of child. It is interesting to note, in this connection, that the Board recommend a continuance throughout the Junior and Senior schools, as the occasion may demand, of the usual Infant school practice, justified by the immaturity of the pupil there, of organising school work in the form of " projects " that ignore the usual boundaries between the ordinary school subjects. This is a new note.

Shifting of Emphasis from Subject to Child

Numerous experiments both in curricula and in the technique of instruction have been undertaken during the present century in this and other countries with a view to demonstrating the value of allowing greater freedom of choice to pupils in what they should study and of fuller opportunities alike for the exercise of individual initiative and of co-operative activity. The first approach to this position in this country was made when it was recognised that instruction must be made " interesting " to be properly effective. But as long as instruction was made " interesting " because it aided teaching efficiency in the subject which was being learnt, practical work of various kinds, individual and co-operative, was looked upon as a luxury which the first-class " disciplinarian " could very well do without. It would not be unfair to say that this was the state of affairs in a good many elementary schools when the 1927 *Suggestions* were being prepared. Since then, we are told in the 1937 edition, there has been " a shift of emphasis in teaching from the subject to the child." Consequently, practical work of every kind is no longer to be regarded as valuable in making this or that subject more attractive, but must be acceptable as an integral element in instruction, valuable because it is able, as no other form of education is able, to enlist the energies of the learner to the full and to give him on a basis of fully realised experience a soundness of understanding which is likely to develop his powers to their utmost and make of his knowledge a vital thing.

Perhaps also, as never before, there is a full recognition in the 1937 *Suggestions* of the inevitability of having to admit individual differences between pupils at school. The " reorganised " schools which are now springing up all over the country are being planned

so that children of varying natural powers can follow courses of education suited to their ability. To-day we may find A and B courses running in Junior schools and A, B and C and sometimes A, B, C and D courses in Senior schools. The issue of the 1937 Handbook will no doubt concentrate attention during the next decade upon the problem of discovering the types of curricula which it is desirable that children of different grades of intellectual ability should follow. It is pretty certain, too, that now the emphasis in teaching has shifted " from the subject to the child " there will be a great deal to report in the next edition of *Handbook of Suggestions* in the way of progress in the direction of finding in what ways children of varying degrees of ability best learn, and what exactly it is desirable that they should learn, both in their own interest and in that of the nation of which they will be the future representatives.

(b) The Education of Backward Children

THE YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION for 1936 contained a series of articles under the editorship of Professor Hamley entitled, in their reissued form, *The Education of Backward Children*. A pamphlet (No. 112) has recently been issued by the Board of Education with the same title. A comparison of the contents of the two publications is in consequence inevitable. But it may be said at once that each has its obvious merits, and that fortunately they supplement one another admirably. In temper and outlook, as well as in homely wisdom and " practicability," the pamphlet reaches a high level.

It would be strange, indeed, if the pamphlet did not advance our knowledge of its subject in important directions. In the first place it makes clearer than previous books and papers the extent to which the schools are burdened with the backwardness which is due to natural dullness. Hitherto, calculations, based on the data found in books like those of Professors Burt and Terman, gave results that suggested the existence of about 10 per cent. of children in the schools with I.Q.s between 70 and 85. The Board's writers have used the later figures given in the results of the survey carried out by the Scottish Council for Research in Education, and now supported, it may be noted, by the later work of Professor Terman [1] himself (see *Measuring Intelligence* by Terman and Merrill, 1937). These would appear to show half as many again of backward, dull children, i.e. 15 per cent. It is usefully pointed out, moreover, in the pamphlet, that this percentage must always be greater in senior schools, since the brighter children from the junior school have been transferred to secondary schools and other centres of advanced education.

Need for Distinction between Backwardness and Retardation

In one respect, we may say in passing, the pamphlet falls behind Professor Hamley's own contribution. He has made use of a

[1] See notes on pages 27–34 of this volume.

decided improvement in terminology—which there is reason to believe was familiar to the Board's psychologists, and it is unfortunate that the Board could not see their way to adopt it. Readers who are acquainted with the development of psychological thought on the subject of backwardness in school work will know that the ideas of the Intelligence Quotient (I.Q.), the Educational Quotient (E.Q.) and the Achievement Quotient (A.Q.) (or Accomplishment Ratio) have become indispensable tools of research into problems connected with educational backwardness. Thus, the Intelligence Quotient gives us, in percentage form, the ratio of mental age to chronological age, and is therefore a most useful measure of general inborn ability. The Educational Quotient gives us, in percentage form, the ratio of attainment in the three Rs. to chronological age, and is therefore a useful measure of backwardness. The Achievement or Accomplishment Quotient gives us, in percentage form, the ratio between attainment and intelligence and is therefore a measure of—what? Professor Hamley says, Achievement but also of Retardation. Retardation thus becomes a measure of the extent to which one is realising one's possibilities. The highly intelligent child may be retarded in this sense, just as much as the dull child. An invaluable distinction between backwardness and retardation is thus made; and it is one which is now accepted by most responsible psychologists. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that the YEAR BOOK (1936) contains a table showing that as many as 22·5 per cent. of 272 children tested in an elementary school were retarded as distinct from backward. It is to be regretted that the Board fight shy of the term *Retardation* as used in this sense.

Varying Attitudes Towards "Special" Classes

An interesting difference of opinion between the writers of the two publications is shown in their attitude towards "special" classes. Dr. Schonell, writing in the YEAR BOOK (1936), has summed up some of the arguments for and against the organisation of "special" classes, outside the ordinary streams of promotion, for those children who do not easily fit into a place in the existing scheme of things. He has concluded that "special" classes for such children are bad only in bad schools. The Board's experience, on the other hand, is that these "special" classes ought to be avoided whenever possible. They belong to the pre-Hadow period. Where it is possible to organise good and complete Hadow schools—and this has not so far proved possible in places like London, partly because of their system of six-monthly promotions—it is usually found that very few children indeed, provided that the teachers are ordinarily intelligent, fail to get the teaching suited to their needs. It has been stated more than once that a vested interest is growing up in the "special" class that will effectually prevent its disappearance. Whether this be so or not, we need a much more thorough investigation into the place of the "special" class

in our educational system, and it is to be hoped that one day, and before it is too late, this may be arranged.

Criticism of the " Class " System

We may conclude with a reference to the part played in any sound educational organisation by the class—" special " or ordinary. The Board's pamphlet concludes with a suggestion that the class should no longer be regarded as the rigid and inevitable unit of school classification. We read : " Teachers are therefore urged to examine the ' class ' system with its fixed time-table as it exists in their schools, and to ask themselves what ends it may serve admirably, and what ends it is maybe quite unfitted to serve. How far, for example, is it the best device that can be discovered for (*a*) the inculcation of good habits ; (*b*) the training of skill in various directions ; (*c*) the acquisition of knowledge ; (*d*) the fostering of interests ; and (*e*) the creation of right attitudes to life ? It is obviously not equally suited for all of these. We cannot, for example, get the best conditions for social training where a child never associates with any other children but his intellectual equals, or where no teacher is made personally responsible for his progress and well-being throughout his school career. If the dull child is to grow and develop he will need upon occasion to be taken out of his class and introduced into either a larger or a smaller group. We should ask ourselves which part of the work of the school can best be done in the classroom, which in the school hall or the playing fields, and which in what we have called the ' adjustment class.' For some purposes the whole school should be the unit, and not only for assemblies and dismissals ; for other purposes, classes or ' sets ' (e.g. in arithmetic) may be necessary, while an ' adjustment class ' under a suitable teacher, where children may go for attention to particular disabilities, is desirable in every large school which has a fair proportion of backward pupils. Good organisation within the school will make this possible."

In short, the emphasis, as in all the Board's publications, is upon the teacher as organiser and instructor. Not yet have we discovered a cut-and-dried method of dealing with any school problem that can be applied independently of the teacher.

(c) The Report on Homework

Pamphlet No. 110 has been prepared and published by the Board of Education, apparently to make known the " most significant facts " which some three years ago the Board set H.M. inspectors to discover about the " problem of homework." In many ways the results are somewhat disappointing. Nothing has come to light which was not almost universally known before : e.g. (*a*) that " some degree of pressure " upon certain children and young people is common ; (*b*) that this pressure is connected with

the desire on their part and on the part of their parents and teachers to do well in examinations; and (*c*) that in very many schools homework needs regulating rather more wisely.

But what parents want to know is whether homework is necessary at all, and if so, why; furthermore, if it is necessary, why so much of it should consist of little else but school work. A clear reply to these questions can only be gathered with difficulty from the Board's pamphlet. We miss the authentic note of authority which is usually sounded in the Board's documents. Inspectors of the three branches of the Board seem sometimes to have taken up their enquiries without consulting one another, so that the doctrine implied in one chapter is not always the same as is enunciated in the others.

Inconsistencies in the Report

In 1933, the Association of Assistant Mistresses made the very sensible remark in a memorandum that "there is a call for a much more definite idea of the educational aims to be achieved and the soundness of the methods used in this more independent part of the pupils' work." The difficulties thus presented have not been cleared up. For example, why is homework set at all? Searching for reasons in the pamphlet we read: "It is clearly established that for training the intelligence, homework, judiciously regulated, is a powerful instrument." (In passing, it should be noted that we are not told how, or by whom, this most important truth has been established. The writer cannot recall any conclusive experimental work that has been done.) Now if it has been clearly established that homework is a powerful instrument for training the intelligence, why do the authors of the pamphlet frown so upon homework for the elementary school child? Why is it stated on page 65 that no homework should be set to children in the elementary school under the age of twelve; and why is it stated that as regards senior school children "their normal school course does not make homework necessary"? There seems to be something wrong here. Either the instruction given in the elementary school is superior to that of the secondary school, or the "established fact" is merely a rationalisation of those who wish to see homework continued.

Again, we read that "Perhaps the most important gain to be won from homework is the development of self-reliance and initiative, where the pupil is left to face unaided a problem suited to his abilities; or to follow up for himself a subject which appeals to his interests. Another gain, one of a more purely moral order, results from the pupil having to settle down to his work and resist distractions." But if these invaluable gains result, how is it that, in the words of the pamphlet, "teachers who are also parents show a pronounced scepticism as to the value of the tasks commonly set to their children, and appear to be less convinced than are the majority of their colleagues that homework as at present understood is a desirable institution?"

Is Homework Really Necessary?

Further, the Board's inspectors of course know that homework as it exists in the great majority of secondary schools effectually prevents children from following up for themselves subjects (and we may add, hobbies and other interests) that appeal to them. And any parent would say that the average child drops the sort of task-work (which has clouded his outlook for some years) like a hot brick when his examinations are over.

The fact seems to be that most homework is set by teachers who, with an examination ahead for their pupils, find themselves burdened with a heavy syllabus to cover. The reason why homework is unnecessary in the senior school is that there is no examination to prepare for. And the reason why homework is frowned upon when set to children under twelve is that it is done by teachers who are anxious to get their pupils through the entrance examinations for secondary schools, and who do their coaching so successfully, that they embarrass those who wish to select secondary school entrants on ability rather than upon well-crammed knowledge and highly cultivated skill. If there were no examinations to prepare for, under pressure, it would speedily be discovered that all the moral values attaching to the existing forms of homework could be secured by other means within the school itself, and that the time thus set free could be used in developing sides of the pupil's nature that at present have to be neglected.

Splendidly inconsistent, the authors of the pamphlet tell us of schools where experiments have been made in the drastic reduction, and in some cases the complete abolition, of homework. "Some of them have been carried on for more than five years and the Heads of the schools concerned are convinced of their success." Given concrete instances of this kind—and there are several to be found in the report—one would have expected something more than a timid disinclination to support them, particularly as the "clearly established" truth that homework is a powerful "instrument" for the training of intelligence is not backed up by evidence. Those who are acquainted with the elementary schools of this country know that the great progress they have made in the past, and are still making under Hadow reorganisation, is due as much as anything to the unwearying efforts of the Board's inspectors to popularise the ideas and methods of the most successful and original schools which they visit. It may be regretted that a stronger lead of a similar kind is not more obvious in the present pamphlet.

Need for Revision of the Pamphlet

It is to be hoped that in due course the pamphlet will be revised. It is necessary to know more clearly, with illustrations acceptable to all classes of teachers, what the essential function of homework is that cannot be fulfilled during school hours. We also need to know what kinds of "exercise," again with concrete illustrations,

are best suited to subserve this function, and then how in detail these exercises should be "wisely" regulated. The commoner pitfalls might also be indicated and detailed suggestions offered.

It should, however, be added that the chapter prepared by the Junior Technical School experts contains some excellent practical suggestions upon the setting and the correction of homework exercises. These would no doubt have been even more helpful if they could have been written after a philosophy of homework had been agreed upon by the Board.

The pamphlet opens with the words: "During the last decade or so the problem of homework has attracted steadily increasing attention throughout the country." As the matter now stands, it is doubtful if the problem of homework has been elucidated as a result of the issue of Pamphlet No. 110. Perhaps after all, it was only intended that the Board should show that they had the problem of homework in mind, or, as we should prefer to say, they were keeping their eye upon that problem.

(d) Physical Education in Germany

Some important questions are raised in Pamphlet No. 109 of the Board of Education on *Physical Education in Germany*. The pamphlet contains the report of a delegation of physical training experts representative of the Board and of other educational bodies in this country who, at the invitation of the German Government, spent eleven days during November, 1936, in visiting centres of German education where various schemes of physical training were in progress. In addition to seeing young people and children actively employed, the delegation had opportunities of listening to lectures and taking part in informal discussions with the German experts. In fact, every possible facility was afforded them of familiarising themselves with what was being done in the sphere of physical education, and they returned greatly impressed by the thoroughness of what they saw, and full of appreciation of the hospitality shown them.

Difference between German and British Viewpoint

Physical Training was sampled in the elementary school and the secondary school, in the high school and in other institutions of special type, as well as in the university, in the labour camp and in the work of such organisations as those of the Hitler Youth and the *Kraft durch Freude*. As a result of this the members of the British delegation came home convinced that the boys and girls of Germany are being made to undergo a course of physical training and education which is resulting in the building up of a race of men and women who will be able to undergo the hardships and the difficulties inseparable from physical existence in a modern community without fear or damage. But a number of outstanding differences between the German ideals and our own forced themselves upon the atten-

tion of the delegates, and to these differences a good many of the points made in the report are, as one would expect, closely related.

Importance of Physical Training in Germany

The part played in the education of young people and children in Germany by physical training is of paramount importance. In prestige, physical training ranks higher than any other subject or activity in the curriculum, except perhaps "German" itself, while in terms of the time devoted to it, one may say that at least twice as much attention is spent on physical training as English teachers are accustomed to give. The pamphlet quotes one school, for example, where the seven-year-olds spend six periods out of twenty-four weekly on P.T. Even at the university stage, attendance at a physical training course has become obligatory upon all normal students during the first eighteen months, while every teacher in training receives one P.T. lesson per day throughout his three-year course.

In accommodation and equipment the delegates noted a general superiority in the German arrangements, and evidence everywhere of a tremendous "drive," through effectively centralised control, towards the creation of a physically fit and virile race. There is also greater knowledge, centrally and locally, of what is being done. Thus, the medical records of the children are extremely thorough, and there is systematic recording not only of weight and stature, but also of achievements in running, jumping, swimming, cycling, throwing the ball, and so on.

Bodily strength and agility are not, however, the sole objective of physical education in Germany. The personality of the pupil is of equal importance. In this connection the visitors observed much that is worthy of emulation. But they missed, in the movements of the boys and girls during P.T. lessons, many of those virtues of precision, style and grace which are characteristic of the best British work. The reason is that the German aim is not so much the production of precision, style or grace, as of courage, endurance and willingness for self-sacrifice in the interests of the group. It may well be that the German ideal is not superior to our own. But it is an ideal that must be seriously taken account of by all those teachers who have charge of children from homes where the training errs on the side of softness and over-indulgence. It is this type of home deficiency that the residential English Public School is usually so successful in making good. Is the Day School system equally successful ?

The National Political Educational Establishments

Of special interest is the description given in the pamphlet of the German residential schools for boys of all classes who give early promise of developing the qualities of leadership. These schools are the "Napoli" schools ("Nationalpolitische Erziehungan-

stalten," i.e. National Political Educational Establishments), where boys between the ages of ten and eighteen are being educated. The number of these schools is at present limited, but they are spreading, and each is organised for about two hundred pupils. Their first aim is the cultivation of healthy, hardy bodies, patient of toil and fatigue and heat and cold, and inured to stress and strain. Next come the development of mental capacity, the formation of character, schooling in the exercise of will-power and determination, and training in responsibility and leadership. The last—and avowedly the least important—aim is to give the pupils proficiency in book-knowledge and academic subjects generally. As the Board's pamphlet says, " The progress of these schools, combining as they do some features of the Public Schools of England, and the military academies of the United States of America, together with much that is purely German, will be watched with interest not only in Germany, but by others."

They will be watched because they throw up in high relief the outstanding points in the German programme of physical education. Here we have that determined subordination of the intellectual and æsthetic elements in human nature which we have become accustomed to thinking of as essential to the maintenance of a high level of civilisation. From a careful perusal of this pamphlet, of similar publications and of the reported speeches of Nazi leaders, it must be clear that the present rulers of Germany have no patience with " intellectuals " and artists who cannot contribute directly to that Spartan regeneration of their people which they are so anxious to see. Indeed, they do not appear to appreciate that there is such a thing as intellectual effort which itself has the power to form character and develop a will patient of toil and inured to stress and strain. There is in Germany to-day, it would seem, little room for philosophers and poets who concern themselves with the ultimate problems of human existence, with mathematicians and scientists other than those whose aims are strictly and narrowly utilitarian, or with artists and dramatists of an unconventional turn of mind. We have been taught to think that a mental climate which is discouraging to the free flowering of every side of men's nature will not produce even the type of leader needed to ensure the stability of a community at any high technical level of efficiency, let alone provide the conditions for its adequate spiritual development. However, we can but wait and see what is to happen when the physical regeneration of the German nation, now so nearly accomplished, is complete.

2. The Sixth International Conference on Public Education

In the Year Book of Education, 1937, a full account was given of the International Bureau of Education, Geneva, and in which a regret was expressed at the absence of representatives of Great Britain at the Annual Conference. We are now pleased to state

that at the Conference held at Geneva in July 1937, a delegation attended from the Board of Education. Their presence was much appreciated, and hopes were freely expressed that Great Britain would decide to become a member of the International Bureau of Education. The General Editor of THE YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION also attended as a representative of the Joint Editorial Board.

The subjects for discussion were: the Teaching of Modern Languages, the Inspection of Schools, and the Teaching of Psychology in the Training of Elementary and Secondary Teachers. We have not space to deal at length with the actual reports presented by each of the delegates, but the unanimous conclusions of the representatives of the forty-five countries present were as follows:

(a) The Teaching of Modern Languages

The Conference recommends to the Ministries of Education of the different countries:

(1) That the study of modern languages should be as far as possible encouraged in different kinds of schools, including vocational schools and the senior classes of elementary schools;

(2) That the acquisition of one foreign language at least should be made possible for all types of teachers—to enable them to keep alive their curiosity about what is happening in foreign countries in the subject which they teach—and also because of the profit, both intellectual and social, that their teaching is bound to derive from the knowledge of a foreign civilisation;

(3) That the teaching of modern languages should have as its aim not only the capacity to use that language for practical purposes, but, what is even more important, the educative interest inseparable from a knowledge of foreign civilisations and a mutual understanding between peoples;

(4) That with this end in view the methods of teaching be directed not only to produce a facility in the use of the foreign language, whether written or spoken, but also to make the teaching of modern languages more and more a means towards the wider development of human personality;

(5) It should be clearly understood, however, that neither in object nor method should the teaching of modern languages be modelled on that of the dead languages; that side by side with the more formal exercises a large proportion of the time should be devoted to practice in the actual use of the language—although the use of the direct method should not be allowed to exclude explanations and that exactitude of expression which is only possible in the mother tongue;

(6) That sufficient time should be devoted not only to the acquisition of vocabulary and grammar, but also to the practice of correct pronunciation and intonation, and that with this object in view the essential phonetic exercises should be regularly practised.

(7) That the vocabulary taught should bear close relation to

" word frequency " and should be adapted to the interests of the pupils ;

(8) That textbooks (courses) should be written appropriate to the age and needs of the pupils—possibly by teachers of the two countries in collaboration—and that room be found in them—though not to excess—for idioms and expressions of common speech, and that the subject-matter be designed to describe the foreign country and the customs of its inhabitants ;

(9) That special teaching material, such as wall pictures, children's newspapers, libraries of foreign books, should be available for the staff ; that the formation of foreign language circles be encouraged outside the work of the classroom ; and that finally, holiday courses, exchange of pupils, and foreign correspondence should further the acquisition of a greater command of the language and a more direct knowledge of the foreign country ;

(10) That, remembering always that the chief part must be played by the master, the teaching of foreign languages should be put in a position to profit from the resources supplied by modern science : silent or sound films representing scenes of foreign life, typical landscapes, records in the foreign tongue and broadcasts—whether intended for the general public or arranged for the use of schools ;

(11) By reason of the peculiar circumstances inseparable from the teaching of modern languages, the size of classes should be kept reasonably small.

(b) The Inspection of Schools

The Conference recommends to the Ministries of Public Instruction in the various countries :

(1) That the choice of inspectors of all grades should only be made after a very searching investigation into the moral qualities and intellectual attainments needed for this most delicate function ;

(2) That no one should be appointed to the inspectorate who has not previously shown an interest in and an understanding of general educational problems, either in a period of probation or by following a special course organised by a post-graduate institution. In this training there should be a place for the study of comparative education and the study of systems of school organisation in other countries ;

(3) That the examination to discover fitness for the inspectorate, where such exists, should deal not only with knowledge properly speaking, but also (by the introduction of concrete examples of the problems which an inspector may meet) with capacity to administer with intelligence, tact and justice ;

(4) That the point of fundamental importance in the life of an inspector is that he shall understand the teachers in his charge and be able to advise them, bearing in mind that he must at all times respect their intellectual freedom and encourage the spirit of initiative in educational matters ;

(5) That, in order to be able to carry out their duty properly, and to keep pace with the educational progress, inspectors should not be in charge of too large districts nor with duties which are unduly complex—that in secondary education particularly, administrative control should be in the hands of other officials, and that direction in purely educational matters should constitute the proper mission of the inspectors ;

(6) That, by means of visits abroad, by probationary periods and by special courses of work, and by collaboration with eminent leaders of thought in Institutes of Education, Training Colleges (or Normal Schools) in various educational researches and enquiries, they should keep abreast with modern educational thought ;

(7) That they should establish amongst themselves such general agreement on broad issues as is compatible with the preservation of freedom of action to the individual ;

(8) That, in the interests of the children and of the private schools themselves, these latter should be subjected to inspection as are the public schools ;

(9) That, even if the specialisation of inspectors may be in practice difficult, as, for instance, in elementary rural schools, specialisation should be established wherever possible ;

That, for example, the teaching in infant schools, in short courses, in schools for the blind and deaf and dumb, should have the benefit of the guidance and advice of specialist inspectors ;

That, for elementary schools, at any rate in large towns, there should be special inspectors in charge of art education, physical education, manual work and domestic science ; that these inspectors should be entrusted with the duty of guiding, as far as their subject is concerned, the inspectors in charge of elementary education in the small towns and in rural schools, and that these specialists should pay regular joint visits to their schools with the district inspector in order to assist and advise him ; that with regard to secondary education and vocational education, where the conditions are most favourable, specialisation of inspectors should be considered the normal thing.

(c) The Teaching of Psychology in the Training of Elementary and Secondary School Teachers

The Conference recommends to the Ministries of Education in the various countries :

(1) That future teachers should acquire a sound psychological training integrated with their general educational preparation and particularly with their teaching practice ;

(2) That this training should include not only general psychology, but also, and more particularly, psychology of the child and the adolescent ; that it should not merely seek to initiate future teachers into the use of various tests and methods of measurement, which presuppose a well-developed critical mind and a certain scientific

maturity, but that it should comprise a qualitative study of mental development and of the structure of the child's mind, from the intellectual and affective, individual and social aspects ;

(3) That, in addition to the study of the normal child and normal adolescent, provision should be made for the study of problem or abnormal children (in co-operation with school clinics), of individual aptitudes and characteristics (in co-operation with school and vocational guidance services), and of the various environments in which the children are reared : home, school, etc. ;

(4) That, in each of these fields, the psychological training should consist essentially in case studies, personal observations and research on the intellectual, moral and social development of varied types of children ; that these case studies should precede and accompany *ex cathedra* courses, which would otherwise tend on the one hand to be misunderstood by pupils not having learned by direct experience to grasp the sense of the psychological problems and theories ; on the other hand to give them an exaggerated respect for formulas instead of a knowledge of the importance of studying facts ;

(5) That this psychological training should not be given to future teachers until they are old enough and sufficiently mature and have enough general culture and biological training to enable them to understand the significance of the experiments in which they are called upon to collaborate ;

(6) That this training should be given by professors who are themselves sufficiently prepared, not only by reason of their philosophical culture, but more particularly by their practical experience in scientific experiments and in the technique of psychology.

3. The Problem of Providing Mechanical Aids to Learning

Of 32,000 schools in England and Wales recently circularised, only 810 had film projectors. Mr. Kenneth Lindsay, Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education, when commenting on this situation said : " I am dissatisfied. I do not think we are tackling the problem in the right way." When it is remembered that Germany has 17,000 projectors, France 9,400 and the U.S.A. 10,097, the English figures are certainly a matter for considerable concern. The main reason for the small number of projectors (and of wireless receiving sets), however, is not far to seek. In the vast majority of areas, projectors, wireless sets and the additional material required for the new emphasis placed upon craft work, have to be supplied out of the present capitation allowance, an allowance which was originally intended solely for the purchase of consumable material and textbooks. The increased cost of consumable material has not been offset by an increase in the capitation allowance, and except in the few areas where special allowances are granted for " extras," there is no surplus available for the purchase of projectors, etc.

In Germany, where educational films are being strenuously encouraged, the Government of the Reich has given a large measure of financial help by appropriate grants. Even so, progress was not so rapid as teachers desired, and in 1934 the Reich Ministry of Science, Instruction and Popular Education set up a State Organisation for Educational Cinematography, the *Reichstelle für den Unterrichtsfilm*, financed by a Fund for Teaching Material to which every German scholar contributes 20 pfennigs per quarter, and whose duty it is to distribute to German schools the projectors and films needed.

Obviously the solution of contributions from pupils cannot be applied in England, where elementary education is completely free, but we see in the above scheme the principle that a State and/or individual subsidy is necessary if the new education is to function effectively. If it is the policy of the Board of Education to encourage films, wireless and crafts, it is reasonable to expect a subsidy which will enable the present, and in many cases already inadequate capitation allowance to be used for the purchase of the bare necessities of normal school requirements.

4. The Problem of Maintaining School Attendance

Local education authorities have been concerned during recent years at the low percentages of school attendance. Not only does this represent a serious wastage of educational opportunity to children, but it also represents a financial loss to the rate-payers, since the Board of Education contributes a grant based upon average attendance. In view of this position, the Crewe Education Committee recently addressed a questionnaire to 31 authorities in all parts of the country with school populations varying between 3,000 and 21,000. In Crewe, the percentage of attendance has fallen from 90·6 in 1931 to 87·9 in 1936, and this is the experience of many other authorities. Special holidays for classes or schools attaining exceptionally good percentages seems to be the most common of the methods used to improve attendance, but the Crewe report favours what is called the " Hot-Foot " system now in operation at Doncaster. This plan involves a call by attendance officers at the homes of the absentees *on the day of the first absence*. It has proved successful in Doncaster, which has a population of 70,000, 36 school departments and a percentage of attendance of 92·9 from an average number on roll of 10,568 children.

5. The Revised Stanford-Binet Test

In The Year Book of Education, 1936, there appeared a comprehensive survey of the Testing of Intelligence under the general editorship of Professor Hamley. Since this survey appeared, there has been published in the United States of America a revision of the Stanford-Binet Test. In the following notes, Dr. P. E. Vernon deals with this revision, thus bringing up to date the previous survey.

Defects in the 1916 Stanford Revision

There can be little doubt that Terman's Stanford revision of the Binet-Simon scale has been more widely used and has yielded results of greater value than any other psychological test. Admittedly, however, it possesses a number of defects, among the chief of which are :

(1) It has not been restandardised in Britain ; hence in all probability some of its component tests are slightly more difficult, others slightly easier, for British than for American children. Moreover, certain modifications have to be made in the American wording, and different British testers have adopted a diversity of modifications. Professor Burt partially restandardised the scale, but his version is unpublished and has had only a limited circulation.

(2) The scale is relatively inadequate at both ends. It does not test below 3 years, and the 3- and 4-year items are not very well suited to the interests of pre-school children. At the upper end there is insufficient " ceiling," i.e. too few tests which are difficult enough for older children of superior intelligence. Above 10 years it gives mental ages and intelligence quotients which become progressively too low. It can scarcely be applied to adults, unless they are of subnormal ability, both because of the meagreness of the tests above 12 years and because of their childish character.

(3) The method of calculating intelligence quotients among persons aged more than 12 years is highly artificial. It assumes that intelligence grows regularly from 3 to 14 or 16 years, and that it then stops dead ; different testers disagree as to the age at which growth ceases. A gradual tailing off of growth would seem much more probable.

(4) Several of the component tests are unsatisfactory for one reason or another. Some, such as *Names of Coins*, are too obviously dependent on social background and education. The *Fables* test is repulsively moralistic. *Comparison of Weights* and several others probably possess poor validity as indicators of intelligence.

(5) There are too many loopholes for subjective bias and errors on the part of the tester, both in giving the test and in scoring the responses. Undoubtedly a great deal of inaccurate testing has been carried out, and is being practised at the present time, owing to the incompleteness of the instructions provided and the lack of conversance of many testers with those instructions that are available.[1]

Psychologists have known that Terman was fully alive to these inadequacies, and that he was working on a new revision which should correct them as far as possible. Ten years of investigation and standardisation by a large staff have been needed to accomplish

[1] A number of other criticisms of the theoretical background of the test and of its practical application are set out by Dr. R. B. Cattell in an article in *Character and Personality*, 1937, vol. vi, No. 2. It would be an excellent tonic for most testers to study these thoroughly. The present writer has attempted to answer some of his arguments in another article in the same journal.

the task, and at last the new version has been published, both in the United States and in Great Britain.[1]

Those who are about to start learning the practice of individual testing should certainly use the new (1937) rather than the old (1916) revision. In spite of its greater elaborateness, it is much easier to apply and to score. But there is likely to be a good deal of inertia among those who are already experienced testers: they will naturally be unwilling to learn a whole new set of tests, and they may complain of the expense of purchasing the new material. We will therefore outline the chief alterations that have been made, and show how far the previous defects have been overcome, so that they may judge for themselves whether the change over is worth while.

The Tests contained in the New Revision

The new revision is far more extensive than the old. It provides six tests (and an alternative) for the 2-, $2\frac{1}{2}$-, 3-, $3\frac{1}{2}$-, 4- and $4\frac{1}{2}$-year levels, six tests for each year from 5 to 14 and twenty-six tests for adult levels. Moreover, the whole series is duplicated; two parallel Forms are provided—Form L and Form M—in which the great majority of the tests are different. The main object of this is to allow more accurate retesting; for when only one scale is available, practice effects are very marked. Either scale will measure mental ages from 1 : 7 (i.e. 1 year 7 months) to 22 : 10, and will yield adult intelligence quotients up to 152.

Of the 258 tests included in the two Forms, approximately one-half are either identical with tests in the old revision, or else directly developed out of old tests (e.g. the *Sentence Memory* tests have practically the same instructions as before, but adopt several new sentences). The following tests in the old scale have been dropped altogether:

Sex.	Naming Coins (both levels).	Stamps.
Name and Surname.	Right and Left.	Fables (both levels).
Comparison of Weights (both levels).	Dictation.	Clock Reversals.
Colour Naming.	Counting Backwards.	President and King.
Age.	Date.	Code.
A.M. or P.M.	Months.	Physical Relations.

Few of these will be regretted; they certainly include the tests which have aroused most criticism.

Of the new tests, more than half are duplicates or developments of the rest. Thus we are left with less than fifty entirely fresh tests, half of which fall within the 2–$4\frac{1}{2}$-year levels, half in the 5 to Superior Adult levels. The task of the experienced tester who

[1] Terman, L. M., and Merrill, M. A., *Measuring Intelligence* (English edition). (London: Harrap & Co., 1937. Pp. xiv + 461. Price 10*s*. 6*d*. The test material, record sheets, etc., will be published in due course).

wishes to learn the new scale is therefore not very onerous, especially if his or her testing is confined to children of school age.

The fresh tests for 5 years and upwards are mainly based on the type of items used in group intelligence tests.* They include *Analogies*, *Interpretation of Proverbs*, *Sentence Completion*, *Problems* involving spatial orientation, etc. Several more *Absurdities* tests are introduced, and (a new type) *Pictorial Absurdities*, where the child has to find incongruities in a set of pictures. The only test material needed (apart from record sheets, pencil, paper, scissors, etc.) consists of a printed set of cards, thirteen pennies, twelve one-inch blocks, two shoelaces and forty-eight coloured kindergarten beads (sixteen round, sixteen square, sixteen cylindrical). The latter have to be threaded into patterns of varying levels of difficulty.

It is not possible yet to judge whether the scale will be successful in the individual testing of adults. It may still lack sufficient discriminatory power, and be too childish in content; though in both these respects it is much improved over the old revision. Certainly it should be tried out on school-leavers, adolescent delinquents, mental hospital patients and adult defectives. Its length may preclude its application on a large scale to vocational guidance cases or to university students.

The new pre-school tests are very different from the old, being specially chosen to arouse and hold the attention of the young. The majority are based either on naming, or on description of the use of various toy objects—spoon, engine, cat, doll, chair, etc. Several other tests involve pictures of such objects. A simple Form-board is introduced, also block-building, drawing, bead-stringing, etc. A few of the old *Digit* or *Sentence Memory* and *Comprehension* tests are retained, but the main emphasis is on concrete tasks. For each Form of the scale this performance material is put up in a large wooden box.

When testing children aged 6 + or less, i.e. any whose mental age is likely to be $4\frac{1}{2}$ years or less, it is essential to use this standard material, and not to attempt to collect one's own toy objects, etc. Unfortunately the sets are very expensive, and it may be that those who test very young children will prefer to continue using some other pre-school scale. In the present writer's opinion there is little to choose between the new Stanford tests and the Merrill-Palmer scale at these ages; but his practical experience is, of course, limited to the latter scale. The former possesses the advantage of continuity with the scale for children of school age; and in America (but not in Britain) it is probably better standardised.

In general, much greater care has been taken in securing highly valid tests which will, to use Spearman's terminology, be strongly saturated with *g*. There is a slight disadvantage in this, namely that the tests tend to be somewhat more removed from children's everyday-life experiences, somewhat less natural and varied in content. The present writer has shown elsewhere (cf. footnote, page 28) that the fluidity and "lifelikeness" which we associate with the

Binet test are antithetical to the rigid objectivity and statistical validity which scientific psychometrists demand from their tests. The authors of the new revision have on the whole maintained a successful compromise between these two poles, but they have clearly moved a little farther away from Binet's original conception, a little nearer to the more objective conceptions embodied in group tests. This is shown also by the greater explicitness of the directions for applying and scoring the tests. They are still much less " fool-proof " or " mechanised " than the instructions and scoring in group tests, but they are more clear, definite and comprehensive than in any previous individual scale.

We can claim, then, that the second, fourth and fifth defects of the old revision have been very largely corrected in the new. The inexperienced tester will be far less liable than before to make mistakes, so long as he or she will take the trouble to study the Handbook carefully, and will follow out its instructions. It is strongly to be hoped that no *Condensed Guide* to the scale will be issued, since almost the whole of this Handbook is essential for effective testing.

The Calculation of Intelligence Quotients, and the Statistical Characteristics of the New Revision

Our third criticism has been met in the following, very ingenious manner. The tests are scored, as before, in terms of years and months of mental age, and intelligence quotients among children up to 13 : 0 years are calculated in the usual way by dividing by chronological age. Then allowance is made for the gradual deceleration of mental growth by using 13 : 2 as divisor for cases aged 13 : 3, 13 : 4 for 13 : 6, 13 : 6 for 13 : 9 and so on up to 15 : 0 for 16 : 0 cases. For all cases of 16 or over, 15 is used as the divisor : i.e. it is assumed that the average adult has a mental age of 15 years, but that he does not reach his maximum Stanford-Binet intelligence until 16 years. It is claimed that by this means, not only the average I.Q. of the population, but also its dispersion (standard deviation) will be practically identical throughout the whole age-range. In order to eliminate the somewhat complicated calculations necessitated by this system, complete tables are presented in the Handbook from which the I.Q. corresponding to any mental and any chronological age may be read off instantly.

The standardisation of the scale for American children and adults was exceptionally thorough. It was carried out on 3,184 cases, chosen to be as representative as possible of the whole white population. The Handbook gives an interesting outline of how this was achieved ; but full details, together with data on sex differences, on the tests which were rejected, etc., are to be published later. Perhaps the most important result emerging from the standardisation is the size of the standard deviation of intelligence quotients. In the 1916 revision Terman obtained a standard deviation of 12

points. According to this figure, only 0·8 per cent. of the population would possess I.Q.s of 130 or over, and 70 or under, and 62 per cent. would fall between 90 and 110. Many psychologists have regarded it as too low, and have suggested 15 as an alternative; this would imply 2·4 per cent. in the upper and lower, 51 per cent. in the middle, classes. When, however, the whole of the 11 + population of Scotland was tested in the 1932 Scottish Mental Survey, still higher figures were obtained, namely 16 for girls and 17 for boys. Now Terman and Merrill find with the new revision an almost identical average standard deviation of 16·4. This means that the scatter of I.Q.s in the population is distinctly wider than we have hitherto supposed; 3·7 per cent. will possess I.Q.s of 130 or more, and 70 or under, and only 48 per cent. will lie between 90 and 110.

The standardisation also proves that the test is highly reliable. The Probable Error of an average individual I.Q. is reduced from $4\frac{1}{2}$ or 5 per cent. (as usually quoted for the old revision) to 3 per cent. In terms of correlations the reliability coefficient is + 0·92. Still better results are found among subnormal cases: at I.Q. 70 the P.E. is $1\frac{1}{2}$ points and the coefficient + 0·98. Among superior cases there is somewhat greater variation: at I.Q. 130 the P.E. is $3\frac{1}{2}$ points and the coefficient + 0·90.

The Applicability of the New Revision in Great Britain

We have still to deal with the most vital question, namely the applicability of the scale in Britain. It is, of course, unstandardised in this country; but so also is the old revision. Hence, although some of the tests will be too easy, others too difficult, we can justifiably assume that the total mental ages yielded by the new revision will be somewhat more accurate than those obtained with the old. The possibilities of carrying out a proper restandardisation are already being explored; but this is a task which can hardly be completed in less than three years. It may be found that no single standardisation will be adequate for London, the provinces, Scotland, etc. Nevertheless, the difficulties should not be so great as in the United States. A considerable simplification would be to standardise only one Form of the scale, by taking the most suitable tests from both the American Forms.

Of more immediate concern is the translation of the scale; for many of Terman's tests are full of American colloquialisms, or else deal with situations whose familiarity is totally different among American and British children. Mere substitution of the nearest British equivalents for the American wording is insufficient; it is necessary also to attempt to preserve the same level of difficulty in our own version as in the original. In so far as this fails of accomplishment, British testers are likely to substitute their own translations, and innumerable different versions may become current. Two instances will illustrate the complexity of the undertaking.

In the American edition one of the 8-year level *Comprehension* tests reads :

> " What should you do if you found on the streets of a city a 3-year-old baby that was lost from its parents ? "

In the English edition this has been partially, but still rather awkwardly, translated into :

> " What should you do if you found on the streets of a town a 3-year-old baby that was lost ? "

One of the original tests had to be eliminated altogether, namely a problem about a boy who picked up a pretty little animal in the woods, and whose clothes were burned by his family when he got home.[1] The answer is, " a skunk."

Such extreme instances are fortunately rare. Much more frequent are " automobile," " When I am through," " Do it right here," and the like, which are satisfactorily translated as " motor-car," " When I have finished," and " Do it just here." Generally speaking, the alterations introduced into the English edition of the test material and instructions are adequate, and there is very little need, or excuse, for further modifications.

[1] The test which has been substituted is *Naming Thirty Words in One Minute*. This seems to the writer an unfortunate choice, since *Naming Twenty-Eight Words* has already appeared one year earlier in the scale. He would suggest that either this test (L XI. 5) be omitted, five instead of six tests being used for this year, or else that the *Comprehension Test* " *Opinion, Undertake, Judge* " be adopted from the old revision. Professor Burt has shown that the latter is just about of the right degree of difficulty for British 11-year children.

Almost the only other changes which would seem desirable to the writer are as follows :

In the *Comprehension* tests " What is the thing to do . . . ? " or " What must you do . . . ? " are awkward ; the current English usage, " What ought you to do . . . ? " or " What should you do . . . ? " might be substituted.

In the *Absurdities* tests, " Why is it silly ? " is preferable to " Why is it foolish (funny) ? "

Several of the tests involve wooden cubes ; " bricks " might be a better name for them than " blocks," among the younger children.

In Form L Test III-6. 6, " Why do we have stoves ? " may be unfair. " Cookers," " Ovens " or even " Fires " might be justifiable alternatives.

Several of the Form M 2–4-year tests involve stoves or telephones, both of which are less familiar to British than to American children. It is hardly possible to alter these. Luckily the Form M pre-school tests are seldom likely to be used.

In Form M Test X. 3c, " the meeting might surely close before sunset " should obviously be, " the meeting might be sure to close before sunset."

In both Forms (Year XII) there is a *Picture Interpretation* test. The American material shows a Western Union messenger boy with a broken bicycle signalling to a passing car for assistance. The writer has not yet seen the English edition of this picture. If it has been translated into a recognisable British telegraph boy, then the test should be satisfactory. If not, then it might be better to substitute the pictures used at the same level in the old revision.

The *Problems of Fact* test (Year XIII) includes, " hanging from the limb

The instructions for scoring have been treated much less carefully. These instructions consist largely of specimen responses which are either to be accepted or rejected. Often when the test itself has been translated, corresponding alterations have not been made in the acceptable responses; and those who do not possess the American edition may fail to realise that the responses quoted no longer apply. For instance, in one of the *Similarities* tests, the American edition asks why "Ship and Automobile" are alike, and why "Apple and Peach" are alike; these have rightly been altered in the English edition to "Ship and Motor-car," "Apple and Orange." Yet in the list of acceptable responses to the former, "automobile" and "gas" occur, and among the unacceptable responses to the latter is, "Both have a lot of seeds." This response would indeed be incorrect for "Apple and Peach," but it is quite a good response to "Apple and Orange."[1] Such errors are too numerous to be mentioned here in full. The only course which British testers can take is to keep in mind the American origin of the listed responses, and judge for themselves whether responses given by British children attain to, or fail to reach, an equivalent intellectual level.

Conclusion

To conclude, then, the tests themselves are almost all applicable as they stand in this country; but the scoring of responses will inevitably be somewhat more subjective and open to error, until such time as a thorough restandardisation is carried out, including the preparation of a completely new list of good and poor responses obtained from British children. At the same time we should remember that the old revision possesses the same defects to a still greater extent. In almost every respect the new scale is an improvement on the old, and we should not hesitate to make full use of it.

6. The Problem of Matriculation and School Certificate

In the House of Commons on June 14th, 1937, an important statement was made by the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education. Replying to the debate on the education estimates,

of a tree," and, "what caused the Indian to say . . .;" "branch of a tree," and "what made the Indian say . . ." are current.

In the *Vocabulary* test, Form L, the words are arranged in order of difficulty for American children. The order in this country is very different; e.g. "Priceless" should be lower, "Ochre" and "Limpet" higher in the list. A more nearly correct order can be obtained from those testers who use the Burt-Stanford revision.

American spelling has usually been retained; but this does not matter when the child does not have to read the material. In the *Reading and Report* tests (both Forms, Year X), "center" and "program" may need to be corrected.

[1] A still worse confusion, also occasioned by translation of the test, appears in the responses to Form M Test X. 3f. All the sums of money are incorrect. They should read £80 instead of £100, and £81, £86, £90 (or similar amounts) instead of £401, £416, £420.

during which there had been criticism of the present examination system, he stated that the Board could not take a decisive step in the matter of the Matriculation and School Certificate, but could only recognise the growing opinion in favour of a change, and hope that the universities would see that there was a problem. If the Board cannot take direct action, it is to be hoped that the Consultative Committee which is at present giving consideration to the whole problem of post-primary education will deal with this important aspect of the subject in such a manner that some definite steps will be taken to reorganise the whole system of examinations. The universities are not likely to act of their own volition, since, *inter alia*, as matters stand at present, there is of necessity a considerable vested interest in examination fees. It would also appear necessary to consider the possibility of finding a substitute for universities as examining bodies for secondary schools, especially when it is remembered that only an insignificant percentage of pupils eventually enter a university career, although the examinations are largely designed on the assumption that such a career is the natural outcome of regular secondary school education. If such a change were to be arrived at however, some financial arrangements would have to be made in order to compensate the universities for a loss of essential revenue. The problem is so serious, however, that a solution must be found in the near future, even if this should involve a break with the university tradition. In this connection, the survey of the new reforms in the French educational system, which appears later in this volume, should prove of considerable interest.

7. The Choice of School Textbooks

In the Year Book of Education for 1934, a survey was given of the method of choosing school textbooks in the British Commonwealth of Nations. It was pointed out that, whereas in England teachers generally had a freedom of choice, there was a noticeable tendency to adopt selective lists in a number of educational areas. To exclude from the schools books which are frankly propagandist or inaccurate in regard to facts is obviously justifiable, but too often in recent years series of books have been rejected because they do not fit in with the ideas of individual members of a selection committee. To give but one example. Quite recently a well-known series of textbooks was rejected because a teacher-member of the committee concerned with the selection of English books did not believe in the teaching of formal grammar in the schools. Against such decisions appeals are rarely successful, even when allowed. It is surely undesirable that the liberty of the teacher should be restricted, except on the comparatively few occasions when individuals abuse their positions by introducing political or other propaganda into their teaching. In such circumstances administrative action is called for rather than the arbitrary censorship of

textbooks by committees. Selective lists are only one step removed from prescribed textbooks, a characteristic of certain European countries which should have no place in a democracy. The subject of the choice of school textbooks is to be discussed at the Annual Conference of the International Bureau of Education at Geneva in 1938, and it is to be hoped that the democratic countries, at least, will condemn the practice of restricting the use of textbooks to those on selective or prescribed lists.

8. British Policy on Physical Education

In January 1936 the Board of Education's views on physical education were expressed in Circular 1445, which was designed to assist local education authorities in preparing a comprehensive plan of development suited to the needs of their respective areas. This was followed in October of the same year by Circular 1450, which dealt with the provision of suitable clothing and shoes for physical training. The Board has also issued a memorandum on the planning, construction and equipment of gymnasia. A realisation of the growing importance of physical education was further emphasised in January 1937, when the President of the Board of Education and the Secretary of State for Scotland presented to Parliament a White Paper (Cmd. 5364) in which future plans based upon the voluntary system were officially stated. In a later section of this volume a full description is given of the facilities available for physical education under this system.

It is the view of many people, however, that the voluntary system is on its trial, and they express grave doubts as to whether it can compete successfully with results obtained in the totalitarian States where different methods are adopted. On the other hand, there are those who believe that some of the by-products of the process adopted in the totalitarian States are undesirable in Great Britain. They would argue that the mental calibre of the youth of a nation may suffer as the result of intensive physical culture, and that in a crisis individuality is more adaptable than mass discipline. In other words, spectacular displays of national physical culture are not necessarily proof that such methods hold any advantage over a widespread system of voluntary effort such as exists at present in Great Britain. The enormous increase in such activities as hiking, or the undoubted appeal of movements such as the League of Health and Beauty, would appear to present strong evidence for those who place their faith in the value of voluntary efforts.

PART II

Statistics in the British Commonwealth of Nations, the U.S.A. and Certain European Countries

SECTION ONE

SURVEY OF STATISTICS: ENGLAND AND WALES

(*See also* YEAR BOOK, 1937, *pages* 883–910)

I. The Progress of Reorganisation

DURING the twelve months ending March 31st, 1936, 776 departments were affected by schemes of reorganisation, and during the nine months ending December 31st, 1936, a further 510 departments became separate junior or senior departments. The following table shows the rate of progress during the last six years:

YEAR ENDING	SENIOR DEPARTMENTS			JUNIOR DEPARTMENTS				PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF PUPILS 11 AND OVER TO ALL PUPILS 11 AND OVER
	NUMBER	NUMBER OF PUPILS 11 AND OVER	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL PUPILS 11 AND OVER	NUMBER	NUMBER OF PUPILS 8–12	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL NUMBER OF PUPILS 8–12	NUMBER OF PUPILS 11 AND OVER	
March 1931	1,352	319,620	19·5	4,049	565,730	21·0	62,535	32·5
,, 1932	1,915	519,151	28·1	4,994	739,739	28·6	95,336	42·1
,, 1933	2,344	699,077	34·7	5,586	855,549	34·7	120,689	48·8
,, 1934	2,612	800,651	39·1	5,992	913,039	38·5	129,103	53·2
,, 1935	2,744	792,474	41·3	6,215	942,871	40·0	129,782	56·0
,, 1936	2,864	794,972	43·6	6,553	967,769	43·0	132,225	59·0

The next table shows the contrast between reorganisation in rural and urban areas, and also between council and voluntary schools by the number of pupils, including those in separate infant departments and reorganised senior divisions of all-age departments.

Last year we noticed that the rate of progress in urban areas was twice as much (2·2 per cent.) as in rural areas (1·1 per cent.). This year the difference between these two groups as well as the difference between the council and voluntary schools disappeared and all types of schools progressed at the same rate (2 per cent.). The prospect of State grants for voluntary schools (enacted in 1936)

evidently favourably influenced the efforts of the churches. Next year we expect to see a certain acceleration of reorganisation as the result of the Act of 1936.

SCHOOLS	URBAN	RURAL	COUNCIL	VOLUNTARY	TOTAL
Reorganised . .	3,195,632	322,684	2,750,509	767,807	3,518,316
Unreorganised .	1,121,458	611,069	869,552	862,975	1,732,527
Percentage of reorganised to Total .	74·0	34·6	76·0	47·1	67·0
In 1935	72·0	32·6	73·8	45·1	64·8

II. Redundant Schools and the "Black List"

The problem of redundant schools and departments is particularly acute in areas where reorganisation has taken place. Also, the shifting of population from slum districts to new housing estates, or from a depressed industrial area to one more flourishing, often leads to a number of schools becoming redundant. Generally speaking, the policy is to close all small schools with less than 30 pupils, and, in some cases, schools of more than 30 but less than 100 pupils. Small departments, too, are being amalgamated with bigger ones. Since 1931 the following number of redundant schools and departments have been closed:

CLASSIFICATION	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	TOTAL
Schools Closed . .	86	120	213	163	110	107	799
Departments Amalgamated	—	186	139	244	141	114	824

Side by side with the closure of redundant schools proceeds the closure or improvement of schools on the Board of Education's "Black List." The number of schools removed from this list since 1925 for each year is as follows:

YEAR	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935 TO SEPTEMBER 1937	TOTAL
Number	25	101	233	277	326	206	145	154	114	72	191	1,843

The position of the "Black List" on September 30th, 1937, was as follows:

CLASSIFICATION[1]	COUNCIL SCHOOLS				VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS				TOTAL			
	A	B	C	TOTAL	A	B	C	TOTAL	A	B	C	TOTAL
I. Original Totals . .	219	345	150	714	460	1,421	232	2,113	679	1,766	382	2,827
II. Removed from List on September 30th, 1937:												
(*a*) Closed or Replaced	148	64	10	222	181	110	18	309	329	174	28	531
(*b*) Defects Remedied .	36	201	83	320	145	744	103	992	181	945	186	1,312
(*c*) Total Removed .	184	265	93	542	326	854	121	1,301	510	1,119	214	1,843
Percentage of Original Total . . .	84	76·8	62·0	75·9	70·9	60·1	52·2	61·6	75·1	63·4	56	65·2
III. Still on "Black List"[2]	55	172	71	298	98	486	102	686	153	658	173	984
IV. Number in (III) in respect of which plans for reconstruction or replacement have been approved . . .	9	14	5	28	20	71	7	98	29	85	12	126

1 *A—Very worst cases where improvement is very seldom possible.*
B—Considerable expenditure needed to effect improvement.
C—Unsuitable for present accommodation, but might be adapted to smaller numbers.

2 *These figures (other than the grand total) do not agree exactly with the difference between I and II (c), since the original categories have been changed in certain cases, and some voluntary schools have transferred to L.E.A. since the issue of the "Black List."*

III. The Educational Ladder

During the year ending March 31st, 1936, 346,201 boys and 329,150 girls left the public elementary schools. The following table shows the number and percentage of total leavers who proceeded to some form of full-time further education:

PUPILS BY SEX	GRANT-AIDED SECONDARY SCHOOLS	JUNIOR TECHNICAL AND OTHER SIMILAR INSTITUTIONS	OTHER FULL-TIME INSTITUTIONS	TOTAL
Boys:				
(*a*) Number .	40,661	8,721	8,110	57,492
(*b*) Percentage	11·8	2·5	2·3	16·6
Girls:				
(*a*) Number .	34,299	4,236	9,580	48,115
(*b*) Percentage	10·4	1·3	2·9	14·6

These figures are for England and Wales combined, but for Wales alone the percentages of boys and girls proceeding to some form of full-time further education are much higher, 26·3 for boys and 24·0 for girls.

In comparing these figures with those of last year, we notice a decrease in numbers proceeding to secondary schools, both relative and absolute, and a corresponding increase of both boys and girls proceeding to junior technical and similar schools:

BOTH SEXES	SECONDARY SCHOOLS	JUNIOR TECHNICAL	OTHER FULL-TIME INSTITUTIONS	TOTAL
1934–5	75,281	11,656	17,070	104,007
1935–6	74,960	12,957	17,690	105,607
Difference	— 321	+ 1,301	+ 620	+ 1,600

IV. Infant Departments and Nursery Schools

The number of infant departments continues to fall, owing to the declining birth-rate. Thirty-five departments were closed and sixty-six amalgamated with junior departments. As twenty-two new departments were opened, the total decrease was from 6,118 to 6,039 departments. The policy of the Board is still to encourage the opening of separate departments wherever circumstances warrant it. The number of nursery schools recognised by the Board of Education increased by thirteen during the year ending March 1st, 1936, giving accommodation for 640 children, and five existing schools were enlarged, giving additional accommodation for 307 children. In Circular 1444 the Board called attention to the importance of nursery school provision. Since the issue of the Circular the Board received eighteen proposals for new nursery schools and six proposals for enlargements.

V. The Length of School Life

The improvement in the lengthening of school life noticed last year, after a sudden check in 1933–4, was maintained. We give the figures for the last three years:

	TOTAL LEFT FOR FURTHER EDUCATION	LEFT FOR OTHER REASONS					TOTAL LEFT FOR EMPLOYMENT	TOTAL LEFT FOR REASONS OTHER THAN EMPLOYMENT
		UNDER 14	14 TO 14·3 YRS.	14·3 YRS. TO 15	15 AND OVER	TOTAL		
1933–4 .	15·8	10·6	60·2	9·3	3·7	84·2	82·8	1·4
1934–5 .	15·7	9·5	58·2	12·6	3·4	84·3	83·3	1·0
1935–6	15·7	10·0	57·9	12·1	4·3	84·3	83·4	0·9

VI. Grant-aided Secondary Schools

There has been an increase of nine in the number of grant-aided secondary schools during the year 1935–6, which is accounted for by the addition of seven new schools and the splitting of two coeducational schools. Several foundation schools were transferred to local authorities, which explains the decrease in their number. The number of pupils has increased from 456,781 on March 31st, 1935, to 463,906 on March 31st, 1936, and to 481,767

on October 1st, 1936. The increase in the number of pupils is mainly due to the expansion of old schools, a fact which is reflected in the increase of the average number of pupils per school. Eighty-one per cent. of the pupils admitted during the year for the first time had come direct from public elementary schools, and of these, 55·2 per cent. were admitted as free pupils. By a revision of the Regulations for Special and Free Places, the Board of Education has removed the maximum limits, and so far forty-two authorities have decided to increase the percentage of special places to be awarded annually, and eleven of these have made provisions for all vacancies in their schools to be filled by special pupils. The further education or occupation of pupils who left during the year ended July 31st, 1936, can be seen from the following table.

This table has only been published by the Board of Education since 1935; therefore only two years can be compared, which is too short a period to allow of useful comparisons.

DESTINATION OF PUPILS	ENGLAND AND WALES			WALES		
	BOYS	GIRLS	BOTH SEXES	BOYS	GIRLS	BOTH SEXES
1. Number who left after reaching the Age of 11 Years	48,092	41,089	89,181	5,314	4,597	9,911
2. Number who left after reaching the Age of 14, otherwise than to attend other Secondary Schools	45,904	38,623	84,527	5,123	4,418	9,541
3. Percentages of Pupils included in Column 2, who:	%	%	%	%	%	%
(*a*) Entered Universities	5·4	2·9	4·2	8·2	3·8	6·2
(*b*) Entered Training Colleges	1·3	6·1	3·5	2·1	8·2	5·0
(*c*) Entered other Educational Institutions	5·8	17·9	11·3	6·4	11·8	8·9
(*d*) Became Teachers (Uncertificated, etc.)	0·5	1·5	0·9	0·8	2·4	1·5
(*e*) Entered a Professional, Commercial or Clerical Occupation	46·1	43·9	45·1	37·3	34·7	36·1
(*f*) Entered an Industrial or Manual Occupation	22·9	4·7	14·6	27·3	8·1	18·4
(*g*) Entered an Agricultural or Rural Occupation	2·8	0·6	1·8	4·3	1·3	2·9
(*h*) Remained at Home	0·2	10·0	4·7	0·7	20·5	9·8
(*i*) Left for other Reasons	1·7	3·4	2·5	2·2	3·9	3·0
(*j*) No Reason being stated	13·3	9·0	11·4	10·7	5·3	8·2

The figures under 3 (*a*) relate only to pupils who left during the school year, and do not include pupils who proceeded to a university after an interval.

VII. Independent Secondary Schools

The number of secondary schools recognised by the Board as efficient, but not included on the Grant List, has decreased by one, but as seven schools were added to the Grant List, it means that six new schools were added up to October 1st, 1935. We mentioned last year the addition of Eton and Shrewsbury; this year two more of the well-known public schools were added to List 60, namely Stowe School and Wrekin College. The addition of large boys'

colleges and the elimination of small proprietary schools (10 proprietary schools were struck off the List) changed the average size of this group of schools considerably. Of the schools represented on the Headmasters' Conference, only twelve (including the Royal Naval College) are not yet inspected by H.M. Inspectors. These schools are Rossall, Uppingham, Oundle, Epsom, Mercer's, St. Paul's, Weymouth and Llandovery, and four Roman Catholic colleges—Stonyhurst, Douai, Downside and Ampleforth. The number of other independent secondary schools, both foundation and Roman Catholic, is continually decreasing, as each year some of them are added to List 60.

VIII. The Number of Pupils in all Schools, including Private Schools

We repeat the table given last year, with slight changes of classification. The efficient schools on List 60, including the efficient preparatory schools, are separated from other independent secondary schools. The transference of preparatory schools into the column of efficient schools explains the decrease in the estimated number of pupils in private schools. The distribution of pupils by ages and type of schools does not differ much from that given last year, and the estimated number of pupils in private schools cannot exceed 300,000, even adding independent Roman Catholic schools. The differences in age distribution of pupils in primary and secondary schools are mainly due to the shifting of the "bulge" from the age-group 15–16 in 1935 to 16–17 in 1936.

IX. Schools Outside the Board of Education System

In addition to the three fighting services, which are not included in our review, there are no less than eight central Departments, besides the Board of Education, which have either schools of their own, or subsidise other schools out of their budgets.

(*a*) *Ministry of Health*

The Ministry of Health makes grants for the training of midwives and health visitors, and gives block grants to local authorities, part of which is used for educational services. The Poor Law Schools are still under the official administration of the Ministry, although in practice the majority of them are administered by local education authorities and inspected by H.M. Inspectors. Their number decreases every year, and in 1936 there remained only twenty-five such schools, with 4,081 pupils. They will be gradually absorbed into the general system.

(*b*) *Ministry of Agriculture*

There is a special system of agricultural schools administered by the Ministry and maintained by local authorities with grants from

DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS BY AGES OF PUPILS AND TYPE OF SCHOOLS

In 000's, *March* 31*st*, 1936

AGES	ESTIMATED POPULATION	PUBLIC, ELEMENTARY AND OTHER	GRANT-AIDED SECONDARY	EFFICIENT NOT AIDED	ROMAN CATHOLIC AND PUBLIC INDEPENDENT	VOCATIONAL		AGRICULTURAL AND JUVENILE CENTRES	TOTAL ASCERTAINED FIGURES	ESTIMATED IN PRIVATE SCHOOLS	PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION IN SCHOOLS
						DAY	EVENING				
3–4	559	37	—	—	—	—	—	—	37	2	7
4–5	579	128	—	—	—	—	—	—	128	3	23
5–6	590	497	1	1	—	—	—	—	499	30	90
6–7	591	544	2	1	1	—	—	—	548	40	100
7–8	592	549	3	6	3	—	—	—	561	31	100
8–9	595	551	4	6	3	—	—	—	564	31	100
9–10	611	572	7	7	3	—	—	—	589	22	100
10–11	628	584	12	6	3	—	—	—	605	23	100
11–12	640	563	43	11	5	1	—	—	623	17	100
12–13	657	546	79	12	6	2	—	—	645	12	100
13–14	681	547	82	11	6	5	41	—	651	12	100
14–15	728	176	82	9	5	33	138	11	454	10	64
15–16	771	21	78	9	4	26	122	11	271	10	36
16–17	739	3	46	9	4	15	78	11	166	6	23
17–18	530	—	16	6	3	11	61	11	108	3	21
18–19	546	—	7	1	1	9	50	2	70	3	13
19–21	1,239	—	4	—	—	14	81	2	101 [2]	14	10
3–21	11,176	5,317 [1]	464	95	47	116	571	48	6,620	270	62

[1] *Actual number on March* 31*st ; the average number on registers*—5,390.
[2] *Plus* 55,000 *in universities and training colleges.*

the Ministry. Table 18 gives particulars about these schools. In addition, the Ministry of Agriculture makes grants to universities and colleges, and includes in its budget a substantial sum for agricultural research.

(*c*) *Home Office*

The Home Office has a special system of schools for delinquent children. The majority of these approved schools are maintained by local authorities with 50 per cent. grant from the Home Office. Some schools are voluntary, receiving grants from the Home Office. The particulars about these schools are given in Table 22.

(*d*) *Ministry of Labour*

The Centres for Juvenile Unemployed, made compulsory in 1934, are maintained by local authorities with grants (up to 75 per cent.) from the Ministry of Labour. Under an agreement with the Board of Education the centres were inspected in 1936 by H.M. Inspectors jointly with the officers of the Ministry of Labour. The following tables give the particulars :

(*i*) *Total Number of Individuals who attended at any time during the First Week of December* 1936

England	19,469	Scotland .	7,581
Wales	4,183	Great Britain	31,233

(*ii*) *Average Daily Attendance in First Week of December* 1936

	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL
England	9,283	5,991	15,274
Wales	2,473	1,080	3,553
Scotland . . .	3,840	2,210	6,050
Great Britain	15,596	9,281	24,877

(*e*) *Forestry Commission*

There are a few forestry schools, maintained and administered by the Forestry Commission.

(*f*) *The Treasury*

The Treasury directly maintains a few educational institutions abroad (schools at Athens and Rome), and makes grants to museums, libraries and scientific societies. Indirectly and through the University Grants Committee, the Treasury subsidises higher education in Great Britain.

(*g*) *Ministry of Pensions*

This Ministry administers the King's Fund for the education of war orphans, and makes grants for that purpose.

STATISTICS: ENGLAND AND WALES

TABLE 1

SURVEY BY INSTITUTION, SEX, AGE AND NUMBER OF PUPILS, 1936

AGE-RANGE	POPULATION ESTIMATED MARCH 31ST, 1936	PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS (LOCAL AUTHORITIES)										CERTIFIED SPECIAL SCHOOLS		GRAND TOTAL				
		INFANTS		JUNIOR DEPTS.		ALL AGE DEPTS.		SENIOR DEPTS.		TOTAL				BOARD OF EDUCATION [1]	MINISTRY OF HEALTH POOR LAW		HOME OFFICE APPROVED SCHOOLS	
		BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS		BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS
3– 4	559,000	13,589	12,835	1,767	1,741	1,763	1,680	—	—	17,119	16,256	227	219	33,844	78	66	—	—
4– 5	579,000	48,741	44,766	7,796	7,224	8,594	8,017	1	3	65,132	60,010	301	255	125,811	139	87	—	—
5– 6	590,000	167,661	161,323	43,317	41,560	41,629	40,020	6	4	252,613	242,907	720	547	496,972	155	109	—	—
6– 7	591,000	177,590	172,689	47,844	47,090	48,500	47,261	13	16	273,947	267,056	1,141	930	543,275	172	147	16	10
7– 8	592,000	120,578	117,515	81,286	79,092	74,714	72,595	14	12	276,592	269,214	1,654	1,385	549,155	182	134		
8– 9	595,000	22,830	22,078	137,474	134,040	116,435	112,951	39	55	276,776	269,124	2,430	1,958	550,648	177	150	138	34
9–10	611,000	879	880	146,609	144,298	137,272	133,632	849	859	285,609	279,669	3,055	2,528	571,320	208	146		
10–11	628,000	56	48	139,928	136,674	145,364	141,907	6,608	6,403	291,956	285,042	3,356	2,645	583,588	224	137	644	95
11–12	640,000	17	11	64,667	64,070	141,229	138,695	74,231	72,540	280,143	275,316	3,380	2,776	562,266	233	168		
12–13	657,000	8	6	1,232	1,279	135,054	133,523	133,793	133,213	270,087	268,021	3,552	3,022	545,551	270	187	1,658	292
13–14	681,000	4	4	359	389	133,434	132,048	136,588	136,470	270,385	268,911	3,433	3,150	546,833	321	172		
14–15	728,000	2	2	100	114	38,494	38,623	46,058	46,410	84,654	85,149	2,665	2,168	175,235	226	105	1,071	212
15–16	771,000	1	—	6	6	1,632	1,652	6,616	7,408	8,255	9,066	1,985	1,603	21,113	88	23	984	220
16 over	739,000	—	—	2	2	86	99	771	874	859	975	439	343	2,660	—	7	2,241	416
Total	8,961,000	551,956	532,157	672,386	657,589	1,024,200	1,002,703	405,585	404,267	2,654,127	2,596,716	28,338	23,529	5,308,271	2,473	1,638	6,752	1,279
Total	Both Sexes	1,084,113		1,329,875		2,026,903		809,852		5,250,843		51,867			4,111		8,031	

[1] *Grand Total includes* 1,219 *pupils in Certified Efficient Schools and* 4,342 *pupils in Non-local Public Elementary Schools. Efficient Preparatory Schools* (*Ages* 6–14), *boys*, 18,684, *girls*, 3,810, *and Nursery Schools* (*Ages* 2–6), 5,220, *are not included.*

TABLE 1—*continued*
POST-PRIMARY

AGES	SECONDARY SCHOOLS				TECHNICAL AND ART										PREPARATORY EFFICIENT		GRAND TOTAL BOARD OF EDUCATION
	GRANT-AIDED MARCH 31ST, 1936		EFFICIENT NOT AIDED OCTOBER 1ST, 1936		FULL-TIME				PART-TIME								
					JUNIOR		SENIOR		DAY CLASSES		DAY CONTINUATION		EVENING				
	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	BOYS	GIRLS	BOTH SEXES
Under 7	1,237	2,120			—	—				—	—		—	—	2,645	1,275	6–11 54,810
7–8	952	1,742			—		—							—			
8–9	1,735	2,507	3,662	8,464	—	—	—				—	—	—	—			
9–10	3,237	3,727			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8,090	1,394	
10–11	6,018	6,003			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
11–12	22,204	20,408			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—					
12–13	41,345	37,203			783	67	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7,816	925	11–16 779,892
13–14	43,195	38,303	22,215	22,594	3,437	879	—	—	—	—	—	—	21,743	19,510			
14–15	44,013	37,657			7,944	2,936	927	797	5,403	3,716	4,375	5,441	78,187	59,651	133	216	
15–16	42,528	35,256			6,207	2,889	1,198	1,213	5,763	2,038	2,807	3,319	75,172	47,088			
16–17	24,933	21,137			2,001	979	1,159	1,271	5,294	1,542	902	1,343	49,668	28,096	—	—	
17–18	8,282	7,227	10,172	5,741	192	55	1,134	1,184	5,165	1,512	381	386	39,970	21,463	—	—	16–21 405,317
18–19	3,939	3,279			—	—	2,850	2,535	12,702	4,246	99	17	84,724	46,309	—	—	
19–21	2,102	1,317			—	—											
21 over	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,387	1,175	15,500	19,988			156,512	228,119	—	—	423,681
Total	246,020	217,886	36,049	36,799	20,564	7,805	9,655	8,175	49,827	33,042	8,564	10,506	505,985	450,239	18,684	3,810	1,663,610
	463,906		72,848		28,369		17,830		82,869		19,070		956,224		22,491		

JUVENILE UNEMPLOYMENT CENTRES		
	Boys	11,756
	Girls	7,071

TEACHER-TRAINING	MALE	FEMALE
Preliminary . .	339	827
Training Colleges [1] .	5,432	10,279
Short Full-time Courses	2,835	3,903
Part-time Courses .	10,177	29,721

AGRICULTURAL SCHOOLS

MALE	FEMALE
15,270	4,465

ADULT EDUCATION GRANT-AIDED

MALE	FEMALE
27,377	24,504

UNIVERSITIES (ACADEMIC STUDENTS)

TYPES OF COURSE	MEN	WOMEN
Full-time .	31,175	9,290
Part-time .	3,074	839
Occasional	2,667	1,242
Total	36,916	11,371

2,319 men
2,514 women
} included also in Teacher-training.

[1] *2,319 men and 2,514 women are included also in the University students.*

TABLE 2.—ORGANISATION AND STAFFING, MARCH 31st, 1936

	COUNTY COUNCILS		BOROUGH AND URBAN DISTRICTS	COUNTY BOROUGHS	LONDON	TOTAL ENGLAND AND WALES	TOTAL 1935	WALES	
	URBAN	RURAL						1936	1935
Number of Authorities .	62		Boroughs 146 U.D.s 24	83	1	316	316	30	30
Number and Type of Departments :									
Senior Boys .	143	19	197	884	164	907	874	18	16
Senior Girls .	113	21	195	391	161	911	879	17	15
Senior Mixed .	351	155	171	313	56	1,046	991	72	65
All Ages Boys .	400	201	272	558	176	1,607	1,706	181	190
All Ages Girls .	415	212	296	582	189	1,694	1,799	188	196
All Ages Mixed	1,531	7,690	521	846	133	10,721	11,007	1,329	1,344
Junior Boys .	120	23	108	219	158	628	615	31	28
Junior Girls .	142	29	124	249	163	707	694	33	30
Junior Mixed .	1,062	1,944	690	1,326	196	5,218	4,906	213	199
Infants . .	1,560	796	1,100	1,980	603	6,039	6,118	597	603
Total .	5,867	11,090	3,674	6,848	1,999	29,478	29,589	2,679	2,686
Average size of Departments	176	77	211	239	222	161	166	133	138
Number of Classes	32,025	31,415	22,829	46,318	13,252	148,839	150,439	13,102	13,288
Percentages of Classes with over 50 pupils	2·1	0·3	2·6	4·1	1·2	2·3	2·8	0·6	0·9
Teachers :									
(*a*) Total Number .	71,492		26,418	54,977	16,704	169,591	170,574	14,720	14,895
(*b*) Percentage of Certificated .	63·7		82·8	88·2	95·1	77·7	77·0	66·3	65·8
(*c*) Percentage of Women	73·6		69·3	71·3	67·2	71·5	71·9	66·7	67·3
(*d*) Number of pupils per teacher	26		29	29	27	28	32	24	28
	d.		*s. d.*	*s. d.*	*s. d.*	*s. d.*	*s. d.*	*s. d.*	*s. d.*
Expenditure per pupil . .	265 11		292 3	287 7	430 7	293 1	269 1	301 8	276 9
Teachers' salaries per pupil .	170 3		182 4	178 1	244 10	181 11	166 7	198 6	181 3
Special services per pupil .	15 0		20 5	25 2	57 7	23 4	21 7	17 2	15 11
Board of Education grant per pupil . .	137 11		145 1	144 0	155 1	142 9	129 0	174 10	157 2
From rates per pupil .	122		139 7	138 9	268 1	141 6	134 5	122 3	114 10
Rate per £ . .			27·9	31·3	24·4	29·9	29·4	50·1	50·1

TABLE 3

PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS, MARCH 31st, 1936

TYPE OF INSTITUTION	SCHOOLS	DEPARTMENTS	AVERAGE NUMBER ON REGISTERS	AVERAGE ATTENDANCE	NUMBER OF TEACHERS
Public Elementary Schools, Local Authority	20,880	29,478	5,321,065	4,748,453	169,591
Non-local Schools	33	35	4,330	4,148	171
Certified Efficient Schools	18	18	1,214	1,053	56
Certified Special Schools	612	612	51,812	45,131	2,733
Poor Law Schools	25	28	4,081	—	147
Nursery Schools	79	79	5,220	4,234	160
Total	21,647	30,250	5,387,722	4,803,019	172,858

Council and Voluntary Schools by Denomination

INSTITUTIONS	SCHOOLS	DEPARTMENTS	AVERAGE NUMBER ON REGISTERS	AVERAGE ATTENDANCE	NUMBER OF CLASSES
1. Council Schools	10,180	16,268	3,661,869	3,270,386	98,113
2. Voluntary Total	10,700	13,210	1,659,196	1,478,067	50,726
Church of England	9,138	10,950	1,222,270	1,093,075	39,101
Methodist	121	142	18,597	16,463	579
Roman Catholic	1,241	1,889	388,186	341,476	10,122
Jewish	13	17	5,158	4,559	137
Other	187	212	24,985	22,494	787
Total	20,880	29,478	5,321,065	4,748,453	148,839

Development of Council and Voluntary Schools

YEAR	COUNCIL		CHURCH OF ENGLAND		ROMAN CATHOLIC		OTHER VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS	
	SCHOOLS	AVERAGE NUMBER ON REGISTERS	SCHOOLS	AVERAGE NUMBER ON REGISTERS	SCHOOLS	AVERAGE NUMBER ON REGISTERS	SCHOOLS	AVERAGE NUMBER ON REGISTERS
1928	9,271	3,671,804	9,842	1,499,941	1,144	365,624	427	73,694
1930	9,548	3,674,132	9,677	1,434,559	1,177	370,961	401	66,350
1932	9,821	3,745,577	9,501	1,381,823	1,200	388,382	376	60,637
1934	10,014	3,859,710	9,268	1,332,717	1,215	401,952	345	54,975
1935	10,088	3,749,910	9,197	1,273,226	1,230	393,652	339	52,142
1936	10,180	3,661,869	9,138	1,222,270	1,241	388,186	321	48,740
Ratio to 1935	101	98	99	96	101	99	95	94

TABLE 4.—MAINTAINED PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

Classes by Size (Number on Registers) on March 31st of the Years 1920 to 1936

DATE	NUMBER OF CLASSES WITH NUMBER OF PUPILS ON REGISTERS						
	UNDER 20	20 AND UNDER 30	30 AND UNDER 40	40 AND UNDER 50	50 AND UNDER 60	60 AND OVER	TOTAL
March 31st, 1920 .	11,351	25,312	36,417	38,960	31,186	6,961	150,187
,, ,, 1921 .	11,835	26,690	37,947	39,494	29,369	5,745	151,080
,, ,, 1922 .	11,793	27,204	39,170	40,157	28,038	4,967	151,329
,, ,, 1923 .	11,061	26,098	39,107	41,011	27,150	4,018	148,445
	NOT OVER 20	OVER 20 BUT NOT OVER 30	OVER 30 BUT NOT OVER 40	OVER 40 BUT NOT OVER 50	OVER 50 BUT NOT OVER 60	OVER 60	TOTAL
,, ,, 1924 .	13,191	27,929	40,497	40,602	24,469	489	147,177
,, ,, 1925 .	13,362	28,571	41,278	43,323	20,699	633	147,866
,, ,, 1926 .	13,879	30,014	43,442	42,848	19,732	237	150,152
,, ,, 1927 .	13,589	29,535	43,586	43,062	19,926	275	149,973
,, ,, 1928 .	13,629	29,841	44,686	45,602	16,517	169	150,444
,, ,, 1929 .	13,983	30,398	46,189	49,479	10,798	85	150,932
,, ,, 1930 .	13,896	30,562	46,632	50,480	9,928	89	151,587
,, ,, 1931 .	14,219	30,527	47,590	51,155	8,504	67	152,062
,, ,, 1932 .	12,844	29,056	49,644	52,865	7,910	76	152,395
,, ,, 1933 .	11,647	26,818	49,528	55,661	8,226	70	151,950
,, ,, 1934 .	11,679	27,553	52,474	54,061	6,138	56	151,961
,, ,, 1935 .	12,508	29,715	54,077	49,877	4,218	44	150,439
,, ,, 1936 .	13,630	31,209	54,379	46,217	3,362	42	148,839

Notes.—(1) ***As will be seen, the basis of these figures was changed in 1924, so that the figures before that date are not strictly comparable with those after it.***

(2) *The percentage of classes with over 50 pupils was distributed as follows :—Senior Boys, 0·2, Girls, 0·2, Mixed, 0·5 ; Unreorganised Boys, 2·2, Girls, 1·8, Mixed, 1·1 ; Junior Boys, 2·5, Girls, 2·2, Mixed, 4·4, Infants, 4·0.*

TABLE 5.—PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

Classes on March 31st, 1936, by Grade and Sex of Teacher in charge, and by Age-range and Sex of Pupils

GRADE AND SEX OF TEACHER IN CHARGE	CLASSES WITH AGE RANGE [1]— UNDER 11 — CONTAINING				CLASSES WITH AGE RANGE [1]— BOTH UNDER AND OVER 11 — CONTAINING				CLASSES WITH AGE RANGE [1]— 11 AND OVER — CONTAINING				TOTAL — CONTAINING			
	BOYS ONLY	GIRLS ONLY	BOYS AND GIRLS	TOTAL	BOYS ONLY	GIRLS ONLY	BOYS AND GIRLS	TOTAL	BOYS ONLY	GIRLS ONLY	BOYS AND GIRLS	TOTAL	BOYS ONLY	GIRLS ONLY	BOYS AND GIRLS	TOTAL
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)
1. Certificated Head (Men)	50	—	168	218	190	1	2,177	2,368	695	12	3,583	4,290	935	13	5,928	6,876
2. Certificated Head (Women)	25	95	4,237	4,357	7	229	3,877	4,113	3	624	651	1,278	35	948	8,765	9,748
3. Certificated Assistant (Men)	2,897	—	1,992	4,889	3,393	2	3,160	6,555	12,011	15	5,689	17,715	18,301	17	10,841	29,159
4. Certificated Assistant (Women)	2,352	4,997	36,425	43,774	367	3,551	5,715	9,633	206	11,914	5,110	17,230	2,925	20,462	47,250	70,637
5. Uncertificated (Men)	353	—	316	669	245	1	369	615	190	—	189	379	788	1	874	1,663
6. Uncertificated (Women)	849	1,361	18,940	21,150	120	511	2,450	3,081	32	391	379	798	1,001	2,263	21,765	25,029
7. Supplementary (Women)	56	56	5,277	5,389	3	8	135	146		7	3	10	59	71	5,415	5,545
8. Other (Men)	13	—	3	16	5	—	4	9	33	—	12	45	51	—	19	70
9. Other (Women)	—	8	52	60	—	1	2	3	—	28	21	49	—	37	75	112
10. Total	6,595	6,517	67,410	80,522	4,330	4,304	17,889	26,523	13,170	12,991	15,633	41,794	24,095	23,812	100,932	148,839

[1] *In determining the age-range of classes, age-groups at either end of the range, if relatively small, are ignored.*

TABLE 6.—PRACTICAL INSTRUCTION

Provision for Practical Instruction for Pupils of 11 years of age and over, by Type of Department

TYPE OF DEPARTMENT	DEPARTMENTS ON MARCH 31ST, 1936, WHICH MADE PROVISION DURING THE YEAR FOR INSTRUCTION IN— DOMESTIC SUBJECTS — AT CENTRES	DOMESTIC SUBJECTS — ON SCHOOL PREMISES	WOODWORK AND/OR METALWORK — AT CENTRES	WOODWORK AND/OR METALWORK — ON SCHOOL PREMISES	GARDENING — AT CENTRES	GARDENING — ON SCHOOL PREMISES	OTHER SUBJECTS — AT CENTRES	OTHER SUBJECTS — ON SCHOOL PREMISES	TOTAL NUMBER OF DEPARTMENTS [1]	TOTAL NUMBER OF DEPARTMENTS MAKING NO PROVISION FOR PRACTICAL INSTRUCTION
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
1. Senior Boys	2	4	320	572	12	248	4	223	901	6
2. Senior Girls	434	473	8	19	4	113	12	189	907	4
3. Senior Mixed	493	536	448	568	6	452	8	227	1,042	4
4. Boys	3	—	1,221	195	11	400	5	176	1,519	88
5. Girls	1,464	140	6	5	—	35	5	115	1,611	83
6. Mixed	5,520	893	4,167	1,366	52	4,464	18	1,180	8,753	1,968
7. Total, 1936	7,916	2,046	6,170	2,725	85	5,712	52	2,110	14,733	2,153
8. Total, 1935	8,090	1,912	6,147	3,621	109	5,575	169	924	14,879	2,377

The total number of centres was 2,955, of which 2,329 made provision for Domestic Subjects, 1,667 for Woodwork and or Metalwork, 24 for Gardening, and 20 for Other Subjects.

[1] *Departments making provision for more than one subject have been counted once only in Column 10.*

TABLE 7.—TEACHERS IN PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS ON MARCH 31st, 1936

(1) *By Sex, Numbers and Qualification*

SEX (1)	CERTIFICATED (2)	PERCENTAGE [1]	UNCERTIFICATED (3)	PERCENTAGE [1]	SPECIAL SUBJECTS (OTHER THAN CERTIFICATED) (4)	PERCENTAGE [1]	SUPPLEMENTARY, ETC. (5)	PERCENTAGE [1]	TOTAL (6)	PERCENTAGE [1]	GRADUATES [2] (7)	PERCENTAGE [1]
Male .	44,159	91·6	1,706	3·5	2,320	4·8	24	—	48,209	28·4	6,292	14·2
Female .	87,602	72·1	24,621	20·2	3,513	2·8	5,646	4·6	121,382	71·5	4,616	5·3
Total .	131,761	77·6	26,327	15·5	5,833	3·4	5,670	3·3	169,591	100	10,908	8·3

[1] *Percentages are of the total in col.* 6.

[2] *Included in totals in col.* 6.

(2) *Teachers not Classified by Sex*

Other Adult Full-time Teachers	84
Part-time Teachers . .	1,126
Occasional Emergency Teachers	4,338
Pupil Teachers .	407
Student Teachers .	673
Monitors	534
Total	7,562
Grand Total all P.E.S. Teachers	177,153

(3) *Teachers by Sex of Pupils Taught*

SEX OF TEACHER	BOYS ONLY	GIRLS ONLY	BOYS AND GIRLS
Male	20,075	31	17,662
Female .	4,020	23,781	84,270
Total	24,095	23,812	101,932

TEACHING CHILDREN UNDER 11			
	BOYS	GIRLS	MIXED
Male .	3,313	—	2,479
Female .	3,282	6,517	64,931
Total	6,595	6,517	67,410

(4) *Membership of Teachers' Organisations*

—	NATIONAL UNION OF TEACHERS	NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SCHOOLMASTERS	NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN TEACHERS	NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF HEAD TEACHERS	NATIONAL FEDERATION OF CLASS TEACHERS
Male . .	108,335	10,412	Figures undisclosed	10,210	Not classified
Female .	45,564	—			
Total . .	153,899 [1]	10,412 [2]		10,210	7,000

[1] *Exclusive of* 6,369 *associate members.*

[2] *Exclusive of* 265 *honorary members.*

TABLE 8

POST-PRIMARY EDUCATION, MARCH 31st, 1936

	ADMINISTRATIVE COUNTIES	COUNTY BOROUGHS	LONDON	ENGLAND	WALES
Estimated Population 1936 .	23,220,000	13,418,000	4,152,000	38,267,900	2,522,100
1. *Secondary Schools Grant-aided:*	894	404	91	1,236	153
(*a*) Pupils . . .	257,780	168,130	37,996	418,403	45,503
(*b*) Free Pupils . . .	118,296	80,942	16,353	185,056	30,535
Percentage of (*b*) to (*a*)	45·8	48·3	43·0	44·3	67·1
2. *Secondary Schools Efficient* .	290	85	19	375	19
(*a*) Pupils	53,571	14,598	4,679	70,208	2,640
(*b*) Pupils in 1 and 2 per 1,000 of Population . .	13·3	13·7	10·3	12·8	19·1
3. *Junior Technical Schools* .	86	85	45	200	16
Pupils	9,433	11,245	5,393	24,788	1,283
4. *Junior Art Dept. Schools* .	16	21	4	41	—
(*a*) Pupils	762	1,344	192	2,298	—
(*b*) Pupils in 3 and 4 per 1,000 of Population . . .	0·4	1·0	1·3	0·7	—
5. *Senior Full-time Courses in Colleges*	13	43	16	67	5
Students	938	4,909	3,867	8,958	756
6. *Technical Day Classes*.	73	90	28	178	13
Students	6,714	16,390	4,468	26,045	1,527
7. *Day Continuation Schools* .	10	14	14	38	—
Pupils	2,827	8,316	7,927	19,070	—
8. *Art Schools (excluding Junior)*	90	76	14	175	5
Students	18,589	32,469	7,074	56,710	1,422
9. *Art Classes (Senior)* . .	67	12	5	80	4
Students	4,911	1,786	769	7,174	292
Senior (15 +) Students in 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 per 1,000 of Population . .	1·5	4·8	5·8	3·1	1·6
10. *Evening Institutions* . .	3,949	907	265	4,307	814
Students	399,151	350,151	206,922	900,495	55,729
Per 1,000 of Population .	17·2	26·1	49·8	23·5	22·2
Total Post-primary Pupils per 1,000 of Population .	32·4	45·6	67·2	40·1	42·9

TABLE 9.—SECONDARY SCHOOLS

TYPE OF SCHOOL	SCHOOLS				PUPILS			AVERAGE NUMBER OF PUPILS PER SCHOOL
	BOYS	GIRLS	MIXED	TOTAL	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL	
A. Schools recognised by the Board of Education as Efficient (*List* 60).								
1. *Grant-aided:*								
(*a*) Council . . .	213	278	273	764	137,347	140,577	277,924	363
(*b*) Welsh Intermediate .	23	25	55	103	16,526	15,393	31,919	310
(*c*) Foundation . .	245	126	64	435	93,259	51,064	144,323	332
(*d*) Roman Catholic . .	28	63	—	91	9,039	18,562	27,601	303
Total on October 1st, 1936 .	509	492	392	1,393	256,171	225,596	481,767	346
2. *Not aided:*								
(*a*) Foundation .	105	130	9	244	32,156	22,927	55,083	227
(*b*) Roman Catholic .	5	29	—	34	1,417	3,903	5,320	150
(*c*) Private (Proprietary)	14	100	2	116	2,476	9,969	12,445	105
Total on October 1st, 1936	124	259	11	394	36,049	36,799	72,848	185
Total A, October 1st, 1936	633	751	403	1,787	292,220	262,395	554,615	310
B. Secondary Schools not *on the List* 60 *of the Board of Education.*								
1. *Represented on the Headmasters' Conference:*								
(*a*) Foundation . .	8	—	—	8	3,000	—	3,000	375
(*b*) Roman Catholic . .	4	—	—	4	1,100	—	1,100	270
Total 1 . .	12	—	—	12	4,100	—	4,100	340
2. *Other Secondary Schools in Public Schools Year Books and R.C. Directory:*								
(*a*) Foundation . .	17	18	2	37	2,000	2,000	4,000	110
(*b*) Roman Catholic . .	60	305	—	360	11,000	19,000	30,000	80
Total 2 . .	77	323	2	402	13,000	21,000	34,000	85
Total Secondary A and B. .	722	1,074	405	2,201	309,320	283,395	592,715	270
PREPARATORY SCHOOLS								
1. *On the List* 60	262	35	36	333	18,684	3,810	22,494	67
2. *Represented on the Association but not in List* 60 . . .	240	—	—	240	12,000	—	12,000	50

PRIVATE SCHOOLS

All Schools[1]—8,500 with about 300,000 pupils.

[1] *Only about* 50,000 *pupils in post-primary departments, secondary or vocational.*

TABLE 10.—GRANT-AIDED SECONDARY SCHOOLS
Classes on October 1st, 1936, by Size

(1)	CLASSES CONTAINING NOT OVER 20 (2)	OVER 20 BUT NOT OVER 25 (3)	OVER 25 BUT NOT OVER 30 (4)	OVER 30 BUT NOT OVER 35 (5)	OVER 35 (6)	TOTAL (7)
1. Council Schools .	2,645	1,858	3,556	2,940	54	11,053
2. Roman Catholic Schools .	309	202	301	306	1	1,119
3. Foundation and other Schools .	2,049	1,302	1,863	993	12	6,219
4. Welsh Intermediate Schools	216	182	362	428	12	1,200
5. (*a*) Total	5,219	3,544	6,082	4,667	79	19,591
(*b*) Percentage .	26·6	18·0	31·0	23·8	0·4	100·0
October 1st, 1935	25·7	17·2	30·6	25·6	0·9	100·0

TABLE 11.—ADMISSION TO GRANT-AIDED SECONDARY SCHOOLS
During Year Ended March 31st, 1936

FROM	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL	FREE	PERCENTAGE OF FREE
Public Elementary Schools	41,141	34,849	75,990	41,953	44·7
Other schools	8,878	8,982	17,860	374	0·4
Total .	50,019	43,831	93,850	42,327	45·1
Percentage by sex . . .	53·2	46·8	100	—	—
Percentage from Public Elementary Schools	43·8	37·1	80·9	99·0	—

TABLE 12.—OUTPUT TO UNIVERSITIES OF EX-P.E.S. PUPILS FROM GRANT-AIDED SECONDARY SCHOOLS
Year Ended July 31st, 1936

	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE OF FREE
(*a*) Ex-Public Elementary School pupils	1,736	684	2,420	—
Number of free students .	1,394	559	1,953	80·7
(*b*) Other pupils .	737	421	1,158	—
Number of free students	140	87	227	19·5
Total of (*a*) and (*b*) .	2,473	1,105	3,578	—
Percentage by Sex	69·1	30·8	100	—
Percentage of Ex-Public Elementary School pupils	48·5	19·1	67·6	—
Total number of full-time students admitted (first time) . . .	8,929	2,894	11,823	—
Percentage from grant-aided Secondary Schools	26·5	38·1	30·2	—
Percentage of Ex-Elementary pupils to total number admitted . . .	19·4	23·6	20·4	—

TABLE 13.—GRANT-AIDED SECONDARY SCHOOLS, FULL-TIME PUPILS ON MARCH 31st, 1936

AGE OF PUPILS	PAYING FULL FEES			PAYING PARTIAL FEES			FREE PUPILS [1]			GRAND TOTAL
	BOYS	GIRLS	PERCENTAGE OF GRAND TOTAL	BOYS	GIRLS	PERCENTAGE OF GRAND TOTAL	BOYS	GIRLS	PERCENTAGE OF GRAND TOTAL	
Under 11 .	12,493	15,505	95·6	210	193	1·3	476	401	2·9	29,278
11—over .	105,142	87,491	44·2	14,421	12,860	6·2	113,278	101,436	49·4	434,628
Total . .	117,635	102,996	47·5	14,631	13,053	5·9	113,754	101,837	46·4	463,906

[1] *A "free pupil" means a pupil who was exempt from payment of tuition fees at or about the time of admission.*

TABLE 14.—APPROVED FIRST AND SECOND EXAMINATIONS, YEAR ENDED JULY 31st, 1936

APPROVED FIRST EXAMINATION							APPROVED SECOND EXAMINATION						
SCHOOLS	PUPILS WHO				PERCENTAGE WHO PASSED		SCHOOLS	PUPILS WHO				PERCENTAGE WHO PASSED	
	SAT		PASSED					SAT		PASSED			
1934–5	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	1934–5	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS
1,374	34,215	23,158	25,448	17,427	74·4	75·3	1,227	6,141	3,433	4,393	2,240	71·5	65·2
1935–6 1,383	37,056	26,573	27,118	19,250	73·2	72·4	1935–6 1,250	6,099	3,230	4,301	2,153	70·5	66·7

TABLE 15.—PERCENTAGES OF SCHOOL LIFE AND AGE OF LEAVING OF FULL-TIME PUPILS IN GRANT-AIDED SECONDARY SCHOOLS, YEAR ENDED JULY 31st, 1936

	NOT OVER 3 YEARS	3 BUT NOT OVER 4 YEARS	4 BUT NOT OVER 5 YEARS	5 BUT NOT OVER 6 YEARS	6 BUT NOT OVER 7 YEARS	OVER 7 YEARS	14 AND UNDER 15	15 AND UNDER 16	16 AND UNDER 17	17 AND UNDER 18	18 AND UNDER 19	19 AND OVER
Boys :												
Paying full fees	9·6	14·6	27·9	31·2	10·8	5·9	8·4	23·0	43·1	15·8	6·9	2·8
Paying partial fees	12·7	14·6	25·2	30·6	9·5	7·4	13·5	20·7	40·5	13·0	8·2	4·1
Paying no fees .	5·2	8·4	28·2	37·2	10·8	10·2	6·7	19·5	45·9	14·2	9·3	4·4
Total	7·3	11·3	28·0	34·4	10·7	8·3	7·6	21·1	44·5	14·9	8·2	3·7
Girls :												
Paying full fees	9·7	16·0	26·7	30·5	10·3	6·8	11·3	23·9	41·1	13·8	7·9	2·0
Paying partial fees	13·7	20·0	20·5	30·1	8·8	6·9	18·5	19·5	39·4	11·3	9·6	1·7
Paying no fees .	5·4	9·4	25·4	38·6	10·7	10·5	7·8	18·5	47·2	13·6	10·9	2·0
Total . . .	7·4	12·5	25·8	35·0	10·5	8·8	9·6	20·8	44·4	13·6	9·6	2·0

TABLE 16.—TEACHERS IN GRANT-AIDED SECONDARY SCHOOLS ON MARCH 31st, 1936

By Sex and Qualification

	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL
1. Graduates :			
(*a*) Head Teachers: Total .	864	452	1,316
(i) Trained . .	349	147	496
(ii) Not Trained . .	515	305	820
(*b*) Assistants: Total . .	9,821	7,529	17,350
(i) Trained [1] . .	5,785	5,120	10,905
(ii) Not Trained . .	4,036	2,409	6,445
(*c*) Specialists [3] . . .	48	17	65
1. Total .	10,733	7,998	18,731
2. Non-Graduates :			
(*a*) Head Teachers: Total	6	21	27
(i) Trained [3] . .	—	9	9
(ii) Not Trained . .	6	12	18
(*b*) Assistants : Total .	391	696	1,087
(i) Certificated [2] . .			
(*a*) Trained [1] .	352	640	992
(*b*) Not Trained .	39	56	95
(*c*) Specialists [3] . . .	731	1,556	2,287
(*d*) Other Teachers: Total .	540	1,331	1,871
(i) Trained [1] . .	23	87	110
(ii) Not Trained . .	517	1,244	1,761
2. Total .	1,668	3,604	5,272
Grand Total .	12,401	11,602	24,003
Percentage by Sex . .	51·6	48·4	100
Percentage of Graduates .	86·5	64·4	78·0

[1] *Covers any accepted course of training of at least one year's duration.*

[2] *Teachers possessing recognition under the code of Regulations for Public Elementary Schools.*

[3] *Includes Art, Music, Handicraft, Domestic Subjects and Physical Training.*

TABLE 17.—TECHNICAL AND FURTHER EDUCATION,[1] MARCH 31st, 1936

AGE RANGE	JUNIOR TECHNICAL AND JUNIOR HOUSEWIFERY		SCHOOLS OF NAUTICAL TRAINING	JUNIOR ART DEPARTMENTS		SENIOR FULL-TIME COURSES IN COLLEGES				TECHNICAL DAY CLASSES		ART SCHOOLS						ART CLASSES				DAY CONTINUATION SCHOOLS[2]		EVENING INSTRUCTION			
						FULL-TIME		PART-TIME		PART-TIME		FULL-TIME		FULL-TIME		PART-TIME		INDUSTRIAL		OTHERS				INSTITUTES		COLLEGES	
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
Under 13	696	30	9	78	37	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Under 14			
13–14	3,090	657	51	296	222	—	—	—	—	Under 15				Under 15				Under 15				Under 15		21,508	19,291	235	219
14–15	7,059	2,574	362	523	362	—	—	—	—	824	358	607	555	320	242	4,002	3,013	18	17	489	328	4,375	5,441	75,081	58,140	3,106	1,514
15–16	5,423	2,662	417	367	227	388	292	81	78	1,994	398	465	519	345	402	3,373	1,389	132	35	264	216	2,807	3,319	64,598	43,305	10,574	3,783
16–17	1,802	920	99	100	59	667	494	178	77	2,391	363	195	309	297	468	2,549	972	111	30	243	177	902	1,343	34,260	23,790	15,408	4,306
17 and over	174	40	6	12	15	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
17–18	—	—	—	—	—	744	394	211	90	2,585	360	103	278	287	512	2,305	986	110	17	165	149	381	386	23,885	17,207	16,094	4,256
18–21	—	—	—	—	—	1,980	740	547	150	6,170	971	198	594	672	1,201	5,968	2,839	237	64	327	372	18 and over		40,351	35,746	44,373	10,563
21 and over	—	—	—	—	—	1,436	394	476	297	4,060	2,526	568	161	363	620	10,124	14,833	365	210	951	2,369	99	17	92,442	191,186	64,070	36,933
Total	18,244	6,883	944	1,376	922	5,215	2,318	1,493	692	18,024	4,976	2,196	2,416	2,284	3,445	28,321	24,032	973	373	2,439	3,611	8,564	10,506	352,125	388,665	153,860	61,574

TYPES OF AREAS	SCHOOLS	PUPILS	SCHOOLS	PUPILS	SCHOOLS	PUPILS	SCHOOLS	STUDENTS	SCHOOLS	STUDENTS	SCHOOLS	STUDENTS	SCHOOLS	STUDENTS	SCHOOLS	STUDENTS	STUDENTS	STUDENTS
Administrative Counties	82	8,714	—	—	16	762	13	938		6,714	90	18,589	67	4,911	10	2,827	3,949	399,151
County Boroughs	83	11,020	—	—	21	1,344	43	4,909	90	16,390	76	32,469	12	1,786	14	8,316	907	350,151
London	45	5,393	—	—	4	192	16	3,867	28	4,468	14	7,074	5	769	14	7,927	265	206,922
Total	210 (118)	25,127 (14,353)	6	944	41	2,298	72 (72)	9,714 (9,714)	191 (102)	27,572 (18,457	180 —	58,132 —	84 —	7,466 —	38 (3)	19,070 (1,681)	5,121 (142)	956,224 (215,434)

1 *There are* 144 *Individual Colleges for Further Education, the figures for which are given in brackets.*
2 *Of these schools,* 31 *are maintained or aided by L.E.A.s and* 7 *are Direct Grant Schools, with* 16,499 *and* 2,571 *pupils respectively.*

TABLE 18.—AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION, YEAR ENDING MARCH 31st, 1936

	FARM INSTITUTES	ORGANISED DAY COURSES	EVENING CLASSES	CORRESPONDENCE COURSES	INSTRUCTION IN MANUAL PROCESSES	LECTURES, DEMONSTRATIONS, ETC.
No. of Courses .	152	364	589	6	259	—
No. of Students						
Male .	899	2,061	10,167	40	2,103	—
Female .	549	2,362	1,307	1	246	—
Total . .	1,448	4,423	11,474	41	2,349	—
No. of Meetings	—	—	—	—	—	9,802

Number of Students at University Departments of Agriculture, Agricultural Colleges and County Farm Institutes on November 1st of each year

YEAR	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936
No. of Students	2,176	2,188	2,299	2,426	2,532	2,735

Analysis of Students on November 1st, 1936

	HIGHER INSTITUTIONS	FARM INSTITUTES	WOMEN STUDENTS
No. of Students	2,033	702	544

Distribution of Students at Higher Institutions by Type of Course

Agriculture .	1,015	Poultry Husbandry	81
Horticulture	272	Veterinary Science	474
Dairying . .	157	Estate Management	30
		Rural Domestic Economy	4

Number of Scholarships awarded and Total Amount expended by Local Education Authorities

YEAR	1930–1	1931–2	1932–3	1933–4	1934–5	1935–6
No. of Scholarships .	1,841	1,659	1,353	1,236	1,311	1,287
Amount Expended .	£24,144	£24,696	£22,550	£22,242	£23,845	£26,704

TABLE 19.—TRAINING OF TEACHERS, 1935–6

(1) Institutions recognised as Training Colleges

TYPE OF INSTITUTION	PROVIDED BY LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITIES	PROVIDED BY OTHER BODIES		TOTAL
		RECOGNISED FOR GRANT	NOT RECOGNISED FOR GRANT	
1. Training Departments of Universities and University Colleges	—	22	—	22
2. Post-graduate Training Colleges . .	—	1	2	3
3. Two-year Training Colleges . .	21	50	2	73
4. Training Colleges for Domestic Subjects .	7	4	—	11
5. Total .	28	77	4	109

(2) Students in Training by Type of Course and Sex

TYPE OF COURSE	STUDENTS		
	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL
1. Four-year Courses .	2,679	1,929	4,608
2. Two-year Courses .	2,250	6,660	8,910
3. One-year Courses :			
(*a*) Advanced or Post-graduate .	316	387	703
(*b*) Certificated Students . .	1	1	2
4. Third-year Courses :			
(*a*) Degree Courses . .	133	19	152
(*b*) Other Continuous Courses .	39	56	95
(*c*) Deferred Courses . .	14	10	24
5. Domestic Subject Courses :			
(*a*) Three-year Courses	—	911	911
(*b*) Two-year Courses . .	—	253	253
(*c*) Third-year Courses :			
(i) Continuous .	—	48	48
(ii) Deferred . .	—	5	5
6. Total Students in Training . .	5,432	10,279	15,711 [1]

[1] 5,143 *students* (2,938 *men and* 2,205 *women*) *are also included in the universities figures.*

(3) Other Courses for Teachers

	BOARD OF EDUCATION	LOCAL AUTHORITIES	OTHER BODIES	STUDENTS		TOTAL
				MEN	WOMEN	
Short full-time .	47	78	75	2,835	3,903	6,738
Part-time . .	1	1,162	9	10,177	29,721	39,898
Total .	48	1,240	84	13,012	33,624	46,636

TABLE 20.—UNIVERSITY AND UNIVERSITY COLLEGE STUDENTS, 1936–7

	FULL-TIME STUDENTS			PART-TIME STUDENTS			STUDENTS TAKING COURSES NOT OF A UNIVERSITY STANDARD	STUDENTS ATTENDING EXTRA-MURAL CLASSES	GRAND TOTAL	STATE SCHOLARSHIPS	
	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL				MEN	WOMEN
Birmingham University	1,060	427	1,487	176	47	223	216	1,149	3,075	3	7
Bristol University	697	336	1,033	58	23	81	86	1,076	2,276	—	4
Cambridge University	5,399	504	5,903	—	—	—	—	2,322	8,225	349	75
Durham University	1,340	388	1,728	311	38	349	294	1,855	4,226	7	2
Exeter University College	257	138	395	83	54	137	173	947	1,652	—	—
Leeds University	1,305	358	1,663	265	126	391	107	1,675	3,836	8	10
Liverpool University	1,626	493	2,119	383	84	467	—	1,151	3,737	14	18
London University (all institutions)	9,279	3,585	12,864	4,692	1,757	6,449	298	2,564	22,175	60	117
Manchester University	1,695	594	2,293	327	54	381	364	1,604	4,642	12	17
Manchester College of Technology	339	3	342	54	7	61	5,778	—	6,181		
Nottingham University College	483	130	613	298	59	357	1,878	4,183	7,031	—	—
Oxford University	3,979	869	4,848	—	—	—	—	1,422	6,270	189	93
Reading University	310	312	622	9	8	17	682	110	1,431	1	6
Sheffield University	645	133	778	182	76	258	1,899	1,530	3,429	5	2
Southampton University College	261	103	364	65	8	73	961	662	2,060	—	—
Total England	28,675	8,373	37,048	6,903	2,341	9,244	12,736	22,250	81,278	648	351
Hull University College	134	46	183	9	15	24	24	3,081	3,312	—	—
Leicester University College	68	29	97	20	11	31	—	1,537	1,665	—	—
Aberystwyth University College	578	257	835	10	9	19	27	857	1,738	16	16
Bangor University College	422	137	559	22	9	31	—	1,037	1,627		
Cardiff University College	882	350	1,232	80	27	107	—	1,190	2,529		
Swansea University College	536	141	677	26	3	29	—	680	1,386		
Welsh National School of Medicine	82	32	114	107	20	127	40	—	281		—
Total Wales	2,500	917	3,417	245	68	313	67	3,764	7,561	16	16

TABLE 21.—ASSISTED STUDENTS, 1935-6

UNIVERSITY	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE TO TOTAL NUMBER OF FULL-TIME STUDENTS
Oxford and Cambridge	4,057	639	4,696	43·7
London University				
(*a*) Excluding Medical Schools . .	1,809	1,017	2,826	36·3
(*b*) Medical Schools .	507	94	601	11·8
Provincial Universities and Colleges . . .	4,314	1,808	6,122	45·6
Total England	10,687	3,558	14,245	38·5 [1]
Wales .	1,444	502	1,946	57·0

[1] *If foreign students are excluded the percentage would be considerably higher.*

TABLE 22.—HOME OFFICE APPROVED SCHOOLS, DECEMBER 31st, 1936

	BOYS				GIRLS			TOTAL
AGE	JUNIOR	INTER-MEDIATE	SENIOR	TOTAL	JUNIOR	SENIOR	TOTAL	BOTH SEXES
6–8	16	—	—	16	10	—	10	26
8–10 .	138	—	—	138	34	—	34	172
10–12 .	642	2	—	644	95	—	95	739
12–14 .	1,398	260	—	1,658	292	—	292	1,950
14–15 .	469	593	9	1,071	212		212	1,283
15–16 .	93	615	276	984	157	63	220	1,204
16–17 .	5	224	975	1,204	44	185	229	1,433
17–18 .	—	38	742	780	6	147	153	933
18–19 .	—	1	256	257	—	34	34	291
Total	2,761	1,733	2,258	6,752	850	429	1,279	8,031

TABLE 23.—SCHOOL MEDICAL WORK, 1936

Number of Pupils Inspected

TYPE OF INSPECTION	UNCLEANLINESS	DENTAL	ROUTINE	SPECIAL	RE-INSPECTION
Examined . .	14,877,677	3,463,948	1,727,031	1,427,400	2,054,075
Found to require Treatment	451,508	2,425,299	294,984	—	—
Percentages .	3·0	70·0	17·1	—	—
Number of Defects Treated . .	86,971	1,536,627	1,455,397		

Number of pupils on registers, 5,321,065

Treatment

FORM OF TREATMENT	NUMBER OF L.E.A.S PROVIDING TREATMENT	NUMBER OF CLINICS PROVIDED BY L.E.A.S	NUMBER OF HOSPITALS WITH WHICH L.E.A.S HAVE ARRANGEMENTS	NUMBER OF DEFECTS TREATED		
				UNDER THE ARRANGEMENTS MADE BY L.E.A.S	OTHERWISE	TOTAL
1. Minor Ailments	312	1,187	15	999,216	49,654	1,048,870
2. Dental .	314	1,509	15	1,536,627	—	1,536,627
3. Ophthalmic .	315	718	124	265,442	9,071	274,513
4. Nose and Throat :						
(*a*) Operative	292	65	559	65,574	16,634	82,208
(*b*) Non-operative				—	—	48,894
5. Ringworm .	204	35	72	777	135	912
6. Orthopædic and Postural . .	254	335	135	Figures not available		
7. Artificial Light .	111	100	29			

Total number of school clinics, 2,125

Provision of Free Meals and/or Milk

235 *L.E.A.s with an average number on registers of* 4,494,857 *provided meals*

NUMBER OF CHILDREN	FREE MILK	ORDINARY MEALS	
		FREE	ON PAYMENT
Receiving .	327,237	143,179	4,901
Total Number of Individual Children	479,343		4,901
Number of Meals Provided .	42,183,271	25,492,938	446,532

TABLE 24.—COMBINED EXPENDITURE, 1935-6

State-aided System

SOURCES	PUBLIC FUNDS: STATE	PUBLIC FUNDS: LOCAL AUTHORITIES	INTERNAL INCOME: ENDOWMENTS, SUBSCRIPTIONS AND OTHER SOURCES	INTERNAL INCOME: FEES AND OTHER SOURCES	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
	£	£	£	£	£	
Administration and Inspection	646,690	3,723,457	—	—	4,370,147	4·1
Elementary	33,962,187	25,260,199	1,387,518	—	60,609,904	57·9
Secondary	10,148,229	4,182,962	429,937	3,828,339	13,043,374	12·4
Technical and Vocational			220,000	728,877	5,706,347	5·4
Teachers' Training				480,000	1,269,623	1·2
Centres for Juveniles	265,963	120,569	—	—	386,532	0·4
Agricultural Schools	265,828	147,634	160,000	40,000	613,462	0·6
Approved Schools, etc.	288,261	187,538	—	56,785	532,584	0·5
Aid to Students	214,652	1,592,843	—	—	1,807,495	1·8
Universities	1,888,695	492,187	1,285,690	1,518,579	5,185,151	4·9
Other Expenditure	804,604	564,351	—	—	1,368,955	1·3
Loan Charges	—	5,754,029	—	—	5,754,029	5·5
Superannuation of Teachers	1,263,316	2,498,001	251,263	—	4,012,580	4·0
Total	49,748,425	44,523,770	3,734,408	6,652,580	104,659,183	100
Percentage	47·5	42·7	3·5	6·3	100	
	90·2		9·8			

Not included: the expenditure of the three fighting services; Forestry Commission—£12,649; Ministry of Health on training of midwives—£23,696 and Ministry of Pensions (aid to war orphans)—£8,187.

Not included: the internal income of the two University Colleges of Hull and Leicester, which are not recognised by the University Grant Committee. Their small income from grants and local funds is included.

INDEPENDENT INSTITUTIONS

	ENDOWMENTS, ETC.	FEES, ETC.	TOTAL EXPENDITURE
	£	£	£
Oxford, 20 Men's Colleges	587,085	375,689	962,774
Oxford, 4 Women's Colleges	—	115,232	115,232
Cambridge, 18 Men's Colleges	505,947	434,586	940,533
University College of Hull	25,327	6,202	40,1691
University College of Leicester	17,219	1,988	21,803
400 Independent Secondary Schools (recognised as Efficient)	600,000	1,200,000	1,800,000

1 *Including £4,646 State grants and £3,994 from local authorities also included in the State-aided table.*

NOTES ON THE TABLE OF COMBINED EXPENDITURE

Last year we attempted to present a table of combined expenditure, which, however, did not include certain items, as, for instance, the endowments and fees of the grant-aided (non-maintained) secondary schools, the expenditure of the Treasury on museums, libraries and scientific investigation, and some other minor items. Owing to the difficulties of collecting data from not less than nine central departments some cross-entries were not eliminated. This year, however, the table presents a more correct and comprehensive view of expenditure on education. Even the expenditure of independent semi-public institutions is included. It is seen that from total expenditure on public and semi-public institutions about £50,000,000 comes from the State, about £44,500,000 from local authorities, and only about £14,000,000 from private sources.

SECTION TWO

STATISTICS: SCOTLAND

(*See also* YEAR BOOK, 1937, *pages* 42–8)

TABLE 25.—AGE AND NUMBER OF PUPILS ON THE REGISTERS AT THE END OF THE SCHOOL YEAR, 1935-6

AGE	ESTIMATED POPULATION	PRIMARY SCHOOLS: PRIMARY DEPARTMENTS	PRIMARY SCHOOLS: POST-PRIMARY DEPARTMENTS	SECONDARY SCHOOLS: PREPARATORY DEPARTMENTS	SECONDARY SCHOOLS: SECONDARY DEPARTMENTS	SPECIAL SCHOOLS	SIDE SCHOOLS	TOTAL	APPROVED SCHOOLS	CONTINUATION SCHOOLS
3–5	160,000	2,609	—	291	—	26	3	2,929	2	—
5–6	80,000	55,519	—	5,723	—	241	56	61,539	7	—
6–7	81,000	71,617	—	7,955	—	615	78	80,265	10	—
7–8	82,000	71,661	—	7,983	—	925	94	80,663	10	—
8–9	83,000	71,501	—	8,329	—	1,125	96	81,051	28	—
9–10	87,000	71,417	—	8,857	—	1,340	87	81,701	53	—
10–11	86,000	74,538	52	9,714	13	1,351	68	85,736	78	—
11–12	88,000	71,986	1,678	9,596	774	1,294	85	85,413	113	—
12–13	89,000	48,574	19,260	7,263	11,004	1,354	80	87,538	465	—
13–14	93,000	16,355	39,894	2,601	26,615	1,294	60	86,819	245	—
14–15	95,000	3,327	17,735	567	20,878	1,004	23	43,534	313	21,986
15–16	101,000	181	2,348	61	12,448	703	2	15,743	273	—
16–17	70,000	17	416	11	7,668	295	—	8,407	236	51,270
17–18	68,000	2	65	2	3,580	26	—	3,675	117	—
18–20	160,000	—	30	—	2,418	12	—	2,460	50	68,690
Total[1]	—	559,304	81,478	68,953	85,401	11,605	732	807,473	1,700	141,946
Average Attendance		580,871		146,492		9,657				
6–14	—	497,649	60,884	62,298	38,409	9,298	648	669,186	702	—
14–18	—	3,527	20,564	641	44,574	2,028	25	71,359	939	73,256

[1] The figures are not available in sexes by age range. The total figures by sex are as follows:—Primary departments: boys 282,409, girls 276,895; post-primary departments: boys 40,105, girls 41,373; secondary schools, preparatory departments: boys 34,979, girls 33,979, secondary departments, boys 45,053, girls 40,348.

OTHER SCHOOLS

Private primary	6,467
Private secondary	7,541

CENTRAL INSTITUTIONS

	FULL-TIME	PART-TIME DAY	PART-TIME EVENING	TOTAL
	5,924	3,323	10,989	20,236
Universities	10,064	3,534	5,099	18,697

Teachers' Training

Men	Women
703	1,993

RATIO OF PUPILS TO TOTAL POPULATION

3–5	2 per cent.
5–6	77 ,,
6–14	100 ,,
14–15	78 ,,
15–18	33 ,,

TABLE 26.—UNIVERSITY STUDENTS, 1935–6

INSTITUTIONS	FULL-TIME STUDENTS			PART-TIME STUDENTS			STUDENTS TAKING COURSES NOT OF A UNIVERSITY STANDARD	STUDENTS ATTENDING EXTRA-MURAL CLASSES	GRAND TOTAL
	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL			
Aberdeen University .	875	340	1,215	64	9	73	64	380	1,732
Edinburgh University .	2,383	849	3,232	521	59	580	—	2,348	6,160
Glasgow University .	3,208	1,057	4,265	503	23	526	—	1,142	5,933
Glasgow Royal Technical College . . .	430	24	454	2,171	52	2,223	948	—	3,625
St. Andrews University, including Dundee University College . .	579	319	898	96	36	132	3	214	1,247
Total .	7,475	2,589	10,064	3,355	179	3,534	1,015	4,084	18,697

Number of assisted students: Men, 3,243; Women, 1,383.
Percentage to total number of full-time students, 46·2.

TABLE 27.—COMPARATIVE FINANCE, 1935-6 [1]

PURPOSES	PUBLIC FUNDS		INTERNAL INCOME			
	STATE	LOCAL AUTHORITIES	ENDOWMENT AND OTHER INCOME	FEES, ETC.	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
	£	£	£	£	£	
Administration and Inspection . . .	117,632	400,705	—	—	518,337	3·4
Primary [2] . . .	6,478,838	4,054,811	33,721	156,098	10,439,516	68·9
Secondary . . .				23,426	307,067	2·3
Vocational . . .						
Grant-aided Secondary .	86,517	36,281	40,016	118,889	281,703	1·8
Voluntary Special Schools.	17,393	19,908	30,860	incl.	68,161	0·4
Central Institutions . .	138,263	18,000[2]	13,000[2]	128,360	297,421	2·0
Teachers' Training . .	62,600[2]	71,395	—	62,000[2]	195,837	1·3
Approved Schools . .	60,846	52,810	—	18,973	132,629	0·8
Juvenile Centres . .	62,430	29,628	—	—	92,058	0·6
Agricultural Schools .	68,657	15,000[2]	—	47,000[2]	131,163	0·8
Aid to Students . .	—	187,826	32,335	—	220,161	1·5
Universities . . .	333,028	38,179	198,370	287,822	857,399	5·7
Other Expenditure . .	43,245	176,738	—	—	219,983	1·4
Loan Charges . . .	—	785,620	—	—	785,620	5·2
Superannuation of Teachers	370,095	143,000[2]	71,000[2]	—	584,519[3]	3·9
Total .	7,839,544	6,029,900[2]	419,300[2]	842,600[2]	15,131,574	100
Percentage .	51·8	40·0	2·7	5·5	100	

[1] *This table was specially compiled for comparative purposes; for detailed account see pages* 139–53.
[2] *Approximate, therefore totals do not agree exactly.*
[3] *Teachers' contributions are excluded.*

TABLE 28.—TEACHERS, 1936

SCHOOLS	CERTIFICATED			UNCERTIFICATED	TOTAL	NUMBER OF GRADUATES	PERCENTAGE OF GRADUATES
	GENERAL	SPECIAL	TECHNICAL				
Primary :							
Men	3,452	788	357	—	4,597	2,942	64
Women	14,140	230	480	14	14,864	3,586	24
Total .	17,592	1,018	837	14	19,461	6,528	33
Percentage of Women .	80	23	57	100	76	55	—
Secondary :							
Men	470	2,052	411	—	2,933	2,465	85
Women	2,201	1,092	536	2	3,831	1,971	52
Total .	2,671	3,144	947	2	6,764	4,436	65
Percentage of Women .	82	35	56	100	56	44	—
Special :							
Men	34	13	22	—	69	25	35
Women	541	31	16	—	588	83	14
Total .	575	44	38	—	657	108	16
Percentage of Women .	93	70	42	—	89	77	—

SECTION THREE

STATISTICS : NORTHERN IRELAND

(*See also* YEAR BOOK, 1937, *pages* 49–51)

TABLE 29.—NUMBER OF PUPILS BY AGE, SEX AND TYPE OF INSTITUTION, 1936

AGES	ESTIMATED POPULATION JANUARY 31ST, 1934	PRIMARY SCHOOLS BOYS	PRIMARY SCHOOLS GIRLS	SECONDARY BOYS	SECONDARY GIRLS	TOTAL BOTH SEXES
4– 6	69,056	8,569	8,449	—	—	17,018
6– 7	22,833	10,709	10,406	—		21,115
7– 8	23,233	11,004	10,786	—		21,790
8– 9	24,355	11,215	10,784	—	—	21,999
9–10	23,627	11,460	10,935			
10–11	24,143	11,956	10,971	962	1,377	70,043
11–12	25,588	11,353	11,029			
12–13	24,860	11,162	10,663	535	592	22,952
13–14	24,775	11,133	9,713	1,070	1,001	21,917
14–15	27,116	2,730	2,417	1,177	1,233	7,557
15–16	22,184	370	402	1,079	1,024	2,775
16–17	20,987	42	95	912	873	1,922
17–18	19,600		—	562	471	1,033
18–20 OVER	38,000	—	—	269	303	572
	—	100,703	96,650	6,566	6,874	210,793
		197,353		13,440		
6–14	193,214	88,992	85,287	2,567	2,970	179,816
14–18	89,887	3,142	2,914	3,730	3,601	13,387

OTHER SCHOOLS	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL
AIDED PRIVATE PREPARATORY AGES 6–12	962	1,377	2,339
JUNIOR TECHNICAL (13–16)	991	136	1,127
JUNIOR COMMERCIAL (13–18)	318	1,076	1,394
TECHNICAL SCHOOLS PART-TIME	9,777	11,926	21,703
AGRICULTURAL FULL-TIME OVER 18	39	173	212
AGRICULTURAL PART-TIME CLASSES OVER 16	302	409	711
UNIVERSITIES	1,191	374	1,568
COLLEGE OF DOMESTIC ECONOMY	—	70	70
TRAINING COLLEGES	122	211	333

RATIO OF PUPILS TO TOTAL POPULATION

3– 6	25 per cent.	14–16	27 per cent.
6–14	94 ,,	16–18	25 ,,

TABLE 30.—COMPARATIVE FINANCE, 1936

	STATE	LOCAL AUTHORITIES	TOTAL		TEACHERS' SALARIES
	£	£	£		
Administration	65,886	35,603	101,489	4·6	
Primary .	1,343,673	107,139	1,450,812	66·0	*Average Primary*
Secondary . .	173,549	24,523	198,072	9·0	Men £345
Technical . .	71,794	117,697	189,491	8·6	Women £246
University . .	40,000	4,263	44,263	2·0	
Teachers' Training . .	22,355	—	22,355	1·0	*Secondary*
Superannuation of Teachers.	92,000	—	92,000	4·2	Basic Scale
All Others . .	1,770	99,815	101,585	4·6	Men £210
Grant to L.E.A.s . .	179,042	Deduct 248,060	—	—	Women £200
Grant from Ministry of Home Affairs . .	69,018		—	—	Preparatory £150
					Average £308
					Technical
Total . .	2,059,087	140,984[1]	2,200,071	100	Average £322
Percentage of Total	93	7	100	—	

[1] Fees and other internal income are included, with the exception of the University, of which no data are available.

SECTION FOUR

STATISTICS: CANADA

(*See also* YEAR BOOK, 1937, *pages* 52–3)

TABLE 31.—MARITIME PROVINCES (PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND, NOVA SCOTIA AND NEW BRUNSWICK, 1936)

AGES	POPULATION CENSUS 1931	PROVINCIALLY CONTROLLED SCHOOLS				TOTAL BOTH SEXES
		PRIMARY GRADES		SECONDARY GRADES		
		BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	
3– 6	68,596	9,169	9,645	—	—	18,814
6– 7	23,429					
7– 8	22,963	10,224	10,104	—	—	20,328
8– 9	23,668	11,087	10,800	—	—	21,887
9–10	23,897	10,917	10,727	1	—	21,645
10–11	24,100	11,650	11,190	2	—	22,842
11–12	23,008	11,301	10,887	7	13	22,208
12–13	22,631	11,207	10,824	86	135	22,252
13–14	21,393	10,406	9,753	563	841	21,563
14–15	21,619	8,040	7,064	1,778	2,681	19,563
15–16	20,995	4,609	3,812	2,757	4,046	15,224
16–17	21,610	1,963	1,436	2,748	3,853	10,000
17–18	21,606	471	416	1,915	2,569	5,371
18–19	21,196	107	96	1,053	1,393	2,649
19–21	38,253	22	23	697	792	1,534
Total	398,964	101,173	96,777	11,607	16,323	225,880
7–14	161,660	76,792	74,285	659	989	152,725
14–18	85,380	15,083	12,728	9,198	13,149	50,158

OUTSIDE OF PROVINCIALLY CONTROLLED SCHOOLS			
SCHOOLS	PUPILS		
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
Private Schools :			
In Primary Grades	2,465	4,205	5,178
In Secondary Grades			1,492
In Business Training Schools	367	759	1,126
Total, Private	2,832	4,964	7,796
Universities :			
In Secondary Grades	714	295	1,009
In University Grades	2,808	1,147	3,955
Miscellaneous	6,121	2,626	8,747
Universities Total	9,643	4,068	13,711
Dominion Indian Schools	394	385	779
Provincial Schools :			
Correspondence Courses	—	—	868
Special Schools	—	—	406
Normal Schools	142	512	654
Evening Classes	—	—	4,726

RATIO OF PUPILS TO TOTAL POPULATION

3–6, 6–7: 20 per cent.

7–14	94	per cent.
14–16	82	,,
16–18	36	,,

TABLE 32.—ONTARIO, 1935

PROVINCIALLY CONTROLLED SCHOOLS

AGES	POPULATION CENSUS 1931	PRIMARY GRADES		SECONDARY GRADES		TOTAL BOTH SEXES
		BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	
3– 6	192,164	7,763	7,784	—	—	15,547
6– 7	66,393	22,115	21,653	—	—	43,768
7– 8	66,906	30,447	29,884	—	—	60,331
8– 9	67,679	31,840	30,513	—	—	62,353
9–10	67,387	32,809	32,508	—	2	65,319
10–11	69,825	33,193	30,809	3	5	64,010
11–12	65,240	33,357	32,038	32	52	65,479
12–13	62,554	32,822	31,869	652	879	66,222
13–14	59,053	28,916	26,644	3,994	5,237	64,791
14–15	61,585	18,916	16,306	9,804	11,958	56,984
15–16	61,236	10,165	7,754	12,408	14,005	44,332
16–17	66,301	2,666	1,697	11,248	11,820	27,431
17–18	64,744	400	229	8,851	8,766	18,246
18–19	65,052	52	37	5,933	5,469	11,491
19–21	121,111	11	15	5,689	4,500	10,215
Total	1,157,230	285,472	269,740	58,614	62,693	676,519
7–14	458,644	223,384	214,265	4,681	6,175	448,505
14–18	253,866	32,147	25,986	42,311	46,549	146,993

RATIO OF PUPILS TO TOTAL POPULATION

3–6	8 per cent.	7–14	98 per cent.
6–7	66 ,,	14–16	82 ,,
		16–18	35 ,,

OUTSIDE OF PROVINCIALLY CONTROLLED SCHOOLS

SCHOOLS	PUPILS		
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
Private Schools			
In Primary Grades	3,773	7,459	4,990
In Secondary Grades			6,242
Business Training Schools	2,049	4,176	6,225
Total, Private	5,822	11,635	17,457
Universities			
In Secondary Grades	2,601	195	2,796
In University Grades	11,377	4,466	15,843
Miscellaneous	6,003	4,579	10,582
Total, Universities	19,981	9,240	29,221
Dominion Indian Schools	2,287	2,314	4,601
In Provincial Schools			
Correspondence Courses	—	—	1,950
Special Schools	—	—	2,423
Normal Schools	490	1,437	1,927
Evening Classes	12,240	16,133	28,553

TABLE 33.—PRAIRIE PROVINCES, 1935: MANITOBA, SASKATCHEWAN AND ALBERTA

AGES	POPULATION CENSUS 1936	PROVINCIALLY CONTROLLED SCHOOLS				TOTAL BOTH SEXES
		PRIMARY GRADES		SECONDARY GRADES		
		BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	
3– 6 .	147,476	1,127	1,188	—	—	2,315
6– 7 .	50,550	13,009	13,001	—	—	26,010
7– 8 .	49,336	23,408	22,757	—	—	46,165
8– 9 .	50,563	25,077	24,253	—	—	49,330
9–10	49,768	24,927	24,790	—	—	49,717
10–11	50,916	25,656	25,179	1	—	50,836
11–12	49,583	25,716	24,995	14	10	50,735
12–13	53,607	26,097	25,394	101	168	51,760
13–14	51,772	25,735	24,393	1,093	1,556	52,777
14–15	54,896	20,425	17,791	4,945	6,309	49,470
15–16	52,642	10,677	8,513	8,770	10,667	38,627
16–17	54,807	2,680	2,015	8,783	10,135	23,613
17–18	49,558	646	427	6,610	7,533	15,216
18–19	51,202	118	79	4,063	4,597	8,857
19–21	98,088	49	37	3,619	3,843	7,548
Total	914,764	225,347	214,812	37,999	44,818	522,976
7–14	355,545	176,616	171,761	1,209	1,734	351,320
14–18	211,903	34,428	28,746	29,108	34,644	126,926

RATIO OF PUPILS TO TOTAL POPULATION

3–6	1·6 per cent.	7–14	99 per cent.
6–7	51 „	14–16	82 „
		16–18	37 „

OUTSIDE OF PROVINCIALLY CONTROLLED SCHOOLS			
SCHOOLS	PUPILS		
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
Private Schools			
Primary Grades .	4,906	5,644	7,851
Secondary Grades .			2,699
Business Training Schools .	1,715	3,593	5,308
Total, Private . .	6,621	9,237	15,858
Universities			
Secondary Grades	995	207	1,202
University Grades	5,230	2,511	7,741
Miscellaneous	1,467	926	2,393
Total, Universities	7,692	3,644	11,336
Dominion Indian Schools	3,065	3,308	6,373
Provincial Schools			
Correspondence Courses	—	—	5,355
Special Schools . .	—	—	1,031
Normal Schools .	477	1,160	1,637
Evening Classes .	—	—	4,380

TABLE 34.—BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1936

PROVINCIALLY CONTROLLED SCHOOLS

AGES	POPULATION CENSUS 1931	PRIMARY GRADES		SECONDARY GRADES		TOTAL BOTH SEXES
		BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	
3– 6	32,686	40	33	—	—	73
6– 7	11,425	2,422	2,415	—	—	4,837
7– 8	11,791	4,731	4,739	—	—	9,470
8– 9	12,165	4,961	4,879	—	—	9,840
9–10	12,637	5,055	4,955	—	—	10,010
10–11	13,229	5,271	5,147	—	—	10,418
11–12	12,460	5,391	5,217	—	—	10,608
12–13	11,434	5,641	5,326	9	10	10,986
13–14	10,892	5,497	5,200	144	230	11,071
14–15	11,808	4,756	4,089	1,142	1,513	11,500
15–16	12,095	2,722	2,020	2,597	2,928	10,267
16–17	13,002	983	630	3,019	3,213	7,845
17–18	12,600	211	104	2,188	2,260	4,763
18–19	12,845	39	14	1,303	1,225	2,581
19–21	23,022	7	6	782	564	1,359
Age not specified	—	481	327	135	151	1,094
Total	214,091	48,208	45,101	11,319	12,094	116,722
7–14	84,608	36,547	35,463	153	240	72,403
14–18	49,505	8,672	6,843	8,946	9,914	34,375

RATIO OF PUPILS TO TOTAL POPULATION

3–6	— per cent.	7–14	86 per cent.
6–7	42 ,,	14–16	91 ,,
		16–18	49 ,,

OUTSIDE OF PROVINCIALLY CONTROLLED SCHOOLS

SCHOOLS	PUPILS		
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
Private Schools :			
In Primary Grades	1,912	2,656	3,482
In Secondary Grades			1,086
Business Training Schools	440	757	1,197
Total, Private	2,352	3,413	5,765
University :			
In Secondary Grades	1	—	1
In University Grades	1,950	966	2,916
Miscellaneous	4	1	5
Total, University.	1,955	967	2,922
Dominion Indian Schools	1,850	1,957	3,807
Provincial Schools :			
Correspondence Courses	—	—	4,712
Special Schools	—	—	87
Normal Schools	92	187	279
Evening Classes	—	—	6,980

TABLE 35.—QUEBEC, 1935

AGES	POPULATION CENSUS 1931	PUPILS IN ALL SCHOOLS		TOTAL BOTH SEXES
		BOYS	GIRLS	
3– 7 .	290,868	31,680	32,728	64,408
7–14 .	465,189	234,052	232,890	466,942
14–16 .	120,388	34,519	34,273	68,792
16–18 .	121,989	11,763	13,263	25,026
18–21 .	173,884	1,985	1,927	3,912
Total	1,172,318	313,999	315,081	629,080

RATIO OF PUPILS TO TOTAL POPULATION

3– 7	. 22 per cent.	14–16	57 per cent.
7–14	. 100 ,,	16–18	21 ,,

INCLUDED IN PREVIOUS TOTALS

In Secondary Grades	46,292
In Private Schools	53,324

NOT INCLUDED IN PREVIOUS TOTALS	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
Evening Classes . .	—	—	15,441
Special Schools . .	—	—	1,349
Normal Schools . .	1,039	1,396	2,435
Business Training Schools	—	—	3,018
Dominion Indian Schools	798	804	1,602
Universities			
Secondary Grades .	8,233	9,348	17,581
University Grades .	9,400	1,411	10,811
Miscellaneous . .	2,680	4,972	7,652
Total, Universities	20,313	15,731	36,044

TABLE 36.—TEACHERS, 1936. PROVINCIALLY CONTROLLED SCHOOL SYSTEMS

	PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND	NOVA SCOTIA	NEW BRUNSWICK	QUEBEC[1]	ONTARIO[2]	MANITOBA	SASKATCHEWAN	ALBERTA[1]	BRITISH COLUMBIA
Men .	195	532	460	4,713	5,455	1,173	2,517	1,888	1,394
Women .	462	3,127	2,451	18,768	15,906	3,253	4,733	4,023	2,562
Total . . .	657	3,659	2,911	23,481	21,361	4,426	7,250	5,911	3,956
Percentage of Women	70	85	84	802	74	73	65	68	65
Certificated Teachers	657	3,659	2,816	12,5753	21,361	4,426	7,250	5,911	3,956
Percentage of Certificated Teachers .	100	100	97	54	100	100	100	100	100
University Graduates	20	571	222	no data	3,746	661	736	no data	1,035
Percentage of Graduates .	3	16	8		18	15	10		26

Average annual salary in $[4]

Men . .	606	1,012	725	984	1,696	701	624	1,130	1,492
Women . .	503	695	566	438	1,101	654	518	897	1,121

Ratio of teachers' salaries to total current revenue of school boards

Percentage .	75·4	73·6	73·1	52·4	63·0	60·2	55·7	58·8	64·7

1 1934.
2 1935.
3 *In Quebec* 10,490 *Roman Catholic nuns and brothers are not obliged to hold provincial certificates.*
4 *The averages for New Brunswick, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and British Columbia are medians; those for the other provinces are means.*

TABLE 37.—COMPARATIVE FINANCES, 1936, IN DOLLARS

SOURCES	DOMINION	PROVINCES	COUNTIES	LOCAL UNITS	ENDOWMENTS	FEES	OTHER SOURCES	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Administration	82,931	5,822,390	—	—	—	—	—	5,905,321	4·4
Provincially Controlled Schools	98,784	14,393,014	3,337,452	85,000,615		1,301,652	—	104,131,517	77·7
Agricultural Schools	—	421,116	—	—		—	140,132	561,248	0·4
Schools for the Blind and Deaf	—	579,132				13,405	48,556	641,093	0·5
Schools for Delinquents	—	690,630			—	—	367,814	1,058,444	0·8
Normal Schools	—	1,188,982	—	—	—	162,508	—	1,351,490	1·0
Universities and Colleges	339,150	5,191,955	—		2,042,079	5,427,842	5,592,293	18,593,319	13·9
Indian Schools	1,797,492	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,797,492	1·3
Total	2,318,357	28,287,219	3,337,452	85,000,615	2,042,079	6,905,407	6,148,795	134,039,924	100
Percentages	1·7	21·1	2·5	63·4	1·5	5·2	4·6	100	
Percentages of Dominion Budget	0·9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	PERCENTAGE OF PROVINCIAL BUDGET ON EDUCATION
BY PROVINCES									
Prince Edward Island	1,428	356,520	—	199,172	900	11,807	28,204	598,031	20·6
Percentages	0·2	59·6	0	33·3	0·2	2·0	4·7	100	—
Nova Scotia	83,085	1,377,429	482,398	2,556,905	216,068	341,996	332,153	5,390,034	14·1
Percentages	1·5	25·6	9·0	47·4	4·0	6·3	6·2	100	—
New Brunswick	18,748	757,185	223,493	1,964,287	42,265	119,714	181,172	3,306,864	10·7
Percentages	0·6	22·9	6·7	59·4	1·3	3·6	5·5	100	—
Quebec	85,046	4,717,053	—	19,391,697[1]	1,012,850	2,448,340	2,846,116	30,501,102	12·8
Percentages	0·3	15·5	0	63·6	3·3	8·0	9·3	100	—
Ontario	763,786	10,501,606[1]	2,631,561	35,386,482[1]	679,740	2,331,730	1,924,656	54,219,561	14·2
Percentages	1·4	19·4	4·9	65·3	1·2	4·3	3·5	100	—
Manitoba	219,378	1,816,869	—	5,635,473	44,747	412,284	178,403	8,307,154	12·5
Percentages	2·6	21·9	0	67·8	0·5	5·0	2·2	100	—
Saskatchewan	418,810	3,135,385	—	6,075,000[2]	6,456	417,567	340,288	10,393,506	18·4
Percentages	4·0	30·2	0	58·4	0·1	4·0	3·3	100	—
Alberta	319,582	2,532,869	—	7,988,630[1]	33,926	499,584	202,363	11,576,954	13·4
Percentages	2·8	21·9	0	69·0	0·3	4·3	1·7	100	—
British Columbia	408,494	3,092,303	—	5,802,969	5,127	322,385	115,440	9,746,718	13·3
Percentages	4·2	31·7	0	59·5	0·1	3·3	1·2	100	—

[1] 1934. [2] 1935.

SECTION FIVE

STATISTICS: AUSTRALIA

(*See also* YEAR BOOK 1937, *pages* 60–7)

TABLE 38.—NEW SOUTH WALES, AUGUST 1935

AGES	POPULATION CENSUS 1933	PRIMARY		SUPER-PRIMARY AND SECONDARY		SENIOR TECHNICAL		* TOTAL BOTH SEXES
		BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	MALE	FEMALE	
3– 6	147,868	10,834	10,294	—	—	—	—	21,128
6– 7	49,257	17,976	16,800	—	—	—	—	34,776
7– 8	50,448	20,855	19,157	—	—	—	—	40,012
8– 9	51,242	20,189	19,309	—	—	—	—	39,498
9–10	50,464	20,713	19,629	—	—	—	—	40,342
10–11	52,075	21,248	20,033	9	9	—	—	41,299
11–12	51,983	20,359	19,294	684	604	—	—	40,941
12–13	52,363	15,540	14,724	5,533	5,085	—	—	40,882
13–14	47,267	8,375	7,190	11,978	11,200	—	—	38,743
14–15	46,385	1,561	1,192	10,103	8,266	457	557	22,136
15–16	48,306	170	112	4,584	3,141	952	814	9,773
16–17	49,218	23	27	1,739	1,025	1,733	856	5,403
17–18 .	48,089	5	5	690	365	1,900	790	3,755
18–20 .	99,302	1	2	316	120	8,264	3,636	12,339
OVER .								
TOTAL	842,267	157,849	147,768	35,636	29,815	13,306	6,653	
BOTH SEXES		305,617		65,451		19,959		391,027
6–14 .	405,099	145,255	137,136	18,204	16,898	—	—	317,493
14–18 .	191,998	1,759	1,336	17,116	12,797	5,042	3,017	41,067

RATIO OF PUPILS TO TOTAL POPULATION

3– 6 .	. 17 per cent.	14–16	. 42 per cent.
6–14 .	. 98 „	16–18	. 26 „

OTHER SCHOOLS		
MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
UNIVERSITY		
2,375	654	3,029
TEACHERS' TRAINING		
330	244	574
INSTITUTION FOR DEAF AND BLIND		
94	95	189
EVENING CONTINUATION		
2,907	1,231	4,138
KINDERGARTENS (AIDED)		
—	—	930
PRIVATE SCHOOLS, 1934		
—	—	91,124
BUSINESS COLLEGES, 1934		
MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
1,275	3,107	4,382

TABLE 39.—VICTORIA, ENROLMENT, 1935

AGES	POPULATION CENSUS 1933	PUBLIC			PRIVATE SCHOOLS	TOTAL
		PRIMARY	POST-PRIMARY			
			GENERAL	VOCATIONAL		
3–6	94,429	16,881	—	—	6,310	23,221
6–10	131,782	212,797	—	—	56,531	290,637
10–12	67,907		2,195	823		
12–13	34,459		5,013	2,823		
13–14	31,778		6,166	4,289		
14–15	29,664	26,952	4,288	3,164	15,143	53,000
15–16	30,791		1,781	868		
16–17	32,311		700	104		
17–18	31,347	—	252	9	—	261
18–21	66,641	—	115	5	—	120
Total	541,109	256,630	20,510	12,085	78,014	367,239
Boys	—	132,824	11,105	6,885	37,210	188,024
Girls	—	123,806	9,405	5,200	40,804	179,215
6–14	265,926	212,797	13,374	7,935	56,531	290,637
14–18	133,813	26,952	7,021	4,145	15,143	53,261

RATIO OF PUPILS TO POPULATION

3-6, 25 per cent.; 6-14, 100 per cent.; 14-16, 66 per cent.; 16-18, 30 per cent.

OTHER SCHOOLS

SENIOR TECHNICAL		
MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
13,566	6,442	20,008
TEACHERS' TRAINING		
	—	373
UNIVERSITY		
—	—	3,344
KINDERGARTENS		
—	—	1,702
BUSINESS COLLEGES		
2,255	1,990	4,245

TABLE 40.—TASMANIA, 1934

AGES	POPULATION CENSUS 1933	PUBLIC SCHOOLS			PRIVATE SCHOOLS
		PRIMARY	GENERAL POST-PRIMARY	TOTAL	
3–6	13,629	3,754	—	3,754	998
6–7	4,525				
7–8	4,644	3,570	—	3,570	3,094
8–9	4,723	3,854	—	3,854	
9–10	4,665	4,044	—	4,044	
10–11	4,927	3,910	—	3,910	
11–12	4,841	4,203	19	4,222	
12–13	4,795	3,859	170	4,029	
13–14	4,563	3,014	381	3,395	
14–15	4,330	998	758	1,756	1,612
15–16	4,441				
16–17	4,495				
17–18	4,449				
18–20	9,261			—	—
Total	78,288	31,206	1,328	32,534	5,704
6–14	33,158	26,454	570	26,924	3,094
14–18	17,725	998	758	1,756	1,612

RATIO OF PUPILS TO TOTAL POPULATION

3–7	.	27 per cent.
7–14	.	91 ,,
14–16	.	23 ,,
16–18	.	

OTHER SCHOOLS

Vocational	414
Technical . . .	917
Teachers' College (22 m. + 61 f.) .	83
University .	326
Kindergartens	118
Business College (51 m. + 101 f.) .	152

TABLE 41.—WESTERN AUSTRALIA, JULY 1935

AGES	POPULATION CENSUS 1933	PUBLIC SCHOOLS: PRIMARY CENTRAL[1] BOYS	PRIMARY CENTRAL[1] GIRLS	HIGH SCHOOLS BOYS	HIGH SCHOOLS GIRLS	TECHNICAL BOYS	TECHNICAL GIRLS	TOTAL BOTH SEXES	PRIVATE SCHOOLS 1934 BOYS	PRIVATE SCHOOLS 1934 GIRLS
3– 6	24,995	942	982	—	—	—	—	1,924	698	762
6– 7	7,149	3,352	3,222	—	—	—	—	6,574		
7– 8	8,281	3,467	3,303	—	—	—	—	6,770		
8– 9	8,109	3,517	3,284	—	—	—	—	6,801		
9–10	8,151	3,607	3,301	—	—	—	—	6,908		
10–11	8,233	3,513	3,220	—	—	—	—	6,733	4,197	5,077
11–12	8,117	3,486	3,153	47	29	—	—	6,639		
12–13	8,301	3,438	3,316					6,830		
13–14	7,800	3,131	2,855	145	183	—	—	6,314		
14–15	6,807	1,490	1,220	214	173	—	—	3,097		
15–16	7,286	477	231	158	111					
16–17	7,819	122	84	91	97	1,649	878	4,001	1,166	1,332
17–18	8,007	—	—	44	54					
18–20	17,040	—	—	21	8	1,236	381	1,646		
Total	133,095	30,512	28,176	720	655	2,885	1,259	64,237	6,061	7,171
									13,232	
6–14	64,141	27,511	25,654	192	212	—	—	53,579	9,274	
14–18	29,919	2,089	1,540	507	435	1,649	878	7,098	2,498	

OTHER SCHOOLS	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTALS
Teachers' Training College	—	—	90
Agricultural College[1]	132	—	132
School of Mines[1]	400	—	400
University[1]	—	—	800
Adult Education[1]	—	—	1,588
Kindergartens (aided)	210	204	414
Business Colleges (Private)	1,388	635	2,023
Industrial Schools	134	151	285

1 *Figures for* 1934.

RATIO OF PUPILS TO TOTAL POPULATION

3– 6	16 per cent.	14–16	49 per cent.
6–14	98 ,,	16–18	20 ,,

TABLE 42.—QUEENSLAND, JULY 1934

AGES	POPULATION CENSUS 1933	PUBLIC SCHOOLS		AIDED AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS		TOTAL BOTH SEXES
		BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	
3– 6 .	54,273	5,901	5,444	1,179	1,168	13,692
6– 7	18,037	7,641	7,161	1,263	1,383	17,448
7– 8 .	18,868	7,783	7,228	1,221	1,393	17,625
8– 9 .	19,017	8,059	7,493	1,235	1,490	18,277
9–10 .	18,346	8,113	7,737	1,248	1,432	18,530
10–11	19,039	7,956	7,513	1,228	1,425	18,122
11–12 .	19,098	8,297	7,407	1,225	1,483	18,412
12–13	19,543	8,157	7,299	1,280	1,515	18,251
13–14 .	17,728	6,946	6,176	1,487	1,482	16,091
14–15	17,457	2,633	2,040	1,198	1,219	7,090
15–16	18,190	757	643	926	863	3,189
16–17	17,557	277	203	489	527	1,496
17–18 .	17,767	97	74	221	217	609
18–20	37,081	104	50	137	124	365
Total	312,001	72,721 [1]	66,468 [1]	14,337	15,721	169,247
6–14 .	149,676	62,952	58,014	10,187	11,603	142,756
14–18 .	70,971	3,764	2,960	2,834	2,826	12,384

RATIO OF PUPILS TO TOTAL POPULATION

3– 6	27 per cent.	14–16 .	33 per cent.
6–14	96 ,,	16–18 .	23 ,,

SCHOOLS	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL
Secondary included in previous totals			
High Schools .	—	—	3,040
Agricultural College	—	—	209
State Grammar Schools . .	1,100	500	1,600
State Scholars in Private Schools	—		1,700
Other Schools not included in previous totals			
Correspondence .	—	—	5,767
Teachers' Training	209	169	378
Technical College .	7,273	5,267	12,540
Evening Classes . .	—	—	253
Teachers' Correspondence	—	—	235
University . .	—	—	1,029
Kindergardens (aided) .	695	546	1,241
Business Colleges (private)	275	998	1,273

[1] *Enrolment for* 1935: *boys*, 82,854; *girls*, 76,294.

TABLE 43.—SOUTH AUSTRALIA, DECEMBER 1935

AGE	POPULATION CENSUS 1933	PRIMARY		CENTRAL GRADES		HIGH SCHOOL GRADES		VOCATIONAL		TECHNICAL	TOTAL	OTHER SCHOOLS
		BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOTH SEXES	BOTH SEXES	
3–6	29,945	1,060	985	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,045	PRIVATE SCHOOLS
6–7	10,468	3,799	3,373	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7,172	11,524
7–8	10,694	4,497	4,244	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8,741	TEACHERS' COLLEGES
8–9	10,948	4,574	4,259	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8,833	M.—72, W.—101
9–10	10,771	4,739	4,363	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9,102	173
10–11	11,080	4,548	4,540	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9,088	UNIVERSITY [1]
11–12	11,293	4,841	4,555	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9,396	2,066
12–13	11,412	4,730	4,496	13	23	37	23	—	—	—	9,322	CONSERVATORY OF MUSIC [1]
13–14	10,640	3,511	3,427	252	357	513	398	9	—	455	8,922	266
14–15	10,303	901	875	242	417	851	779	101	1	320	4,487	KINDERGARTENS
15–16	10,733	139	91	108	165	677	483	122	7	368	2,160	376
16–17	10,757	22	13	34	47	329	208	53	10	459	1,175	BUSINESS COLLEGES [1]
17–18	10,765	—	—	—	—	180	89	11	6	455	741	M.—566, F.—798
18–20	22,693	—	—	—	—	106	42	3	6	2,191	2,348	1,364
Total	182,512	37,361	35,221	649	1,009	2,693	2,022	299	30	4,248	83,532	
Both Sexes		72,582		1,658		4,715		329				
6–14	87,306	35,239	33,257	265	380	550	421	9	—	455	70,576	
14–18	42,558	1,062	979	384	629	2,037	1,559	287	24	1,602	8,563	

[1] *For* 1934.

RATIO OF PUPILS TO TOTAL POPULATION

3–6	10 per cent.	14–16	50 per cent.
6–14	90 ,,	16–18	30 ,,

TABLE 44.—TEACHERS, 1935

INSTITUTIONS	NEW SOUTH WALES		VICTORIA		QUEENSLAND		SOUTH AUSTRALIA		WESTERN AUSTRALIA		TASMANIA [2]		TOTAL PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN
	MEN	WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN		WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN	
Primary Schools :													
Classified	3,941	4,010	2,750	3,044	1,895	1,573	985	910	683	1,168	252	288	53
Unclassified	535	943	488	1,071	244	339	187	561	112	283	11	163	69
(Graduates included)	356	287	710	76	no data		50	9	122	185	29	13	45
Total	4,476	4,953	3,238	4,115	2,139	1,912	1,172	1,471	795	1,451	263	451	56
Percentage classified	88	80	86	72	90	83	82	61	86	78	98	64	—
Secondary :													
Classified	853	581	798	598	54	31	153	108	52	30	34	36	57
(Graduates included)	685	519	320	239	no data		115	66	52	30	21	17	42
Total	853	581	810	616	54	31	153	108	52	30	37	41	57
Percentage of Graduates	81	89	40	38	—	—	76	65	100	100	57	41	—
Vocational :													
Classified	partly included in primary		310	49	no data		57	51	31	12	29	6	21
Unclassified			60	34			97	81	52	19	2	1	—
Total	—	—	370	83	242	136	154	132	83	31	31	7	—
Percentage of Classified	—	—	54		59	62	38	40	39	39	93	86	—
	SALARIES IN £'S. THE GRADED SYSTEM												
Minimum	331	221	156	120	155	135	200	150	235	222	170	160	Assistant
Maximum	727	507	600	480	420 [1]	390 [1]	460 [1]	220 [1]	630	500	620	350	Principal

[1] *In addition, head teachers receive in Queensland, men up to* £640, *women up to* £570; *in South Australia, men up to* £620, *women up to* £420.

[2] *Figures for* 1934.

TABLE 44(*a*).—COMPARATIVE FINANCE, 1935, in £'s

Public and State-aided Institutions

	NEW SOUTH WALES				VICTORIA				QUEENSLAND			
	STATE	ENDOWMENT AND FEES	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE	STATE	ENDOWMENT AND FEES	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE	STATE	ENDOWMENT AND FEES	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Administration	105,278	—	105,278	2·4	70,196	—	70,196	2·2	47,869	—	47,869	2·9
Primary	2,974,916	—	2,974,916	69·6	1,961,959	—	1,961,959	62·3	1,194,232	—	1,194,232	74·3
Secondary	587,831	—	587,831	13·7	278,997	35,467	314,464	10·0	124,006	no data	124,006	8·0
Vocational and Technical[1]	248,916	27,481	276,397	6·4	323,062	60,013	283,075	12·2	135,164	17,181	142,345	9·4
University	57,051	148,859	205,910	4·9	111,440	140,000	251,440	8·0	28,023	59,148	87,171	5·4
All other	120,225	1,000	121,225	3·0	167,459	distributed	167,459	5·3		distributed		—
Total	4,094,217	177,340	4,271,557	100	2,913,113	235,480	3,148,593	100	1,529,294	76,329	1,605,623	100
Percentage	96	4·0	100		92·0	8·0	100		95·0	5·0	100	

[1] *Vocational & Technical includes Teachers' Colleges.*

	SOUTH AUSTRALIA				WESTERN AUSTRALIA				TASMANIA [1]			
	STATE	ENDOWMENT AND FEES	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE	STATE	ENDOWMENT AND FEES	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE	STATE	ENDOWMENT AND FEES	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Administration	40,336	—	40,336	4·2	19,195	—	19,195	2·7	15,580	—	15,580	5·6
Primary	582,450	—	582,450	60·6	558,960	—	558,960	77·5	202,057	—	202,057	72·4
Secondary	91,796	6,458	98,254	10·2	49,496	—	49,496	6·9	16,903	1,926	18,829	6·7
Vocational and Technical	87,789	3,893	91,682	9·5	30,811	3,912	34,723	4·7	25,813	2,227	28,040	10·1
University	43,850	66,000	109,850	11·4	38,191	4,000	42,191	5·9	9,663	3,690	13,353	4·8
All other	39,571	—	39,571	4·1	16,572	—	16,572	2·3	1,156	—	1,156	0·4
Total	885,792	76,351	962,143	100	713,225	7,912	721,137	100	271,172	7,843	279,015	100
Percentage	92·0	8·0	100		99·0	1·0	100		97·1	2·9	100	

[1] *Figures for* 1934.

SECTION SIX

Union of South Africa: Survey of Educational Statistics of Native and Other Non-European Education

(*See also* Year Book, 1937, *pages* 68–73)

THE statistics given in Tables 45, 46, 47, 50, 52 and 53 have been obtained from the *Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education*, 1935–6. The statistics given in Tables 48, 49 and 51 have been obtained from the (unpublished) *Yearbook of the Union of South Africa for* 1936.

It will be noticed that the enrolment figures for native pupils given in Table 48*a* do not correspond with those given in Table 53. The date to which the figures in Table 53 refer was not given, so that it is probable that the two sets of figures refer to different periods of time. The figures in Tables 45, 46 and 47 refer only to the enrolment in primary and secondary (or intermediate) schools, and, of course, do not correspond to those given in Tables 48*a* or 53. The Report mentioned above appears to be the most complete account hitherto published of native education in the Union of South Africa.

Comparison of European and Native Primary and Post-Primary Education

The main features of European and of native education are presented in graphical form in the diagrams on pages 94–7.

Diagram 1 shows the enrolment of pupils in the different standards of primary and post-primary schools. It can be seen from Diagram 1 (*a*) that the enrolment of European pupils is practically constant in all the primary standards. We may conclude, therefore, that wastage is negligible in the primary schools, and from Table IX we see that practically all the European school-age population is enrolled in schools. This is to be expected, since education is compulsory for Europeans between the ages of 7 and 15. The decline in enrolment is very great between Standards VI and VII, and indeed throughout the post-primary standards. Diagram I (*b*) shows the position of native education. In interpreting these results, however, it must be remembered that the enrolment of native pupils is increasing rapidly (see Diagram 5) and this tends to increase the numbers in the sub-standard classes. But even after allowing for this factor, it is clear that one of the outstanding features in native education is the enormous wastage throughout the school life.

Diagram 2 shows the ages of the pupils enrolled in the primary and post-primary schools. Diagram 2 (*a*) shows clearly the effect of compulsory education because the enrolment is practically constant between the ages of 7 and 15. It is rather surprising, in view

of the differences in Diagrams 1 (*a*) and 1 (*b*), to find that Diagram 2 (*b*) is so similar to Diagram 2 (*a*). There are differences, particularly in the number of pupils over 18, but these differences are relatively small. This can only mean that there must be a large number of over-age pupils in the lower primary standards in native schools.

The position is illustrated in Diagram 3, which shows the ages of pupils enrolled in the sub-standard classes of the primary schools. The difference between European and Native education is particularly striking in this respect. The same point is illustrated in Diagram 4, which shows the median ages of European and native pupils enrolled in the different standards.

The position is admirably summarised in paragraph 531 of the Report mentioned above, where the Committee state that, " In planning the internal organisation of the Native school, particularly as regards the content and methods of instruction, it would be folly to disregard the facts brought to light in the foregoing sections, viz. :

" (i) The relatively short school life of the Native—estimated liberally at an average of less than three years ;

" (ii) The necessarily small progress made during this short period—the majority of pupils not getting beyond Standard I ;

" (iii) The high degree of ' over-ageness ' of Native pupils in comparison with European pupils in the same standards—they are from 2 to 3 years older on the average ;

" (iv) The marked disparity between the designation of Native and European school standards (a difference in some cases as much as two standards)—owing probably to the lesser effectiveness per unit of time of instruction given in Native schools than that in European. (It is assumed for the time being that Natives are innately no less educable than Europeans—until the contrary has been proved.)

" (v) The heavy elimination of Native pupils in the later primary and post-primary standards.

" If the facts are disregarded, one cannot expect the Native school to succeed fully in equipping the vast majority of natives for life—a life which for them is being rapidly disintegrated by economic and cultural contacts."

Expenditure on Native Education

The figures for expenditure on native education given in the tables refer only to Government expenditure. In addition to this the missions spend a large amount on native education. The committee obtained returns for approximately 2,000 aided schools involving 260,000 pupils. For 1935 the current expenditure per pupil enrolled was :

	EXPENDED BY MISSIONS	EXPENDED BY GOVERNMENT
	s. d.	*s. d.*
Primary Schools only	4 11	35 9
All schools	6 5	41 1

Diagram 5 shows the increase in enrolment of native pupils and expenditure on native education from the Development Account during the period 1925–35. It is seen that the enrolment has increased rapidly throughout this period. The expenditure dropped from 1931 to 1934, and during this period the most serious cases of understaffing and overcrowding occurred. The increase in expenditure in 1935–6 is very marked, but the Development Account now receives $\frac{2}{5}$ of the General Tax (£1 tax on every adult male native), whereas it received $\frac{7}{20}$ in 1935–6 and $\frac{1}{5}$ before 1935–6. In addition, the Development Account receives £340,000 annually from the Consolidated Revenue Fund. In 1935–6 the total revenue of the Development Account was £740,400 (£395,000 from the General Tax), and the expenditure on education was £667,101, or 90 per cent. of the revenue. In addition, £28,779 was spent on Agricultural Education and £6,948 on Fort Cox School, making a total expenditure on education from this account of £702,828, or approximately 95 per cent. of the total revenue.

Facilities available for Primary Education

(*a*) *European*

The facilities are adequate ; practically all the children of school age are enrolled in schools.

(*b*) *Native*

The enrolment in the Government and Government-aided primary schools was 340,497 pupils, and in addition 39,163 pupils were enrolled in private schools, of whom probably 38,500 are enrolled in primary schools (1,062 out of the 1,070 private schools are primary). Thus there are facilities available for approximately 379,000 native pupils in primary schools. The native population was 6,597,241 in 1936 ; hence the school-age population (5–15 years) would be roughly 1½ millions in 1935. Therefore there are facilities available in primary schools for approximately 25 per cent. of the native school-age population. (NOTE.—If we use the school-age population of 7–15 years, roughly 1,200,000 children, there are facilities available for about 31 per cent. of the children of this group in primary schools.)

The total enrolment of native pupils in all schools is 391,071 according to Table 66, so that altogether there are facilities available for roughly 26 per cent. of the 5–15 years school-age population. (Actually, of the estimated 7–15 years school-age population of 1,200,000 children, only about 300,000, or 25 per cent., were enrolled in schools in 1935.)

(*c*) *Other Non-European* (*Coloured and Asiatics*)

The total enrolment of coloured and Asiatic pupils in 1935 was 133,662. The Asiatic and coloured population was 987,912 in

TABLE 45.—STANDARDS OF NATIVE PUPILS ENROLLED IN PRIMARY AND SECONDARY (OR INTERMEDIATE) SCHOOLS, ON OCTOBER 31st, 1935

(Government and Government-aided Schools only)

STANDARDS	CAPE		NATAL		TRANSVAAL		ORANGE FREE STATE		UNION	
	ENROLMENT	PERCENTAGE	ENROLMENT	PERCENTAGE	ENROLMENT	PERCENTAGE	ENROLMENT	PERCENTAGE	ENROLMENT	PERCENTAGE
Sub-Standard A .	64,987	38·34	24,065	39·39	40,196	47·41	10,330	38·77	139,578	40·79
Sub-Standard B .	28,943	17·06	11,746	19·22	12,896	15·21	4,906	18·42	58,491	17·10
Standard I .	23,573	13·89	8,500	13·92	9,503	11·23	3,937	14·79	45,513	13·31
,, II .	18,196	10·73	5,537	9·06	7,455	8·79	2,506	9·41	33,694	9·84
,, III .	14,149	8·34	4,194	6·86	5,781	6·82	1,934	7·25	26,058	7·61
,, IV .	8,877	5·23	3,108	5·08	4,317	5·09	1,334	5·00	17,636	5·15
,, V	5,752	3·39	1,918	3·13	2,592	3·05	830	3·11	11,092	3·24
,, VI .	4,430	2·61	1,381	2·25	1,975	2·32	649	2·43	8,435	2·46
,, VII .	460	0·27	492	0·80	37	0·04	211	0·79	1,200	0·35
,, VIII .	201	0·11	134	0·22	37	0·04	9	0·03	381	0·12
(or J.C.)										
,, IX .	27	0·01	43	0·07	—	—	—	—	70	0·02
,, X . .	33	0·02	—	—	—	—	—	—	33	0·01
(or Matric.)										
Total .	169,628	100·00	61,118	100·00	84,789	100·00	26,646	100·00	342,181	100·00

1936, and hence the school-age population (5–15 years) would be roughly 230,000 in 1935. Therefore, there are facilities available for approximately 58 per cent. of the school-age population. Unfortunately, data are not obtainable for the ages and standards of these pupils, so it is impossible to state what facilities are available for primary education alone, or what percentage of the school-age population was actually enrolled in the schools in 1935.

Female Education (Native)

It is interesting to note that in the Cape and Natal there are more girls than boys enrolled in schools, but about equal numbers of boys and girls enrolled in schools in the Transvaal and Orange Free State. This is true also in Basutoland and Bechuanaland, and the reason appears to be the same in all cases—that many of the boys have to herd the cattle, and so have little opportunity of attending school.

University Education (Native)

Facilities for university education are available for native students at the South African Native College, Fort Hare, Cape Province (coloured and Indian students are also admitted). The total enrolment during 1935 was 156 students.

TABLE 46.—AGES OF NATIVE PUPILS ENROLLED IN PRIMARY AND SECONDARY (OR INTERMEDIATE) SCHOOLS ON OCTOBER 31st, 1935

(Government and Government-aided only)

AGE LAST BIRTHDAY	CAPE	NATAL	TRANSVAAL	O.F.S.	UNION
Under 7	8,539	3,034	3,320	692	15,585
7	14,564	5,062	6,038	1,503	27,167
8	15,997	6,503	6,918	1,991	31,409
9	16,760	7,186	7,200	2,299	33,445
10	18,972	7,822	9,215	2,837	38,846
11	16,763	6,650	8,054	2,610	34,077
12	18,911	7,426	9,878	3,160	39,375
13	16,920	6,182	9,345	2,927	35,374
14	14,546	4,883	8,759	2,662	30,850
15	10,677	3,122	6,434	2,185	22,418
16	7,175	1,691	4,404	1,449	14,719
17	4,701	806	2,417	996	8,920
18	2,641	418	1,386	633	5,078
19 and over .	2,462	333	1,421	702	4,918
Total	169,628	61,118	84,789	26,646	342,181

TABLE 47.—AGES OF NATIVE PUPILS ENROLLED IN THE DIFFERENT CLASSES ON OCTOBER 31st, 1935, IN THE UNION

(Government and Government-aided Schools)

AGE LAST BIRTHDAY	PRIMARY							SECONDARY OR INTERMEDIATE					TOTAL
	SUB.-STD. A	SUB.-STD. B	STD. I	STD. II	STD. III	STD. IV	STD. V	STD. VI	STD. VII	STD. VIII (OR J.C.)	STD. IX	STD. X OR MATRIC.)	
Under 7	15,265	292	26	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	15,585
7	24,652	2,219	274	21	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	27,167
8	23,761	6,000	1,430	204	13	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	31,409
9	19,451	8,745	4,057	1,029	155	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	33,445
10	17,717	10,221	6,979	2,986	808	129	5	1	—	—	—	—	38,846
11	11,326	8,064	7,335	4,672	2,076	530	68	6	—	—	—	—	34,077
12	10,545	8,016	8,068	6,554	4,085	1,639	410	56	1	1	—	—	39,375
13	6,931	5,866	6,542	6,258	5,299	3,059	1,163	248	7	1	—	—	35,374
14	4,750	4,199	4,850	5,176	5,224	3,796	2,048	751	51	5	—	—	30,850
15	2,571	2,418	2,921	3,227	3,844	3,419	2,319	1,527	151	20	—	1	22,418
16	1,344	1,252	1,581	1,836	2,260	2,377	1,989	1,804	231	42	3	—	14,719
17	659	639	802	916	1,214	1,348	1,393	1,649	231	62	6	1	8,920
18	361	328	364	466	621	711	831	1,136	191	53	13	3	5,078
19 and over	245	232	284	347	459	618	866	1,257	337	197	48	28	4,918
Total	139,578	58,491	45,513	33,694	26,058	17,636	11,092	8,435	1,200	381	70	33	342,181

TABLE 48.—RACE AND SEX OF NON-EUROPEAN SCHOLARS

(*a*) *Enrolment in Government and Government-aided Schools, November 5th*, 1935

PROVINCE	NATIVE			OTHER NON-EUROPEAN (INCLUDES ASIATIC)			GRAND TOTAL
	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL	
Cape .	78,585	93,777	172,362	48,607	47,163	95,770	268,132
Natal [1] .	26,012	36,026	62,038	7,139	6,972	24,111	86,149
Transvaal .	45,830	44,843	90,673	5,480	3,851	9,331	100,004
O.F.S. .	13,347	13,488	26,835	607	589	1,196	28,031
Total	163,774	188,134	351,908	71,833	58,575	130,408	482,316

[1] *Including* 113 *scholars in Natal coloured farm schools.*

(*b*) *Enrolment in Private Schools, December*, 1935

PROVINCE	NATIVE			OTHER NON-EUROPEAN (INCLUDES ASIATIC)			GRAND TOTAL
	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL	
Cape	2,718	3,059	5,777	269	297	566	6,343
Natal .	6,343	9,445	15,788	1,321	1,168	2,489	18,277
Transvaal	9,409	7,956	17,365	104	79	183	17,548
O.F.S. .	111	122	233	9	7	16	249
Total	18,581	20,582	39,163	1,703	1,551	3,254	42,417

TABLE 49 (*a*).—NUMBER OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS, DECEMBER 1935, AND CLASS OF INSTRUCTION GIVEN

(*Non-European only*)

CLASSIFICATION OF SCHOOLS	CAPE	NATAL	TRANS-VAAL	O.F.S.	UNION
Kindergarten	1	1	1	—	3
General Primary	136	543	376	4	1,059
Secondary and High Schools	—	1	—	—	1
Commercial and Business	—	—	—	—	—
Other	5	—	2	—	7
Total	142	545	379	4	1,070

TABLE 49 (*b*).—PRIVATE SCHOOLS ACCORDING TO RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION, DECEMBER 1935

(*Non-European only*)

RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION	CAPE	NATAL	TRANS-VAAL	O.F.S.	UNION
Church of England	14	30	18	—	62
Dutch Reformed	3	—	44	—	47
Roman Catholic	46	146	50	3	245
Methodist	14	43	38	—	95
Lutheran	—	214	163	—	377
Presbyterian	18	21	27	—	66
Christian (Other)	46	65	37	1	149
Other Religions	1	25	1	—	27
Undenominational	—	1	1	—	2
Total	142	545	379	4	1,070

TABLE 50.—QUALIFICATION OF TEACHERS

(1) *Teachers employed in Government and Government-aided Native Primary Schools*

QUALIFICATION	CAPE	TRANSVAAL	NATAL	O.F.S.	TOTAL
Professionally Unqualified	21	429	247	312	1,009
Lower Primary Certificate :					
One year of training .	46	8	378	88	520
Two years of training . .	122	62	442	122	748
Three years of training (Full Lower Certificate). .	3,392	900	489	220	5,001
Higher Primary Certificate	193	7	23	24	247
Total	3,774	1,406	1,579	766	7,525
Percentage of Fully Qualified Teachers (Full Lower or Higher Primary Certificate) . .	95%	65%	32%	32%	70%

(2) *Teachers employed in Post-Primary Schools (Teacher-Training, Secondary and Industrial) Government and Government-aided Native Schools*

PROVINCE	NATIONALITY	CERTIFICATED		UNCERTIFICATED		TOTAL NUMBER OF TEACHERS
		WITH A DEGREE	WITHOUT A DEGREE	WITH A DEGREE	WITHOUT A DEGREE	
Cape	European	45	59	2	23	129
	Native	6	61	—	1	68
	Total	51	120	2	24	197
Natal . .	European	34	55	1	1	91
	Native	6	52	—	2	60
	Total	40	107	1	3	151
Transvaal	European	14	18	2	10	44
	Native	—	7	—	2	9
	Total	14	25	2	12	53
O.F.S.	European	3	10	1	4	18
	Native	2	3	—	—	5
	Total	5	13	1	4	23
Union.	European	96	142	6	38	282
	Native	14	123	—	5	142
	Total	110	265	6	43	424

NOTE.—The percentage of male teachers employed in all Government or Government-aided native schools is in the Cape, 55; in Natal, 38; in the Transvaal, 72; in the Orange Free State, 63; and in the Union as a whole, 56.

DECEMBER 1935

DESCRIPTION	CERTIFICATED					UNCERTIFICATED					TOTAL
	CAPE	NATAL	TRANSVAAL	O.F.S.	UNION	CAPE	NATAL	TRANSVAAL	O.F.S.	UNION	
European											
Male .	—	—	6	—	6	5	2	5	—	12	18
Female .	22	6	6	—	34	52	18	22	3	95	129
Total	22	6	12	—	40	57	20	27	3	107	147
Native											
Male .	16	19	41	1	77	39	106	253	1	399	476
Female .	19	25	14	2	60	69	408	103	—	580	640
Total	35	44	55	3	137	108	514	356	1	979	1,116
Asiatic											
Male . .	—	15	1	—	16	—	39	—	—	39	55
Female . .	—	1	—	—	1	—	7	—	—	7	8
Total .	—	16	1	—	17	—	46	—	—	46	63
Coloured											
Male .	—	—	1	—	1	2	1	—	—	3	4
Female .	—	—	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	1	2
Total .	—	—	2	—	2	3	1	—	—	4	6
Total .	57	66	70	3	196	168	581	383	4	1,136	1,332

Certificated . 14·7 per cent.
Uncertificated . 85·3 per cent.

TABLE 52.—STATE EXPENDITURE ON DIFFERENT TYPES OF EDUCATION, 1935

(Native only)

TYPE OF SCHOOL	PROVINCE	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS	AVERAGE ENROLMENT	EXPENDITURE 1934-5	COST PER PUPIL		
				£	£	s.	d.
Teacher Training	Cape	13	1,887	37,642	19	18	11
	Natal	5	614	13,633	22	4	1
	Transvaal	6	916	8,545	9	6	7
	O.F.S.	2	123	3,113	25	6	2
	Union	26	3,540	62,933	17	15	6
Secondary	Cape	7	741	7,651	10	6	6
	Natal	7	971	9,661	9	19	0
	Transvaal	3	295	2,696	9	2	9
	O.F.S.	3	266	2,703	10	3	3
	Union	20	2,273	22,711	9	19	10
Industrial (Schools and Departments)	Cape	25	667	12,070	18	1	11
	Natal	8	397	5,064	12	15	1
	Transvaal	3	100	778	7	15	8
	O.F.S.	—	—	—		—	
	Union	36	1,164	17,912	15	7	9
Primary	Cape	1,705	161,601	332,797	2	1	1
	Natal	645	60,520	99,823	1	13	0
	Transvaal	628	81,219	118,481	1	9	2
	O.F.S.	276	29,250	43,998	1	10	1
	Union	3,254	332,590	595,099	1	15	9
Totals	Cape	1,750	164,896	390,160	2	7	4
	Natal	665	62,502	128,191	2	1	0
	Transvaal	640	82,530	130,500	1	11	8
	O.F.S.	281	29,739	49,814	1	13	6
	Union	3,336	339,667	698,665	2	1	1

TABLE 53.—ENROLMENT OF NATIVE PUPILS AND EXPENDITURE ON NATIVE EDUCATION FROM DEVELOPMENT ACCOUNT IN THE UNION

(Government and Government-aided Schools)

(NOTE.—The Cape spends about £25,000 and the Transvaal £6,000 in addition to this on inspection, supervision and administration.)

YEAR	ENROLMENT	FINANCIAL YEAR	EXPENDITURE FROM DEVELOPMENT ACCOUNT
			£
1925	207,548	1925–26	420,998
1926	214,245	1926–27	449,709
1927	224,373	1927–28	474,893
1928	234,045	1928–29	520,319
1929	257,770	1929–30	562,323
1930	278,663	1930–31	590,905
1931	294,366	1931–32	590,569
1932	294,296	1932–33	571,596
1933	310,473	1933–34	567,286
1934	320,301	1934–35	578,566
1935	345,440	1935–36	667,101 [1]

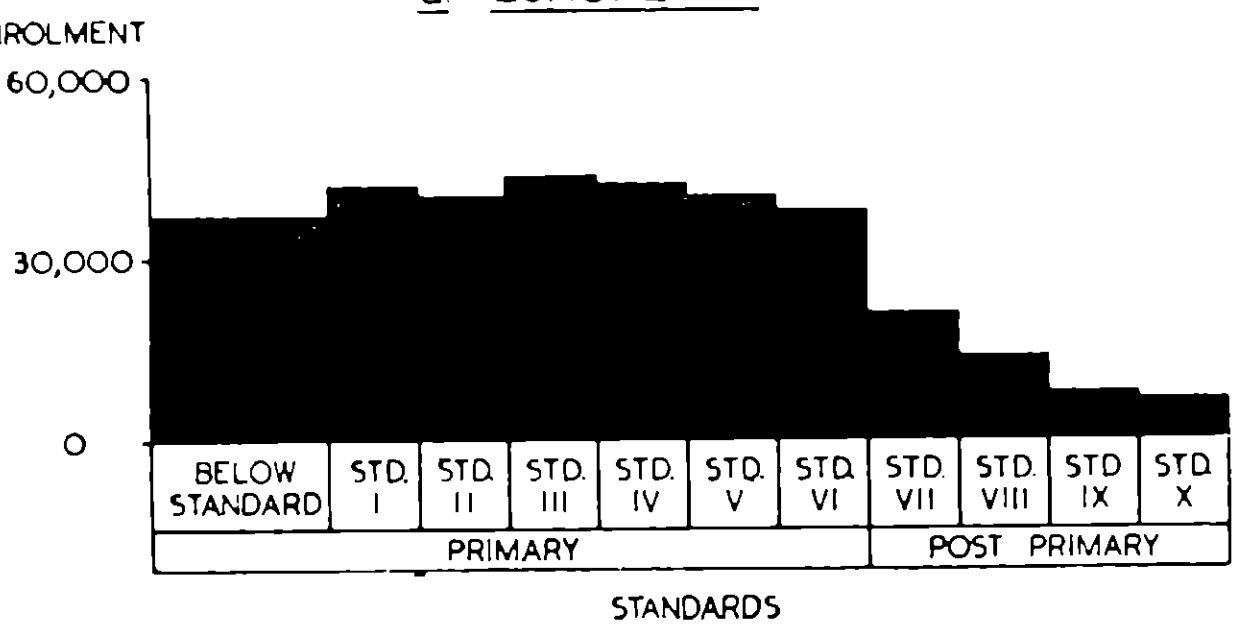
[1] *Authorised expenditure for financial year.*

DIAGRAM I

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA 1935

STANDARDS OF PUPILS ENROLLED IN PRIMARY & POST PRIMARY SCHOOLS (GOVT. & GOVT. AIDED SCHOOLS).

a. EUROPEANS



b. NATIVES

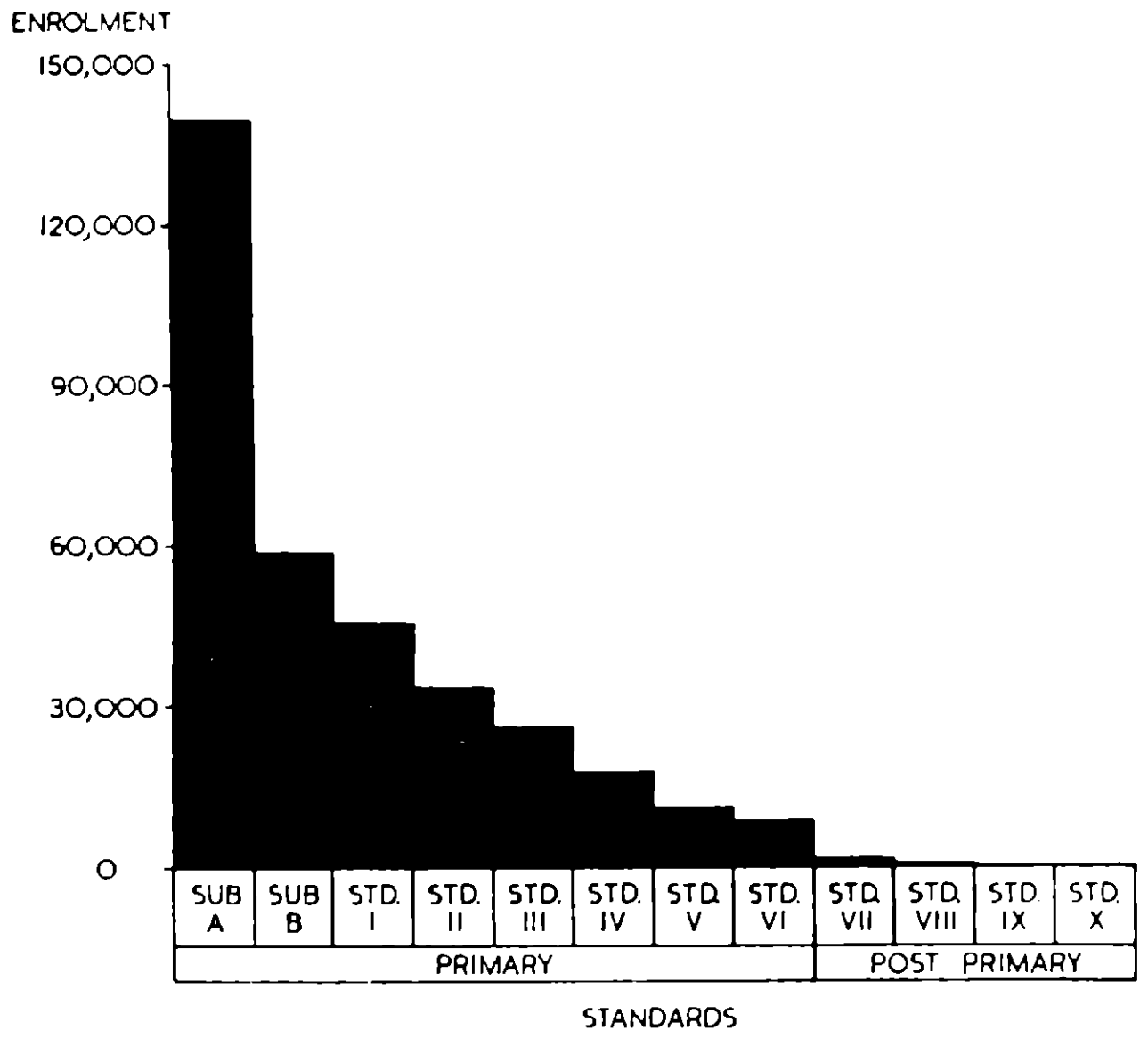
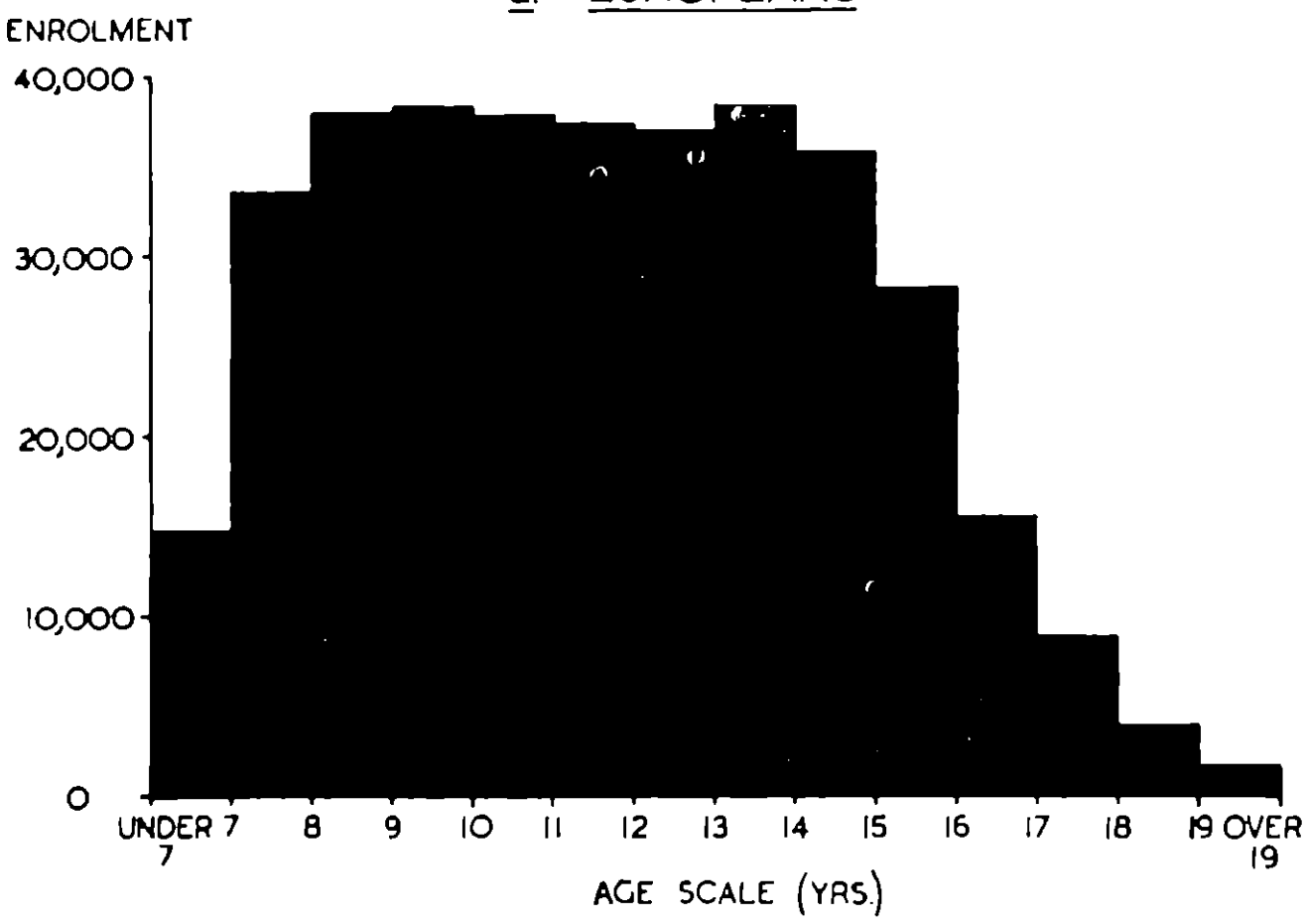


DIAGRAM 2

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA 1935

AGES OF PUPILS ENROLLED IN PRIMARY & POST PRIMARY SCHOOLS (GOVT. & GOVT. AIDED SCHOOLS).

a. EUROPEANS



b. NATIVES

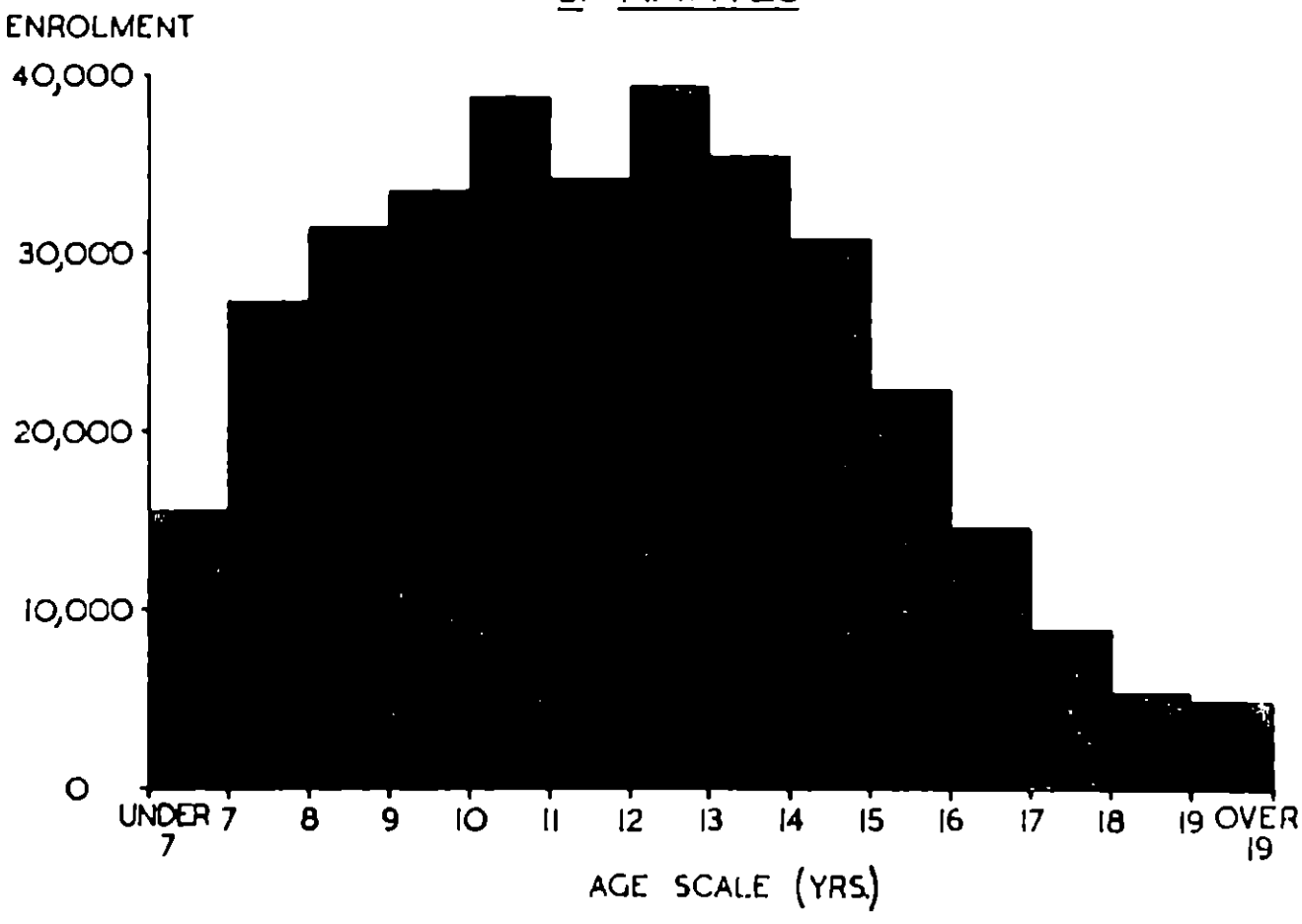
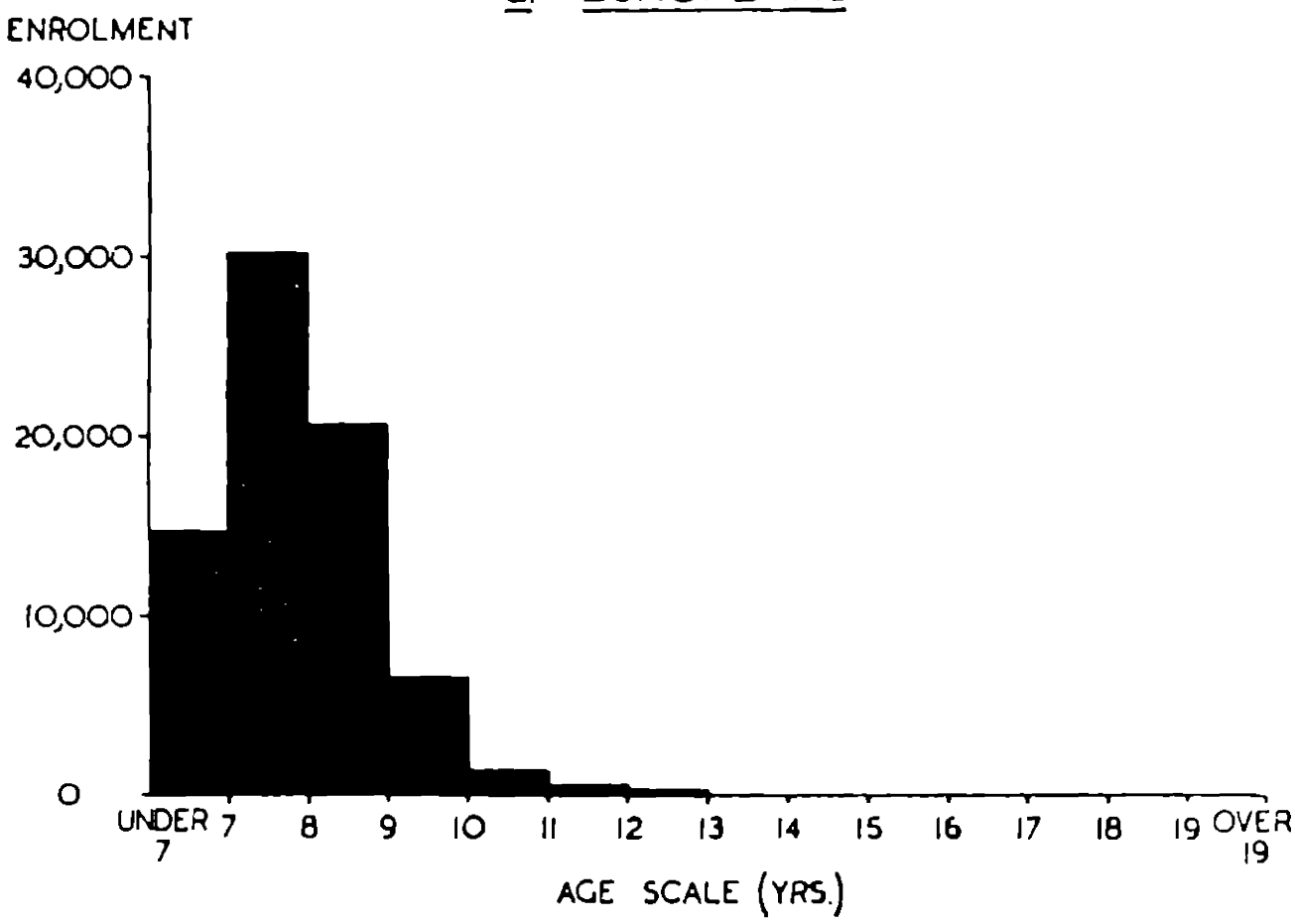


DIAGRAM 3

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA 1935

AGES OF PUPILS ENROLLED IN SUB-STANDARD CLASSES OF GOVT. & GOVT. AIDED PRIMARY SCHOOLS

a. EUROPEANS



b. NATIVES

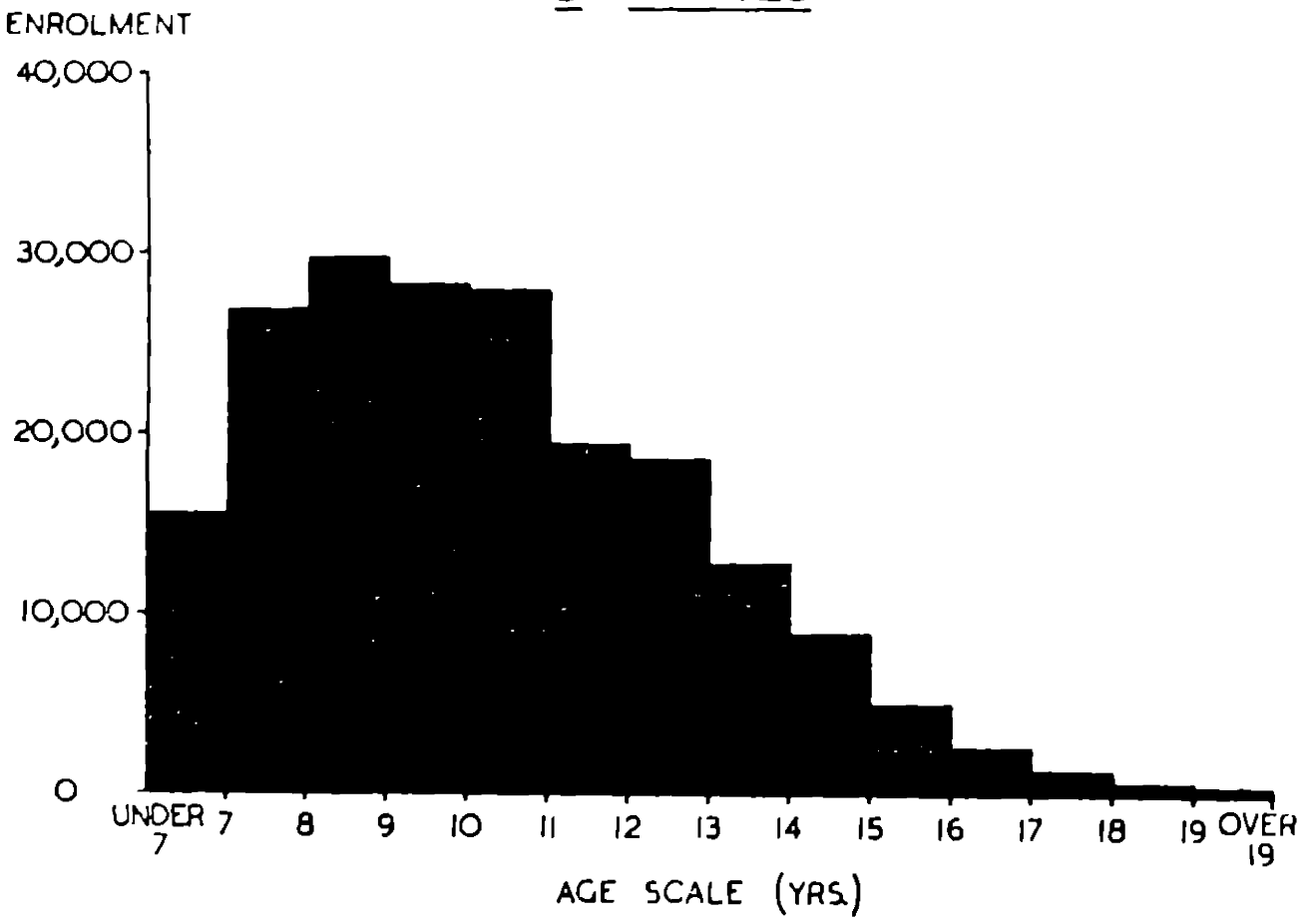


DIAGRAM 4

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA 1935

MEDIAN AGES OF PUPILS ENROLLED IN PRIMARY & POST PRIMARY SCHOOLS (GOVT. & GOVT. AIDED SCHOOLS)

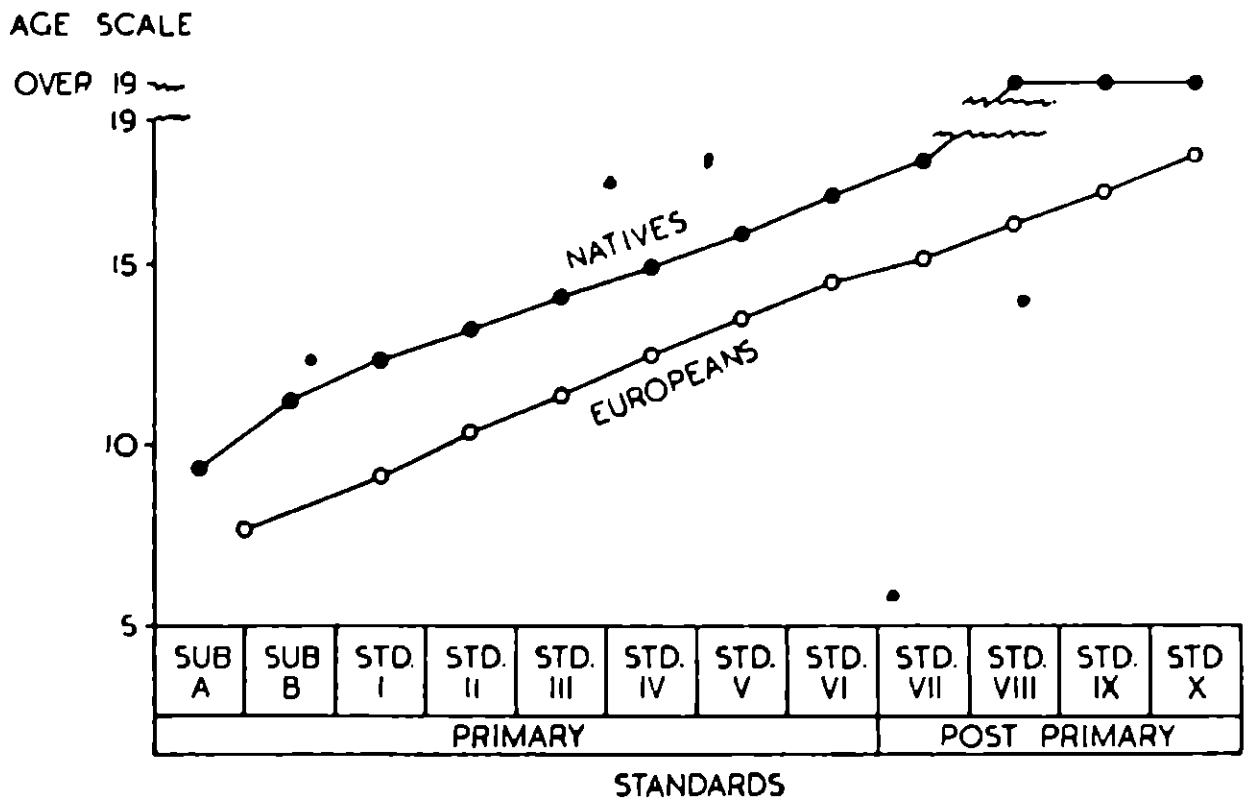
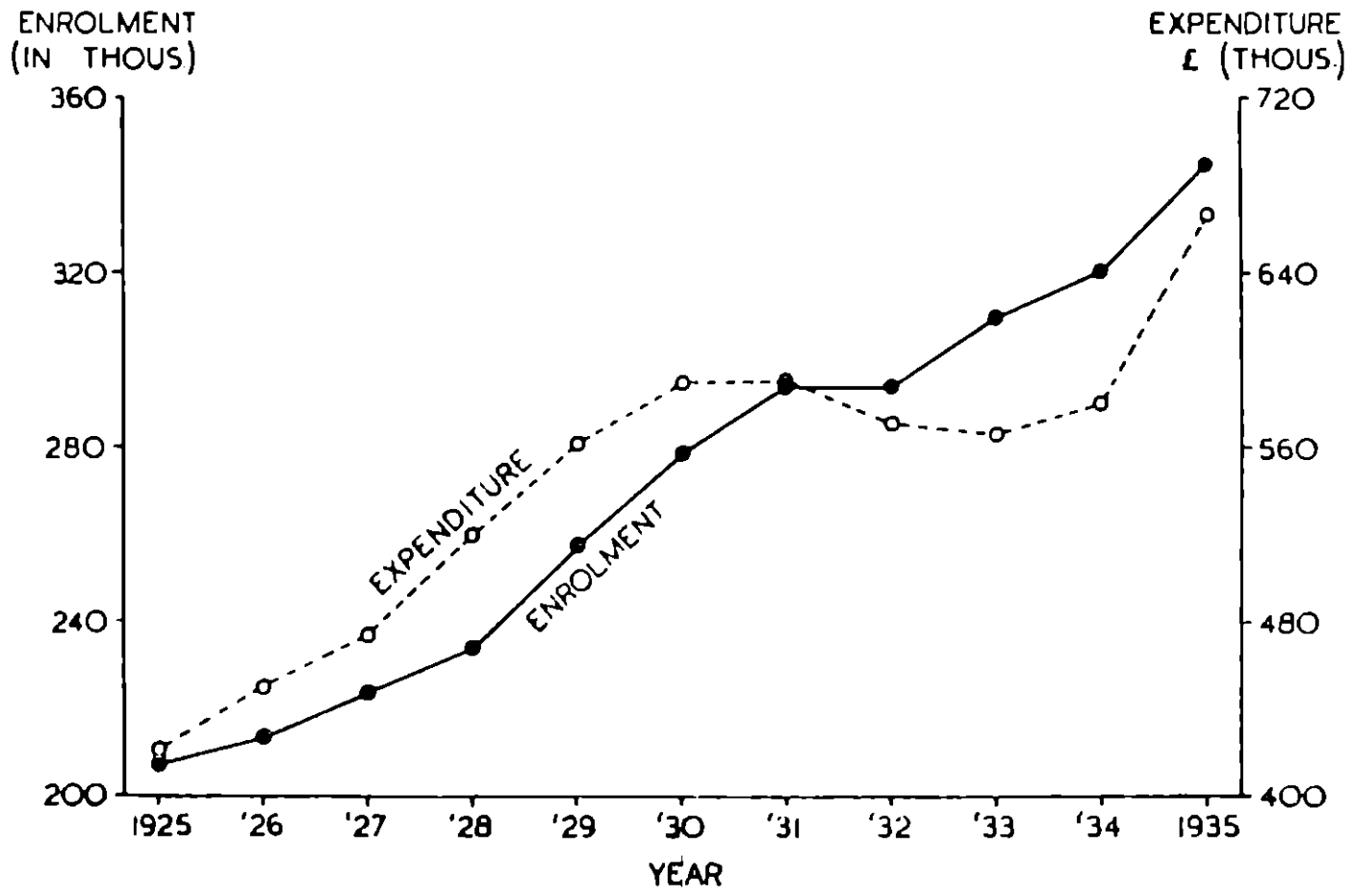


DIAGRAM 5

ENROLMENT OF NATIVE PUPILS & EXPENDITURE ON NATIVE EDUCATION (GOVT & GOVT. AIDED SCHOOLS)



SECTION SEVEN

STATISTICS : NEW ZEALAND

TABLE 54.—NUMBER OF PUPILS ON ROLL, ALL INSTITUTIONS, JULY 1st, 1936 (Whites only)

AGES	PUBLIC SCHOOLS												PRIVATE SCHOOLS				POPULATION 1936
	PRIMARY		INTERMEDIATE		SECONDARY		COMBINED		TECHNICAL		SECONDARY DEPARTMENTS OF DIST. HIGH SCH.		PRIMARY		SECONDARY		
	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	
5–5	9,160	8,501	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,195	1,167	—	—	73,330
6	11,235	10,744	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,451	1,486	—	—	25,197
7	11,839	11,267	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1.399	1,591	—	—	25,316
8	12,175	11,354	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,474	1,561	—	—	25,882
9	12,473	11,790	1	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,490	1,580	—	—	26,429
10	12,430	11,730	48	59	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,556	1,597	—	—	28,965
11	12,226	11,447	500	438	7	17	—	1	4	2	2	4	1,543	1,735	3	3	28,837
12	10,780	9,906	792	740	304	328	31	38	178	186	107	136	1,423	1,593	98	131	29,016
13	7,722	6,428	638	513	1,455	1,600	247	195	1,008	989	513	542	1,034	1,140	422	409	28,860
14	3,244	2,230	330	206	2,320	2,256	346	269	1,782	1,439	730	799	438	535	591	657	29,969
15	668	261	84	54	1,983	1,688	332	230	1,235	943	566	533	112	139	593	587	29,754
16	61	32	10	3	1,342	992	194	134	542	425	279	269	30	41	442	388	27,264
17	8	6	1	—	583	382	98	53	167	112	107	84	4	7	259	224	26,451
18	—	—	—	—	212	105	39	17	54	39	36	29	—	—	73	44	27,678
19	—	—	—	—	47	22	6	2	9	12	3	4	—	—	23	4	29,074
20	—	—	—	—	3	1	—		5	9	4	1	—	—	9	1	28,140
21	—	—	—	—	2	—	1	—	5	18	—	1	—	—	21	—	28,910
Total	104,021	95,696	2,404	2,016	8,259	7,391	1,294	939	4,989	4,174	2,347	2,402	13,149	14,172	2,534	2,448	519,072
Average Attendance :	183,525		4,135		11,562		2,086		8,131		4,371		24,743		4,752		

Teachers' Training Colleges : Males, 413 ; Females, 735.

Other Schools :—Kindergartens, 1,701. Evening Technical, 12,481. University : Men, 3,719 ; Women, 1,248 ; Total, 4,967.

Natives :—Native Village Schools : 9,098 (including 1,099 Europeans). Mission Primary, 674. Maori Secondary, 410.

TABLE 55

DESTINATION OF PUPILS LEAVING POST-PRIMARY SCHOOLS—AS A PERCENTAGE

YEAR	UNIVERSITY		TEACHERS AND TRAINING COLLEGE		CLERICAL		TRADES AND INDUSTRIES		SHOPS AND WAREHOUSES		FARMING		HOME		OTHER	
	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS
1933	3	3	1	1	14	10	23	6	16	12	22	1	4	47	18	21
1936	2·0	1·6	1·9	4·6	28·0	22·7	25·4	9·2	16·4	14·2	15·4	0·1	1·4	29·3	9·5	18·3

[1] No significant percentage.

TABLE 56

DESTINATION OF PUPILS LEAVING PRIMARY AND INTERMEDIATE SCHOOLS—AS A PERCENTAGE

YEAR	CONTINUED EDUCATION		COMMERCE		TRADES		AGRICULTURE		HOME		OTHER	
	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS
Primary—												
1933 .	54	54		2	3	1	24	2	10	36	6	5
1936 .	58	60		4	7	1	18	1	4	26	8	8
Intermediate—												
1933	70	65	5	3	4	2	7	—	8	25	6	5
1936 .	68	67	8	6	10	5	5	—	2	15	7	7

TABLE 57.—TEACHERS, 1936

SCHOOLS	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL	CERTIFICATED	AVERAGE SALARY IN £'S			
					MEN		WOMEN	
					HEADS	ASSISTANTS	HEADS	ASSISTANTS
Primary	2,416	3,697	6,113	6,053	447	333	394	244
Intermediate	63	57	120	graduates[1]	539	377	—	300
Secondary	365	289	654	580	787	419	577	291
Combined	58	42	100	340[1]	849	439	563	290
Technical	264	148	412		756	428	—	274
Secondary Departments of District High Schools	123	85	208	205	—	379	—	304

[1] *Approximate.*

The ratio of expenditure on salaries to total expenditure:

On Primary Schools	43 per cent.
On Post-primary Schools	14 ,,

TABLE 58.—COMPARATIVE FINANCES IN £'s, 1935

SOURCES	STATE[1]	LOCAL AUTHORITY	ENDOWMENTS AND OTHER	FEES	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Administration	37,587	35,027	—	—	72,614	1·9
Primary	1,973,630	57,727	—	—	2,031,357	55·6
Secondary and Technical	614,590	—	50,000	13,622	678,212	18·5
University	71,897	—	58,000	80,000	209,897	5·6
Native Schools	92,801	—	—	—	92,801	2·5
Defective Children	27,506	—	—	—	27,506	0·7
Other	505,747	—	—	—	505,747	13·8
Teachers' Training	54,749	—	—	—	54,749	1·4
Total	3,378,507	92,754	108,000	93,622	3,672,883	100
Percentage	91·9	2·4	3·2	2·5	100	

[1] *The figures for* 1936 *are as follows: Administration,* £37,336; *Primary,* £2,458,306; *Post-primary,* £838,460 (*including* £35,683 *from endowments*); *Higher,* £111,110 (*including* £20,858 *from endowments*); *Other,* £587,054; *Total,* £4,032,266.

SECTION EIGHT

STATISTICS : THE IRISH FREE STATE

(*See also* YEAR BOOK, 1937, *pages* 77–9)

TABLE 59.—PUPILS BY SEX AND TYPE OF INSTITUTION, 1935–6

SCHOOLS	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL
Primary	241,327	243,274	484,601
Secondary	20,519	14,592	35,111
Preparatory Colleges	248	337	585
Industrial School	2,821	3,406	6,465
	MALE	FEMALE	
Teachers' Training	265	400	665
Vocational, Full-time	6,005	6,592	12,697
Vocational, Day Part-time	215	1,789	2,004
Vocational, Evening	12,887	13,310	26,197
Vocational, Rural	10,898	11,769	22,667
Other Vocational Schools	—	—	678
UNIVERSITIES COLLEGES			
Trinity	1,127	340	1,467
Galway	376	246	622
Dublin	2,083	839	2,922
Cork			
Maynooth	583	—	583

PRIMARY BY STANDARDS	
STANDARDS	PUPILS
Infants	124,361
First	61,555
Second	64,212
Third	62,625
Fourth	60,528
Fifth	54,399
Sixth	37,868
Seventh	17,222
Eighth	6,309
Total	489,007

SECONDARY BY YEARS	
1st Year	7,480
2nd Year	7,166
3rd Year	6,547
4th Year	6,379
5th Year	4,164
6th Year	3,015
Total	35,111

TABLE 60.—FINANCE IN £'s, 1936.

PURPOSES	STATE	LOCAL AUTHORITIES	OTHER	TOTAL	PERCENTAGES
Administration	157,061	—	—	157,061	3·1
Primary	3,474,243	7,413	87,074	3,568,730	69·4
Secondary	390,720	30,744	5,558	427,022	8·3
Technical and Vocational	252,817	221,160	—	473,977	9·2
Reformatory and Industrial	113,903	79,620	—	193,523	3·7
Teachers' Training	99,974	—	—	99,974	1·9
Universities	173,473	14,002	—	187,475	3·6
Science and Art	42,791	—	—	72,791	0·8
Total	4,704,992	352,939	92,632	5,140,563	100
Percentages	91·5	6·8	1·7	100	

No data available about the fees in secondary schools and universities.

TABLE 61.—TEACHERS, 1936

SCHOOLS	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL	SALARIES	
Primary :					
Trained .	3,951	4,934	8,885	Men .	£140–303
Untrained .	117	2,641	2,758	Women .	£128–246
Religious .	265	1,579	1,844	SUPERNORMAL MAXIMUM	
				Men, £377 ; Women, £295	
Total . . .	4,333	9,154	13,487		
Percentage by sex . .	33·2	66·8	100		
Percentage trained	91·9	55·3	66·3		
Graduates . . .	422	281	703		
Percentage of graduates .	9·8	3·1	5·0		
Secondary :					
Registered .	782	775	1,557	Men (indoor)	£150–360
Unregistered .	619	703	1,322	,, (outdoor) .	£200–410
				Women (indoor)	£140–260
Total . .	1,401	1,478	2,879	,, (outdoor)	£180–300
Percentage by sex .	47·1	52·9	100		
Percentage registered	55·8	52·4	53·9		
Vocational :					
Whole-time		757	Men		£130–200
Part-time		621	Women		£120–170

TABLE 62.—BRITISH INDIA (INCLUDING BURMA) ENROLMENT, 1935

PROVINCE	CENSUS 1931 POPULATION	PRIMARY GRADE: I	II	III	IV	V	TOTAL	SECONDARY GRADE: VI–XII	COLLEGES: ARTS	PROFESSIONAL	UNIVERSITIES	PERCENTAGES OF DISTRIBUTION: CLASS I	II–V	POST-PRIMARY	PERCENTAGE OF PUPILS TO TOTAL POPULATION
Madras, Male . .	23,082,999	866,640	497,178	313,714	271,691	113,661	1,972,884	199,164	10,425	2,178	440	39·6	50·7	9·7	9·5
Madras, Female .	23,657,108	442,450	156,970	104,302	69,446	30,304	803,472	31,092	794	168	—	52·9	43·3	3·8	3·9
Bombay, Male . .	11,472,884	286,904	150,919	145,303	121,455	106,027	819,608	211,869	10,229	3,190	107	27·4	50·1	22·5	9·1
Bombay, Female .	10,330,504	128,454	55,826	44,961	32,699	22,614	284,554	33,743	1,083	167	—	40·2	48·9	10·9	3·1
Bengal, Male . .	26,041,693	1,052,329	370,037	262,174	130,914	105,508	1,920,962	265,643	23,177	5,061	1,776	47·4	38·8	13·8	8·1
Bengal, Female .	24,072,304	467,507	110,394	58,240	14,322	8,711	659,174	13,937	1,226	94	—	69·3	28·4	2·3	2·6
United Prov., Male .	25,445,006	483,996	263,724	166,855	122,109	88,548	1,125,232	165,045	8,706	4,416	6,674	37·0	48·9	14·1	5·1
United Prov., Female	22,963,757	115,060	35,994	20,313	10,779	7,045	189,191	8,913	439	24	—	59·9	35·3	4·8	0·8
Punjab, Male . .	12,880,510	343,368	159,780	122,192	98,947	64,060	788,347	143,705	13,676	2,330	34	36·2	47·0	16·8	7·3
Punjab, Female .	10,700,342	86,351	26,773	20,188	15,153	11,699	160,164	10,193	470	144	—	50·5	43·2	6·3	1·3
Burma, Male . .	7,490,601	141,754	45,272	34,552	27,158	12,248	260,984	31,800	137	—	1,817	48·2	40·4	11·4	4·0
Burma, Female .	7,176,545	128,250	32,566	20,788	13,307	3,776	197,687	7,653	245	87	—	59·7	36·6	3·7	2·6
Bihar & Orissa, Male .	18,794,138	267,288	180,150	169,981	132,516	65,313	815,248	134,733	3,312	856	—	28·0	57·5	14·5	5·1
Bihar & Orissa, Female	18,883,438	57,767	33,761	24,687	15,670	3,707	135,592	4,603	23	—	—	41·3	55·4	3·3	0·8
Central Prov., Male .	7,761,818	127,229	86,755	74,212	60,445	16,879	365,520	39,441	2,332	624	—	31·2	58·4	10·4	5·2
Central Prov., Female	7,745,905	36,822	14,765	10,489	7,239	1,542	70,857	2,830	79	23	—	49·7	46·4	3·9	1·0
Assam, Male . .	4,537,206	100,756	48,723	43,072	34,032	31,155	257,738	40,880	1,700	76	—	33·6	52·3	14·1	6·7
Assam, Female . .	4,085,045	31,885	12,566	9,415	6,520	4,804	65,190	3,836	59	—	—	46·2	48·2	5·6	1·7
N.-West Prov., Male .	1,315,818	32,705	11,409	8,580	7,223	4,649	64,566	10,689	762	—	—	43·0	42·0	15·0	6·0
N.-West Prov., Female	1,109,258	8,727	2,044	1,662	1,204	635	14,272	1,060	—	—	—	58·2	34·7	7·1	1·2
Total, Male[1] . .	140,022,643	3,725,094	1,743,329	1,354,500	1,017,230	616,301	8,456,454	1,265,942	76,760	18,657	11,003	37·9	47·2	14·9	7·0
Total, Female . .	131,669,261	1,516,265	486,509	319,581	189,728	97,470	2,608,553	122,199	4,547	841	included	55·4	40·0	4·6	2·1

[1] *Total British India, including minor administrative areas.*

SECTION NINE

Facilities available for Native Primary Education in British Tropical Africa, 1935

IT is impossible to determine the exact percentage of the school-age population actually enrolled in primary schools. In the first place, the total school-age population is not known for any of the regions, and even the total population is known accurately for very few of these regions. Hence estimates of the total school-age population can be considered only as approximations, but it is necessary to use such estimates in comparing the facilities available for primary education in the different regions. In the second place, the ages of the pupils enrolled in the primary schools are not given in any of the reports, but in Uganda, for example, there are approximately 18,000 adults (i.e. over 18 years of age) enrolled in the sub-grade schools alone, and it seems probable that similar conditions exist in the other regions.

The following table shows the percentage of the estimated school-age population for whom facilities are available in Government, aided and unaided primary schools in the different regions.

Regions	Per cent. of the school-age (5–15 yrs.) population for whom primary school facilities are available
Gambia, Sierra Leone and Somaliland	Under 5 per cent.
Gold Coast, Nigeria, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Zanzibar	5 to 10 ,, ,,
Kenya and Bechuanaland Protectorate	10 to 15 ,, ,,
Tanganyika	15 to 20 ,, ,,
South-west Africa and Swaziland	20 to 25 ,, ,,
Northern Rhodesia and Uganda	25 to 30 ,, ,,
Southern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Mauritius and Basutoland	Over 30 ,, ,,

In assessing the value of the facilities available in the different regions, it is necessary to consider the questions of wastage and stagnation. The enrolment of pupils in the different standards give us some indication of the position with regard to these factors, but these figures are available for very few of the regions. The available data are given in Tables 64–8, while Table 69 gives similar data for the European schools in Southern Rhodesia. These data have been presented in a graphical form in the included diagrams. (Similar tables and diagrams have been prepared for the Union of South Africa, and may be found in Section Eight.)

Comparing Diagrams 1 to 5 with Diagram 6a, we see immediately that wastage and stagnation must be very great throughout the school life in native schools. The position is not as serious in Sierra Leone

and the Gold Coast as in the other regions considered, but in all cases the decline in enrolment from class to class is very marked. In the Sierra Leone Protectorate (see Diagram 4b), the enrolment is greatest in the Infant Class I, but this peculiarity appears to be due to eccentricities of grading in the classes in infant schools. The position is very unsatisfactory in Southern Rhodesia (see Diagram 2), where approximately 88 per cent. of the pupils in primary schools are enrolled in the below standard classes. The position is even worse in Uganda, where approximately 90 per cent. of the pupils in primary schools are enrolled in the sub-grade schools (which cover the first two years of school life) and 98 per cent. are enrolled in the elementary and sub-grade schools (covering at most the first four years of school life). If we assume that no child who has not completed a primary course of at least four years will become permanently literate (see *Interim Report of the Indian Statutory Commission*, September 1929, page 45, paragraph 19), we are forced to conclude that in many regions the majority of children enrolled in primary schools do not receive an adequate training. These facts, together with the inadequate training offered in many of the unaided schools and the small percentage of the school-age population for whom facilities are available, indicate that in many regions the position with regard to native primary education is very unsatisfactory. The magnitude of the problem must not be forgotten, however ; there are probably over ten million children of school age (5–15 years) in British Africa. There are other factors also, difficulties peculiar to tropical regions, but the consideration of these factors is outside the scope of the present survey.

Female Education

In all the regions considered, except Basutoland and Bechuanaland, the education of girls is in a less satisfactory position than that of the boys. The conditions in Basutoland and Bechuanaland are peculiar to these territories (and to the Cape and Natal Provinces in South Africa) : many of the boys are required to herd the cattle and have little opportunity of attending schools. The position is illustrated in Diagrams 1, 2 and 5 for Bechuanaland, Southern Rhodesia and the Gold Coast respectively. It will be seen that the general conclusions stated above apply with even greater force to the education of girls. Unfortunately, the data with regard to female education are not available for all the regions.

Native Vocational and Higher Education

There is relatively little vocational and higher, in comparison with primary, education in British Africa. There are facilities for post-secondary education at Achimota College, Gold Coast ; Gordon College, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan ; Higher College, Yaba, Nigeria ; and at Makerere College, Uganda.

Expenditure on Native Education

Complete figures are not available for the expenditure on native education, but it will be seen from the enrolment figures given (for the unaided schools) in Table 63 that in many regions a large proportion of the cost must be defrayed by the missions and other private groups. Complete figures for Government expenditure on education, by all departments, will be available in the near future, and a survey of the expenditure on education in the different regions will be made in the YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION as soon as these figures are available.

Notes to Table 63

The figures given in the table on page 108 have been taken from the Annual Education Reports of the different regions. The educational systems vary from colony to colony, and in general the statistics given in the reports are not presented in a standard form, although such a form has been recommended by the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies. In many cases the educational systems are particularly complicated, and the different types of institutions are not easily classified into even the broad groups considered in this table. For example, in Uganda we find sub-grade schools (selected and unaided), elementary schools (aided and unaided), central schools, middle schools (upper and lower), junior secondary schools, normal schools for Grade C and Grade A teachers, and special schools. The enrolment figures are generally given separately for each type of institution, and it is very difficult to classify the data. In addition, the figures given in different tables in the reports do not always correspond ; an interesting case occurs in the Annual Report of the Educational Department of Sierra Leone, where we find in Appendix VIIA that 1,180 pupils were enrolled in the unassisted infant, elementary and secondary schools of the Colony (the number enrolled in secondary classes is not given), but in Appendix VIIB we find that the average attendance for these schools is 1,771 pupils. Similar difficulties arise in other cases : for example, in Tanganyika we find from General Table I that all the African pupils are enrolled in general primary schools, but in General Table II we find that 1,244 pupils are enrolled in vocational courses, and 40 pupils are enrolled in junior secondary courses at Tabora and Minaki.

The enrolment in primary schools has been subdivided into the enrolment in Government and aided schools, and enrolment in unaided schools (i.e. schools which receive no Government aid). This seems to be a necessary and natural division, because the educational facilities provided in these two types of schools are not always equivalent. Unfortunately, complete and accurate data are not always available for the enrolment in unaided schools, and in some cases, as, for example, in Mauritius, the private or unaided schools are not mentioned at all in the reports, although there are probably

many in this category. In addition, the educational facilities provided in some of these unaided schools are not of a high standard—for example, the African Bush schools in Tanganyika are described as follows (see page 11 of the *Annual Report of the Education Department*, 1935).

". . . Bush Schools, which number several thousand. Though registered, they are, for the most part, catechetical centres only. The standard of education is very indifferent and is of secondary consideration to the work of evangelisation. There are also the Koran schools, which number over six hundred."

In Northern Rhodesia (see *Annual Report on Native Education*, 1935, page 10), the ungraded schools are described as follows :

". . . 'Ungraded' schools, or schools which receive no Government assistance, and do not conform to the Government syllabus, show a very large increase. No less than 20,000 more children are attending these schools than in 1934. Of a total of 1,601 ungraded schools, 819 are in the Eastern Province, and 44,393 children out of the 68,000 who attend these schools also come from that Province. These figures can give little cause for satisfaction, since they reveal an undue preponderance of schools which are, from an educational point of view, often so poor as to be almost worthless. Furthermore, the huge number of ungraded schools in one Province reveals a state of competition between two missions in particular from which the people have gained little educationally. It is significant that other Provinces which contain fewer 'bush' schools are more educationally advanced."

It does not follow, of course, that all unaided schools are of this type ; in some cases the unaided schools offer educational facilities equivalent to those offered in Government schools, and these facts must be taken into account in assessing the facilities available in the different regions.

TABLE 63.—BRITISH TROPICAL AFRICA: PUPILS BY RACE, SEX AND TYPE OF INSTITUTION, 1935

REGION	RACE	SEX	PRIMARY SCHOOLS			VOCATIONAL	HIGHER EDUCATION	TOTAL
			GOVT. & AIDED	UNAIDED	TOTAL			
Basutoland	European	Male	43	—	43	—	—	43
		Female	37	—	37	—	—	37
		Total	80	—	80	—	—	80
	Native	Male	25,781	4,822	30,603	289	41	30,933
		Female	40,993	8,851	49,844	203	2	50,049
		Total	66,774	13,673	80,447	492	43	80,982
Bechuanaland Protectorate	European	Male	110	—	110	—	—	110
		Female	105	—	105	—	—	105
		Total	215	—	215	—	—	215
	Eurafrican	Male	25	—	25	—	—	25
		Female	24	—	24			24
		Total	49	—	49	—	—	49
	African	Male	2,457	—	2,457	—	—	2,457
		Female	6,794	—	6,794	—	—	6,794
		Total	9,251	—	9,251	—	—	9,251
Gambia	Non-European	Male	1,354	49	1,403	243	58	1,704
		Female	602	43	645	7	88	740
		Total	1,956	92	2,048	250	146	2,444
Gold Coast	Non-European	Male	33,630	13,421	47,051	318	916	48,285
		Female	11,358	3,749	15,107	—	74	15,181
		Total	44,988	17,170	62,158	318	990	63,466
Kenya	European	Male	611	282	893	—	62	955
		Female	383	373	756	—	79	835
		Total	994	655	1,649	—	141	1,790
	Indian and Goan	Male	—	—	4,253	—	262	4,515
		Female	—	—	2,916	—	—	2,916
		Total	6,426	743	7,169	—	262	7,431
	Arab	Male	458	—	458	—	21	479
		Female	6	—	6	—	—	6
		Total	464	—	464	—	21	485
	African	Male	—	—	66,604	331	201	67,136
		Female	—	—	29,350	37	—	29,387
		Total	39,506	56,448	95,954	368	201	96,523
Mauritius	Non-European	Male	25,445	—	25,445	—	762	26,207
		Female	14,036	—	14,036	—	794	14,830
		Total	39,481	—	39,481	—	1,556	41,037
Nigeria: Northern Provinces	Native	Male	—	—	216,817	130	55	217,002
		Female	—	—	3,128	—	—	3,128
		Total	—	—	219,945	130	55	220,130
Nigeria: Southern Provinces	Native	Male	—	—	159,780	649	53	160,482
		Female	—	—	36,221	113	—	36,334
		Total	72,672	123,329	196,001	762	53	196,816
Northern Rhodesia	European	Male	497	—	—	—	—	—
		Female	548	—	—	—	—	—
		Total	1,045	44	1,089	—	—	1,089

TABLE 63—*continued*

REGION		RACE	SEX	PRIMARY SCHOOLS			VOCATIONAL	HIGHER EDUCATION	TOTAL
				GOVT. & AIDED	UNAIDED	TOTAL			
Northern Rhodesia		Native	Male	15,787	34,601	50,388	461	—	50,849
			Female	6,914	35,752	42,666	79	—	42,745
			Total	22,701	70,353	93,054	540	—	93,594
Nyasaland . .		European	Male	40	—	40	—	—	40
			Female	64	—	64	—	—	64
			Total	104	—	104	—	—	104
		African	Male	—	—	104,329	968	—	105,297
			Female	—	—	76,096	803	—	76,899
			Total	47,893	132,532	180,425	1,771	—	182,196
Sierra Leone	Colony	African	Male	—	—	4,774	56	632	5,462
			Female	—	—	3,301	74	681	4,056
			Total	7,613	462	8,075	130	1,313	9,518
	Protectorate	African	Male	—	—	7,185	108	11	7,304
			Female	—	—	2,049	—	31	2,080
			Total	7,097	2,137	9,234	108	42	9,384
Somaliland .		Non-European	Male	181	—	181	—	—	181
			Female	—	—	—	—	—	—
			Total	181	—	181	—	—	181
Southern Rhodesia		European	Male	—	—	—	—	—	—
			Female	—	—	—	—	—	—
			Total	10,099	—	10,099	1,115	—	11,214
		Coloured and Indian	Male	—	—	—	—	—	—
			Female	—	—	—	—	—	—
			Total	261	779	1,040	—	—	1,040
		Native	Male	55,892	—	55,892	—	—	55,892
			Female	49,999	—	49,999	—	—	49,999
			Total	105,891	—	105,891	—	—	105,891
South-west Africa		European	Male	—	—	—	—	—	—
			Female	—	—	—	—	—	—
			Total	4,354	775	5,129	—	446	5,575
		Coloured	Male	—	—	424	8	—	432
			Female	—	—	358	—	—	358
			Total	—	—	782	8	—	790
		Native	Male	—	—	—	—	—	—
			Female	—	—	—	—	—	—
			Total	3,805	10,307	14,112	91	—	14,203
Sudan	Northern Sphere	Native	Male	—	2,793	—	—	—	—
			Female	—	2,288	—	—	—	—
			Total	39,042	5,081	44,123	289	362	44,774
	Southern Sphere	Native	Male	3,101	—	—	169	—	—
			Female	575	—	—	—	—	—
			Total	3,676	13,829	17,505	169	—	17,674
Swaziland . .		European	Male	—	—	—	—	—	—
			Female	—	—	—	—	—	—
			Total	407	—	407	—	29	436
		Native	Male	—	—	—	—	—	—
			Female	—	—	—	—	—	—
			Total	4,475	3,903	8,378	—	—	8,378

TABLE 63—*continued*

REGION	RACE	SEX	PRIMARY SCHOOLS			VOCATIONAL	HIGHER EDUCATION	TOTAL
			GOVT. & AIDED	UNAIDED	TOTAL			
Tanganyika	European	Male	—	—	413	—		413
		Female	—	—	349	—	—	349
		Total	753	9	762	—	—	762
	Indian	Male	—	—	—	—	—	2,355
		Female	—	—	—	—	—	1,683
		Total	2,113	1,677	3,790	—	248	4,038
	African	Male	—	—	—	—	—	—
		Female	—	—	—	—	—	—
		Total	26,606	197,951	224,557	1,244	40	225,841
Uganda	European	Male	15	—	15	—	—	15
		Female	14	—	14	—	—	14
		Total	29		29	—		29
	Goan	Male	43	—	43	—	—	43
		Female	42	—	42	—	—	42
		Total	85	—	85	—		85
	Indian	Male	1,061	—	1,061	—	—	1,061
		Female	669	—	669	—	—	669
		Total	1,730	—	1,730		—	1,730
	African	Male	—	—	—	—	360	—
		Female	—	—	—	—	—	—
		Total	53,025	205,838	258,863	1,919	360	261,142
Zanzibar	Non-European	Male	3,152	972	4,124	37	24	4,185
		Female	891	497	1,388	—	—	1,388
		Total	4,043	1,469	5,512	37	24	5,573

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

Bechuanaland Protectorate
European: 12 secondary bursaries outside the protectorate, 33 primary bursaries outside the territory and 17 primary bursaries in the protectorate.
African: 14 secondary bursaries outside the protectorate (11 teacher training).
Gold Coast: Including enrolment at Achimota College.
Kenya. African: 92,819 pupils are enrolled in elementary schools (5–6 year course).
Mauritius: 19,975 Indian children in primary schools (15,045 boys and 4,750 girls). In addition, 454 pupils attend Royal College and Royal College School. The Superintendent of Schools in Mauritius, Mr. P. Henri, informed us that there are a very large number of private schools, which are not mentioned in the report because statistics are not available for these schools.
Nigeria. Northern Provinces: Separate figures are not available for the enrolment in Government and aided schools, but there are 7,947 pupils in Government schools, 13 aided and 252 unaided mission schools, and 199,374 boys in the non-controlled Koran schools.
Northern Rhodesia
European: In addition there are 48 correspondence tuition pupils and 138 children being educated outside the territory.
Nyasaland
European: In addition, there are 70 European children attending schools in Southern Rhodesia.
African: Indian and half-caste children are admitted to African schools.
Sierra Leone: Figures for non-controlled institutions are not available.
Somaliland: 5 Somali pupils are enrolled at Gordon College, Sudan. No figures are available for the non-controlled Koran schools.
Southern Rhodesia. European: 1,070 of the 1,115 pupils in vocational schools are enrolled in commercial and technical evening classes.
South-west Africa. Native: Complete figures are not available for the unaided schools.
Sudan. Northern Sphere: Includes 24,000 pupils in aided Koran and sub-grade schools.
Swaziland. Native: Secondary courses are given at the Swazi National School, but the number of pupils enrolled in these classes is not given.
Uganda
European: In addition, 26 boys and 19 girls attend schools in Kenya; 4 boys and 2 girls in secondary schools.
Indian: In addition, 50 infants attend a private school.
African: 232,158 pupils are enrolled in sub-grade schools (2-year course).
Zanzibar: There are 2,480 Indian and 110 Comorian pupils enrolled in these schools.

TABLE 64.—BECHUANALAND PROTECTORATE, 1935

Standards of Pupils enrolled in Primary Schools (Africans only)

STANDARDS	ENROLMENT	
	BOYS	GIRLS
Sub A	1,263	3,965
Sub B	407	1,079
Standard I	275	778
,, II	164	419
,, III	141	309
,, IV	109	165
,, V	57	52
,, VI	32	27
,, VII	6	—
,, VIII	3	—
Total	2,457	6,794

TABLE 65.—SOUTHERN RHODESIA, 1935

Standards of Pupils enrolled in Primary Schools (Natives only)

STANDARDS	ENROLMENT		
	BOYS	GIRLS	
Sub A Sub B	48,016	44,692	Excluding 425 boys (unclassified) in the Government schools.
Standard I	3,506	3,015	
,, II	1,765	1,196	
,, III	1,006	618	
,, IV	531	265	
,, V	352	123	
,, VI	189	56	
,, VII	102	34	
Total	55,467	49,999	

TABLE 66.—NIGERIA (SOUTHERN PROVINCES ONLY)

Classes of Pupils enrolled in Primary Schools (Natives only)

CLASSES	GOVERNMENT AND AIDED SCHOOLS	UNAIDED SCHOOLS	TOTAL	
Infant I	17,816	64,462	82,278	
,, II	11,243	27,824	39,067	
Elementary I	9,921	12,990	22,911	Excluding 165 pupils in Government and aided schools who are taking vocational training.
,, II	8,075	7,753	15,828	
,, III	7,513	4,311	11,824	
,, IV	6,506	2,807	9,313	
Middle I	5,124	1,548	6,672	
,, II	4,596	1,306	5,902	
,, III	916	208	1,124	
,, IV	474	108	582	
,, V	222	12	234	
,, VI	101	—	101	
Total .	72,507	123,329	195,836	

TABLE 67.—SIERRA LEONE, 1935

Standards of Pupils enrolled in Primary Schools (Africans only)

STANDARDS	COLONY	PROTECTORATE		
	GOVERNMENT AND AIDED SCHOOLS	GOVERNMENT AND AIDED SCHOOLS	UNAIDED SCHOOLS	TOTAL
Infant III . .	1,426	1,233	473	1,706
,, II . .	1,028	906	301	1,207
,, I . .	1,056	1,848	664	2,512
Elementary I . .	987	935	284	1,219
,, II . .	854	695	180	875
,, III . .	869	559	153	712
,, IV . .	602	379	60	439
,, V . .	506	319	13	332
,, VI . .	239	121	9	130
,, VII . .	46	102	—	102
Total .	7,613	7,097	2,137	9,234

TABLE 68.—GOLD COAST, 1935

Classes of Pupils enrolled in Government, Aided and Unaided Primary Schools (Non-European)

CLASSES	ENROLMENT	
	BOYS	GIRLS
Infant I .	8,735	3,697
,, II . .	5,416	2,055
,, III . .	5,347	1,782
Standard I . .	5,223	1,632
,, II . .	4,266	1,243
,, III . .	3,958	976
,, IV . .	3,208	801
,, V .	2,680	623
,, VI . .	2,281	432
,, VII . .	1,790	272
Total .	42,904	13,513

NOTE.—The data in Table 68 do not appear in the Annual Education Report, but were supplied by the Director of Education, Gold Coast, at the request of Dr. Mumford, University of London Institute of Education. The data are not complete, but it is probable that the discrepancy between these results and those of Table 63 is due to incomplete returns submitted for the unaided schools.

TABLE 69.—SOUTHERN RHODESIA, 1935

(Europeans only)

(a) Classes of Pupils enrolled in Primary Schools (excluding Aided Farm Schools)

CLASSES	ENROLMENT
Below Standard	2,139
Standard I	1,023
,, II	945
,, III	1,032
,, IV	1,090
,, V	1,123
Form 1	827
,, 2	764
,, 3	486
,, 4	205
,, 5	164
Total	9,798

(b) Ages of Pupils enrolled in Primary Schools (excluding Aided Farm Schools)

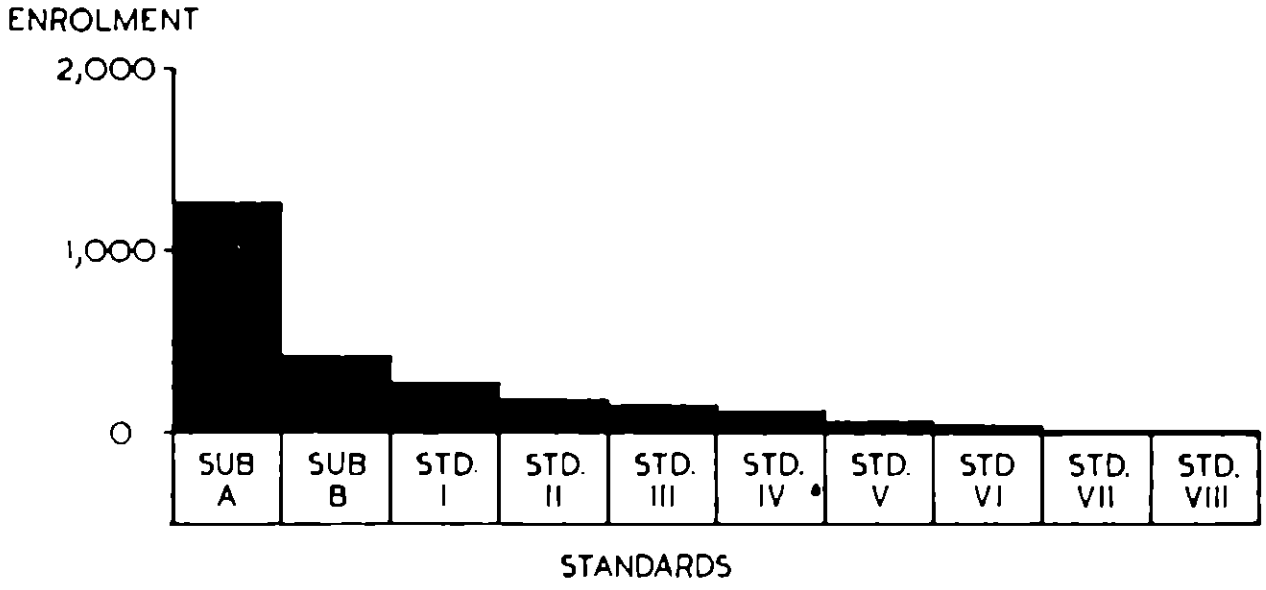
AGE	BELOW STANDARD CLASSES	ALL CLASSES
Under 6	145	145
6–7	642	648
7–8	772	892
8–9 .	398	915
9–10 .	141	977
10–11 .	30	961
11–12 .	5	874
12–13 .	3	906
13–14 .	1	953
14–15 .	1	933
15–16 .	—	782
16–17 .	—	453
17–18 .	—	255
18 and over .	1	104
Total .	2,139	9,798

DIAGRAM I

BECHUANALAND PROTECTORATE 1935

STANDARDS OF PUPILS ENROLLED IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS (AFRICANS ONLY)

a. BOYS



b GIRLS

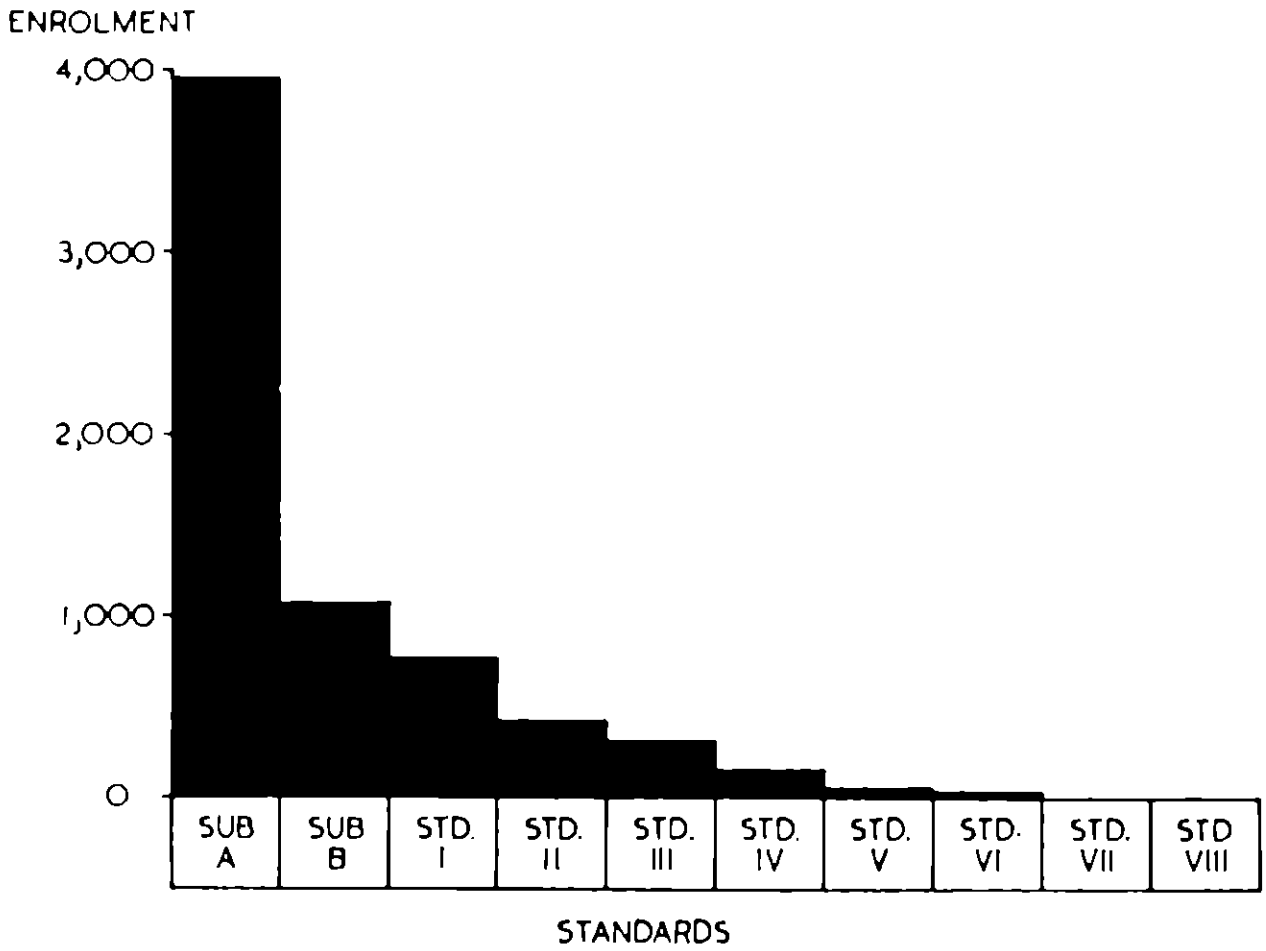
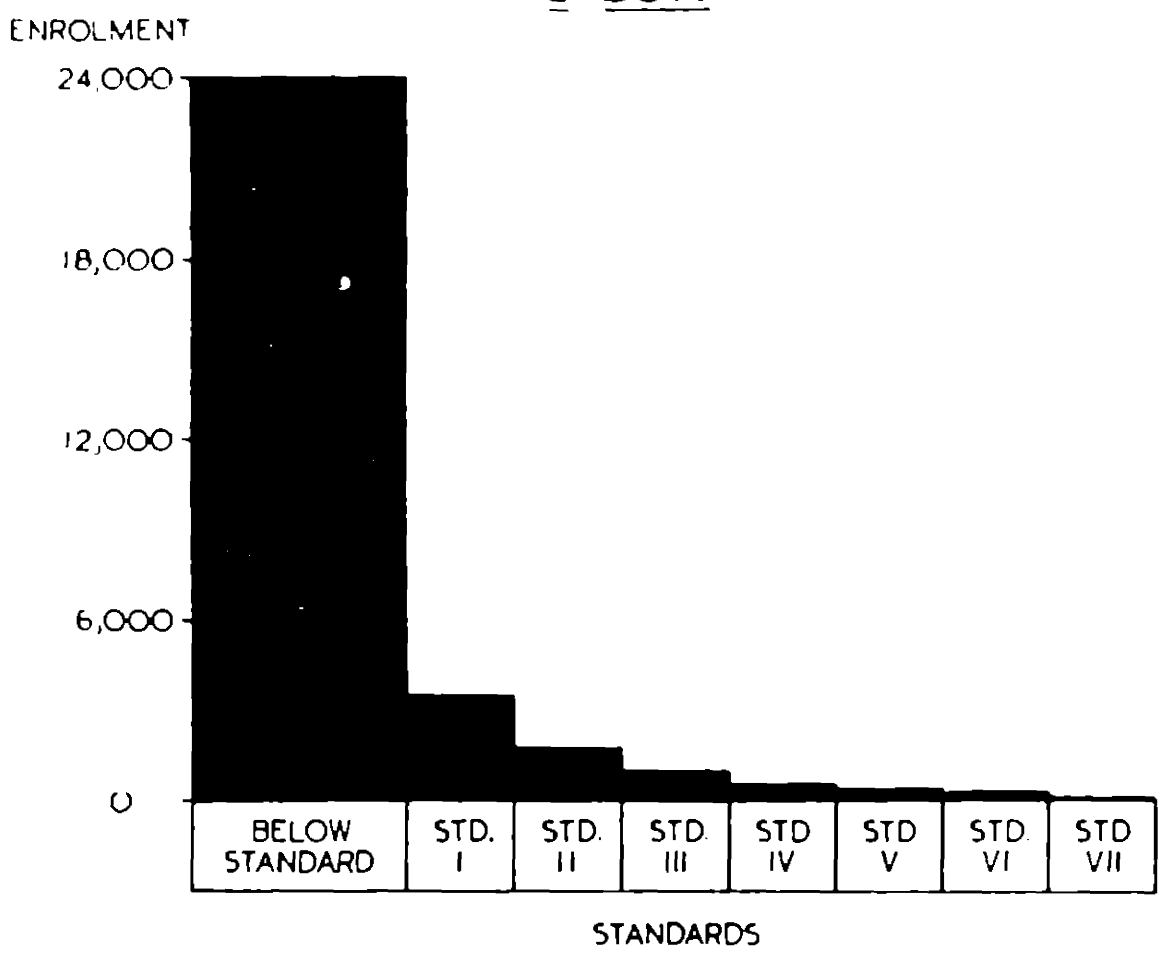


DIAGRAM 2

SOUTHERN RHODESIA 1935

STANDARDS OF PUPILS ENROLLED IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS (NATIVES ONLY)

a BOYS



b. GIRLS

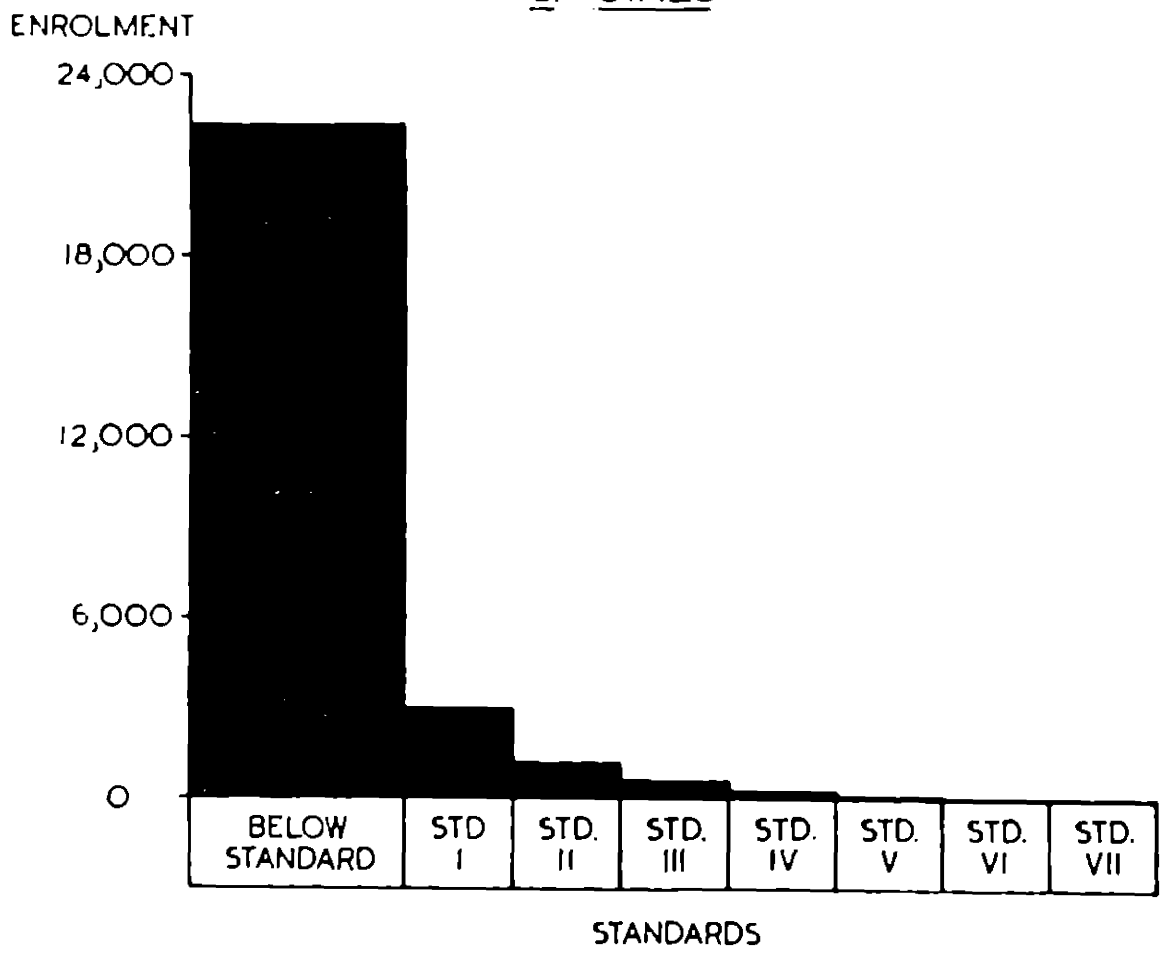


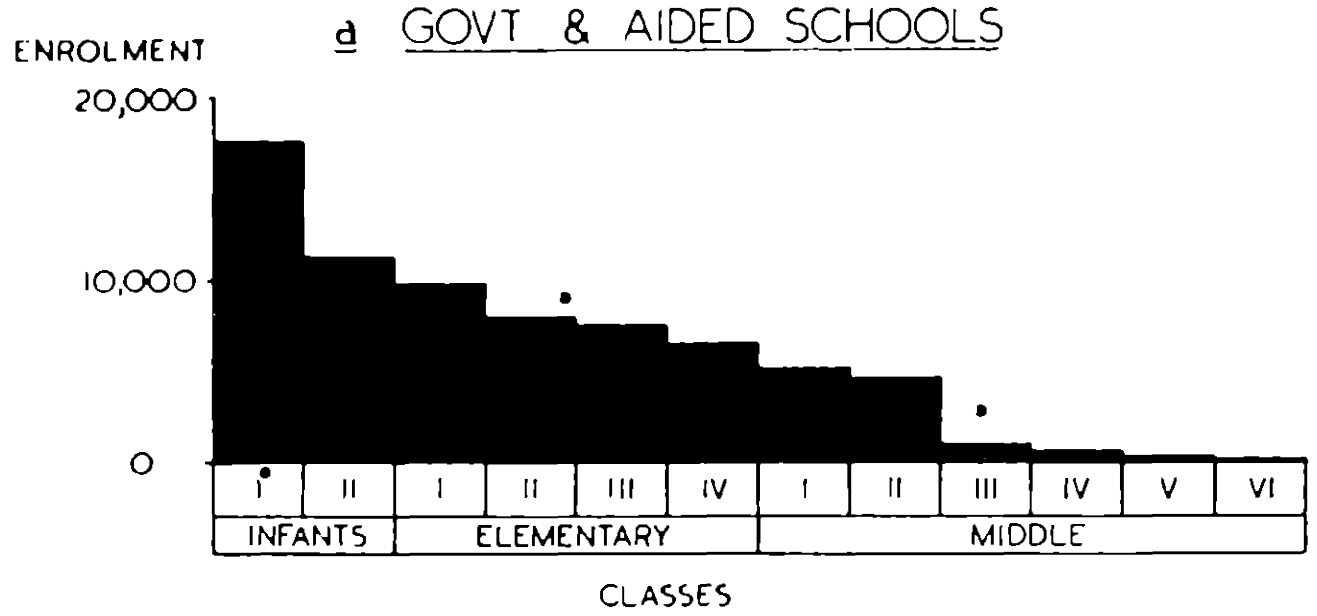
DIAGRAM 3

NIGERIA (SOUTHERN PROVINCES) 1935

CLASSES OF PUPILS ENROLLED IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS

(NATIVES ONLY)

a GOVT & AIDED SCHOOLS



b UNAIDED SCHOOLS

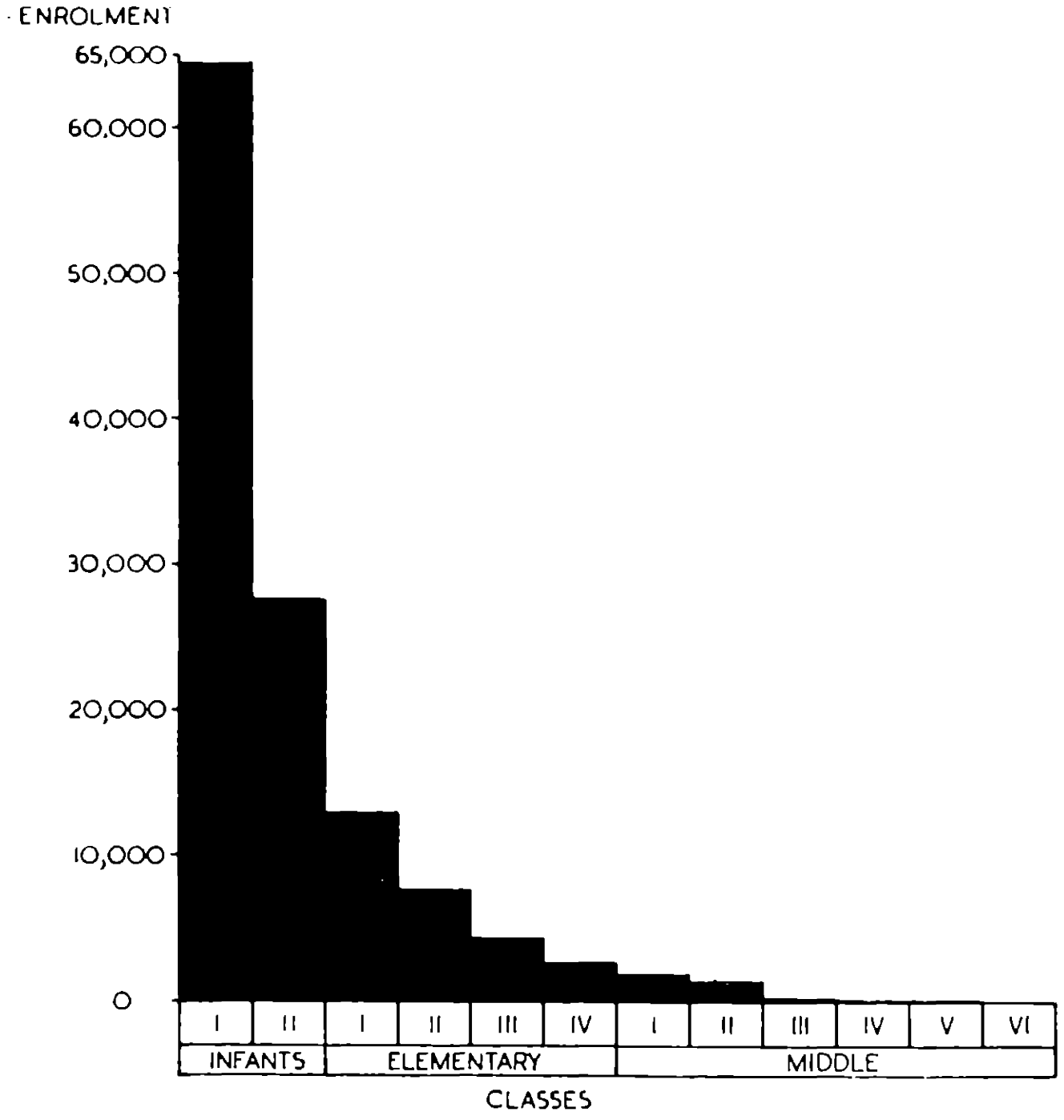


DIAGRAM 4

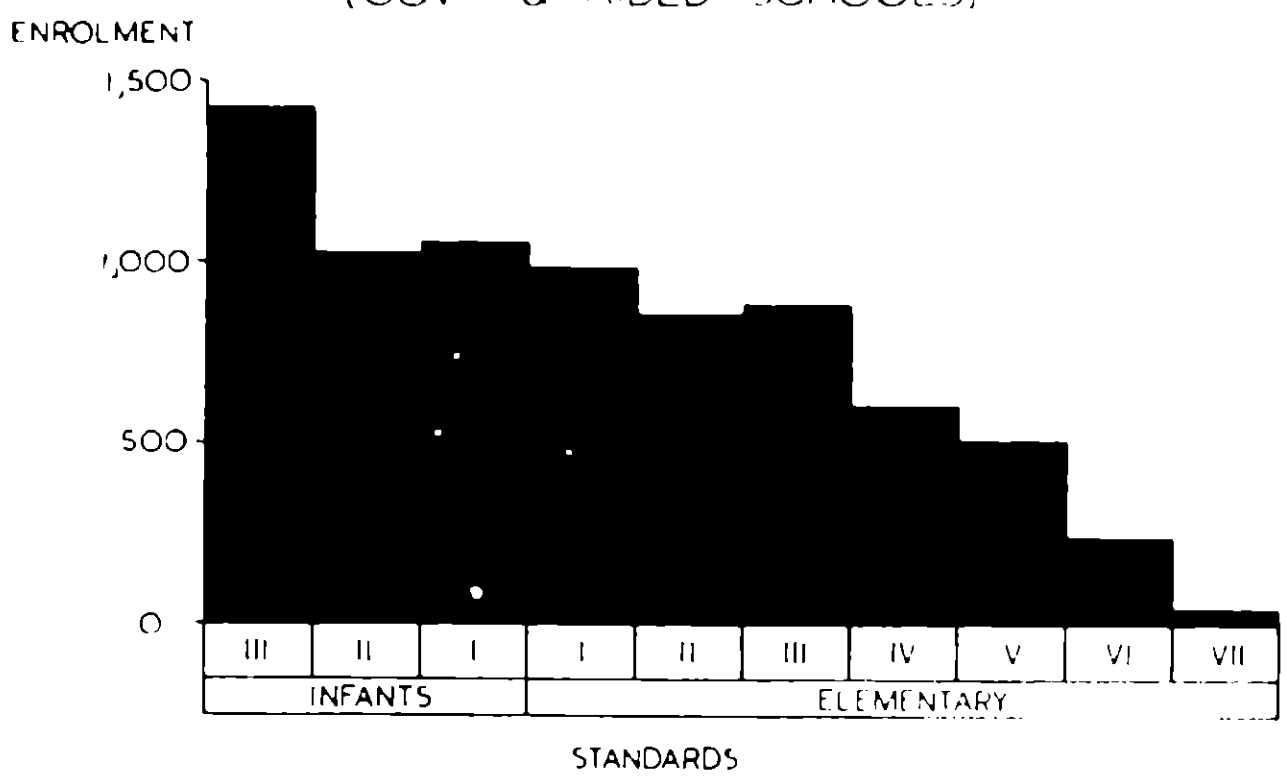
SIERRA LEONE 1935

STANDARDS OF PUPILS ENROLLED IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS

(AFRICANS ONLY)

a COLONY

(GOVT & AIDED SCHOOLS)



b PROTECTORATE

(GOVT AIDED & UNAIDED SCHOOLS)

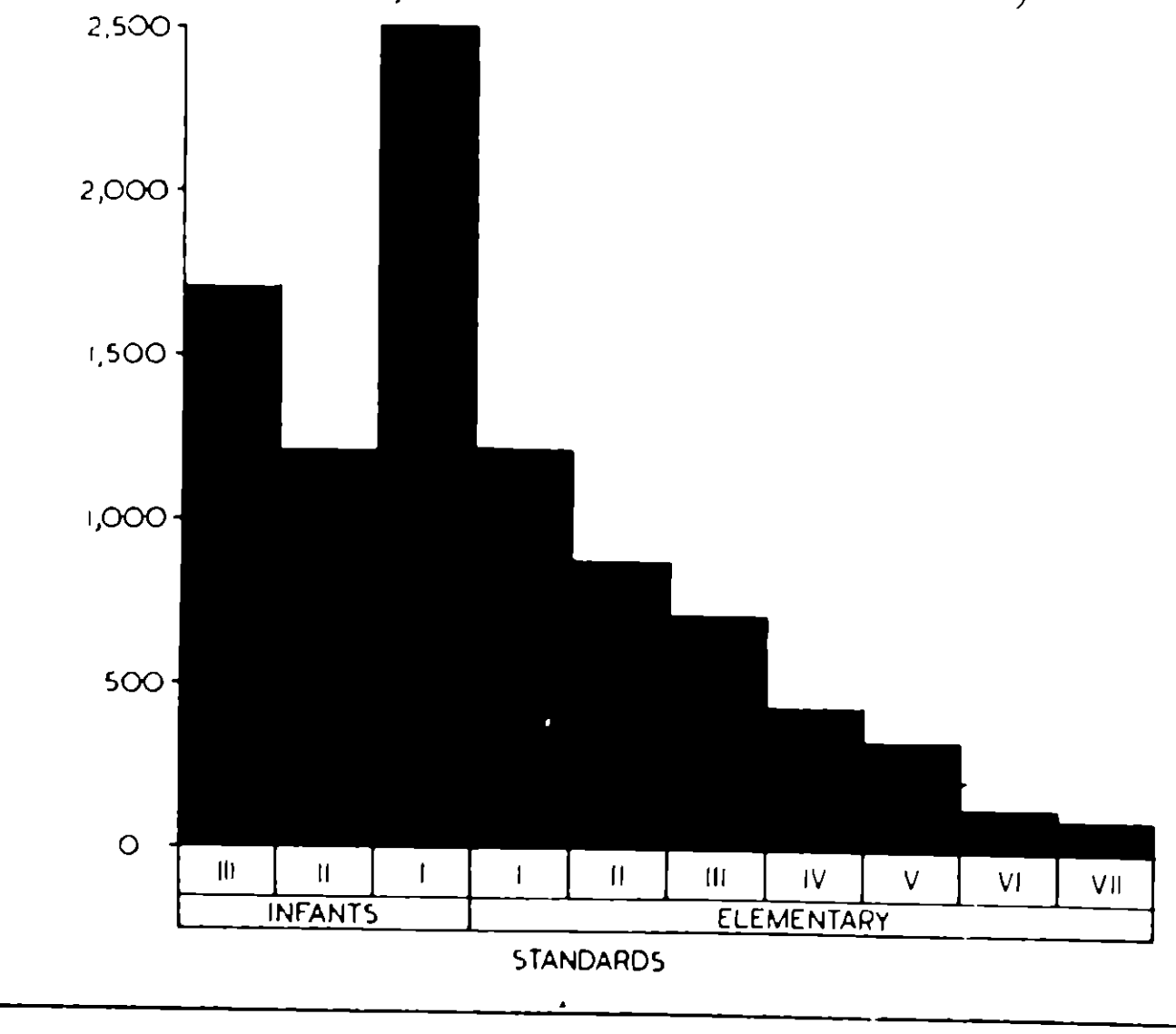
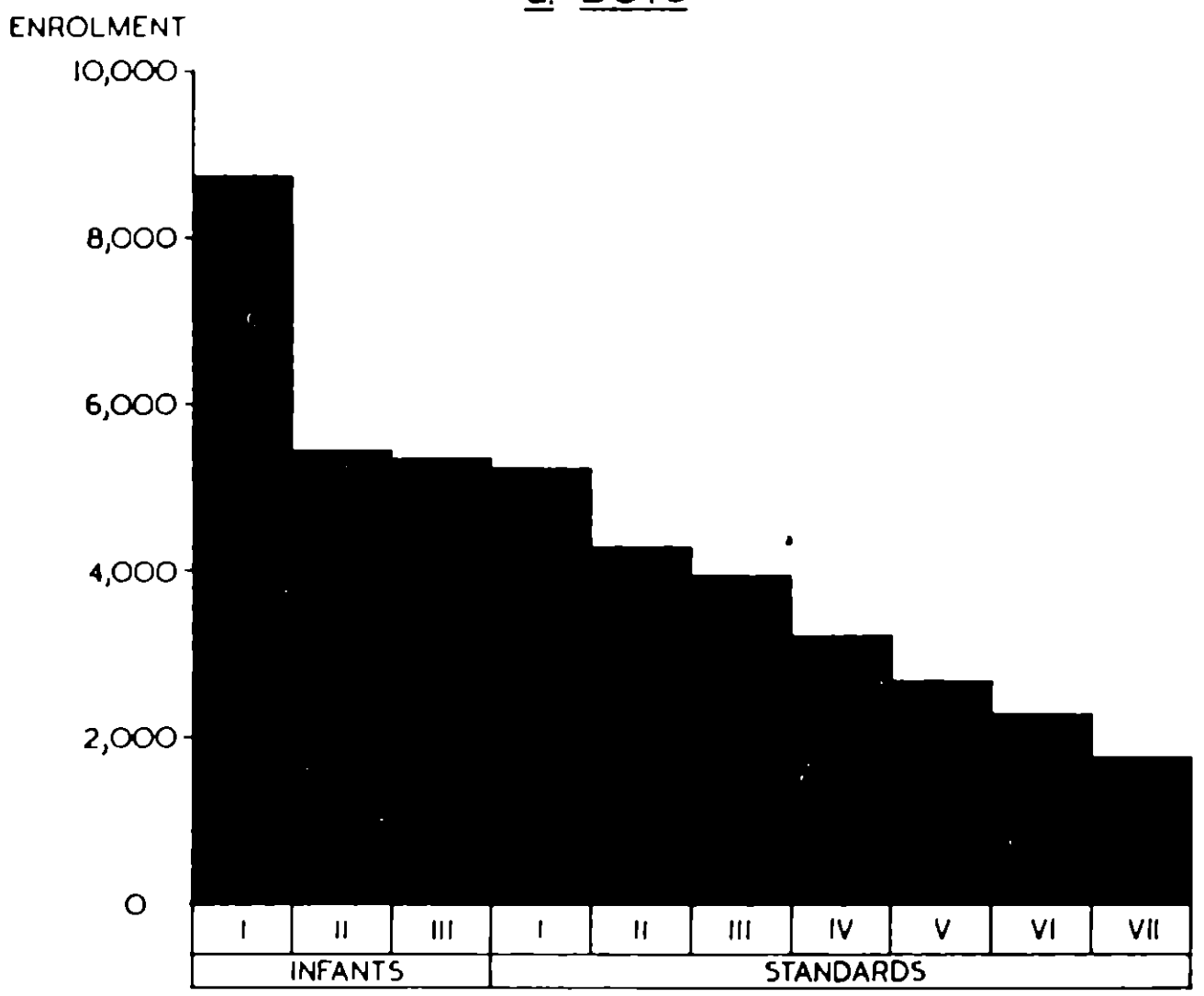


DIAGRAM 5

GOLD COAST 1935

CLASSES OF PUPILS ENROLLED IN GOVT., AIDED & UNAIDED PRIMARY SCHOOLS (NON-EUROPEAN)

a. BOYS



b. GIRLS

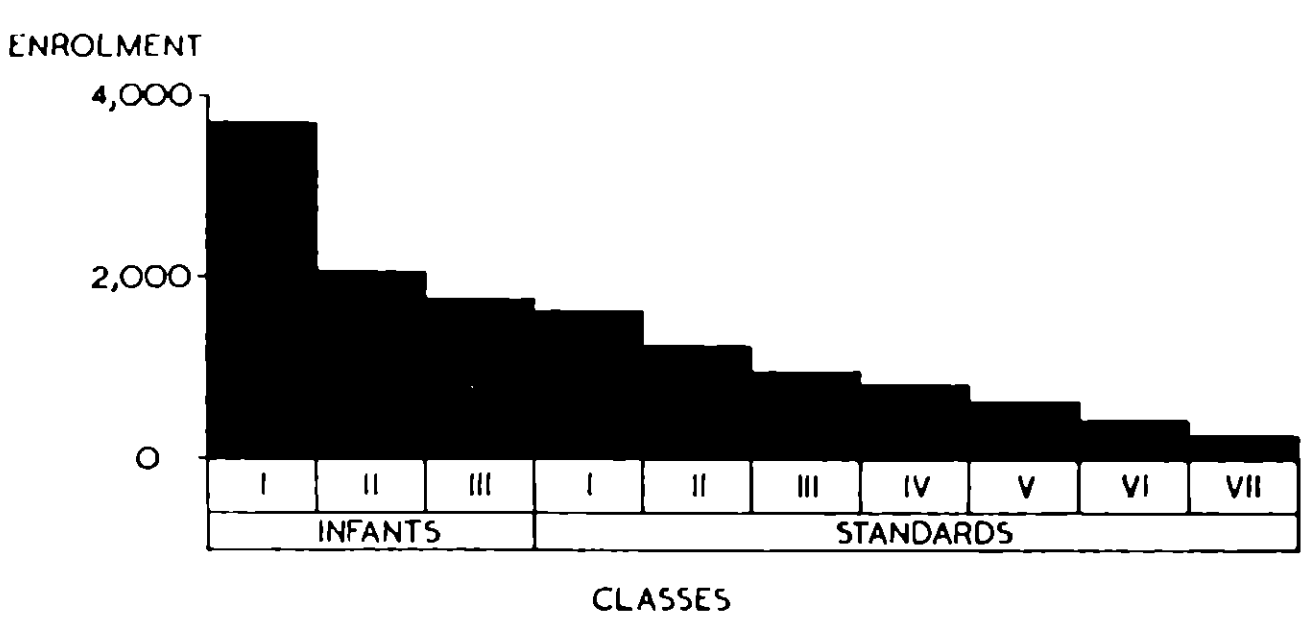
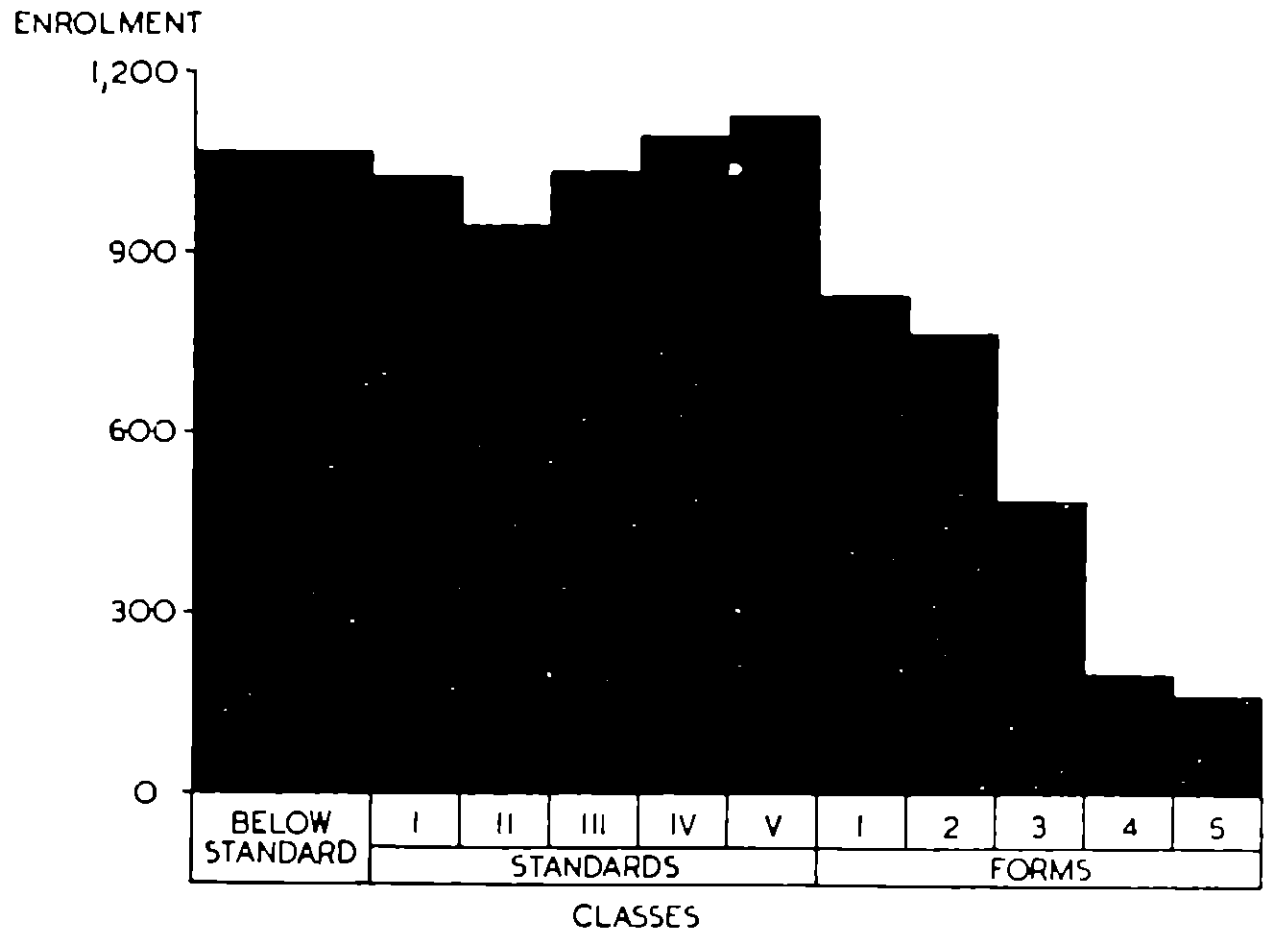


DIAGRAM 6

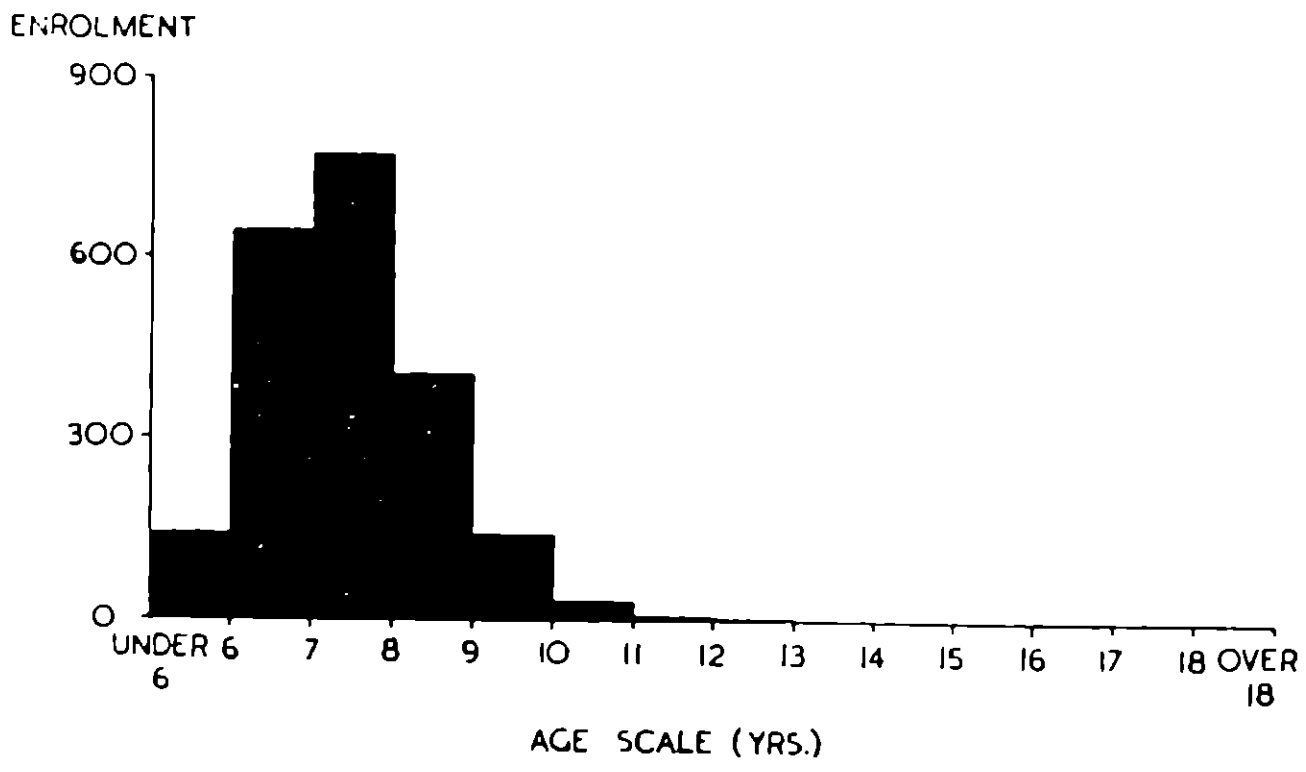
SOUTHERN RHODESIA 1935

(EUROPEANS ONLY)

a. CLASSES OF PUPILS ENROLLED IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS (EXCLUDING AIDED FARM SCHOOLS)



b. AGES OF PUPILS ENROLLED IN SUB-STANDARD CLASSES OF PRIMARY SCHOOLS



SECTION TEN

TABLE 70.—U.S.A., ENROLMENT IN 1934

INSTITUTIONS	PUBLIC SCHOOLS			PRIVATE SCHOOLS			GRAND TOTAL
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	BOTH SEXES
Ages 3–6							
Kindergartens	303,745	302,644	606,389	18,981	19,347	38,328	644,727
Ages 6–14							
Elementary Grades	10,403,309	9,870,422	20,273,731[1]	1,165,594	1,178,329	2,343,923	22,617,654
Ages 14–18							
Secondary Grades	2,826,518	2,889,090	5,715,608	173,357	207,523	380,880	6,096,488
Teachers' Training	43,275	86,058	129,333	1,931	4,920	6,851	136,184
Junior Colleges	38,762	29,991	68,753	14,106	19,618	33,724	102,477
Universities and Senior Colleges	210,322	121,523	331,845	307,324	177,530	484,854	816,699
Federal Schools for Indians	—	—	22,076	—	—	—	22,070
Private Commercial and Business Schools	—	—	—	27,638	48,602	76,240	76,240
Nurse-training	—	—	—	—	—	—	100,419
Total	13,825,931	13,299,728	27,125,659	1,708,931	1,655,869	3,364,800	30,490,459

Estimated Population 5–17—32,392,749.

Approximate ratio of pupils to total population : Ages 3–6, 8 per cent. ; 6–14, 100 per cent. ; 14–18, 56 per cent.

[1] *Out of which* 888,784 *pupils were in Junior High School grades. In addition, there were* (*many duplicates*) 932,217 *in Night Schools,* 118,111 *in Summer Schools and* 273,502 *in Continuation Part-time Schools.*

TABLE 71.—U.S.A. COMBINED INCOME AND EXPENDITURE, 1933–4

SCHOOLS	PUBLIC INCOME			INTERNAL INCOME			TOTAL INCOME	EXPENDITURE		
	FEDERAL	STATE	LOCAL	FEES	GIFTS	OTHER SOURCES		TOTAL	TOTAL BY GROUPS	PERCENTAGE
Public Elementary	21,548	423,791	1,494,539	—	372	—	1,940,251	1,146,935	ELEMENTARY 1,255,277	53·6
Public Secondary								573,170		
Private Elementary	—	—	—				138,607	108,342	SECONDARY 603,335	25·8
Private Secondary					138,607			30,165		
Public Universities and Colleges	20,509	97,236	16,259	32,799	5,727	33,675	206,206	157,687	UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES 384,169	16·7
Public Teachers' Training College								33,220		
Private Universities and Colleges	2,204	6,634	19	105,458	52,920	94,218	261,454	226,482	TEACHERS' TRAINING 35,934	1·6
Private Teachers' Training Colleges								2,713		
Public Schools for Defectives	—	49,363	—	incl. in other	253	1,394	51,010	55,001[2]	SCHOOL FOR DEFECTIVES 57,000[3]	2·2
Private Schools for Defectives	—	3,166	—	incl. in other	2,443	1,275	6,883	1,102[2]		
Federal Schools for Indians	(9,578)[1]	—	—	—	—	—	(9,578)[1]	9,578	SCHOOL FOR INDIANS 9,578	0·4
Total Public System	42,057	570,391	1,510,798	32,799	6,352	35,069	2,197,467	1,926,092	—	88
Total Private System	2,204	9,800	19	105,458	55,363	234,100	406,944	368,805	—	12
Grand Total	44,261	580,191	1,510,817	138,257	61,715	269,169	2,604,411	2,294,896	2,345,293	100
Percentages	1·7	22·3	58·0	5·3	2·4	10·3	100			

[1] *Included in public elementary and secondary.* [2] *City public schools* not *included; residential schools only.* [3] *Approximate.*

SECTION ELEVEN

European Countries

TABLE 72.—FRANCE: ENROLMENT, 1935–6

(*See also* YEAR BOOK, 1937, *pages* 104–5)

Distribution by ages, approximate except primary schools

AGES	POPULATION IN 000's	INFANT SCHOOLS				PRIMARY SCHOOLS				SECONDARY SCHOOLS		
		PUBLIC		PRIVATE		PUBLIC		PRIVATE		PUBLIC		PRIVATE
		BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOTH SEXES
3–6	2,078	199,301	187,296	12,184	12,076	209,937	197,753	58,714	86,812	—	—	—
6–10	2,830	—	—	—	—	1,899,062	1,712,853	233,079	455,475	40,362	23,104	224,445
10–13	1,747	—	—	—	—					133,837	53,555	
13–18	3,023	—	—	—	—	216,617[1]	190,096[1]	28,709	70,055			
3–18	9,678	199,301	187,296	12,184	12,076	2,325,616	2,100,705	320,502	612,342	174,199	76,659	224,445
Both sexes		386,597		24,250		4,426,321		932,844		260,858		—

Approximate ratio of pupils to total population : 3–6, 46 per cent.; 6–13, 99 per cent.; 13–18, 32 per cent.

OTHER SCHOOLS (PUBLIC)

NORMAL SCHOOLS		UNIVERSITIES		VOCATIONAL			
Men	5,105	Men	53,561	Boys	59,999	TECHNICAL	8,453
Women	4,937	Women	20,291	Girls	20,286	COMMERCIAL	2,189
						PART-TIME CONTINUATION	162,786
Total	10,042	Total	73,852	Total	80,285		

[1] *Including* 49,698 *boys and* 48,930 *girls in Higher Primary Schools.*

TABLE 73.—FRANCE : STATE EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION, 1936

	AMOUNT IN FRANCS	PERCENTAGE
Administration	10,495,398	0·3
Inspection	38,539,942	1·1
Primary .	2,447,444,860	69·1
Secondary	491,012,348	13·9
Technical . .	177,083,553	5·0
Teachers' Training .	74,927,866	2·1
Universities .	194,892,145	5·5
Fine Arts . . .	98,920,903	2·8
Other (Archives) .	4,494,445	0·2
Total .	3,537,811,560	100

Ministry of Education :	
Contributions of Local Authorities	226,769,970 [1]
Ministry of Agriculture .	25,976,000
Ministry of Public Works	3,150,000

[1] *These are only those contributions which are paid to the Ministry ; the expenditure of local authorities on education cannot be even estimated, but approximately should be not less than one-third of total State expenditure.*

TABLE 74.—ITALY : ENROLMENT, 1935–6

(*See also* YEAR BOOK, 1937, *pages* 112–16)

INSTITUTIONS	PUBLIC (STATE AND COMMUNAL)		PRIVATE		TOTAL BOTH SEXES	AGES
	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS		
Infant Schools .	364,558	370,023	—	—	734,581	3–6
Elementary Schools	2,508,741	2,210,832	46,337	109,434	4,875,344	6–14
Rural (agricultural)	147,181	97,717	—	—	244,898	11–14
Vocational . .	—	—	—	—	153,108	11–14
Secondary . . .	155,395	114,305	20,955	22,593	313,248	11–18
Technical and Commercial	222,433	87,191	63,651	22,771	396,046	14–18
Universities .	61,095	11,849	—	—	72,944	18–
Art and Music	8,035	3,000	—	—	11,035	—

Total population, 6–14 years, 5,261,320.

Ratio of pupils to population : 3–6, 37 per cent. ; 6–14, 100 per cent. ; 14–18, 27 per cent.

EXPENDITURE IN 1935–6 (in 000's Lire)

	STATE	%
Elementary .	969,057	62·9
Secondary .	150,224	9·7
Universities .	97,534	6·3
Technical (about)	173,000	11·1
All other (about)	150,000	10·0
Total .	1,539,815	100

Salaries of teachers (paid by the State and contributions from communes about 30 per cent.), 1,299,542. The expenditure on education of the twenty largest cities, 215,800.

TABLE 75.—BELGIUM: ENROLMENT IN 1935–6

(*See also* YEAR BOOK, 1937, *pages* 90–3)

INSTITUTIONS	PUBLIC (STATE AND COMMUNAL)		PUBLIC NON-PROVIDED DENOMINATIONAL		PRIVATE STATE-AIDED		TOTAL	AGES
	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOTH SEXES	
Infant Schools	41,344	39,502	58,338	59,265	31,767	33,540	263,756	3–6
Primary Schools	309,812	178,418	91,615	205,566	85,692	97,090	968,193	6–14
Secondary Schools	54,944	20,176	—	—	—	—	75,120	12–18
Technical Schools	102,857	72,004	—	—	—	—	174,861	14–18
Teachers' Training	1,544	1,538	—	—	4,346	7,010	14,432	16–20
Universities	3,491	567	—	—	6,024	956	11,038	18–
Art and Music	22,156	14,504	—	—	incl.		36,660	14–18
Primary Grades in Secondary Schools	17,889	8,710	—	—	—	—	26,599	6–12
Adult Schools	13,427	4,089	—	—	2,203	1,291	21,010	18–

Ratio of pupils to population : 3–6, 66 per cent.; 6–14, 100 per cent.; 14–18, 40 per cent.

BELGIUM EXPENDITURE (PUBLIC SOURCES ONLY), 1934

(in 000's Belgian Francs)

PURPOSES	STATE	PROVINCES	COMMUNES	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Inspection	10,453	—	—	10,453	1·0
Primary	660,740	11,454	207,086	879,280	69·6
Secondary	105,497	2,129	18,592	126,218	10·0
Teachers' Training	27,959	—	—	27,959	2·2
Universities	63,180	—	—	63,180	5·0
Technical and all other	156,149	—	—	156,149	12·2
Total	1,023,978	13,563	225,678	1,262,219	100
Percentage	81·2	1·1	17·7	100	

TABLE 76.—THE NETHERLANDS ENROLMENT IN 1935

(*See also* YEAR BOOK, 1937, *pages* 121–2)

INSTITUTIONS	PUBLIC PROVIDED (COMMUNAL AND STATE)		PUBLIC NON-PROVIDED (SUBSIDISED BY STATE AND COMMUNES) [1]		TOTAL PUBLIC	USUAL AGES
	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOTH SEXES	
Infant Schools .	17,692	16,336	89,434	86,592	210,054	3–6
Primary Schools . .	197,749	181,171	388,291	374,765	1,141,976	6–13
Higher Primary . .	21,093	17,308	27,977	23,955	90,333	12–16
Special Schools . .	3,938	1,900	3,653	2,521	12,012	6–14
Continuation Schools .	1,683	788	5,207	1,634	9,312	14–18
Secondary Schools. .	20,520	11,138	17,748	6,807	56,213	12–17
Vocational Day Schools. .	52,821	46,737	Included	Included	99,558	12–16
Vocational Evening Schools .	36,370	1,720	7,149	2,775	48,014	14–
Agricultural Schools . .	26,364	Included	296	Included	26,660	12–15–18
Universities . . .	6,790	1,840	954	130	9,714	18–
Higher Technical Colleges .	2,602	113	199	1	2,915	18–
Teachers' Training Schools .	3,017	Included	7,065	Included	10,082	16–20

Estimated population 000's : 3–6, 490 ; 6–10, 670 ; 10–14, 605 ; 14–18, 590.
Ratio of pupils to total population : 3–6, 43 per cent. ; 6–14, 100 per cent. ; 14–18, 36 per cent.

[1] The Dutch equivalent for non-provided schools is "Bezondere," which really means *separate*, and not *private*, as the word is usually translated. This is misleading, as the table of expenditure shows.

EXPENDITURE IN 1933 (in 000's Gulden)

PURPOSES	STATE	LOCAL COMMUNES	FEES	ALL OTHER	TOTAL	PER-CENTAGE
Administration Inspection	5,288	479	—		5,767	2·6
Primary (*a*, *b*, *c*) . .	90,558	51,499	6,472	1,169	152,698	(*abc*) 69·2
(*a*) Provided . . .	38,400	18,604	2,535	692	60,231	(*a*) 27·3
(*b*) Non-provided . .	52,158	28,201	3,688	477	84,524	(*b*) 38·3
(*c*) Infant Schools (Provided)	—	7,694	249	—	7,943	(*c*) 3·6
Teachers' Training . .	4,607	209	270	—	5,086	2·3
Universities . . .	8,508	2,421	3,133	—	14,062	6·4
Secondary and Technical [1] .	25,861	12,211	2,453	—	40,525	18·3
Art and Science . . .	2,646	—	—	168	2,814	1·2
Total . . .	137,468	69,819	12,328	1,337	220,952	100
Percentage . .	62·3	31·6	5·5	0·6	100	

[1] *The data are for* 1929, *the latest available. In* 1935 *the expenditure of State was almost the same.*

TABLE 77.—PRUSSIA: ENROLMENT IN 1935-6

AGES	POPULATION ESTIMATE in 000	PUBLIC ELEMENTARY			INTERMEDIATE SCHOOL		PUBLIC SECONDARY			PRIVATE SECONDARY		
		BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL
	1935	JUNIOR SCHOOL (6–10)										
6–10	2,640	1,434,059	1,351,380	2,785,439			252	93	345	2	55	57
		SENIOR SCHOOL (10–14)										
10–11	725				PUBLIC		26,830	14,286	41,116	437	4,672	5,109
11–12	710	996,890	1,014,158	2,011,048	86,232	77,771	29,236	15,612	44,848	516	5,309	5,825
		SECONDARY GRADES										
12–13	715				PRIVATE		29,359	16,444	45,803	566	5,548	6,114
13–14	790	10,685	7,782	18,467	17,829	15,957	32,261	18,202	50,463	632	5,726	6,358
14–15	890						35,718	18,788	54,506	698	5,584	6,282
15–16	910	3,052	2,399	5,451			35,483	18,032	53,515	726	5,454	6,180
16–17	720	PRIVATE ELEMENTARY (6–14)					18,116	6,384	24,500	496	2,324	2,820
17–18	530	10,875	9,764	20,639			13,764	3,645	17,409	349	1,212	1,561
18–20	1,115	TOTAL ELEMENTARY			TOTAL INTERMEDIATE		19,876	3,387	23,263	798	1,369	2,167
Total		2,455,561	2,385,483	4,841,044	104,061	93,722	240,195	114,837	355,068	5,200	37,253	42,453

Ratio of Pupils to Population in Prussia :

Ages : 3–6, 14 per cent. ; 6–10, 100 per cent. ; 10–14, 90 per cent. ; 14–18, 31 per cent.

TABLE 78.—GERMANY: ENROLMENT

(*See also* YEAR BOOK, 1937, *pages* 105–7)

ALL SECONDARY SCHOOLS FOR GERMANY INCLUDING PRUSSIA		1935
BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL
463	259	722
45,946	30,861	76,807
53,163	34,481	87,644
54,059	36,356	90,415
60,380	40,019	100,399
65,757	39,508	105,265
63,209	37,088	100,297
31,023	12,961	43,984
22,624	6,881	29,505
32,237	6,702	38,939
428,861	245,114	637,975

The latest figures for Elementary Schools for Germany (excluding Prussia) are for 1931–2, published in the YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION, 1936.

OTHER SCHOOLS — CONTINUATION SCHOOLS			
1933	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL
Prussia	400,903	165,697	566,600
Agricultural	69,514	10,320	79,834
Total Prussia	470,417	176,017	646,434
Rest of Germany	274,642	182,768	457,410
Total Germany	745,059	358,785	1,103,844
TECHNICAL SCHOOLS			
Germany 1933	84,415	50,501	136,187[1]
UNIVERSITIES AND OTHER HIGHER INSTITUTIONS			
Germany 1935–6	76,096	12,851	88,947
ACADEMIES OF ART AND MUSIC			
Germany 1935–6	1,474	659	2,133

[1] *Some schools did not separate sexes.*

EXPENDITURE, 1934–5, in 000's R.M.

PURPOSES	REICH (FEDERAL)	STATES	LOCAL AUTHORITIES	INTERNAL INCOME	TOTAL	%
Administration	included	24,200	14,400	1,300	39,900	2·4
Primary and Contin.	—	720,800	462,800	75,800	1,259,400	56·5
Secondary and Technical	—	185,800	177,500	161,000	524,300	23·5
Universities, Science and Art	included	171,600	82,200	138,000	391,800	17·6
Total	28,148	1,101,400	736,900	376,100	2,242,548	100·0
%	1·2	49·1	33·0	16·7	100	

TABLE 79.—DENMARK: ENROLMENT, 1935

(*See also* YEAR BOOK, 1937, *page* 99)

INSTITUTIONS	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL	TOTAL AGE 7–14
Public Primary . .	—	—	454,165	419,537
Private Primary . . .	—	—	41,064	35,131
Secondary . . .	31,514	28,229	59,743	—
Vocational	—	—	1,421	—
Technical	32,948	1,746	34,694	—
Technological Institutions .	7,734	included	7,734	—
Agricultural . . .	724	22	746	—
Commercial . . .	10,257	5,349	15,606	—
Adult Education . . .	3,511	3,262	6,773	—
Teachers' Training . .	1,327	997	2,324	—
Universities and Polytechnics	1,924	331	2,255	—

TOTAL POPULATION		RATIO OF PUPILS TO POPULATION	
7–14 .	456,073, of which 845 were *not in school.*	3–7 .	3 per cent.
		7–14 .	100 per cent.
		14–18 .	40 per cent.

EXPENDITURE in 1935 in 000's Kroner

			STATE	LOCAL	PERCENTAGE
Administration .	534				STATE
Primary . .	33,304	Primary,			48·6
Secondary . . .	11,388	Secondary			
University and Higher	6,400	and			LOCAL
Adult Education	1,379	Adult			51·4
Teachers' Training	1,209	64,748			
Other . .	6,530				
Total	60,744	64,748			

TABLE 80.—NORWAY: ENROLMENT, 1935

(*See also* YEAR BOOK, 1937, *pages* 122–3)

INSTITUTIONS	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL
Primary:			
(*a*) Rural	—	—	295,044
(*b*) Urban	43,484	42,421	85,905
Secondary:			
(*a*) Public . .	15,029	11,223	26,252
(*b*) Private recognised	933	767	1,700
(*c*) Private unrecognised	687	518	1,205
Technical and Vocational	—	—	26,864
Special Schools .	1,271	941	2,212
Adult Schools .	4,944	4,531	9,485
Teachers' Training	896	532	1,428
University . . .	—	—	3,905
Other Higher Institutions	—	—	1,434

POPULATION 1930		RATIO OF PUPILS TO POPULATION	
AGES	BOTH SEXES	AGES	BOTH SEXES
5–10	289,040	3–7	2 per cent.
10–15	284,938	7–14	96 per cent.
15–20	270,092	14–18	27 per cent.

EXPENDITURE, 1934–5, in 000's Kroner

PURPOSES	STATE	LOCAL AUTHORITIES	FEES, ENDOWMENTS, ETC.	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Primary	28,037	35,629	—	63,666	64·9
Secondary	2,474	5,483	2,413	10,370	10·6
Higher .	4,773	—	1,618	6,391	6·5
Adult Education	2,405	442	—	2,847	3·0
Technical and Vocational included in Other	—	—	—	(9,984)	(10·2)
Other	8,559	6,149	—	14,708	15·9
Total	46,448	47,703	4,031	98,182	
Percentage	47·4	48·6	4·0	100	100

TABLE 81.—SWEDEN: ENROLMENT, 1935

(*See also* YEAR BOOK, 1937, *pages* 127–8)

INSTITUTIONS	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL	TOTAL AGES 7–14
Primary . .	—	—	619,144	608,515
Higher Primary	3,071	4,511	7,582	6,170
Public Secondary .	35,413	19,481	54,894	14,770
Private Secondary .	4,968	20,304	25,272	11,845
Technical . . .	—	—	42,400	55,532
Continuation Vocational	—	—	172,817	
Teachers' Training	621	388	1,009	—
Adult Education .	3,960	3,419	7,379	—
Universities	7,212	1,670	8,882	—
Special Schools	—	—	•3,153	—
Polytechnic . .	—	—	1,914	—
Commercial .	—	—	1,955	—
Art and Music	—	—	290	—

TOTAL POPULATION		RATIO OF PUPILS TO POPULATION	
7–14 .	792,439, of which 94,750 were *not in schools*	3–7 .	2 per cent.
		7–14 .	88 per cent.
		14–18 .	50 per cent.

EXPENDITURE, 1935–6, in 000's Kroner

PURPOSES	STATE	LOCAL AUTHORITIES	TOTAL PUBLIC	PERCENTAGE
Administration Inspection	968	—	968	0·4
Primary .	81,374	67,067	148,441	60·2
Secondary . . .	20,753	31,115	55,682	22·6
Technical and Vocational	3,814			
Higher Education	9,338	—	9,338	3·8
All Other	32,079	—	32,079	13·0
Total .	148,326	98,172	246,498	100
Percentage .	60·3	39·7	100	

PART III

Survey of Finance in the United Kingdom

CHAPTER ONE

Survey of Education Expenditure in England and Wales

(*See also* Year Book, 1937, *pages* 134–40)

Total Expenditure

THE YEAR BOOK for 1933 contained a detailed survey of expenditure in England and Wales between 1923 and 1933. The main outlines of this survey were brought up to date in subsequent YEAR BOOKS, and are continued in the present volume. Readers will find the figures of the years 1924–5 to 1931–2 in the volumes for 1933 and 1934.

The table on page 133 shows the growth of educational expenditure during recent years, with the 1923–4 figures for comparison, and analyses the burden falling on the central government and the local authorities respectively (Table 1). This table does not cover all the expenditure borne on the estimates of the Board of Education. It excludes expenditure on museums and on miscellaneous items. It also excludes the Board's direct expenditure on Aid to Students. This last item is, however, referred to below. As the figures of the Board's grants to local education authorities are figures of the grants due to local authorities *for* the year, only 90 per cent. of which are payable in the year, the figures cannot be exactly reconciled with the returns of the Board's actual expenditure in any given year. Figures of grants *for* the year, however, are the only basis on which to estimate the trend of educational expenditure.

Central Expenditure

The conclusions to be drawn from these figures can be briefly summarised. Between 1923–4 and 1937–8 central expenditure has increased by £8,620,000 (line 13 of the table), but of this total £1,256,000 is accounted for by the increase in the Board's net expenditure on Teachers' Pensions (line 8) under the contributory superannuation scheme. To this £1,256,000 should be added the Board's grants to local authorities in respect of their contributions to this superannuation scheme for 1937–8, i.e. £1,486,500. It must be remembered that these contributions from local authorities represent a burden transferred from the central government to the local authorities in 1928–9. Apart, therefore, from teachers' pensions, central expenditure is £5,877,500 more than fourteen years ago.

This increase in central expenditure is made up as follows :

	£	£
Increase in the Board's grants to local authorities	7,849,000	
Less Board's grants in respect of pension contributions	1,486,500	
Net increase in Board's grants to local authorities for purposes other than pensions . . .		6,362,500
Less reduction in the Board's grants to non-local authority institutions (mainly a transfer from taxes to rates, owing to these institutions electing to receive grant from the local authorities instead of from the Board) and . .	403,000	
Reduction in the Board's administrative expenditure . . .	82,000	
		485,000
Net increase in central expenditure .		£5,877,500

TABLE 1

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION WITHIN THE PURVIEW OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION

(£000's)

	—	1923–4	1932–3	1933–4	1934–5	1935–6	1936–7 [3]	1937–8 [3]
	L.E.A.s' Expenditure :							
1	Elementary	54,152	56,705	57,366	59,880	63,244	64,658	65,777
2	Higher	10,261	14,739	14,884	15,670	16,915	17,745	18,510
3	Administration	3,183	3,366	3,409	3,531	3,668	3,750	3,780
	Contributions to Teachers' Pensions :							
4	Elementary Teachers	—	1,935 [2]	1,948 [2]	2,043 [2]	2,163 [2]	2,182 [2]	2,183
5	Higher Teachers	—	282 [2]	287 [2]	308 [2]	335 [2]	355 [2]	360 [2]
	Board's Grants to Non-L.E.A. Institutions :							
6	Elementary	83	65	64	62	63	68	68
7	Higher	1,944	1,524	1,441	1,404	1,462	1,533	1,556
8	Board's Net Expenditure on Teachers' Pensions*	538	1,458	1,449	1,225	1,295	1,520	1,794
9	Board's Expenditure on Administration and Inspection	766	632	624	630	646	666	684
	Total Expenditure	70,927	80,706	81,472	84,753	89,791	92,477	94,712
	ANALYSIS: CENTRAL AND LOCAL EXPENDITURE							
	Exchequer Grants to L.E.A.s [1] :							
10	Elementary	31,717	30,226 [2]	30,359 [2]	31,701 [2]	33,899 [2]	34,744 [2]	35,157 [2]
11	Higher	5,280	7,680 [2]	7,770 [2]	8,202 [2]	8,850 [2]	9,289 [2]	9,689 [2]
12	Board's Other Expenditure above	3,331	3,679	3,578	3,321	3,466	3,787	4,102
13	Total Central Expenditure	40,328	41,585	41,707	43,224	46,215	47,820	48,948
14	Expenditure from Rates	30,599	39,121	39,765	41,529	43,576	44,657	45,764

1 *Grants for the year including grants in respect of local expenditure on administration and contributions to teachers' pensions.*

2 *From* 1928–9 *the Board's grants include grant on local authorities' contribution towards teachers' pensions which may be roughly estimated at about* 50 *per cent. of the contributions.*

3 *Estimates figures.*

To this increase, however, must be added an increase in the Board's expenditure on aid to students in the fourteen years from £152,582 to £237,790, an increase of £85,208, which is more than accounted for by an increase of expenditure on State scholarships at universities from £24,639 to £138,200.

Local Expenditure *

Meanwhile, expenditure from rates has increased by £15,165,000 or, excluding pension contributions, by £14,108,500. This increase of £14,108,500 is accounted for as follows :

	£
Increase in local expenditure	20,471,000
Less Increase in Board's grants as above	6,362,500
Total added burden on the rates	£14,108,500

* Beginning with the year 1930–1, Block Grants have been paid by the Exchequer to local authorities under the Local Government Act, 1929. These grants are available in aid of the total expenditure of the authority (including educational expenditure). The expenditure here referred to as expenditure from rates has been met, since 1930–1, partly from rates and partly from the Block Grants, but it is not possible to say in what proportion.

TABLE 2

EXPENDITURE OF LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITIES: ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

(£000's)

The figures in italics represent cost per unit of average attendance

	1923–4	1932–3	1933–4	1934–5	1935–6	ASSUMED FOR BOARD'S ESTIMATES 1936–7	1937–8
Teachers' Salaries .	41,019 *163s. 3d.*	38,814 *153s. 9d.*	39,047 *154s. 2d.*	40,872 *166s. 7d.*	43,182 *181s. 10d.*	43,738 *188s. 3d.*	43,807 *192s. 5d.*
Loan Charges on Schools . .	2,934 *11s. 8d.*	3,095 *12s. 3d.*	3,078 *12s. 2d.*	3,086 *12s. 7d.*	3,130 *13s. 2d.*	3,100 *13s. 4d.*	3,000 *13s. 2d.*
Administration .	2,578 *10s. 3d.*	2,609 *10s. 4d.*	2,627 *10s. 4d.*	2,705 *11s. 1d.*	2,797 *11s. 10d.*	2,850 *12s. 3d.*	2,850 *12s. 6d.*
Other Expenditure .	7,503 *29s. 10d.*	9,289 *36s. 10d.*	9,579 *37s. 10d.*	10,029 *40s. 11d.*	10,793 *45s. 5d.*	10,850 *46s. 9d.*	11,000 *48s. 4d.*
Conveyance of Children	Included in "Other Expenditure"						400 *1s. 9d.*
Special Services [1] (including loan charges)	2,696 *10s. 9d.*	4,599 *18s. 2d.*	4,497 *18s. 6d.*	4,925 *20s. 1d.*	5,183 *21s. 10d.*	5,500 *23s. 8d.*	5,700 *25s. 1d.*
Maintenance Allowances	— —	68 *0s. 3d.*	61 *0s. 3d.*	66 *0s. 3d.*	71 *0s. 4d.*	70 *0s. 4d.*	70 *0s. 4d.*
Special Reorganisation and Development	— —	840 *3s. 4d.*	904 *3s. 7d.*	902 *3s. 8d.*	855 *3s. 9d.*	1,400 *6s. 0d.*	1,800 *7s. 11d.*
Employers' Pension Contributions	— —	1,935 *7s. 8d.*	1,948 *7s. 9d.*	2,043 *8s. 3d.*	2,163 *9s. 1d.*	2,182 *9s. 5d.*	2,183 *9s. 7d.*
Total	56,730 *225s. 9d.*	61,249 *242s. 7d.*	61,941 *244s. 7d.*	64,628 *263s. 5d.*	68,204 *287s. 3d.*	69,690 *300s. 0d.*	70,810 *311s. 1d.*
[1] Divided as follows:							
Provision of meals	152	513	557	594	613	650	650
Other Services	2,544	4,086	4,410	4,331	4,570	4,850	5,050

Tables 2 and 3 (pages 134 and 136) analyse the local expenditure on elementary and higher education respectively, including administration. A comparison between these tables will show that the total increase of £23,014,000 in local expenditure between 1923–4 and 1937–8 is made up of an increase of £14,080,000 on elementary and an increase of £8,934,000 on higher education, including administration in both cases.

The increase on elementary education is distributed as follows:

	Increase £
Teachers' Salaries (See Note on page 135) . .	2,788,000
Loan Charges	66,000
Administration and Other Expenditure (including Conveyance of Children)	4,169,000
Special Services	3,004,000
Maintenance Allowances	70,000
Special Reorganisation and Development . .	1,800,000
Employers' Pension Contributions . .	2,183,000
Total	£14,080,000

The increased expenditure by L.E.A.s on higher education is distributed as follows :

	£	
Training of Teachers . . .	34,000	decrease
Secondary Schools and Aid to Students	4,585,000	
Technical Schools	2,492,000	
Loan Charges . . .	1,100,000	
Administration .	325,000	
Other Expenditure . . .	106,000	
Employers' Pension Contributions	360,000	
Net Increase .	£8,934,000	

Teachers' Salaries—Elementary Education

The increase of £2,788,000 during the fourteen years is due mainly to an increase in the numbers and an improvement in the quality of the teaching staff and a reduction in the size of classes. The changes in the composition of the teaching staff have been as follows :

	MARCH 31ST	
	1924	1936
Certificated Teachers (Men)	36,925	44,159
Certificated Teachers (Women)	79,173	87,602
Uncertificated Teachers	32,524	26,327
Special Subjects Teachers (other than Certificated)	3,890	5,857
Supplementary Teachers	10,709	5,646
Total	163,221	169,591

On March 31st, 1924, there were 24,958 classes with over fifty children on the registers, whilst on March 31st, 1936, there were only 3,406 such classes. In the same period the total number of classes increased from 147,177 to 148,839, although the average attendance fell from 5,024,559 to 4,748,453.

The Burnham scales which govern the rates of pay of teachers were introduced by three annual stages as from April 1st, 1921, but in the third year, 1923–4, before they were in full operation, the teachers made a voluntary abatement of 5 per cent. and continued it for 1924–5. A fresh award operated as from April 1st, 1925, which had the general effect of reducing by about 2½ per cent. the rates of remuneration prevailing immediately before the award. In the financial emergency of 1931, teachers' salaries were cut by 10 per cent. as from October 1st, 1931. Half the cut was remitted as from July 1st, 1934, and the remaining half as from July 1st, 1935.

Up to March 31st, 1936, there were four different scales, but the lowest (Scale I) was abolished as from April 1st, 1936.

The highest (Scale IV) obtains in Greater London and Scale II in the agricultural counties. That known as Scale III contains the greatest number of teachers and approximates closely to the average.

To set out in detail the three scales would occupy considerable space ; but stripped of technicalities and complications, they may be said to offer the following prospects to a man or a woman, assumed to have gained his

TABLE 3

EXPENDITURE OF LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITIES: HIGHER EDUCATION

(£000's)

—	1923–4	1932–3	1933–4	1934–5	1935–6	ASSUMED FOR THE BOARD'S ESTIMATES 1936–7	1937–8
Training of Teachers	324	240	244	252	275	290	290
Secondary Schools [1]	4,496	6,333	6,503	7,643	8,366	8,700	9,020
Technical Schools .	2,938	3,909	3,983	4,359	4,842	5,100	5,430
Loan Charges .	720	1,679	1,665	1,688	1,674	1,780	1,820
Administration .	605	757	782	826	871	900	930
Aid to Students	1,589	2,407	2,309	1,552	1,572	1,625	1,650
Other Expenditure .	194	171	180	176	186	250	300
Employers' Pension Contributions .	—	282	287	308	335	355	360
Total	10,866	15,778	15,953	16,804	18,121	19,000	19,800
[1] Cost per pupil in Maintained Secondary Schools (omitting loan charges, aid to students, administration):					(PROVISIONAL)		
Gross Expenditure:	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.		
Salaries . .	20.16	17.17	17.16	18.11	19.12	—	—
Other . .	5.11	6. 4	6. 6	6.11	6.15	—	—
Employers' Pension Contributions . .	—	– 18	– 18	– 18	– 19	—	—
Total Gross Expenditure	26.7	24.19	25. 0	26. 0	27. 6	—	—
Receipts .	7.1	6.16	6.16	5. 6	5. 6	—	—
Net Expenditure .	19.6	18. 3	18. 4	20.14	22. 0	—	—

NOTE.—Following the issue of a Memorandum by the Board of Education in 1934, certain changes were made in the treatment of fees in L.E.A.s' accounts with a view to securing uniformity of treatment of fee remissions. The effect of these changes was to transfer to the headings Secondary Schools and Technical Schools certain expenditure previously included under Aid to Students. To this extent the figures under these heads for 1934–5 and later years are not comparable with those for earlier years. The changes also affect the receipts per pupil in Secondary Schools.

or her certificate after two years' training, and to have begun teaching at age 21.

The salary of such a teacher without the 5 per cent. superannuation deduction will be :

	SCALE II		SCALE III		SCALE IV	
	MEN	WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN
	£	£	£	£	£	£
In the first year, age 21 .	168	150	180	162	192	180
In the sixth year, age 26 .	216	186	228	198	240	216
In the eleventh year, age 31 .	276	231	288	243	300	261

If the teacher is not promoted to be a head teacher, the salary will reach its maximum for assistant teachers :

For men after fifteen, seventeen and nineteen years under Scales II, III and IV respectively, the maximum salary in each case being £330, £366 and £408.

For women after thirteen, fifteen and seventeen years respectively, the maximum salary in each case being £258, £288 and £324.

The salaries of head teachers begin at sums ranging according to size of school from £18 to £120 (for a man) or £13 10s. to £90 (for a woman) above the salary attained as assistant before promotion, and rise to maxima ranging under Scale III from £381 to £546 for a man and £303 to £438 for a woman. The maxima under Scales II and IV range for men from £345 to £492 under Scale II, and £423 to £606 under Scale IV, and for women from £273 to £396 under Scale II, and £339 to £486 under Scale IV.

The age at which a teacher may be promoted to a headship varies from one area to another, and differs for men and women.

Uncertificated teachers (i.e. teachers who are not college trained, but have some examination qualification recognised by the Board) have lower rates of salary. Under Scale II these rates range from £102 for men and £93 for women in the first year to a maximum of £198 for men after fourteen years, and £156 for women after twelve years. Under Scale III the corresponding figures are £108, £99, £222 (seventeen years), and £174 (fourteen years) ; and under Scale IV, £117, £108, £246 (nineteen years), and £198 (sixteen years). Uncertificated teachers are not now normally appointed to head-teacherships, but a number still retain such teacherships.

Supplementary teachers, i.e. teachers without qualifications, appointed to serve in particular schools, have no settled scales of pay and no pension rights.

Superannuation of Teachers

The gross cost of teachers' pensions met from the Parliamentary Vote of the Board of Education is estimated to amount to £7,458,850 in 1937–8. Of this sum £7,394,000 is required for pensions, etc., under the Teachers' (Superannuation) Acts 1918 to 1937. This service is centrally managed and is financed with the help of contributions at the rate of 10 per cent. of the salaries of teachers, of which 5 per cent. is payable by the teachers and 5 per cent. by their employers.

The Board pay grant on the contributions of local authorities as employers at the same rate as on teachers' salaries.

The contributions are not invested, but are received by the Board and applied in aid of the Board's whole current expenditure of the year, so reducing the net sum voted by Parliament ; but a statutory account has to

be kept, showing how the fund would stand if it had been invested at compound interest and charged with the benefits properly chargeable to it.

The benefits take the form of retiring allowances and lump sums based on the average salary received during the last five years of service.

It has been actuarially calculated that the benefits will ultimately amount to about £10,000,000 annually if the numbers of teachers and the scales of salary remain the same as at the time when the calculation was made.

The incidence of the cost of the benefits at present payable (£7,394,000) is estimated to be: teachers, £2,825,000; employers £1,243,440 (after deducting grant from the Board); Board, £3,325,560.

The Teachers' (Superannuation) Act, 1925, requires an actuarial enquiry to be made every seven years for the purpose of determining whether, on the basis of the statutory account, the contributions payable are sufficient, or more or less than sufficient, to support the benefits payable in respect of the contributions. The Government Actuary's Report for the period ended March 31st, 1933, was issued in April 1935, and the Valuation Balance Sheet published with the report showed a deficiency as at March 31st, 1933, of £9,974,642. The report suggested that an increase in the rates of contributions from 5 to 6 per cent. would be justified.

In April 1936, it was announced in the House of Commons that, having regard to the comparatively short period during which the contributory pension scheme had been in operation and to the exceptional conditions affecting the rate of teachers' retirements during part of that period, it was not proposed at present to take action to obtain a revision of the existing basis of contributions.

As these pensions are based on the average salary during the last five years of service, the reductions in teachers' salaries imposed during the period October 1st, 1931, to June 30th, 1935, affect the pensions of all teachers whose last five years of service include any part of that period. The Teachers (Superannuation) Act, 1935, provides that after June 30th, 1935, any pension so affected shall not be less than 98 per cent. of what it would have been if no economy reduction in salary had been imposed.

The Teachers (Superannuation) Act, 1937, permits a teacher who is of good health and who is granted a pension on the grounds of age under the Teachers (Superannuation) Act of 1918 or the Act of 1925, to surrender a part of his or her annual pension in return for the grant of certain benefits to or in respect of the wife or husband (as the case may be) or a dependent of the teacher. The amount to be surrendered may not exceed one-third of the pension and is subject to certain other limitations.

The surrender must be made at the time of retirement, the teacher having the choice of two schemes of benefit, viz.:

Under Option A, the benefit is a pension payable after the death of the teacher to the wife or husband or a dependent of the teacher.

Under Option B (applicable only to a wife or husband) the benefit consists of two parts:

(i) An annuity payable to the teacher while the wife or husband of the teacher is alive, and ceasing on the death of the wife or husband, and

(ii) A pension of double the amount of this annuity payable to the widow or widower when the teacher is dead.

In the event of a beneficiary under either option dying before the teacher, the latter's pension is continued only at the amount to which it has been reduced by the surrender.

The tables of benefits receivable in return for the sums surrendered by teachers have been compiled by the Government Actuary. The benefits vary in amount according to the sex of the teacher and of the beneficiary and to their respective ages at the date of the teacher's retirement on pension.

[*Contributed.*]

CHAPTER TWO

Survey of Education Expenditure in Scotland

(*See also* Year Book, 1937, *pages* 141–54)

THE Year Book for 1935 contained an account of the finance of education in Scotland. It is not necessary to reproduce this account in detail, but it is proposed to offer an outline of the existing financial arrangements, together with a brief survey of the more important tendencies in expenditure and income during the period from 1925 to 1937.

I. EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) FUND: NOTES ON TABLE 1

Roughly four-fifths of the expenditure on public education in Scotland is aided by grants from the Education (Scotland) Fund, which is administered by the Scottish Education Department. The greater part of the income of the Fund consists of grants voted by Parliament for education in Scotland, the amount of the annual grants being determined by the "eleven-eightieths" arrangement embodied in the Education (Scotland) Acts. Under this arrangement, Scotland receives a sum equivalent to the Scottish grants paid in the "standard" year (1913–14), *plus* eleven-eightieths of the amount by which the estimated education grants for England and Wales exceed the corresponding grants in the "standard" year. The advantage of this system is that Scotland receives a share of the national grants for education which can be applied in a manner suited to educational organisation in Scotland. In addition to the "eleven-eightieths" moneys, a sum is also voted by Parliament annually in lieu of the education grants formerly paid into the Fund from the Local Taxation (Scotland) Account.

Approximately one-fourth of the resources of the Fund are required to meet services which do not fall under the direct administration of the local education authorities, e.g. training and superannuation of teachers, central institutions and voluntary schools. The remaining balance of the Fund (about three-fourths) is available for grants to education authorities and is distributed to the authorities under a scheme which takes account of the numbers of pupils and teachers in the schools and of the rateable value of each area. Except in the case of the Highland and Island areas, where additional grants are made after review of the financial circumstances of each area, the calculation of grants is not related directly to expenditure. Thus, each authority is free, within the general requirements of the codes and regulations, to apply its share of the grants in the manner best suited to the needs of the area.

The receipts and expenditure of the Fund for the year ended March 31st, 1936, are shown in Table 1. The following notes refer to the main services aided from the Fund (other than education authorities, which are dealt with separately in the next section), but it should be noted that, as the accounting period for some schools and institutions does not coincide with the exchequer financial year, the amounts of grant may not agree with the amounts shown in Table 1.

(a) Central Institutions

Eleven such institutes (technical, art, etc.) are under the administration of the Scottish Education Department and provide advanced instruction for some 8,000 day and 10,700 evening students. The cost of maintaining these institutions (1935–6) was £297,421, of which 38 per cent. was met by grants from the Fund. In the same year grants amounting to £17,788 were made in aid of capital expenditure.

TABLE 1

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS FROM THE EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) FUND FOR THE YEAR ENDING MARCH 31ST, 1936

RECEIPTS	£
Balance from 1934–5	12,884
I. Grants (Votes of Parliament) :	
(*a*) General Aid Grant (including £586,842 voted in lieu of Payments formerly made from the Local Taxation (Scotland) Account	6,936,802
(*b*) Superannuation of Teachers	936,066
II. Other receipts :	
(*a*) Contributions towards Expenses of Teachers' Superannuation :	
(i) From Teachers	431,460
(ii) From Managers	431,142
(*b*) Interest on Scottish Teachers' Superannuation Fund (Act of 1908)	61,915
Total Receipts	£8,810,269

PAYMENTS	£	£
I. Act of 1908, Section 16(1) (*a*) to (*f*) :		
(*a*) Expenses of Leaving Certificate Examination, etc.		9,570
(*b*) Universities		—
(*c*) Central Institutions (Grants)		138,263
(*d*) Training of Teachers (Grants)		42,180
(*e*) Teachers' Pensions, etc.		1,015,661
(*f*) Other Educational Expenditure (Grants)		2,689
II. Act of 1918, Section 21(2) (*a*) :		
(*a*) Voluntary Schools (Grants)		112,558
(*b*) Grants in aid of Employers' Superannuation Contributions (Schools not under Education Authorities)		10,864
(*c*) Grants to Education Authorities :		
(i) Balance due for 1934–5 [1]	771,785	
(ii) Payment to account for 1935–6	5,912,893	6,684,678
III. Payment to Exchequer in respect of Superannuation Contributions from :		
(i) Teachers		381,165
(ii) Managers		380,970
Balance on March 31st, 1936		31,671
Total Payments		£8,810,269

[1] *The financial year of the authorities normally ends on May 15th in each year.*

In addition, three agricultural colleges and one veterinary college are scheduled as Central Institutions, but fall under the administration of the Department of Agriculture for Scotland. The maintenance expenditure on these colleges was £131,163, of which 53 per cent. was met from grants (10 per cent. from the Education (Scotland) Fund and 47 per cent. from the parliamentary vote for agriculture in Scotland).

(b) Training of Teachers

The distinctive machinery by which training centres and colleges are brought within the control of a single National Committee (representative of all education authorities) is described on page 63 of the YEAR BOOK for 1934. Any deficit in the funds of the Committee is met by an annual levy on the education authorities, each authority contributing proportionately to the number of qualified teachers employed in its area. In the year ended July 31st, 1936, the expenditure of the Committee (including demonstration schools and capital expenditure) amounted to £195,837, of which approximately 32 per cent. was met from grants and 38 per cent. from the effective contributions of local authorities. At the commencement of the session 1936–7, the number of students in training for the Teachers' General, Special, or Technical Certificates was 1,856, of whom 128 were attending university classes and 1,026 were already graduates.

(c) Superannuation of Teachers

So far as the teachers are concerned, the arrangements for superannuation contributions and benefits are roughly parallel to those made in England and Wales, but there are considerable differences as regards central finance. The broad effect of the somewhat complicated financial provisions of the Education (Scotland) (Superannuation) Acts is that the Education (Scotland) Fund receives annually from the Exchequer a sum equal to eleven-eightieths of *net* cost to the Exchequer of teachers' superannuation benefits in England and Wales. With this sum and the contributions of Scottish teachers and employers, the Fund assumes responsibility for all payments on account of benefits to Scottish teachers.

The financial position with regard to teachers' superannuation in Scotland for the year 1935–6 may be summarised as follows :

	£	£
Expenditure on Benefits (including Refund of Contributions) . .		1,015,661
Met from :		
Net Payment from Exchequer	370,095	
Teachers' Contributions . . .	431,142	
Interest on Residue of the Fund under the Scheme of 1911	61,915	
Net Contributions of Education Authorities and other School Managers (i.e. from Rates or Local Sources) .	152,509	1,015,661

(d) Schools under Voluntary Managers

The only schools directly aided from the Education (Scotland) Fund which remain under voluntary management are sixteen secondary schools, with 10,746 pupils, seven residential schools for blind, deaf or defective children, with 642 pupils, and three orphanages, with 444 pupils. Continuation classes are also conducted in four centres under voluntary management, while provision was made for the technical education of adult blind persons in the four central asylums for the blind.

In the year 1935–6, the total cost of maintaining these schools and classes was £396,000, of which 37 per cent. was met from grants.

II. EDUCATION AUTHORITIES: NOTES ON TABLE 2

Each authority is responsible for all forms of primary and secondary education within its area, and there is therefore no clear-cut distinction for accounting or rating purposes between the cost of primary and secondary education respectively.

(a) Rates and Taxes

The net expenditure from public funds of £12,818,000 was met from the following sources :

	£	
Grants	6,814,000	= 53·2 per cent.
Rates and Derating Grants	6,004,000	= 46·8 ,,

The grants referred to above include direct grants from the Education (Scotland) Fund (£6,750,000), grants from the Ministry of Labour for Junior Instruction Centres [1] (£62,400) and miscellaneous grants (£1,600).

(b) Grants to Education Authorities

The " block grant " principles adopted in the distribution of the free balance of the Education (Scotland) Fund to the authorities have been referred to in section I of this chapter. The grant regulations for 1937–8 are estimated to provide for the distribution of approximately £7,058,000, an increase of £129,000 on the grants for the previous year, after allowing for a supplementary grant of £52,000 which became available during the year 1936–7. Each authority will receive a sum calculated as follows :

(*a*) £4 16*s*. 3*d*. per pupil (average enrolment).
(*b*) £118 10*s*. per teacher.
(*c*) A fixed scheduled sum (share of £419,295).
(*d*) Grants in respect of contributions made by the authority towards the maintenance of voluntary schools in the area.

Less the produce of a rate of 5*d*. in the £ on the rateable value of the area (the amount of this deduction being limited to 3*s*. 9*d*. per head of population).

The regulations aim at placing in the hands of each authority a share of the total grant available, which is determined on broad principles in relation to school population, teaching staff and rateable value. For grant purposes, no distinction is made between pupils or teachers in various types of schools, e.g. primary, secondary, etc. The educational organisation of each area is conceived as being sufficiently comprehensive to make it unnecessary to measure the claims for grant aid by narrow or restrictive standards.

(c) Teachers' Salaries

In 1935–6, the expenditure of £8,222,104 under this heading (exclusive of the authorities' contributions to teachers' superannuation) amounted to 63·10 per cent. of the total expenditure of the authorities and was made up as follows :

	£
Day School Salaries	7,957,213
Payments for Instruction in Continuation Classes	226,983
Retiring Allowances granted by Authorities .	37,908

Teachers' salaries are paid in accordance with a scheme framed by the authority for each area. Every such scheme is approved by the Scottish Education Department and must provide for salaries not less than those

[1] Under the stimulus of the Unemployment Act, 1934, there has been a rapid growth in this expenditure in recent years (1932–3, £31,952; 1934–5, £59,333; 1935–6, £92,058).

TABLE 2

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF SCOTTISH EDUCATION AUTHORITIES FOR THE YEAR 1935–6

Income

SOURCE	COUNTIES ONLY	COUNTIES [1] OF CITIES ONLY	SCOTLAND	
			AMOUNT	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL INCOME
	£ (000)	£ (000)	£ (000)	
Grants	4,539	2,275	6,814	52·3
School Fees	57	123	180	1·4
Endowments	15	3	18	0·1
Other Income	12	2	14	0·1
Balance to be met from Rates and Derating Grants	3,390	2,614	6,004	46·1
Total	8,013	5,017	13,030	100

Expenditure

ITEMS	COUNTIES ONLY	COUNTIES OF CITIES ONLY	SCOTLAND	
			AMOUNT	EXPRESSED AS SUM PER SCHOLAR [2]
	£ (000)	£ (000)	£ (000)	shillings
Salaries of Teachers (including Authorities' Contributions towards Teachers' Superannuation, etc.)	5,473	3,149	8,622	238
Maintenance Expenses of Schools	1,212	815	2,027	56
Loan Charges (Interest Repayment, etc.—including Capital Expenditure met directly from Revenue)	467	390	857	23
Administration	237	164	401	11
Bursaries and other Forms of Assistance to Pupils and Students	157	31	188	5
Other Expenditure	467	468	935	26
Total	8,013	5,017	13,030	359

[1] *Burghs of Aberdeen, Dundee, Edinburgh and Glasgow.*

[2] *These costs are based on the total number of pupils in average attendance in day schools for the year* 1935–6 (725,985 *pupils*).

prescribed by *Minimum National Scales* laid down by the Department after consultation with representatives of the authorities and the teaching profession. The main requirements of the Minimum National Scales are as follows :

	£
Certificated Teachers trained for Two Years or Less :	
Men	150–10–250
Women	130–5–150–10–200
Certificated Teachers (Graduates)	
Men	200–10–300–15–360
Women	180–10–300
Teachers[1] *qualified under Chapter V of the Regulations for the Training of Teachers :*	
Men	230–10–310–15–400
Women	200–10–350

In addition to the classifications shown above, the Minimum National Scales provide intermediate scales for certificated teachers with three or four years' training, as well as additional payments at prescribed rates for posts of special responsibility, e.g. head teachers, etc. It is open to authorities to provide salaries in excess of the compulsory minima, and in some areas a considerable number of teachers receive such payments. The temporary reductions in the Minimum National Scales which were imposed as a result of the national economies in 1931 were restored in full as from July 1st, 1935.

III. SERVICES NOT AIDED FROM THE EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) FUND

Approximately one-fifth of the total expenditure on public education in Scotland is aided by grants which are not paid through the Education (Scotland) Fund. The main services under this head are referred to in the following notes :

(a) Scottish Universities (see Table 3)

"*Other Income*" includes £38,179 of grants from local authorities (see footnote 2 to Table 4).

"*Other Expenditure*" includes £14,964 on examinations and £11,144 grants to student societies, etc.

During the period of five years from 1929–30 to 1934–5 the Scottish Universities have received benefactions amounting to £321,743 for capital expenditure on lands, buildings, etc., and nearly £600,000 for new endowments.

(b) Approved Schools (formerly described as Reformatory and Industrial Schools)

The grants for this service are provided by a separate parliamentary vote (Approved Schools, Scotland) and amount to approximately one-half of the cost of maintaining the schools. In the year 1935–6 the twenty-two approved schools, with 1,643 scholars, were maintained at a cost of £128,453, of which 45·8 per cent. was met from grants and 39·7 per cent. from the contributions of local authorities. In addition the authorities received grants amounting to £1,984 towards expenditure of £4,176 on the maintenance of young persons committed to their care.

For some years after the war there was a considerable decline in the expenditure on approved schools due to a fall in the numbers of young persons committed to the schools and the consequent closure of a number

[1] These teachers are normally honours graduates and are mainly employed in secondary schools.

TABLE 3

SUMMARY OF UNIVERSITY INCOME AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR 1935–6. SCOTLAND

Income

INSTITUTION	TOTAL INCOME	ENDOWMENTS	PERCENTAGE	DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS	PERCENTAGE	PARLIAMENTARY GRANTS	PERCENTAGE	TUITION FEES	PERCENTAGE	EXAMINATION, GRADUATION, MATRICULATION, REGISTRATION FEES	PERCENTAGE	OTHER INCOME	PERCENTAGE
	£	£		£		£		£		£		£	
Aberdeen University . .	122,803	22,788	18·6	1,000	·8	55,750	45·4	23,281	19·0	9,139	7·4	10,845	8·8
Edinburgh University . .	286,575	57,323	20·0	6,955	2·4	99,777	34·8	72,999	25·5	27,435	9·6	22,086	7·7
Glasgow University . .	257,875	48,022	18·6	1,100	·5	88,000	34·1	76,634	29·7	33,297	12·9	10,822	4·2
Glasgow Royal Tech. College	76,497	9,476	12·4	4,634	6·0	37,001	48·4	16,730	21·9	115	·1	8,541	11·2
St. Andrews University, including Dundee Univ. College	113,649	24,195	21·3	1,521	1·3	52,500	46·2	20,889	18·4	7,303	6·4	7,241	6·4
Total .	857,399	161,804	18·9	15,210	1·8	333,028	38·8	210,533	24·6	77,289	9·0	59,535	6·9

Expenditure

INSTITUTION	TOTAL EXPENDITURE	ADMINISTRATION	PERCENTAGE	DEPARTMENTAL MAINTENANCE		TOTAL	PERCENTAGE	MAINTENANCE OF PREMISES	PERCENTAGE	OTHER EXPENDITURE		PERCENTAGE
				SALARIES OF TEACHING STAFF AND SUPERANNUATION	OTHER EXPENDITURE					FELLOWSHIPS, SCHOLARSHIPS, PRIZES, ETC.	TOTAL	
	£	£		£	£	£		£		£	£	
Aberdeen University . .	124,506	6,163	5·0	74,212	14,809	89,021	71·5	14,628	11·7	245	14,694	11·8
Edinburgh University .	294,877	20,465	6·9	177,879	41,114	218,993	74·3	30,579	10·4	—	24,840	8·4
Glasgow University . .	263,356	20,221	7·7	160,533	32,319	192,852	73·2	27,328	10·4	420	22,955	8·7
Glasgow Royal Tech. College	76,534	6,881	9·0	47,128	9,147	56,275	73·5	11,452	15·0	423	1,926	2·5
St. Andrews University, including Dundee Univ. College . . .	114,644	10,139	8·9	65,835	18,010	83,845	73·1	12,414	10·8	1,146	8,246	7·2
Total .	873,917	63,869	7·3	525,587	115,399	640,986	73·4	96,401	11·0	2,234	72,661	8·3

of the schools. But under the stimulus of the Children and Young Persons (Scotland) Act, 1932, expenditure on this service now tends to expand mainly owing to the extension by one year of the age at which young offenders may be committed to the Senior Schools, and also to the arrangements made for the committal of children to the care of education authorities.

(c) Central Administration and Inspection (Scottish Education Department)

The expenses of the Department's staff in London and Edinburgh (£63,269 [1]), of Inspection (£64,549 [1]), and of the Royal Scottish Museum (£27,426 [1]) are borne directly on the vote for Public Education, Scotland. The Department is also responsible for the conduct of the Leaving Certificate Examination, but special additional expenses in connection with this service, amounting to £8,000 a year, are chargeable to the Education (Scotland) Fund.

IV. COMBINED FIGURES SHOWING TOTAL EXPENDITURE ON PUBLIC EDUCATION IN SCOTLAND: TABLE 4

This table shows the combined figures of annual expenditure on education in Scotland, which is aided from public funds (i.e. from grants or rates). The figures are based on ascertained expenditure for the year 1935–6 or for the nearest accounting period for which figures are available. The statement mainly covers expenditure for maintenance purposes, but it includes annual payments on account of loan charges (interest and repayment) in respect of capital expenditure and also capital expenditure met directly from current revenue. In the cases of some services, the figures do not agree with those shown in other tables, owing to the need for adjusting the combined figures in respect of cross entries in the accounts—especially in connection with the contributions of education authorities for teachers' superannuation and other services. In the case of education authorities, the figures are *net* after deducting cross entries in respect of income or expenditure included under other services.

V. ITEMS OF SPECIAL INTEREST IN THE YEAR 1937

(a) Preparations for the raising of the School-leaving Age in 1939

During the year 1937, education authorities have been considering the preparation of their schemes for the necessary adjustment of the provision of education in their areas consequent upon the raising of the school-leaving age in 1939, and there is already evidence in the estimates for the year 1937–8 of the increasing activity in school building. To enable education authorities to meet the financial obligations placed upon them by the developments in view, the amount of the grants available is automatically expanding under the 11/80ths arrangement. For the year 1936–7 the grants showed an increase of £187,000, while a further increase of £129,000 is in prospect for the year 1937–8.

(b) Grants for Residential Institutions for Adult Education

The provision of these grants from the Education (Scotland) Fund is a new feature. Owing to the generosity of the Marquess of Lothian, the fine buildings and grounds of Newbattle Abbey, Midlothian, have been gifted for the foundation of a residential college for adult education. With the assistance of the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust and other subscribers, the college was opened for the session 1936–7, and has accommodation for about 60 residential students. Maintenance grants of £28 for each student in residence throughout the session will be paid from the Education (Scotland) Fund.

[1] Estimates for the year 1937–8.

TABLE 4

PUBLIC EDUCATION, SCOTLAND—INCOME AND EXPENDITURE (COMBINED FIGURES)

SERVICE	INCOME FOR THE YEAR 1935–6						EXPENDITURE	
	GRANTS		RATES, ETC.[1]		OTHER SOURCES		TOTAL EXPENDITURE, 1935–6	CORRESPONDING FIGURES, 1934–5
	AMOUNT	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL	AMOUNT	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL	AMOUNT	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL		
	£ (000)		£ (000)		£ (000)		£ (000)	£ (000)
1. Universities [2]	296	37	30	4	471	59	797	786
2. Scottish Education Department (Administration, Inspection and Royal Scottish Museum)	151	100	—	—	—	—	151	145
3. Education Authorities (net) [3]	6,521	52	5,669	46	212	2	12,402	11,936
4. Central Institutions	127	44	18	6	146	50	291	275
5. Agricultural, etc., Colleges	69	53	15	12	46	35	130	125
6. Training of Teachers	60	31	74	39	57	30	191	175
7. Superannuation of Teachers (Statutory Schemes only)	370	36	143	14	503 [4]	50	1,016	968
8. Voluntary Schools, etc.	148	38	35	9	202	53	385	350
9. Approved Schools [5]	57	43	55	42	20	15	132	123
Totals (1935–6)	7,799	50	6,039	39	1,657	11	15,495	—
Corresponding figures for 1934–5	7,406	50	5,853	39	1,624	11	—	14,883

[1] *The figures shown represent the amounts falling to be met from rates and from grants under Part III of the Local Government (Scotland) Act,* 1929 (*derating grants*).

[2] *Excluding the expenditure of the Royal Technical College, Glasgow, which is included under Central Institutions. The sum of* £30,000 *under the heading of Rates, etc., represents grants in lieu of payments from the Local Taxation (Scotland) Account which would otherwise have been available for relief of local rates.*

[3] *Figures are net after deduction of expenditure accounted for under other heads. The principal adjustments are :*

(*a*) £48,000 *has been transferred from education authorities' grants to grants in lines* 6 *and* 8 *on account of grants paid to authorities in respect of their contributions to voluntary schools.*

(*b*) £335,000 *has been transferred from rates (line* 3) *to rates in lines* 4 *to* 9, *on account of the contributions of education authorities towards which they receive no direct grants. This sum includes the net contributions of authorities to the expenses of teachers' superannuation.*

[4] *This figure includes the contributions of teachers and the net contributions of employers (other than education authorities) to the expenses of teachers' superannuation.*

[5] *Formerly known as Reformatory and Industrial Schools.*

(c) Voluntary Allocation of Teachers' Pensions to secure Pension Benefits for Surviving Dependants

Under the Teachers (Superannuation) Act, 1937, it is open to a teacher about to retire to relinquish part of his or her pension in order to secure a pension for a surviving dependant. In order to take advantage of the scheme, it is a condition that the teacher must be in good health immediately prior to retirement. It is not anticipated that the scheme will impose any additional cost on public funds, as the pensioners' allocations will be adjusted to secure the survival benefits in accordance with a scale which has been actuarially balanced, after allowing for the deduction of a small premium to meet the costs of administration.

(d) Development of Technical Education

As a result of the review of the requirements of technical colleges, etc., which followed the announcement in 1935 of the Government's policy for the development of technical education, important proposals have now been made for the extension and improvement of the technical colleges, schools of art and other central institutions. It is estimated that capital expenditure amounting to upwards of £500,000 is involved, and a number of the schemes are already in progress.

(e) Educational Endowments

The Commission appointed in 1928 demitted office at the end of the year 1936. Upwards of 1,500 endowments have been recorded as falling within the purview of the Commission. In their eighth report, issued in March 1937, the Commissioners state that, at the end of 1936, 91 schemes affecting 580 endowments in 20 education areas had been finally approved and were in operation, while 40 schemes (affecting 719 endowments in 15 areas) were under consideration and had reached a stage well advanced towards completion. The Scottish Education Department are empowered to continue the work of the Commissioners, and during the year 1937 considerable progress has been made with the outstanding schemes. It is estimated that the annual revenue from endowments which will fall to be dealt with under schemes reviewed by the Commissioners amounts to £354,808 as follows :

Schemes for :	£
Education Areas .	111,912
Special Bursaries .	32,335
Central Institutions	27,121
Schools . . .	115,465
Homes and Orphanages	27,166
Miscellaneous . .	19,714
University Endowments	21,095
	£354,808

VI. SURVEY OF EXPENDITURE DURING THE LAST TWELVE YEARS

(a) Growth of Expenditure and Incidence of Contributions from Grants and Rates. (Table 5)

An accurate aggregation of educational expenditure presents considerable difficulties owing to the different accounting periods for the several services and to the cross entries which occur in the accounts. The figures in Table 5 show for each year from 1925 to 1936 the total net expenditure met (i) by grants from the Education (Scotland) Fund and (ii) from rates and derating grants.

TABLE 5

TOTAL EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION IN SCOTLAND AIDED FROM THE EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) FUND [1]

YEAR	TOTAL EXPENDITURE	MET FROM: EDUCATION GRANTS: TO LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITIES AND VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS, ETC.[2] — AMOUNT	MET FROM: EDUCATION GRANTS: TO LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITIES AND VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS, ETC.[2] — PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL EXPENDITURE	MET FROM: EDUCATION GRANTS: CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION AND INSPECTION (SCOTTISH EDUCATION DEPARTMENT)	MET FROM: DEFICIT FALLING TO BE MET FROM RATES AND DERATING GRANTS	MET FROM: FEES	MET FROM: OTHER LOCAL INCOME (ENDOWMENTS, ETC.)	MET FROM: TEACHERS' CONTRIBUTION TO SUPER-ANNUATION
	£ (000)	£ (000)		£ (000)	£ (000)	£ (000)	£ (000)	£ (000)
1913–4	5,176	2,609	50·4	71	2,022	·194	177	103
1925–6 .	12,427	6,342	51·0	118	4,953	418	206	390
1926–7 .	12,820	6,481	50·5	118	5,199	427	211	384
1927–8 .	12,890	6,477	50·3	117	5,269	438	196	393
1928–9 .	13,158	6,530	49·6	117	5,482	430	195	404
1929–30 .	13,623	6,605	48·5	120	5,854	431	199	414
1930–1 .	14,020	6,965	49·7	121	5,843	437	231	423
1931–2 .	13,713	7,299	53·2	118	5,241	435	210	410
1932–3	13,316	6,827	51·3	114	5,342	453	181	399
1933–4 . .	13,272	6,609	49·8	113	5,528	463	166	393
1934–5	13,850	6,833	49·3	114	5,812	451	231	409
1935–6	14,434	7,226	50·1	118	6,004	486	169	431
Estimates 1936–7 . .	14,924	7,491	50·2	122	6,216	484	172	439

[1] *Expenses of central administration and inspection (Scottish Education Department) are also included.*

[2] *Includes grants towards Training and Superannuation of Teachers, Central Institutions and expenses of the Leaving Certificate Examination.*

In the year 1924–5 the expenditure had taken an upward turn following the recovery from the period of the " Geddes " economies. In the succeeding years the figures showed a steady development until the year 1931–2, which witnessed a severe period of retrenchment. The maximum effect of the resulting economies was reached in 1933–4. Since that time, expenditure has steadily increased following the restoration of salary cuts in 1934 and 1935. A further increase may be anticipated in the year 1937–8.

During the period under review, the total expenditure has risen from £12,427,000 (1925–6) to £14,924,000 (Estimates 1936–7), i.e. an increase of £2,497,000, which has been met as follows :

	£ (000)	£ (000)
Increases:		
Education Grants, etc.	1,153	
Rates and Derating Grants .	1,263	
Fees	66	
Teachers' Superannuation Contributions	49	
		2,531
Decrease:		
Other Local Income		34
Total (net increase)		£2,497

Transfer of Burden from Taxes to Rates

The " Geddes " economies prior to 1923–4 had resulted in a definite transfer of burden from taxes to rates. The economies of 1931 led to a similar transfer—especially marked if measured against the pre-economy estimates of the year 1931–2. But if measured against the actual expenditure of 1930–1, no such transfer is apparent. Of the increase of £904,000 in expenditure since 1930–1, no less than £526,000 has been met by additional grant. The grant available to Scottish education authorities has been adversely affected by the abolition in 1931 of the " deficiency " grant to local education authorities in England and Wales. It is estimated that the Scottish grants were reduced by approximately £200,000 on this account. It should be noted, however, that since 1929, the State has provided a large contribution to all rate-borne expenditure by means of the derating grants under the Acts of 1929.

(b) Growth of Expenditure of Education Authorities (Table 6)

Apart from the expenses of teachers' superannuation, the greater part of the expenditure under review is reflected in the accounts of the revenue expenditure of the education authorities. Accordingly, the expenditure shown in these accounts for recent years has been analysed in Table 6 in order that the tendencies to fluctuation may be examined under the main subheads of expenditure.

During the period from 1925–6 to 1935–6 the expenditure of the authorities increased by £1,784,000, or 16 per cent. (see Table 6). This increase is accounted for as shown in the table at the top of page 152.

Notes on Main Increases

Teachers' Salaries.—While there has been some increase in average salaries of teachers during this period, the increase in expenditure is largely accounted for by the increase in the number of teachers employed, i.e. from 26,250 teachers in 1925–6 to 28,789 teachers in 1935–6.

Employers' Contributions to Teachers' Superannuation.—This increase is abnormal, as the employers contributed only 2 per cent. of salaries in 1925–6, whereas since 1926 they have contributed at the rate of 5 per cent.

Meals and Clothing for Necessitous Children.—The large increase under this head is due to the heavy obligations imposed on education authorities mainly on account of unemployment.

TABLE 6

EXPENDITURE (REVENUE ACCOUNT) OF SCOTTISH EDUCATION AUTHORITIES

MAIN SUBHEADS OF EXPENDITURE	1913–4 [1]	1925–6	1927–8	1929–30	1931–2	1933–4	1934–5	1935–6	ESTIMATES 1936–7	PERCENTAGE OF INCREASE BETWEEN 1913–4 AND 1935–6	PERCENTAGE OF INCREASE BETWEEN 1925–6 AND 1935–6
	£ (000)	£ (000)	£ (000)	£ (000)	£ (000)	£ (000)	£ (000)	£ (000)	£ (000)	%	%
Administration . .	168	375	403	395	404	379	388	401	404	139	7
Teachers' Salaries, etc. . .	2,694	7,419	7,643	8,022	7,747	7,516	7,869	8,222	8,381	206	11
Employers' Contributions for Teachers' Superannuation .	49	183	369	388	371	360	381	400	406	(Not comparable)	
Other Expenses of School Maintenance [2] . . .	701	1,773	1,821	1,973	1,874	1,814	1,949	2,027	2,057	189	14
Loan Charges and Capital Expenditure met from Revenue	557	675	717	760	951	935	909	857	904	54	27
Assistance to Pupils and Students (Bursaries, etc.) .	66	261	255	251	242	185	184	188	199	185	(*Decrease* 28)
Contributions to Voluntary Schools, Training of Teachers, Central Institutions, etc. .	—	135	166	158	166	154	164	174	187	(Not comparable)	28
Medical Examination and Treatment .	50	139	153	168	177	171	180	186	194	272	34
Meals and Clothing	7	54	66	86	141	132	124	170	177	2,328	215
Approved Schools [3] . .	34	49	59	46	42	37	55	66	77	94	35
Miscellaneous . . .	72	183	194	233	252	249	314	339	417	371	85
Totals . .	4,398	11,246	11,846	12,480	12,367	11,932	12,517	13,030	13,403	196	16

[1] *The expenditure shown for* 1913–14 *includes expenditure of School Boards, Secondary Education Committees and Managers of the Voluntary Schools conducted under the Code.*

[2] *This subhead covers fuel, light, cleaning, repairs, rent, taxes, insurance, books, apparatus, etc.*

[3] *Formerly known as Reformatory and Industrial Schools.*

	£ (000)	£ (000)
Increases :		
Administration .	26	
Teachers' Salaries, etc.	803	
Employers' Contributions to Superannuation	217	
School Maintenance .	254	
Loan Charges, etc. . .	182	
Contributions to Voluntary Schools, etc. .	39	
School Medical Services . . .	47	
Meals and Clothing for Necessitous Children	116	
Approved Schools	17	
Miscellaneous	156	
	——	1,857
Off-set by Decreases :		
Bursary Assistance, etc. .	73	
Net increase	£1,784	

TABLE 7

CAPITAL EXPENDITURE (EDUCATION AUTHORITIES)

YEAR ENDED MAY 15TH	EXPENDITURE FOR CAPITAL PURPOSES			ANNUAL CHARGE ON CURRENT REVENUE IN RESPECT OF EXPENDITURE FOR CAPITAL PURPOSES				TOTAL OUTSTANDING LOAN LIABILITIES AT END OF EACH YEAR
	PURCHASE OF SITES, ERECTION OF BUILDINGS, ETC.	FOR BUILDINGS OF VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS TRANSFERRED	TOTAL EXPENDITURE	INTEREST ON LOANS	REPAYMENT OF LOANS [1]	MET DIRECTLY FROM REVENUE	TOTAL ANNUAL CHARGE	
	£ (000)	£ (000)	£ (000)	£ (000)	£ (000)	£ (000)	£ (000)	£ (000)
1914	472	—	472	233	324	—	557	6,775
1922	367	131	498	221	313	69	603	5,628
1923	311	44	355	238	330	75	643	5,481
1924	327	4	331	236	327	58	615	5,285
1925	427	—	427	222	329	76	627	5,254
1926	621	—	621	227	329	119	675	5,514
1927	578	—	578	242	342	105	689	5,692
1928	654	—	654	260	351	106	717	6,157
1929	730	126	856	278	368	92	738	6,343
1930	1,071	15	1,086	294	379	87	760	6,632
1931	1,387	350	1,737	363	387	79	829	7,810
1932	1,271	—	1,271	380	438	132	950	8,731
1933	864	—	864	389	447	124	960	8,933
1934	704	—	704	361	444	130	935	9,175
1935	767	—	767	344	457	109	910	9,293
1936	888	—	888	323	463	71	857	9,506

[1] *Includes payment to sinking funds.*

Miscellaneous Expenditure.—The large increase under this head is mainly due to the inclusion of special services which have expanded rapidly in recent years, e.g. expenditure on conveyance and maintenance of defective children has risen from £73,000 in 1925–6 to £124,000 in 1935–6, on county libraries from £21,000 to £66,000, while the new service of junior instruction centres cost £92,000 in 1935–6.

(c) Capital Expenditure of Education Authorities (Table 7)

Capital expenditure on the improvement of existing premises or the building of new schools is an important index to progress in educational provision. Accordingly, the figures of actual expenditure and annual charges to revenue account are set out for a period of years in Table 7.

It will be observed that the actual capital expenditure has, in common with other educational expenditure, been affected by the two periods of financial stringency since the war. Bearing in mind the excessive cost of building during the early post-war years, the figures in Table 7 clearly show that, in spite of the need for overtaking the arrears of building replacement due to the cessation of building during the war years, the actual amount of building remained considerably below the pre-war standard for many years. Indeed, it was not until 1929—and then under the stimulus of proposals for raising the school-leaving age and the organisation of post-primary education—that the output of capital work could be said to have reached the normal pre-war standard. Since 1929 the output has exceeded the pre-war standard and, in spite of the slight set-back due to the financial stringency in the years 1932–4, a steady increase may be expected in view of the prospective raising of the school-leaving age. As a result of building activity in recent years the total amount of outstanding loan liabilities in 1930–1 for the first time exceeded the pre-war figures. It may be remarked, however, that, while the liabilities in 1913–14 amounted to roughly one and a half times the total annual revenue of the authorities, the liabilities stand to-day in the much more satisfactory ratio of less than three-quarters of the total annual revenue.

[*Contributed.*]

PART IV

A Survey of Examinations

SECTION ONE

The Problem of Examinations in the British Commonwealth of Nations and the United States of America

CHAPTER ONE

Examinations in Canada

(*See also* Year Book, 1937, *pages* 170–85 *and* 294–307)

Introduction

NEW programmes of studies have been introduced in all provinces of Canada with the exception of Quebec and New Brunswick (revision 1937–8) within the last five years, and the emphasis on examinations has been removed. The methods of instruction have been changed because of new philosophies of education and new objectives for the different schools of the systems. The present study includes a résumé of past practices, some indication of the trends and a little prophecy. Certain features of the examination system in the different provinces have been described. These were selected for various reasons: (1) It is very difficult to make comparisons because of the variety of practices in the different provinces. (2) So many influences, political, social and economic, have shaped the systems that educational procedure in one province might not be accepted in another province. (3) A description of examination methods in Canada could best be given in terms of regulations and examination results, but that is available in Reports of Ministers of Education for the provinces. To present some of the special problems and difficulties, some of the things educationists are saying and doing about these in their own provinces would perhaps be more useful and comprehensive.

Résumé of Past Practices

The educational institutions established in the early history of this country have followed unique courses of development. The "common school" of rural Canada in pioneer days was a community institution which gave instruction in rudimentary subjects to children and young people from 4 to 20 years of age. It

represented a determination to give children as much education as the community could afford. The modern elementary school which has developed from the common school has a much narrower age-range, a more extensive programme of studies and, for most children, a different purpose. The stages of development have been slow and have followed, although at a slower pace, similar changes that have been made in the school systems of the United States of America. One writer lists the stages as follows : Emergence of The Graded School with wider conception of popular education ; addition of new subjects to the curriculum, geography, history, nature study ; addition of the " frills," manual training, music, household science, art ; intelligence testing and the recognition of mental defectives ; use of tests in school organisation ; modification of curriculum and method.

For many young people in rural Canada, the only educational facility has been until recently the elementary school, and in spite of its development, the imposition of an examination barrier at the top barred these children at 14 or 15 years of age from further progress. The school, instead of providing a " common school education," a kind of minimum for life, became a training-ground for " high " or secondary school pupils and, if the child were not bright enough to do the academic course provided for him, he finished his school career at the news of failure at the Entrance to High School Examination. This examination has in the past determined the limits of education for many youths because it gave to most elementary school work an academic bias and a non-academic child could not advance. He had, until recently, no alternative course, so from 6 to 14 years of age (for the elementary was an eight-year course) he was attempting to climb a ladder that was too steep for him.

This condition must have affected the educational life of a large number of children, for the Dominion Bureau of Statistics reports that in 1911 the average age on starting to school was 6·42 years and the average age on leaving was about 14·38 years ; in 1921, the figures were, respectively, 6·33 and 15·46, and in 1931, 6·35 and 16·25. The average age of entrance to a secondary school from an eight-year elementary school has been for the last ten years about 14 years, and, although the average pupil in 1921 was receiving secondary education for about 1·38 years of his school life and in 1931 the average pupil was attending high school for about 2·25 years, many pupils were not going beyond the entrance examination stage. Many pupils who passed the entrance examination were ceasing to attend school.

So in the evolution of the elementary school the entrance examination has in some degree determined the courses and the extent of education of many boys and girls. That does not mean that their school years have been wasted. They learned the " rudimentary subjects, elementary geography of the earth and its people, history and citizenship. In most cases there was not equipment for the

" frill " subjects, but appreciation and values were developed in the subjects of literature, art and music. There were also varying concomitant learnings. The purposes of elementary education may have been accomplished, but more frequently the teacher was more concerned about devices and methods of lifting the child to the academic level of the entrance examination than he was in encouraging the child's intellectual and social growth and development for life.

The grammar school of early days with its emphasis on classical study and training for college has undergone many changes in its development into the free public high school of to-day with its three courses: academic, commercial and technical. For many years the matriculation examination determined the courses of study at the secondary school level. The result was that pupils who were not intellectually equipped for it chose a purely academic course, and after competition in a race that was unfair to them, became discouraged and left school with a wrong attitude towards books and study and little cultural or practical training beyond the elementary school level. The universities required some study of Latin for matriculation, and Latin was a compulsory subject in secondary school. There was a written examination in French, so the pupil must learn grammar and translation, but he did not learn to speak the language. In fact, in most subjects of the secondary school course, the teacher was aware that he must prepare pupils for an examination, and the pupils were aware that the examination was regarded as the end of education.

In many provinces the unit system of matriculation examination, which permitted papers to be credited one by one as they were passed, was introduced about 1922. This was intended to allow some much-needed flexibility in the organisation of school work. It may have been accomplished, but certain academic accomplishments expected at matriculation have not been realised. In 1921, each candidate under the old system in Ontario wrote 10 papers. In the first year of the new system the average per candidate fell to $7\frac{1}{4}$ papers and in 1927 the average per candidate was $4\frac{1}{4}$ papers. About one-third of matriculants pass the examinations in French authors and French composition in different years, although the courses should be correlated. A large proportion of high school students are not given a thorough grounding in their work. As soon as a subject is passed it is dropped and forgotten. The pupil may wish to continue at the university a subject which he has not taken in high school for two years, and the result is that a preparatory course in the subject has to be given at the university. The number of matriculation candidates has increased many times since 1921. The mortality is proportionally no greater than in that year. " The university professors believe that a large number are getting matriculation credit who have neither the knowledge nor the capacity for university work." [1] So the matriculation examination in Canada

[1] This quotation is from an address given by the Registrar of a Canadian university.

has been guilty of a second sin in that it is admitting to the university many students who are not able to do the work.

Of the high school students who chose the matriculation course there have been many who, although they were quite able to do the work of the course, for financial reasons were not able to attend a university. The principal of the school, perhaps, urged certain bright pupils to follow the course leading to the university even though the parents were in comparative poverty. Such bright children should be cared for by a system of provincial or national scholarships (such a plan has been discussed in the Dominion House of Commons), but since these have not been available a bright pupil should not be directed into an examination course because he is intellectually able.

Present Tendencies

The past tense has been used in the preceding part with some restraint because some of the evils attributed to examinations still exist. What are the tendencies ? The elementary school course of seven or eight years is being reorganised and a primary course of six years and an intermediate course to overlap the secondary school course is being introduced. This change has been made already in six provinces. The new programmes of studies are planned to direct the attention of the teacher to the individual child, his interests, his capacities, his growth. Instead of providing teachers with detailed courses in the different subjects of the curriculum, suggestions are given that he may direct the pupil's activities in relation to the immediate environment. This precludes any possibility of uniform examinations. It also reduces knowledge from dominance in the school and provides situations for use of knowledge, development of skills, attitudes and appreciation.

It is expected that average pupils will pass normally from grade to grade without barriers. Bright pupils may be accelerated or provided with an enriched curriculum. Instead of horizontal division in courses there is vertical division and adult standards are not imposed upon pupils of the lower grades. There is to be no serious break in the pupil's progress at the end of the primary school. The intermediate course is to be a continuation of the primary with additional compulsory subjects and exploratory courses. It is recognised that the completion of the intermediate school course will terminate the school career of many children. However, there will be no serious barrier at the end of the course to discourage pupils from attending a senior academic, commercial or technical high school.

The responsibility for promotion and grading of pupils in both the elementary and the high schools is gradually being given by the Departments of Education to the teachers. Throughout Canada, with the exception of Quebec, internal examinations have taken the place of departmental examinations in all but the last two years of the secondary school. Each of the nine provinces still conducts

external examinations for normal college entrance, university matriculation and school leaving, in various combinations, but the tendency is towards accepting the principal's recommendations in cases of brighter pupils from all schools or the recommendations from accredited schools.

" New-type " examinations, oral examinations in languages, and practical tests in science and manual work are used little in the normal entrance or matriculation examinations. The essay type of examinations persists. A survey revealed that, with the exception of English composition and art, the great majority of these papers placed emphasis on knowledge of facts and principles and problems in the application of principles. There were few questions that demanded original or creative thinking.

Greater use in the schools is being made of a variety of indices in determining a pupil's advancement. Some of these are : class work during the year, laboratory and practical work, teacher's estimate of success, new-type tests, and occasionally personal factors, such as industry, power of concentration and creative ability.

The Future

The three most important achievements of the future will be a high school leaving certificate, accredited high schools and cumulative record cards.

The single leaving certificate, issued and signed by the Department of Education, would replace the matriculation and normal college entrance certificates. It would be a secondary school objective with credit in any field, and would divert attention from the purely academic matriculation course which has attracted too many students in the past.

Accredited high schools would help to maintain certain standards of school equipment, libraries, staff and work. The basis of accrediting would vary in different provinces, but their existence would ensure a certain attainment at the high school leaving stage.

The cumulative record, to originate in the primary school and advance with the child throughout his school career, would, if properly planned, give the best picture of his progress and have the greatest prognostic value.

I. British Columbia

Accredited High Schools and Graduation Diploma

A survey of the school system of British Columbia was made by two commissioners in 1925, and their report contained a chapter on the examination system. The writers called attention to ten defects which are the familiar arguments against external examinations. They are reported here for purposes of contrast. (1) The examinations are unreliable. (2) The cost is not warranted. (3) Teachers lacking in culture and weak in inspirational power in the classroom

are frequently successful in preparing pupils for examinations. (4) School life is made miserable for pupils who fail or are likely to fail. (5) The primary concern of each teacher in a large high school is to have a pupil " pass " in his subject, so the aim of education is not effected. (6) Examinations are based on the traditional formal disciplinary doctrine. (7) Scientific standards of measurement are not used. (8) Examination subjects in Grade VIII are emphasised to the neglect of non-examination subjects. (9) The high school entrance examinations show a wide variation in difficulty from year to year. (10) The examinations exert a retarding influence on many pupils.

In 1927, many changes were made in the courses of study ; a junior high school programme was introduced ; new objectives were outlined that removed much of the former emphasis on external examinations. There was further revision in 1932. In 1936, a new programme of studies for Grades I to VI was prepared. Three bulletins of more than 200 pages each, dealing with the work of the first six grades, were issued, making it clear that the development of the pupil, rather than the passing of examinations, is the end in view. In presenting the course in each subject, the purpose of the subject and its relation to boy and girl development are clearly stated. When the focus of attention changes from subject-matter to the child, the testing of quantity and quality of subject-matter to assess educational advancement disappears. This has largely been accomplished to the end of Grade IX.

Adoption of System of High School Accrediting

A serious difficulty that has been obvious for some time is the articulation between university (i.e. the University of British Columbia) and senior high school. In 1930, a committee of high school teachers was set up to study the question of high school accrediting. A report on the advantages of and objections to the existing system of university admission (matriculation examination) was sent to each high school principal. A referendum on the accrediting system demonstrated that an imposing majority of teachers favoured its inauguration. A complete report with recommendations was presented for the consideration of the Minister of Education. At the 1937 Convention of Teachers the Minister announced that a system of high school accrediting would come into effect concurrently with the new programme of studies for the upper grades of the secondary schools.

Aside from the purely technical objections in the report to the Minister, certain indicting evidence against the matriculation examination was given. " The matriculation has been for so long the only certificate of success in high school studies that many parents, employees and others insist upon high school students securing matriculation diplomas, irrespective of ability, tastes, probable future occupation and individual differences in general. Thousands

of students are thus diverted from courses that might be of much greater value to them."

The correlation between the relative ranking of students at the matriculation examination and the ranking of the same students in the third year of their university studies was found to be positive, but not high.

As the recommendations of the teachers' committee will be the basis of a provincial system of accredited high schools, they are pertinent to this study. For some years there have been accredited schools in Nova Scotia, and the method is likely to be adopted in some form in other provinces. In British Columbia, the personnel of the accrediting Board is to be : The Superintendent of Education, two high school principals, two members of the Faculty of the University, three representatives of the Department of Education, *pro tempore* the Director of Education or Inspector in the area. An accredited high school is one whose records are to be taken at their face value when the University or other body is determining which or how many students shall be deemed qualified to apply for admission. Certain rules and standards governing the accrediting of the schools are being prepared. A simple objective type of examination is to be provided to meet the needs of applicants for university admission who have not been trained and graded in accredited schools, or whose standing in these schools has not met the required standard.

Graduation Diplomas

The proposal was made that the Junior Matriculation Certificate be discontinued and that at the successful conclusion of the Grade XII course, pupils be granted High School Graduation Diplomas. If the pupil's Diploma showed adequate credits in certain subjects, he should be eligible for admission to the University. Since Grade XIII is really a junior college year, it is proposed that a student from Grade XIII shall be admitted to the University solely by passing an examination to be set by the Board of Examiners.

II. The Province of Alberta

Grade VI Attainment

A new programme of studies has been introduced, and in it the word " Grade," which formerly included a year's accomplishment in several subjects, has lost some of its meaning, and in rural areas where pupils are grouped in divisions, has disappeared entirely from the school vocabulary. An average pupil is expected to proceed annually from year to year without examination barriers until the end of his ninth year at school (Grade IX). It might be interesting, however, to note what standard of attainment in different subjects is expected of Grade VI pupils, remembering, of course, that these are suggested for the guidance of the teacher, but are not compulsory attainments for pupils' promotions.

Reading.—The pupil should have the ability to read aloud in correct thought groups, with a pleasing voice, clear enunciation and natural expression, any selection of suitable character and difficulty. Tests suggested for use are comprehension tests based on readers and a junior vocabulary test prepared by the Department of Psychology, University of Alberta.

Literature.—Familiarity with six books ; participation in twelve choral selections ; ability to reproduce the narrative of twelve stories ; recitation of two hundred lines of poetry ; reading with reasonable intelligence and sympathy twelve selections.

Writing.—Ayres Scale, Quality 57 ; Speed 63 letters per minute.

Arithmetic.—Addition, subtraction, multiplication and division, simple fractions, business forms, units of measure, two-step problems.

Selective Examinations

The Department of Education now conducts a Grade IX Examination, on which all pupils who have completed the programme of Grades VII, VIII and IX, and desire promotion to the high school, are required to write. The pupils' status and achievement are graded by a High School Entrance Examination Board according to certain standards of quality, and on this basis pupils are directed to appropriate courses of the high school programme.

The examination comprises four question papers : one on English, one on mathematics, one on social studies, and one on general science and health education. There are no Departmental examinations on optional subjects, standing being granted on the recommendation of the teacher to pupils who complete the course in any of these subjects. A pupil must have full standing in three optional subjects for promotion to the high school.

A Grade IX candidate's standing on the Departmental examination is reckoned by averaging his achievement on the four question papers mentioned above. A reasonable minimum, decided by the High School Entrance Examination Board, is required on each paper.

The following schedule governs promotions. If the average achievement of the candidate on the four papers is 60 per cent. or over, the pupil is promoted and is free to take any course or subject of the high school programme. If the average achievement is between 45 per cent. and 60 per cent., the pupil is promoted under recommendation. He may, in the first year of the high school programme, proceed to courses in the optional subjects (typewriting, music, dramatics, oral French, general shop, household economics, junior business), and also to courses in not more than three of the following subjects : mathematics, languages, English, social studies, science. If the pupil's average is between 30 per cent. and 45 per cent., he may, where facilities permit, be allowed to take certain optional subjects in the high school. If his average is under 30 per cent., he fails and must repeat the Grade IX course.

Types of Diplomas

There are four branches in the Alberta (senior) high schools: normal entrance, agricultural, commercial, technical, leading to three possible certificates—University Matriculation, Normal School Entrance, High School Diploma. The credit system of curriculum division is used. The Normal School Entrance course will serve as illustration. The courses are: English literature 1, 2 and 3; English composition 1, 2 and 3; history 1, 2 and 3; algebra 1 and 2; geometry 1 and 2; arithmetic 1; art 1; geography 1; general science 1; physics 1 or agriculture 1; chemistry 1 or agriculture 2; 2 units of either (*a*) Latin, French, German or Greek, or (*b*) art, music, manual training, household economics or sciences, English composition 4, English literature 4; six units to be selected from the following: history 4, history of English literature, algebra 3, geometry 3, trigonometry 1, physics 2, biology 1, chemistry 2, Latin 3, French 3, German 3, Greek 3, music 3. The minimum requirement for Junior Matriculation is credit in twenty-one units of work. Students are granted High School Diplomas when they have completed fifteen units of the high school course to include physical education and four units of English. Students who have obtained the High School Diploma, and have also completed eight additional units in subjects of the third year will, in future, be granted a High School Graduation Diploma. The Diploma courses are designed to give the student the widest choice in making up his programme, that his secondary school education need not be narrowed to the two paths, Normal Entrance or Matriculation.

Students may be recommended for credit by the teacher or principal in the following high school subjects: Latin 1, French 1, German 1, literature 2 and composition 2. These recommendations are to be based on the work of the student as indicated by term tests and general classroom work, a pass mark of 50 per cent. being required in each unit. The unit system of promotion obtains in order to assist teachers in arriving at a basis for recommendation; question papers in these units are prepared by the Department of Education and forwarded to the teachers or principals who apply for them. Their use is not compulsory, and the answer papers are not forwarded to the Department of Education for marking. The teachers or principals are expected to provide the Department of Education with a confidential report on each candidate under the following headings: length of time preparing for examination, regularity of attendance, ability, attitude towards work, physical fitness, relative standing in class.

Cumulative Record Cards

The cumulative record card is being used more extensively in Alberta than in any other province to provide a composite picture of a pupil's ability, achievement and attitude at the different

promotion stages of his school career. The University centre, Edmonton, has provided leadership in this movement.

III. The Province of Saskatchewan

Regulations for Admission to High School

The Minister of Education, speaking before the Trustees' Association, summed up the Saskatchewan system of examinations as follows : " In the lower grades—I–VII, promotions are made by the teachers without formal examinations. Grade VIII examinations (for entrance to high school) were abolished in 1931, with certain reservations. The promotions from Grades IX and X are made under two systems : (*a*) on the basis of examinations ; (*b*) on the basis of the year's work without examinations. Of 38,912 students in Grades VIII–X in June of 1936, there were 5,522 promoted on their year's work without examination. The Department, by regulation, provided that certain students in the larger schools in June 1935 might be promoted from Grade XI without examination. The examination system may be properly criticised, and yet it is conceded by the critics that it would be impossible to delete the examinations entirely from our system."

The elementary school in Saskatchewan comprises Grades I–VIII and the high school Grades IX, X, XI and XII. The regulations for admission to high school are briefly as follows : Pupils may be promoted to Grade IX on the recommendation of the elementary school principal—(1) if there is a high school in the same building ; (2) if there is a high school in the same school district ; (3) if the pupil attends a school in a town or city where there is employed a superintendent of schools. In spite of this limited provision for disposing of an examination barrier between the elementary and the secondary school, the objectives of the elementary school course as advocated by the Department of Education do not include success of pupils at a final examination. The following is quoted from the authorised booklet, *Public School Curriculum and Teachers' Guide* : " To pass an examination, to be promoted to the next grade, to win a prize, to absorb information, or even to acquire desirable skills or to form desirable habits cannot be considered as objectives. The final objectives of public school education are stated briefly as follows : (*a*) Health activities (to include happiness and mental well-being ; (*b*) social activities ; (*c*) spare-time activities."

Considerable study has been made of tests and measurements to be used in schools, and the College of Education has devised and advocated the use of certain objective achievement tests, character tests, standardised intelligence tests. Special mention should be made of the twenty-four standardised tests in the fundamental operations of arithmetic. The time standards for the tests suitable for different grades are given in the curriculum booklet.

Much has been written recently in Canada on the subject of standards of attainment. A pupil is required to do a promotion

assignment, even in a skill subject and given credit for a 50 per cent. achievement. He is given high praise if he obtains 75 per cent. of the maximum marks awarded. It is refreshing to read the directions of the Department of Education in Saskatchewan to their teachers : Require 100 per cent. accuracy in the 100 addition combinations in Grade III. Standard of achievement in spelling 100 per cent. accuracy. In writing, achievement is required according to the norms of the Ayres Scale.

Annual departmental examinations, based upon the course prescribed for Grades XI and XII, are conducted. According to the size and equipment of high schools attended, certain pupils are granted standing on the work of the Grade XI course on the principal's recommendation. Admission to the University is based upon success at the matriculation examination taken upon the completion of the work of Grade XII. Students who have Grade XII standing with an average mark of less than 60 per cent. in the required subjects are required, if entering arts, engineering or household science, to take a preliminary year of work before entering upon the regular course.

IV. The Province of Manitoba

Examinations criticised by a Committee

In Manitoba a Committee was appointed to revise the Programme of Studies for Grades VII–XI. They prepared a Report in 1927 which has had considerable effect, not only upon the courses of study, but upon the education of adolescent children in that Province. The observations on the examination system in the Province are valuable for this present study because they indicate the practice at the time and certain improvements which have since been incorporated in the system. The following quotation is from the report : [1]

" It is admitted that preparing young persons for examinations has a very considerable educational value. The process makes for industry, for the development of memory and of some forms of reasoning power, and even at its worst for a certain skill in expression. But the emphasis is placed upon the accumulation of fact lore, upon word for word reproduction of dictated notes, upon surface indications rather than thought values. Worst of all, it paralyses the initiative of the teacher and intelligent adaptation of school work to community needs and life.

" Music is of great educational worth, but the high school staff must not spend time upon it else the children will fail in algebra. Skill in oral expression is of great value in community life, but it pays no dividends in written examinations. Physical needs are too often neglected. The community life of the school, which should be our best training for citizenship, is suffering severely for this

[1] Page 6, *Report of the Committee on the Review of the Programme of Studies.*

reason. Your Committee believes that the high schools are prevented by arbitrary examination requirements from rendering the service which they should perform. We are demanding that they grasp after the shadow and seem perturbed at their losing the substance.

" The examination system has, of course, often been criticised. Probably no one recognises its limitations better than those who are constrained to depend upon its results in the admission or promotion of students. The answer to criticism has always been, ' What are you going to put in its place ? ' Your Committee does not suggest the abolition of examinations. What it does assert is that the secondary school is examination ridden, and to an extent that considerably cripples its usefulness."

The average Grade XI student prepares, in the heat of the latter part of June, for eleven three-hour papers which follow frequently at the rate of two per day, a load far in excess of that borne by the university student two or three years his senior. The number of papers required is too great. The test is set chiefly to determine knowledge of fact lore, and knowledge of fact lore has little relation to the possession of power on the part of the student. One paper should be sufficient in each of the languages, one in mathematics and one in science. Properly set and carefully marked, these papers would give a truer indication than is gained at the present of the capacity of the individual undergoing the test. Such an examination, checked against the term record of the school, and supplemented by an intelligence test, would be of real value. The intelligence test is slowly making its way, and its worth is gradually being recognised.

V. The Province of Ontario

History of Examinations

The School Law of 1871, Section 38, provided that, " The County, City or Town, Inspector of Schools ; the Chairman of the High School Board ; and the Headmaster of the High School shall constitute a Board of Examiners for the admission of Pupils to the High School according to the Regulations and Programme of Examinations according to Law."

In the 1870's the Legislative grant to grammar schools (high schools) was apportioned on the enrolment in Latin classes. The result was that almost every pupil was forced to study Latin. It was, of course, a matriculation subject, so pupils entered high school from a competitive examination and began a matriculation course for entrance to the University. Much educational history has been made in Ontario since 1871, but the changes in the examination system have not kept pace with changes in the science or philosophy of education.

Dr. Egerton Ryerson was primarily responsible for the introduction of the competitive examination system in his native Pro-

vince. From Ontario its influence spread to Western Canada. One writer has said, " The provincial examinations are the outgrowth of an educational system essentially Prussian, rather than British, in spirit. Each department of education exercises a highly centralised control over the schools under its jurisdiction. The attainment of definite and uniform provincial standards on uniform examination papers is the most convenient, if not the most scientific, method of rating the efficiency of the large number of schools that come under departmental supervision."

Permissive regulations in Ontario giving, first to the principals of city or town elementary schools and later to teachers of rural schools, permission to recommend pupils for entrance to high school were cautiously given, not because the Department of Education was unwilling, but because the teachers were hesitant about assuming the responsibility. There were many possibilities: (1) members of school boards and other influential people might seek to persuade teachers to recommend unworthy candidates. If the child was unworthy in the teacher's estimation, the teacher might face dismissal. (2) Parents would demand examinations, so the burden of setting and examining papers would be shifted from the Department to the teacher. (3) In a recommendation system there would be many standards; under the examination system, one. Would the teacher's standard of achievement set for the pupils gradually lower with his or her waning enthusiasm in advancing years? With the great majority of teachers these were groundless fears. Others met the difficulties bravely as parents gradually learned that the formal entrance examination was unnecessary for about 60 per cent. of the pupils.

As the elementary school course continues in Ontario until the end of Grade VIII (the change to a 6-3–3 plan is gradually being made and new courses of study for Grades I–VI and for Grade IX are now available for use, September 1937), and the pupil is now about 13 or 14 years of age, his entrance certificate is, in many cases, his graduation certificate from school in some rural areas. He has been prepared for entrance to high school, and he has to enter life work on the farm or in a trade instead. So an examination has to some extent controlled a child's training for life. This condition is being changed with the new course of study.

Changed Attitude towards Examinations

Gradually the concession made to elementary school teachers of Grade VIII pupils was extended to principals of high schools; first giving permission to grant lower school standing (a certificate issued at the end of the first two years in high school), and later middle school standing (at the end of four years of high school work). Generally the plan has worked quite satisfactorily from the point of view of selection of pupils who are best fitted to do the next year's work in a subject. A pupil does the work of second-year mathe-

matics and the teacher of the subject decides at the end of a year if he is able to do third-year mathematics. The chief defect in this unit-promotion is the lack of a cumulative opinion or co-ordinated estimate of the pupil's advancement towards an occupation or profession. In the larger high schools where vocational guidance committees have been formed, the defect is not so serious.

The committee of teachers responsible for the preparation of a new programme of studies for elementary schools (Grades I–VI) has objected to the use of external examinations in the following words: " If the curriculum is properly drawn, it should so fit the capacities and interests of children that they will find in the experiences and activities of the classroom a good and sufficient motive for learning, without the unwholesome pressure of a " promotion " examination. Anything in the nature of a final examination to measure the physical, intellectual and spiritual growth of children is not only unnecessary but is prejudicial to such growth." An unusual feature of the programme is that, although a 6-year elementary course has been planned, an average child may do the work in $5\frac{1}{2}$ years, and a bright child in 5 years or $4\frac{1}{2}$ years. No child will at any stage fail. He may have to advance more slowly than a brighter fellow-pupil, but he will make gradual progress rather than have his school career marred by recessions after progress.

VI. The Province of Quebec

The High School Leaving Examination

Of the two educational systems in Quebec, one is Roman Catholic and the other is Protestant. The chief differences in the systems, besides that of religious denomination, are language, administrative control and grading. These differences were described in The Year Book of Education, 1934.

In the high school of the Protestant system there are two courses, the academic and the general. Both courses lead to a High School Leaving Certificate. The academic course is followed by pupils intending to matriculate into the arts faculty of a university. The general course, besides qualifying for a High School Leaving Certificate, leads to entrance into the school for teachers (Macdonald College), and to certain faculties, other than the arts faculty of a university, provided the pupil takes the prescribed subjects and the number of subjects necessary in each case.

Survey and Questions for High School Leaving Examination

A brief survey of the question papers of the High School Leaving Examination, June 1937, follows. Only special features are discussed.

On the geometrical drawing paper there were 6 questions, with 5 marks for each of the first four questions and 15 marks for each

of questions 5 and 6. All were practical questions, and precision, neatness and accuracy besides procedures were being tested.

The freehand drawing and perspective paper had an additional two questions on craft design. The choice in the general art paper was wide, the student being allowed to select from five phases of art for a test of skill and ability. The questions covered work in light and shade, water colour, lettering, poster designs, sketching, commercial advertising.

There was no oral examination in music, nor were there questions on musical appreciation on the written test. That, however, may be difficult to examine. There were twelve questions that tested knowledge of technical terms, harmony, musical composers, classical music and orchestra.

The English literature paper had a choice of six questions of the "describe" and "discuss" type. Eight books had been prescribed by the Department of Education for study, and the questions indicated that an intensive, analytical study was expected. Two questions on the paper gave scope for literary criticism.

A note at the top of the English composition paper was as follows: "Three things will be considered—the arrangement of your material; the language in which it is expressed; the correctness of the grammar, spelling, punctuation." There were two questions; one asking for an essay of about four pages and one a friendly letter.

There had been an earlier oral examination in French, but all candidates were required to write the French grammar and composition papers. The questions written in French tested spelling, composition, vocabulary, grammar, idiomatic constructions and translation from English to French.

Questions requiring the "essay" type of answer were asked on the history paper. The students were required to attempt six questions of eight given on the paper. It was largely a test of knowledge of factual information with one question inviting criticism or the students' attitude toward a certain radical social change.

"Draw a diagram and explain" was a type of question repeated on the physics paper. The candidates were not asked to do experiments but to describe experiments that may have been done in class. This was true also of the chemistry paper, although there were questions on practical uses of chemicals, and questions on industrial chemistry.

The Intermediate algebra paper tested knowledge of square root, ratio, quadratic equations, geometric progression, permutations and combinations, logarithms. There was one problem relating algebra to arithmetic. Geometry and trigonometry were grouped on one paper, with six questions. Proving theorems that had been studied from the textbook was the only requirement in geometry.

There were two Latin papers comprising translations from the works of Cicero with questions on the grammar of the selections, translations from English to Latin, translations from Vergil's *Æneid*, and sight translation.

The household science paper included questions on sewing and cooking. There was evidence that the students had covered an extensive course, that everyday practical problems of the household had been dealt with and a wide sampling was made on the examination.

The extremists among examination critics would find many defects in the School Leaving Examination in Quebec. The questions of the different papers were surveyed above to present a picture of a type of examination that is still used in some form in other provinces, but is gradually disappearing or being changed. It is a natural associate of a prescribed course of study, and, although the examination could well be made more objective in Quebec, its purpose will change with the introduction of a new course of study that is being planned.

VII. The Province of New Brunswick

The Examiner criticised

In New Brunswick there are two schools, the elementary and the high school. In the elementary school there are eight grades, in the high school there may be four. The Superintendent of Education has recommended that a 6–3–3 plan of organisation be adopted and committees have been appointed to prepare the new courses of study.

In line with the modern tendency to reduce the number of outside examinations, provision was made this year whereby students may be admitted to high school on the recommendation of the principal of the school and that of the school inspector. For those pupils of Grade VIII who are not recommended, a high school entrance examination is conducted by the Department of Education. In 1936, 866 pupils passed the examinations, and 698 were admitted conditionally. The Superintendent of Education made the following recommendations concerning examinations in his latest report : " In the lower grades promotion should be on the recommendation of the teacher by whom the pupils have been taught. The High School Leaving Examination should be abolished and the requirements for matriculation be reduced from nine to six subjects. Latin should be made optional and French compulsory. Students might be admitted to the University of New Brunswick and to the Normal School as they are now admitted to High School."

A strong factor in bringing the recommendation into practice is criticism of the external examination. The examination is frequently not consistent with the aims or purposes of the subject examined. One teacher in a recent article writes : " One of the strongest outside influences affecting the work of teacher and pupil is the examination set by an outside examiner. Teaching is done in the terms of the examination that is anticipated. Learning is influenced by the same factor. The order may well be reversed ; it is for the examiner to anticipate the variety of teaching, and set a paper accordingly."

VIII. Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island

An Examining Board's Study of Marks

The high school examinations for the schools of Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland and for private schools are conducted by a Common Examining Board. Readers are selected by the Board to judge the answer papers. The Board has made an extensive study of types of questions best suited for selective purposes. For the 1936 examinations for Grades XI and XII the papers in certain subjects were planned with an objective part and an essay part that some comparison of the results might be made.

They found that the coefficient of correlation between marks on the objective part and marks on the essay part of the question paper in Grade IX chemistry was ·65 ; in Grade XI physics ·65 ; and in Grade XI French ·74. The distribution of the marks in plotting these coefficients revealed that on Grade XI French the candidates scored higher on the objective part ; and in Grade XI physics there was no definite tendency for the marks to be higher or lower on either part. " The coefficients reveal a very satisfactory relationship between the two parts of these examinations."

The median marks in the subjects of Grade XII for Nova Scotia in 1936 were as follows (reported by the Superintendent of Education. The bracketed number indicates increase or decrease from the median mark in 1935) : French 56·5 (— 4·8) ; history 50·5 (— 5·2) ; English (*a*) 45·3 (— 9·4) ; algebra 49·0 (+ 3·2) ; economics 58·6 (+ 4·1) ; German 52·6 (+ 6·3) ; trigonometry 47·0 (— 4·9) ; English (*b*) 57·2 (+ 2·5) ; geometry 50·4 (1·4) ; physics 48·4 (+ 2·9) ; chemistry 49·5 (+ 1·0) ; botany 53·3 (+ 1·9) ; Latin (*a*) 47·0 (+ 3·9) ; Latin (*b*) 61·3 (+ 1·4). The fluctuation of the median mark in a subject from year to year may be due to various causes. It appeared in extreme form in Grade XI Spanish with a small number of candidates, where the median mark was higher in 1936 by 24·0.

The Provincial High School Certificate of Grade XI requires an aggregate of 250 on English, history and any other three subjects at the provincial examinations for this certificate, the results of which have been discussed above. There are two two-hour papers in English ; two one and one-half hour papers in science ; two one and one-half hour papers in mathematics ; and one two-hour paper in each of the other subjects. Provided that the prescribed English and social studies courses are taken, students may take some or all of the remaining subjects necessary for a full year's work from among the following : music, art, crafts, commercial and agricultural subjects. For credit in these subjects the student must present a certificate from the institution in which the subject was studied or pass an examination set by a special examining board in that subject.

The accredited schools from which the recommendation of principals on pupils' success in different subjects are recognised by the Department of Education must have employed three full-time

university graduates on the teaching staff. This is different from the method of accrediting adopted in British Columbia. Under the accrediting system in Nova Scotia, the quarterly and final examinations of these schools are reviewed by the Chief Inspector and a definite plan of determining the students who will write the final local examination is determined. By this system all pupils still write a final examination, but it is a local rather than external examination. In case of failure, at the local examination, he must write the external examination also, for standing.

A few of the directions or hints as to the nature of the final examinations in certain subjects may serve to show the emphasis in the subject and the type of examination to be given. These are given in the *Journal of Education*, which is the official publication for teachers. "The examination paper in composition will require the writing of one or more full-length themes on selected subjects, abstracting or précis work, outlining and exercises in sentence structure and functional grammar. The examination paper in literature will be designed to measure the student's appreciation and critical judgment of assigned selections and his knowledge of the important literary types—essays, one-act plays, short stories, lyric and narrative poems. The Latin paper will contain one compulsory question in sight reading. The examination in French will contain not more than one-third new type or objective questions on vocabulary forms and syntax. An examination in oral French may be substituted for one question on the provincial examination."

Many teachers have not accepted gratefully the responsibility of promoting pupils. Many still prefer the method of external examination. Perhaps they do not feel competent. This may be true, as not all teachers make efficient examiners. One inspector of schools in Nova Scotia found this situation and dealt with it as follows: "The examination by the teachers of the village and rural schools of their own Grade X pupils having proved to be almost a complete farce, at the unanimous request of the teachers themselves I planned and carried out a system of examination for Grade X pupils. As a result there was, of course, a sharp decline in the number of successful candidates. The results of my work have been so gratifying that I shall try to have Grade IX examined in the same way during the coming school year."

A. E. Ault.

CHAPTER TWO

Examinations in Australia

(*See also* Year Book, 1937, *pages* 186–200 *and* 314–20)

1. The Situation in General

EDUCATION in Australia is probably neither more nor less "examination ridden" than it is in most other countries. In spite of some interesting departures from the traditional examination pattern, and in spite of occasional outbursts of criticism, examinations have a very effectual grip and exert an influence upon the educational system which is all the more profound because it is frequently unrealised.

Such criticisms as are levelled against examinations in Australia are much the same as they are elsewhere. Those coming from parents frequently concern the strain placed on pupils in preparing for examinations, special reference being made to the strain on adolescent girls. Professional criticism usually attacks the influence of the examination on the curriculum and on methods of teaching. Less often it concerns the scientific weaknesses of normal examination procedures. In spite of some local contributions to this phase of the problem there has been no serious disturbance of the traditional child-like trust in the validity and reliability of ordinary examination marks.[1] Still less frequently does criticism of examinations in Australia relate to their underlying social and economic significance.

From the strictly educational point of view the central problem would appear to be that of the effect of examinations on school curricula and methods. Those extremists who would abolish examinations make their frontal attack at this point. It is significant that the subjects most emphasised, especially in the elementary school, are those which lend themselves most readily to examination procedures. It is indeed possible that "examinability" is in itself a sign that a given subject possesses certain pedagogical virtues, such as those of explicitness and coherence. But even if this is true it is no justification for a degree of emphasis upon such subjects which leads to the neglect of other subjects with values which have to be defined in terms of æsthetic appreciation or bodily expression.

[1] The first really serious study of examinations in Australia—apart from purely theoretical criticism—is contained in the report by J. A. Seitz, *Variability of Examination Results* (A.C.E.R. Research Series No. 43, published in 1936). There have been few signs that the significance of this report has been realised by the examining authorities or by the general public. One contrasts this with the tremendous interest aroused in England by *An Examination of Examinations* and other reports on the subject.

At least some of the Australian States retained the " payment-by-results " system for years after it had been abolished in England. Even now a teacher's promotion in the elementary school system is not unrelated to the marks obtained by his pupils at examinations, even though the connection may be a somewhat indirect one.[1] The results in the " public examinations " obtained by pupils at secondary schools, both State and non-State, are published each year in the newspapers together with the name of the school attended by the pupil. There is very keen competition between the schools, especially for the " exhibitions " and prizes. The general public takes a keen interest in the published lists. Since there is no other means of judging the relative efficiency of the schools, examination results assume an importance which the schools themselves find it difficult to ignore even if they should wish to do so.

Reference is made later to the signs of very interesting developments in university work, but, in the main, Australian universities follow the traditional lecture and examination method. In some departments provision is made for taking into account work done during the year : a number of lecturers and professors take steps to ensure that independent reading and enquiry are carried out by each student ; but, too often, students are able to meet requirements by an assiduous copying down and memorisation of what has been said at lectures.

The Writer's Personal View on Examinations

Before passing to a more detailed account and criticism of Australian examination practices, it seems fair to the reader to state as explicitly as possible the writer's own attitude towards examinations. It is that of the person who believes that while most of the criticisms, both scientific and general, are justified, the abolition of examinations would be tantamount to cutting off one's nose to spite one's face. The problem is, rather, that of defining the uses to which examinations may legitimately be put and then of making them adequate instruments to these ends. It must be remembered that criticisms of examinations for their effects on the curriculum or on classroom methods are not inherently an indictment of examinations themselves. It would be nearer the truth to say that, by implication at least, they are criticisms of the teaching profession—including, of course, the professional administrators—for their use or misuse of examinations. Thus the abolitionists—apart from the

[1] My views on this point are indicated later. Australian teachers have been astonished on hearing of the Director of Education in England who told me that he regularly sent out examination papers from his office, but refused to allow the teachers to send back to him the marks obtained by their pupils. While wishing to help the teachers in maintaining satisfactory standards, he considered that it was an infringement of the teacher's professional status for him even to appear to be acting as a policeman attempting to enforce such standards.

few who really believe that the growing-plant simile is valid [1]—can well be said to advocate a policy of despair because they apparently resign all hope of ever producing a true profession of education.

The writer believes that examinations will gradually lose their retrospective character and will increasingly assume a prospective function. In other words, they will be concerned less with assessment and more with guidance. At present, in the typical situation, the knowledge of pupils gained over a series of years by teachers who are in daily contact with them is ignored completely in favour of the comparatively slender evidence to be derived from a " catastrophic " test lasting at most a few hours. This is true even when it is a matter of making momentous decisions concerning the future of the pupil. Such a situation is surely the height of absurdity. Its only conceivable justification is that teachers are not trained, or cannot be trusted, to provide the necessary evidence, or even a portion of it.

The Value of School Records

The teacher of the future will undoubtedly receive such training in the technique of examining and testing that he can carry out all the routine work required for building up a scientific record of each pupil. Given such a record, any single examination, whether or not it is a " final " examination, will merely fall into its place as an additional piece of evidence. The record will contain the result of tests and examinations from the time of entry to the time of leaving school. It will contain information on the child's emotional characteristics as well as his interests and habits. Many of the examination results will be derived from the application of scientific tests, but considerable weight will be given to the quality of essay work produced by pupils on periodical assignments for which reference and textbooks will be freely consulted. In general, all testing will be subordinated to the underlying idea of guidance.

At present there is far too wide a gap between the knowledge of the average teacher or inspector and the knowledge of the specialist in this matter of examinations. Practice inevitably lags behind theory, but too wide a gap has bad effects both on teacher and specialist. The former's work does not reach full professional status ; the latter with his new measuring instruments is apt to become so engrossed in his pretty set of tools that he forgets that they are merely a means to an end. The Australian situation is particularly difficult in this respect because of the absence of organised refresher

[1] The view that examinations are to be condemned because they resemble the procedure of pulling up a plant by the roots to see how it is growing is a beautiful illustration of the disastrous effect which picturesque expression may have upon logic : those who employ the expression obviously imply that examinations inhibit or seriously hamper educational growth. If they mean this, they should say so and attempt to prove it. Even on a purely analogical basis, the weakness of the case is revealed when we reflect that this drastic method of measuring growth is characteristic of the 2-year-old rather than the botanist.

courses for teachers. Teachers in training may receive some slight degree of instruction in the problem of examinations and in the new techniques, but they pass out into a world of practical teaching where they find head teachers and inspectors who tend to look with suspicion on these new-fangled devices. As we shall see, there are evidences of serious interest in standardised tests on the part of some Australian authorities ; the actual use of them in schools is increasing rapidly. We can scarcely expect a really satisfactory state of affairs in this matter until the whole question of examining receives far more attention in the professional training of teachers.

The Purpose of Examinations

Just as important as the study and discussion of improved techniques in examining is continuous enquiry into the psychological and sociological results and implications of examinations. Here as elsewhere the legacy of past ideas and methods is often accepted in unquestioning fashion. What types and degrees of ability—both general and special—are required of pupils who intend to take up the various forms of secondary education ? How many pupils should the examination machinery direct into the various types of school in order to satisfy the needs of the community ? What effect does the examination system tend to have on the general cultural life of the people ? In Australia there is little discussion on these and similar questions.

Need for Examination Subdivisions

Finally, the writer believes that examination methods should take more account of the fact that some of the ordinary school subjects –if not all of them—are dependent upon complex combinations of abilities which may vary in relative independence of one another. A single " blanket " measurement may obscure information of great importance. The psychologist may be tempted to push his analysis to lengths which appear to be unnecessary to the practical teacher, but it is the practical teacher, with his need for accurate diagnosis and remedial treatment of educational defect, who stands to gain from a reasonable application of the principle. Our present crude measures are based on the subjects as they appear on the school time-table rather than upon those educational abilities which investigation has shown, or will show, to be relatively independent of one another. For example, Australian schools almost always give separate marks for mental and for written arithmetic, but rarely give separate marks for the two most distinct forms of arithmetical ability, viz. ability at computation and ability at solving problems. A child's reading ability is usually judged entirely on the examiner's impression of his performance in reading orally for a few minutes from a book which has been previously studied. There is no test of vocabulary as such, or of ability to grasp the meaning of a passage except as this is reflected in expression

TABLE 1.—EXAMINATIONS FOR ADMISSION TO SECONDARY SCHOOLS

STATE	NAME OF THE EXAMINATION	AGE AND/OR GRADE	SUBJECTS AND MARKS FOR EACH	CONDITIONS OF PASSING	NUMBERS PRESENTING AND PASSING	PRIMARY FUNCTION OF EXAMINATIONS
New South Wales	Primary Final. (Those who wish to enter high school or sit for bursaries take this exam., but must signify their intention)	Compulsory for all pupils who have spent one year in Grade VI. Those enrolled for less than 1 year may sit at the discretion of the teacher. Average age 12 yrs. 8 mths.	English 300 Mathematics 300 History 150 Geography 150 Writing 50 Dictation 50	Pupil must gain 500 marks with not less than 45% in English and Mathematics unless the total marks exceed 600	Presenting (High School candidates) 22,610 Passing 14,240 Percentage 69·3	Selective for Super-Primary education
Victoria	Admitted on recommendation of head teacher of elementary school except for some metropolitan schools where the number of applicants exceeds the accommodation. There is a system of State Junior Scholarships, but these are purely competitive.					
Queensland	State Scholarship Examination	Entry is optional. Taken at end of Grade VII. Average age 13 yrs. 6 mths.	English 150 Mathematics 150 Geography 100 History 100	Pupil must obtain at least 75 on English and Mathematics and 250 for aggregate	Presenting 7,170 Passed 4,013	Selective
	Most pupils in Intermediate schools who wish to enter secondary schools take a special High School Entrance Examination	Entry to Scholarship exam. optional for Intermediate and rural school children. Taken at end of Grade VII.	English 150 Mathematics 150 Geography 100 History 100 Manual Work or Dom.Sc. (optional to either History or Geography) 100			
South Australia	Qualifying Certificate (One hundred exhibitions are granted to most successful candidates)	Examination optional to all children in Grade VII. Essential for entrance to high school. Average age 13 yrs. 2 mths.	Writing 40 Spelling 60 Composition 160 Grammar 100 Mathematics 200 History 100 Geography 100	Pupil must gain 50% of aggregate marks. In addition the examinee's headmaster must certify that the course of study of all other subjects for Grade VII has been satisfactorily completed	(1936) 9,530 presented 8,636 passed	Selective
Western Australia	Secondary School Scholarship and District School Scholarship	Examination optional. Taken principally at end of Grade VI. Sometimes candidates from Grade VII	English 300 Arithmetic 200	Purely competitive. Limited by number of scholarships available.	Candidates 1,180 Granted 150	Selective for one secondary school in the capital city. Elsewhere they are competitive, and other admissions are governed by accommodation and headmaster's report
Tasmania .	Scholarship Examination	Examination is optional. Taken at end of Grade VI. Average age 12 yrs. 6 mths.	Mathematics 100 Spelling 60 Writing 40 Composition 80 History 150 English 150 Geography 150 General Ability 150	50% of the possible marks regarded as necessary, but this may not secure admission or "pass" if vacancies are filled by candidates scoring higher marks	(1936) 810 passed (High Schools)	Selective

or in ability to answer a few questions which are framed on the spur of the moment.

Much investigation is still called for before we can be certain as to the examination subdivisions which are most desirable. The tests finally arrived at will be far more useful than those employed to-day because they will have diagnostic value in showing for a given subject the particular phases to which attention needs to be given.

2. Examinations in the Elementary School

In practically all Australian schools formal instruction and annual examinations commence in the first grade. Amongst the records which the head teacher must keep is an examination register in which each child's marks in various subjects are faithfully entered once a year, or oftener, but rarely looked at afterwards! Half-yearly and even terminal tests are also fairly common. In addition to these more formidable examinations, many teachers have their particular fancies in the way of weekly or fortnightly tests in certain subjects (usually spelling or arithmetic).

Problem of "Repetition of Grades"

Classification of pupils in Australian schools, in theory at least, is based on scholastic attainment. Annual promotions are the rule, though half-yearly promotions are not unknown. Children who, by the end of the year, are obviously below the normal standard for commencing the next grade are usually required to repeat the work of the year in which they have failed. This may be the case even if the failure is limited to one subject if that subject is an "important" one like arithmetic.[1] None of the States publishes figures showing exactly how frequently "repetition of grades" occurs, but the age-grade tables published by one or two of the States show plainly that it is sufficiently common to form a serious problem.

This whole scheme, which, of course, applies to many countries other than Australia, obviously places much responsibility on the examinations which regulate the passage of pupils from grade to grade. As a matter of fact, scientific enquiry shows that the supposed equality of educational attainment in a typical school grade is a convenient fiction.[2] In almost any subject the range of attainment in a class may prove to be as great as that which is represented by the average performance of pupils two grades lower and two grades higher. The teacher of the future will surely regard repetition of grades as an extremely crude educational

[1] The writer regards as one of a number of features of merit in the latest Western Australian curriculum the direction to teachers that the subject of English should be taken as the most important single subject in determining promotion.

[2] See Wyndham: *Class Grouping in the Primary School* (A.C.E.R. Research Series, No. 9).

method. Instead of adapting school work to individual differences in rate of learning, it forces the pupil to fit in with a rigid system of class promotion. With proper tests, properly used, it is possible to say beforehand what pupils have no reasonable chance of approximating normal school progress. The " failure " of such pupils is really a failure on the part of the school to make a proper diagnosis, to supply a differentiated curriculum and to employ a flexible promotion system.[1] We thus reach the conclusion that the proper function of examinations in the elementary school is that of guidance, but that examinations as at present conducted are too crude to serve this function adequately.

The Eleven Plus Examination

The examination which takes place at about the age of 11 or 12 is usually regarded as marking the end of the period of elementary schooling. It is variously known in Australia as the qualifying, the primary final or the scholarship examination. The customary procedure is for the examination to be conducted on a State-wide basis with test papers set by a panel of departmental inspectors. The subjects and the conditions of passing this examination in the various States are set out in Table 1.

The only State to which such a scheme does not apply is Victoria. In 1933, the external qualifying examination was abolished; admission to high school (but not necessarily to other types of post-primary school) is now granted on certification of the headmaster of the elementary school.[2] In contrast with this we may note the procedure in New South Wales. Not only is the primary-final examination (also known as " the permit to enrol ") compulsory for all pupils who have been enrolled in the sixth class for

[1] The writer is of opinion that, though the " class " will remain as an administrative unit, it will cease to be treated as an educational unit. Arrangements will be made for the differential classification of pupils in various subjects, particularly those in which progressive mastery of topics is important. " Promotion " in a given subject will take place whenever the pupil in question is ready for it. Certain systems of individual instruction have been in successful operation for a number of years. Amongst the obstacles to their introduction in Australia are large classes, poor libraries and the absence of " self-instructional " materials, such as the work-books for directed study which are so frequently used in America. The general tendency in the courses of training for teachers is to make efficiency in class control and in giving class lessons the all-important aim.

[2] Information supplied by the Victorian Vocational Guidance Officer from a recent survey of 82 post-primary schools shows that the recommendation of the child's former teacher is not always the sole factor determining admission. Of the 82 schools, 23 were high schools. In 4 of the (city) high schools an entrance examination played some part because more recommended children offered themselves than could be accommodated. In 3 of the high schools and 14 of the total number of schools intelligence tests were used in helping to select children for entry. One junior technical school used intelligence tests only. In 9 of the 26 junior technical schools covered in the survey the recommendation of the former teacher is apparently not taken into account.

nine months, but a special local supervisory committee of citizens is appointed, of whom two must be present in each room during the examination. Further than this, a plan of the examination room showing the relative position of the different candidates is prepared by the teacher and forwarded direct to head office.

The Scholarship System

The examination taken at about 12 years of age is used in most States, not only as a test of readiness for secondary education of the academic type, but as a test for the award of scholarships or bursaries. However, this also fits in with the general purpose since the scholarships take the form of monetary grants, remission of fees or allowances for books at secondary schools, either State or non-State.[1] In three of the six States the scholarships are available only to children whose parents fall below certain levels with respect to income.

The awarding of scholarships on the results of a State-wide competitive examination held at the end of the elementary school is particularly likely to lead to examination abuses. Schools or teachers are tempted to seek added prestige through winning numerous awards. A Victorian investigation has shown that schools which " specialise " in scholarship winning are likely to produce a disproportionate number of those who later fail to justify their selection for secondary courses.[2] At one time the school or teacher gaining large numbers of scholarship awards was looked on with special favour by the educational authorities. There is reason to believe that this attitude is changing, if, indeed, it has not already disappeared. Several of the departments have schemes whereby a certain proportion of the total number of the scholarships available must be awarded to schools in country districts, or to schools of a certain size.

Modification of System in Victoria

Victoria has recently introduced a modification of her scholarship scheme which was formerly intensely competitive in character. Candidates for the scholarships which are available to pupils below $14\frac{1}{2}$ years of age are drawn from elementary schools and from secondary schools, both State and non-State. A fixed number of scholarships is allotted to schools in each of the three groups. In 1936, for example, 120 scholarships were open to competition by the pupils in 126 State secondary schools. Only forty-six of the schools provided one or more scholarship winners, and of these, four of the schools accounted between them for forty awards, that is, one-third of the total number. Under the new scheme at least one

[1] In Victoria, however, there is a distinct system of Junior and Senior Technical Scholarships.

[2] See J. A. Cole, *The Junior Scholarship System* (A.C.E.R. Research Series, No. 37).

TABLE 2.—JUNIOR OR INTERMEDIATE EXAMINATION

(November or December)

RESULTS FOR YEAR	1935	1935	1934	1935	1936	1936
STATE	NEW SOUTH WALES	VICTORIA	QUEENSLAND	S. AUSTRALIA	W. AUSTRALIA	TASMANIA
Average Age at Examination	15·5	15·8	15·6	15·10	15·7	16·0
No. of Persons aged 15 years	47,300	31,800	17,700	10,600	7,800	4,600
Entries for Certificate	12,296	5,095	2,585	2,593	1,428	622
Number Gaining Certificate	9,419	2,865	1,995	1,346	914	372
Percentage Gaining Certificate	76·6	56·63	77·0	51·9	64·0	60·0

SUBJECT	ENTRIES	% PASS	ENTRIES	% PASS	ENTRIES	% PASS	ENTRIES	% PASS	ENTRIES	% PASS	ENTRIES	% PASS
English	12,294	79	2,909	86	2,338	74	2,218	68	1,457	81	631	75
History	11,480	71	2,255	70	1,846	68	813	64	1,302	62	425	68
Geography	7,291	60	1,963	80	1,747	67	966	71	1,131	68	533	77
Latin	4,037	53	832	64	903	70	865	60	269	72	169	60
Greek	42	93	26	39	10	70	16	54	4	100	—	—
Hebrew	—	—	12	83	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
French	6,566	72	2,451	78	1,605	76	782	76	705	59	471	67
German	315	63	158	62	52	52	59	86	79	87	1	100
Italian	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	24	46	—	—
Arithmetic	—	—	2,905	71	2,327	78·	1,932	62	205	70	639	70
Algebra	—	—	2,272	73	2,270	82	1,662	58	—	—	572	51
Arithmetic and Algebra	11,136	46·1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,260	64	—	—
Geometry and Trigonometry	9,613	50·8	1,343	63	1,856	82	1,293	62	899	74	509	69
Physics	696	67	593	81	788	73	785	73	481	72	178	72
Chemistry	1,135	80	438	80	763	78	654	63	242	61	284	71
Physical Science	5,955	65	413	82	—	—	—	—	59	80	—	—
Botany	1,325	69	409	66	5	100	248	73	62	85	55	82
Physiology and Animal Biology	1,420	67	332	82	307	74	111	67	433	88	61	66
Geology	281	85	—	—	34	76	196	73	75	77	10	100
Music	258	53	—	—	222	91	87	92	120	90	52	96
Elocution	—	—	—	—	40	87	—	—	10	100	—	—
Drawing or Art	3,387	89·8	1,109	67	333	63	176	63	592	80	101	66
Geometrical Drawing	—	—	—	—	114	71	—	—	336	80	53	60
Agricultural Science	884	92	49	92	142	88	68	65	299	64	25	68
Domestic Science	354	74	140	93	163	93	42	92	250	87	140	81
Needlework	2,628	83	—	—	—	—	2	100	—	—	—	—
Woodwork	1,897	72	—	—	67	75	73	73	257	82	30	87
Metalwork	994	73	—	—	53	81	3	100	41	88	4	100
Trade Drawing	1,553	60	—	—	51	84	—	—	—	—	52	64
Business Principles	5,313	73	657	55	800	75	992	74	475	56	151	48
Shorthand	1,868	83	—	—	566	80	666	76	224	64	87	68
Typewriting	—	—	—	—	—	—	609	63	233	69	—	—

TABLE 3.—SENIOR OR LEAVING EXAMINATION : (November or December)

RESULTS FOR YEAR	1935	1935	1934	1935	1936	1936
STATE	NEW SOUTH WALES	VICTORIA	QUEENSLAND	S. AUSTRALIA	W. AUSTRALIA	TASMANIA
Average Age at Examination	17·5	16·8	17·6	16·10	17·7	18·0
Number of Persons aged 17 years	48,300	30,800	18,200	10,700	7,300	4,400
Entries for Certificate	3,011	2,595	315	933	372	140
Number Gaining Certificate	2,260	1,096	224	371	250	76
Percentage Gaining Certificate	75·6	42·3	71·0	39·9	67·2	54·0

SUBJECT	ENTRIES	% PASS	ENTRIES	% PASS	ENTRIES	% PASS	ENTRIES	% PASS	ENTRIES	% PASS	ENTRIES	% PASS
English	2,988	81	1,969	65	559	75	917	54	386	88	189	62
Ancient History	310	67	187	56	94	78	140	61	—	—	6	100
British History	—	—	464	54	—	—	—	—	180	64	—	—
European History	—	—	533	45	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Modern History	1,988	67	—	—	140	77	207	62	—	—	114	79
Economic History	—	—	—	—	—	—	349	62	83	47	—	—
Economics	741	57	529	56	46	76	226	81	—	—	42	81
Geography	586	71	768	59	261	61	244	57	100	85	122	81
Latin	1,946	63	412	52	328	65	447	57	68	65	61	52
Greek	24	83	16	81	6	83	29	48	4	50	—	—
Hebrew	—	—	3	34	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
French	2,445	68	1,490	47	378	68	370	67	190	67	127	72
German	92	67	67	51	18	72	46	74	28	89	2	100
Italian	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	11	91	—	—
Mathematics I (Algebra)	2,726	76	874	67	—	—	501	55	—	—	118	53
Mathematics II (Geometry)	2,116	68	597	52	541	63	405	53	503	66	113	67
Mathematics III (Trigonometry)	497	69	358	54	—	—	—	—	—	—	55	69
Mathematics IV (Mechanics)	358	66	176	57	302	77	—	—	88	72	21	76
Surveying and Astronomy	—	—	—	—	8	87	—	—	—	—	—	—
Physics	723	69	553	57	215	74	347	70	165	68	28	64
Chemistry	1,334	76	458	55	201	80	286	67	82	61	54	65
Geology	153	93	71	79	8	87	57	74	13	85	9	100
Botany	253	77	173	42	—	—	103	65	12	91	8	100
Animal Biology	36	78	200	57	—	—	—	—	90	87	—	—
Physiology and Hygienics	109	57	—	—	—	—	27	78	12	92	22	64
Music	26	89	—	—	6	100	19	84	35	97	5	100
Drawing and Art	274	92	430	63	12	100	54	67	108	84	23	70
Agricultural Science	45	100	15	60	—	—	19	79	86	70	—	—
Domestic Science	42	95	56	75	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Commercial Principles	—	—	475	64	—	—	—	—	8	50	—	—
Commercial Practice	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	12	100
Shorthand	—	—	—	—	—	—	100	66	—	—	—	—
Geometrical Drawing	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	47	72	—	—
Mechanical Drawing	110	66	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Logic	—	—	—	—	60	75	—	—	—	—	—	—
Dressmaking	163	81	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Wool-classing	12	83	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Spanish	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	60	—	—

Supplementary Examinations are held in Victoria, South Australia and Tasmania. Honours Examinations, after a further study of one year, in Victoria and South Australia.

scholarship is awarded to pupils of each of the larger and one free place to pupils of the smaller State secondary schools. These awards are made by the head teacher in consultation with the district inspector without any external examination. The method by which the teacher and inspector will make the awards is not laid down, but it is expected that a candidate's work for the whole year will be taken into account. Candidates from State elementary schools still take an external examination, but the awards are made on a district basis to ensure that a few schools specialising for the examination will not gain all the awards. No change has been made in the method of awarding scholarships to pupils of non-State schools.

Criticism of State-wide Examinations

Apart from scholarships there is little doubt that a State-wide examination at this stage has, on the whole, a bad effect on the work of the elementary school, particularly in the upper grades. Teachers find it difficult to avoid the conclusion that the official opinion of their teaching efficiency will be based on the number of passes obtained or scholarships won. It is significant that in more than one State the teachers' union makes special efforts to discourage "unethical" conduct in the matter of giving additional teaching to scholarship candidates outside the regular school hours.

The Problem of Completion of Courses

When the old eight-grade primary school was the order of the day and State secondary education was undeveloped, the chief examination was the one which marked the completion of the period of compulsory schooling. An early form of this certificate in one of the States bore the significant title "Certificate of a Child being Sufficiently Educated." Two of the States, Victoria and Tasmania, still retain the Merit Certificate to mark the satisfactory completion of eight years' schooling. The Merit Certificate is a school leaving certificate (though it is also taken by some pupils who continue their schooling) and at one time was widely accepted by employers as evidence that prospective employees had sufficient general education. Although it still holds this place with respect to certain occupations, there is an increasing tendency to require higher qualifications.

The growth of various forms of secondary education, and the recognition that the end of the sixth year of schooling should be regarded as the completion of primary education, has introduced a new state of affairs. In New South Wales, for example, the title given to the examination taken at about 12½ years is the "Primary Final."

Danger of Truncated Courses

One serious consequence of this development is the fact that in all States the upper limit of compulsory attendance no longer coin-

cides with the completion of any recognised stage of schooling. Truncated courses are therefore extremely common. There is no effective way of binding a pupil to the completion of a three-year post-primary course terminating at 15 years. The situation is further aggravated by the fact that the legislation relating to compulsory attendance releases a child when he becomes 14 years old, and not at the end of the year in which his fourteenth birthday falls. (If an alteration were made in this matter, special steps would have to be taken to avoid possible complications through placing large numbers of pupils on the "labour market" at one time.) One unfortunate result of the operation in Australia of minimum adult wage regulations is the tendency of employers to require early entry into industry, so that the employee will be able to provide some years of service before he has to be paid adult wages. The Labour Party consistently opposes any attempt to modify these provisions, even though they stand in the way of increased educational advantages for the masses.

If the school leaving age is raised to 15, as it may well be in the not-distant future,[1] it should prove possible to introduce some new form of school leaving certificate which will testify to the type of education received during the last three or four years of compulsory schooling.

The Twelve Plus Examination and Further Schooling

We have noted the gradual shift of emphasis from an examination at 14 to one at 12 years. There are, however, insufficient signs of full realisation that the purpose of the new examination is entirely different from that of the old. A school leaving certificate indicates the amount of schooling supposed to have been mastered; the *raison d'être* of the earlier examination is its presumed usefulness as a guide to the pupil's further schooling. The writer has indicated his opinion that guidance in such questions should be based, not on any single test, but on a cumulative record. However, if a single test is to be employed to control entrance to secondary school courses of the traditional type, there is evidence that the best prognosis can be obtained from a test in English and mathematics plus an intelligence test. It will be observed, however, in Table 1 that four of the Education Departments require examinations of a comprehensive character. With respect to intelligence tests, it is only during the last year or two that any of the education departments have taken steps to use them, even on an experimental basis.

Traditional Emphasis on Academic Courses

A further criticism of the examination at 12 is that the present emphasis remains almost exclusively on the selection of

[1] New Zealand has recently decided to raise the school leaving age to 15, and a resolution in favour of the same step (with the suggestion that it come into operation in 1940) was passed at a meeting of Australian Ministers and Directors of Education held in Sydney in May 1937.

pupils for the traditional " academic " courses. The implication appears to be that once the " bright " pupils are " creamed off," the remainder can be satisfactorily provided for by junior technical schools, commercial courses, domestic arts schools and the like.[1] This raises the whole question of the European as contrasted with the American conception of secondary education, the former with its emphasis on leadership, the latter with its emphasis on citizenship.[2] Australia is dominated, in the main, by the European tradition of a secondary education of academic type, safeguarded by tests in which the standards tend to become higher and higher. Alongside this, in somewhat uneasy partnership, have grown certain forms of education of a more practical kind, which, it must be admitted, have not achieved quite the " respectability " of the older form. But even those who would defend the notion that " secondary " education must carefully preserve its standards by the elimination of the intellectually unfit would probably admit, first, that it is a mistake to allow pressure to be exerted on *all* " bright " pupils to take academic courses, and, secondly, that the " less bright " deserve more guidance than the merely negative procedure of excluding them from training for professional careers. We therefore conclude once again that even under the present system the keynote of any tests given at the end of the primary stage should be " guidance " and not " selection " ; that all pupils are equally worthy of full consideration in this matter.

In point of fact, there are ample grounds for uneasiness concerning any system where choice between academic and other courses has to be made about the age of 12 years. The seventh, eighth and ninth years of school life should be largely exploratory in character. Decisions which have an important bearing on the child's future career should be postponed to the latest moment possible. Most countries with separate types of school at the post-primary level make provision for transfers, but such provisions appear to be doomed to ineffectiveness. The guidance which directs a child into this or that form of education (and of occupation) should be based on cumulative school records which will include not only the results of systematically applied tests, but also observations on the interests and abilities of the child as revealed by exploratory courses. We may note in passing that this shifting of emphasis from " selection " to " guidance " leads naturally in the direction of the abolition of the external examination.

Difference between Urban and Rural Areas

It will be realised that the foregoing sketch is a generalised one. In a country like Australia, with large cities and extensive rural

[1] An American observer of Australian schools disliked this idea of a first and second " pick " more than anything he saw. See Cramer, *Australian Schools through American Eyes*, page 38 (Research Series, No. 42, A.C.E.R.).

[2] See Kandel, *Examinations and their Substitutes in the United States.*

districts, it is impossible to provide uniform school facilities. For pupils living in the country, secondary education, if undertaken at all, is conditioned by the types of school found in the locality, except for the minority who live away from home in order to attend a school of a particular type.[1] In country centres where secondary facilities are provided there is greater likelihood of different types of secondary courses being found under the one roof, even though the courses may be of three rather than five years' duration. It is also true that there is keener competition for entry into secondary schools in the cities. Indeed, there are several instances where special examinations are held in order to regulate entry into particular secondary schools. In general, we may say that selection on the basis of "fitness for secondary education" is somewhat stricter in urban than rural districts, while the selective processes of an economic character tend to operate more stringently in the case of the child living in country districts.

3. Secondary School Examinations

Particulars concerning the secondary school examinations in Australia are shown in Tables 2 and 3. It will be seen that each State has two examinations, the first falling between the ages of 15 and 16 years, and the second at the age of 17 or 18 years. The second of these examinations serves as a school-leaving examination as well as a method of control over university entrance. At the same time bursaries and scholarships for university courses are awarded on its results. Two of the States, South Australia and Victoria, have a Leaving Honours Examination which is taken a year later than the Leaving Certificate. Although not compulsory for university attendance, it is a common practice for this higher examination to be taken by pupils who expect to do honours courses at the university, especially if they complete the Leaving Certificate before they are old enough to commence university work. One would think it a disadvantage to have a higher and a lower standard for students commencing their work at the university unless the two standards are used in connection with the discrimination between pass and honours courses. The fact that complaints are heard that certain students in their first year at the university are asked to duplicate work already done for Leaving Honours suggests that the present situation is not completely satisfactory.

Influence of the Universities

There is no question but that preparation for these examinations determines to a very large extent the work done in all secondary schools other than those of a technical character. The examinations

[1] In providing scholarships and bursaries for secondary education, it is a common practice to make special allowances to children who have to travel or to reside away from their homes.

are conducted by the universities, and the examining boards are predominantly professorial in character, if not always in numbers. In the case of Victoria only do the schools have a majority representation on the controlling board. The natural and legitimate aim of the professors is to safeguard the standards of entrance to university courses. In spite of notable exceptions they are not, as a class, specially interested in the education of the majority of secondary school pupils, those, namely, who do not intend to enter the university. It may not be too far-fetched to suggest that a professor, by reason of the very brilliance which has gained him his position, may fail to have a clear grasp of the educational needs and possibilities of the average child. It is a common experience to find that the most " useful " professors from this point of view are those who were at one time school-teachers or those who maintain close personal contact with the secondary school. Unfortunately, such professors form a small minority. It is not intended to imply for a moment that the university *desires* to control the secondary school ; the control is indirect and the university might well retort that the schools have the remedy in their own hands.[1]

Resolution of Headmasters' Conference

In recent years considerable attention has been given in Australia to this question of the relationship between the university and the secondary school. For example, the Headmasters' Conference held in Adelaide in 1936 passed the following resolution :

> " *That the first stage of a secondary course should provide a sufficient general education in a fairly wide range of subjects, that the first certificate should mark the conclusion of this stage, and that, in order to preserve sufficient freedom to schools in choice of curriculum and syllabus, the award of this certificate should be controlled by a board on which the schoolmasters have an effective voice.*
>
> " *That the Conference hopes that such certificate would be recognised by the Universities as sufficient evidence of a general education for matriculation purposes, whatever evidence of subsequent specialised education may or may not be required.*
>
> " *That this stage of education should be designed to conclude between the ages of* 16 *and* 17, *and that the stage subsequent to this should make provision for two years of work.*
>
> " *That this certificate be awarded to boys who have reached the required standard in English and at least four other subjects from an approved list.*"

Scheme of Reform in Victoria

Victoria seems to be the State which is making the most direct effort to put into operation reforms along the lines suggested in

[1] One university professor in Australia, however, recently remarked that he preferred the system in his own State to that in another State because " the university had such a good grip on the secondary schools."

the headmasters' resolution. The system of internal examinations at the secondary level has been described in earlier volumes of the YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION.[1] The Schools Board is at present considering modifications which will reduce the effect of external examinations in schools not working under the internal system. It is possible that the Schools Board in Victoria will cease to conduct the Intermediate Examination. It is felt that, whatever be the position with respect to the Leaving Examination, there is no justification for direct university influence at the Intermediate stage for which pupils are preparing some three or four years before the question of university entrance arises at all. It is possible that the Board will decide that the first examination which it will conduct will take place normally after five years spent in a secondary school, and in no case at an earlier age than 15 years. At the same time steps are likely to be taken to provide in this examination for wider choice of courses and for definite weight to be given to the certification of headmasters. The present system of internal examinations for schools which desire the privilege and which can meet the requirements will, of course, remain as it is.

If put into operation, this scheme will go far in making it impossible for Victorian secondary schools to continue to say that they are dominated by university requirements. Incidentally, the change will involve the forfeiture by the university of several thousand pounds a year which are received at present from Intermediate Examination fees.[2] The aim of the proposed changes is to provide a good general secondary education for all pupils up to the ages of 15 or 16 years, and to provide thereafter two years of specialised preparation for those going on to the university.

4. TECHNICAL EXAMINATIONS

The variations in the development of technical education in the Australian States are a natural result of the unevenness of the development of secondary industries. On examining the value of the total production of secondary industry in the Commonwealth, we find that approximately 75 per cent. is accounted for by New South Wales and Victoria. As a result these States have many technical school students and advanced facilities for technical training.

Differences in Technical Schools

Apart from differences in size, the various technical school systems reveal differences in structure, and, consequently, in the methods used for examining technical subjects. It is out of the question to describe these variations in detail. The chief point, perhaps, is the extent to which the technical schools form a self-

[1] See YEAR BOOK for 1932, page 586; 1934, page 317.

[2] In most Australian States the universities derive considerable revenue from such fees. This is a factor which makes it difficult for the university itself to view the whole problem from the purely educational point of view.

contained system, or, on the other hand, are linked with the schools of ordinary type. The position of the junior technical school is particularly significant in this matter.

Victoria stands out as having the most distinct technical school system. Her junior technical schools are supervised by the inspectors attached to the technical branch, and not, as in most other States, by inspectors of the primary division. Victoria also conducts a complete series of technical school examinations commencing with a Junior Technical Certificate which is taken at about 14 years of age after two years' work in a technical school. The subjects for this examination are as follows: English, geography, history, civics and hygiene, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, science, free-drawing and modelling, plane and solid geometry, mechanical drawing, woodwork or metalwork. A year later the pupil reaches the Intermediate Technical Certificate stage. He may then commence the three-year courses leading to Senior Technical Diplomas.

In the other States the division between technical and non-technical education is not so clear-cut, particularly at the early stages. (It is interesting, by the way, to note that, though Victoria has such a distinct technical school system, it also has some clear examples of multi-purpose secondary schools. These are found in country centres where separate technical schools would not be justified.) In New South Wales, for example, the ordinary Intermediate Examination includes the subjects of woodwork, metalwork and trade-drawing. A similar situation is found in most other States.

The Victorian technical school authorities claim certain advantages for their system. They refute the criticism that the cultural aspects of school work are in danger of neglect. They maintain that it is a great advantage on the technical side to have complete control of the curriculum and to be able to insist on good standards in subjects, like drawing, which are essential to later work. It is interesting to note that pupils in Victorian technical schools can, if they so desire, sit for the Merit Certificate. One may admit the claim that cultural values are not neglected—it is now generally admitted that any definition of the " cultural " which places it in antithesis to the " practical " is a false one—without being entirely happy about the situation. The writer, at least, feels that there are strong sociological and psychological arguments for continuing common schooling to as late a stage as possible, and would hold that it is worth while running certain risks in the matter of " standards " in order to achieve this end.

5. School Leaving Certificates

As already explained, each State has a secondary school leaving certificate which, under certain conditions, admits to university matriculation. The most common requirements are the obtaining of a pass in English and one other language. As a rule each univer-

sity course has its own prerequisite subjects. For example, three of the six universities require Latin or Greek at Leaving Certificate Standard for the Arts Course ; Latin is a prerequisite for the study of law at all universities except Queensland. It is somewhat of a surprise to find that at Melbourne University no prerequisite subjects are laid down for Science courses apart from those required for general matriculation. Indeed, the variations from university to university in this matter of prerequisites lead one to suspect that there is a considerable element of arbitrariness in present practices and that specific research into the problem is desirable.

Influence of Matriculation

The matriculation requirements tend to have an effect on the Leaving Examination even for those pupils who are unlikely to proceed to the university. In the eyes of teachers, pupils and the general public they enhance the prestige of those subjects which the university regards as important or essential for its own courses. Opinions differ as to the extent of this influence, but it is obvious that the stronger it is, the more difficult it becomes to give the ordinary school-leaving certificate its proper place. In this connection it is interesting to note the special effort made by Queensland to provide differentiated certificates at the leaving stage, so that students will be encouraged to take subjects which will be of service to them and so that the certificate itself will indicate the nature of the course which has been taken. Thus, in addition to the general certificate which contains no " vocational " subjects, there are leaving certificates in art, commerce, home science, agriculture and industry. In each case the student must pass in five subjects. The industrial certificate, for example, requires that the five subjects must include applied drawing, woodwork or metalwork, and at least two out of the following group : arithmetic, algebra, geometry, chemistry and physics.

6. Examinations within the University

We need not describe university examinations in detail. They follow, as a rule, the traditional methods adopted in the universities of most countries, that, namely, of making the fate of each student depend on the results of examinations at the end of each year. The examinations themselves, except in subjects requiring practical or laboratory work, are of the normal " essay " type. Three-hour papers are the rule. The frequent " quizzes " and the new " objective " tests so freely used in American universities are rarely found in Australia. There is probably an increasing tendency to give credit for work done during the year. This holds true, for example, of the Schools of Commerce and Biology at Melbourne University.

So far as the writer is aware, few university courses have gone so far in this matter as the School of Education at the same Univer-

sity. The students, all of whom are graduates, are permitted to work out problems during the year and to hand them in as part or whole of the credit for any particular subject. It is the aim of the School of Education in question to cultivate in its students opinions based on sound information. It is felt that these opinions cannot be adequately stated in a conventional examination of three hours' duration. It is preferred that students should work out their problems and write their answers in their own studies surrounded by all their books of reference.

7. The Use of Tests and Record Cards in Australia

Until recently the use of intelligence tests or of standardised tests of school achievement has been limited in Australia to a small band of enthusiasts. The use of the Binet and other tests has, of course, been standard procedure in most examinations for admission to special schools or classes. The ordinary school and the average teacher have remained untouched by such devices.[1]

The last two or three years have seen a marked increase of interest, due in large part to the fact that the Australian Council for Educational Research has made available tests specially devised for local conditions. The following tests are now available: intelligence tests (2); reading tests (silent, 5 parts); arithmetic tests (6 parts); reading test (oral, 3 parts); spelling test (6 lists of 50 words each); chemistry test. Each of the foregoing tests exists in two equivalent forms. In the standardisation of these tests a total of some 125,000 children have been examined. In each case separate norms are provided for the various States because it has been found that significant regional differences are in existence. In each case, too, norms are provided both on an age and a grade basis. The increase in the use of these tests is shown by the fact that the number distributed or sold by the Council rose from 2,600 in 1934–5 to 9,400 in 1935–6.

Most of the Australian Education Departments are now showing an active interest in the use of such tests. In 1932 and 1933 the Tasmanian Education Department arranged as an experiment for the scholarship examination to be accompanied by a "General Ability" test. Indeed, it went so far as to admit to high school some of the 1932 candidates who obtained high scores on an intelligence test, but would have been excluded on their performance at the ordinary examination. So satisfied were the authorities with the results of these experiments that the intelligence test has been incorporated since 1934 as an integral part of the examination. It is also worthy of note that a system of pupil record cards has been introduced in 1937 in all Tasmanian primary schools. This action was taken on the recommendation of a conference of head teachers

[1] An account of the use of standardised tests in Australia up to 1932 will be found in *The Primary School Curriculum in Australia* (A.C.E.R. Research Series, No. 16, pages 298–305).

of schools in which the system had been in operation one year. In New South Wales a large investigation was conducted in 1936 by the Research Officer of the Department. Intelligence tests were applied to all candidates at the Primary Final Examination, the number of candidates being 53,000. Although this application was experimental, it is likely that such tests will be employed regularly before long. New South Wales is also commencing to introduce record cards for each pupil. It is reported by the Director of Education of Western Australia that intelligence tests are to be introduced in 1938.

Victoria has not yet officially used intelligence tests for admission to high school, but the fact that there is no State-wide examination throws the responsibility of using or not using them upon the individual head teacher. As indicated in the footnote on an earlier page, some teachers are employing them. The Victorian scholarship examination is distinct from the qualifying examination, but intelligence tests have not been used for the award of scholarships in spite of the demonstration by a Victorian investigator that such a test would help in eliminating the minority of pupils who fail to live up to expectations.[1]

Victoria now has a card record system for each pupil in the sixth, seventh and eighth grades. Like the New South Wales cards, it does not provide for records of the pupils' work below the sixth year of school life. It provides no space for records of results of standardised tests. The New South Wales card does so. So far as the writer is aware, South Australia and Queensland have made no extensive use of intelligence tests or school record cards for the ordinary pupil.

Risks in use of Standardised Tests

The writer is strongly of opinion that a serious risk lurks in the employment by education departments or school inspectors of standardised tests so long as there is any attempt to judge the efficiency of teachers by the examination results of children—whether the examinations be of the ordinary or the new type. It is placing altogether too much strain on human nature to expect teachers to refrain from coaching children on tests if the results of the tests are likely to affect their professional well-being and if the contents of the tests are known to them. The only method by which knowledge of the contents of tests could be avoided would be the frequent production of new and equivalent "forms" of each test. The production of even a single form of a standardised test is an elaborate and expensive matter, and only two of the six

[1] See Cole, *The Junior Scholarship System* (A.C.E.R. Research Series, No. 37). It is incongruous that while scholarships are based on the theory that ability should be the chief factor in deciding what pupils shall receive a secondary education, the examinations on which scholarships have been granted have often been of a type which places a premium on cramming and memorisation.

education departments have research branches which could attempt work of this kind. It is obvious that the teacher who, because of conscientiousness or ignorance, did not " coach " his pupils would be at a distinct disadvantage.

The Teacher must be the Examiner

We may, indeed, apply in a much wider sense the point stressed in the previous paragraph. Present examinations are not sufficiently accurate to justify the view that their results—except, perhaps, in gross cases which could be detected by an efficient inspector in any case—can be taken as a measure of teaching efficiency. Indeed, the best examination results may well be obtained by the poorest teachers—using " poor " in the sense of falling short of the true pedagogical ideal of awakening permanent interests and developing independent thought. Another factor which usually remains uncontrolled is that of the variations in learning capacity or " intelligence " which are to be found between individual children or groups of children. This may indeed become a serious matter in a small school where the existence of one or two backward families places the teacher under a severe handicap if he is to be judged on crude examination results. Even if a teacher's efficiency could be equitably judged from the examination results of his pupils, there would still remain the most serious objection. This is the fact that teaching is cramped and spoiled if it is constantly conducted with examination results in view.

It is to be feared that the system of judging teachers—directly or indirectly—by class marks at inspectors' examinations, or on State-wide tests, is so deep-rooted in most Australian States that it will take many years to change. It is surely no exaggeration to say that the teacher will not achieve true professional status until he is completely trusted in assessing the educational progress of his pupils.[1] We would not think much of the medical man who had to have a superior officer to make, or at least to confirm, all his diagnoses. If teachers are not competent, then surely their training is at fault. In Australia the training of teachers is under the control of the educational authorities which employ them to a greater extent than in most other countries. They would appear, therefore, to have the remedy in their own hands.

8. Professional and Public Service Examinations

A description of the general scheme of examinations conducted by the educational authorities and by the universities in Australia by no means gives a complete picture of the part played by examina-

[1] This raises the problem of training teachers in the technique of *assessing* examination results, especially intelligence tests. The Birmingham Education Committee has a special course for training teachers in assessing intelligence tests, and only teachers who have passed this course are allowed to assess pupils.—General Editor.

tions in the community. We cannot do more than mention the important public service examinations conducted by the States and by the Commonwealth Government. Apart from the general divisions of these services some departments, such as the Commonwealth Postal Department, selects its recruits by examination at an early age and provides its own system of training and its own tests of proficiency.

There are obvious disadvantages in the too early selection of recruits for the public services, especially if the system is a " closed " one. The Australian universities have recently persuaded the Commonwealth Government to agree to raise the standards of entrance to its public service from the Intermediate to the Leaving Standard.

There are a very considerable number of professional bodies which, acting either on their own initiative or under some legislation which enforces registration, conduct their own tests and in some cases provide courses of training. Dentistry and pharmaceutical chemistry are two instances where there is likely to be found some link with the university. Music is another instance where the Australian States have variable practices. Melbourne University conducts a Conservatorium of Music, whereas the Sydney Conservatorium is distinct from the University. Architecture also is provided for in different ways. Professional and semi-professional organisations, such as those of actuaries, accountants, secretaries, opticians, bankers, nurses, insurance officers and the like, frequently conduct their own examinations.

9. Summary

This brief survey of examinations in Australia, though far from complete, has served to suggest the vitally important part which examinations play in the intellectual and, indeed, the economic life of the modern community. As at present conducted they dictate, to a large extent at least, the forms of knowledge and skill to be acquired by all young people ; their influence is greatest at the most impressionable stage of development, the stage when interests and habits are crystallising into the forms which they are likely to maintain throughout adult life. It is obvious that examinations play a considerable part in determining the distribution of individuals into the various occupational groups. Such factors as individual preference, geographical position and home conditions also figure largely ; but the influence of examinations in social life is greater in reality than it is on the surface because, on the whole, the strictness of their application increases with the importance of the occupation concerned. Society employs examinations to safeguard entrance to many of the skilled occupations and professions which are important to its welfare. It is, of course, no new idea that the community would be wise to extend the principle and apply tests, not only to its professional, but also to its political leaders.

The sifting of individuals on the basis of examinations fairly conducted has in it the germs of truly democratic procedure. Few would deny that the old but disappearing principle of hereditary leadership, or the leadership made possible by uneven distribution of wealth, is inadequate to meet the needs or the ideals of the present day. In few, if any, countries, however, is the full and impartial utilisation of ability carried out. Even though the examinations which guard the more desirable occupations are conducted with perfect fairness, there are many potential candidates who are unable to meet the expense of the long preparation required. Some parents find it difficult enough to maintain their children until the compulsory school-leaving age at 14 years or thereabouts. It is therefore entirely out of the question for them to support their children for a further ten years or so before they can enter such professions as law and medicine.

Considerations such as the foregoing make it all the more important that the selective function of examinations shall be carried out as impartially and as effectively as possible. Earlier sections of this chapter have indicated the writer's view that the single examination should never be allowed to carry the entire weight of decisions which affect the future of the examinee. This applies particularly to the decisions at about the age of adolescence which determine the broad lines of occupation in which the individual will be trained. If a proper system of guidance based on scientific records were established for all young people, there would be a much greater prospect that outstanding talent would be revealed and encouraged. Final vocational decisions should be left as far as possible to individual preference and to open competition between those with the necessary educational qualifications.

Relation between Occupational Opportunities and Distribution of Abilities

From statements which are made there appears to be extant a somewhat naïve theory, that by some system of pre-established harmony there is an equivalence between the total occupational opportunities and the total distribution of abilities in the community. This, at least, appears to be the implication of the view that all these problems would be solved if only we could find out for each person the one niche for which he is uniquely suited. The refutation of this view is a simple matter. It is only necessary to point out, for example, that occupational opportunities vary considerably within the lifetime of a single generation. Although, again, it might be theoretically possible to say how many engineers can be usefully employed by a given community at a given stage of its development, it would take a brave person to say how many musicians and artists the community could or should maintain. It would seem that though society ought to move as far as it can towards securing a more scientific determination of occupations,

it will never be possible to eliminate altogether arbitrariness, competition, and the necessity for second preferences.

Place of Examinations in Social Structure

It is obvious that questions such as the foregoing readily lead us on to the difficult ground of the structure of society itself. When it comes to details, the problem of examinations and the guidance of youth has to be worked out with reference to a given set of social conditions. Examinations play the part they do to-day because of the changes which have taken place in social life during the last century or two. Society may change even more rapidly in the future, but since the innate differences in human beings will remain, some form of testing and of guidance will be essential.

So far as the teacher is concerned, it would seem that he cannot escape the responsibility of conducting tests and examinations so that he may assist in guiding the young people entrusted to his care, and so that he may gain some idea of the degree of success attained by his teaching. At the same time, one of the most urgent problems of education is that of devising ways and means by which the measuring processes are prevented from distorting and deflecting the educational processes from the path which they would normally take. The writer has made it plain that in his view the key to the problem is improved professional status for the teacher, such improvement implying, on the one hand, increased mastery of measuring techniques, and, on the other, freedom to use such techniques without external pressure or interference.

K. S. CUNNINGHAM.

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION AND INCIDENCE OF EXAMINATIONS

STATE OF QUEENSLAND
(COMPULSORY ATTENDANCE, 6–14 YEARS)

GRADE	ESTIMATED NUMBER IN GRADE	AVERAGE AT 1.2.35
Preparatory	27,600	5 years 7 months
1	15,900	7 ,, 0 ,,
2	17,100	8 ,, 0 ,,
3	17,500	9 ,, 0 ,,
4	18,900	10 ,, 1 ,,
5	18,500	10 ,, 1 ,, (Some transfer to Intermediate Schools)
6	16,700	11 years 10 months
7	13,300(*a*)	(Some transfer to State Endowed Grammar Schools or other Denominational Schools)

INCIDENCE OF EXAMINATIONS *

	(1)
Sub. Junior	1,500
Junior	1,300(*b*)
Sub. Leaving	
Leaving (*c*)	

* KEY

(1) *State Academic, Commercial, Domestic and Industrial High School.*
(*a*) *State Scholarship Examination ;* (*b*) *Junior Public Certificate ;* (*c*) *Senior Public Certificate.*

STATE OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA
(COMPULSORY ATTENDANCE, 6–14 YEARS)

NUMBER IN GRADE	AVERAGE AGE AT 1.2.35
—	—
12,182	5 years 10 months
11,077	7 ,, 1 ,,
9,844	8 ,, 4 ,,
10,209	9 ,, 5 ,,
10,347	10 ,, 6 ,,
9,819	11 6
8,490(*a*)	12 4

INCIDENCE OF EXAMINATIONS *

	(1)	(2)	(3)
1st year	2,407	1,074	Grade 8 392
2nd ,,	725	360(*b*)	Grade 9 238(*b*)
3rd ,,	1,112(*b*)	40	
4th ,,	389(*c*)		
5th ,,	82(*d*)		

* KEY

(1) *High Schools ;* (2) *Junior Technical Schools ;* (3) *Higher Primary Grades.*
(*a*) *Qualifying Certificate ;* (*b*) *Intermediate Certificate ;* (*c*) *Leaving Certificate ;* (*d*) *Leaving Honours Certificate.*

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION AND INCIDENCE OF EXAMINATIONS

STATE OF VICTORIA
(COMPULSORY ATTENDANCE, 6–14 YEARS)

GRADE	NUMBER IN GRADE	AVERAGE AGE AT 1.2.35
1	40,000	5 years 10 months
2	28,000	7 ,, 0 ,,
3	29,000	8 ,, 0 ,,
4	30,000	9 ,, 1 ,,
5	32,000	10 ,, 1 ,,
6	31,000	11 ,, 1 ,,

GRADE	NUMBER IN GRADE	INCIDENCE OF EXAMINATIONS *				
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
7	19,000 (*a*)	2,185	1,479 (*a*)	2,549 (*a*)	1,452	2,777 (*a*)
8	18,000 (*b*)	1,949 (*b*)	1,226 (*b*)	2,735 (*b*)	1,396 (*b*)	4,094 (*b*) & (*c*)
9	1,000	13	656	3,319	832 (*e*)	1,150 (*d*)
	—	—	385 (*f*)	1,862 (*f*)	96	46
	—	—	(*g*)	874 (*g*)	—	—
	—	—	—	303 (*h*)	—	—

* KEY

(1) *Central Schools;* (2) *Higher Elementary Schools;* (3) *Art Schools;* (4) *Domestic Art Schools;* (5) *Junior Technical Schools.*

(*a*) *Junior Technical Certificates;* (*b*) *Merit Certificates, Junior Scholarships;* (*c*) *Junior Technical Certificates;* (*d*) *Intermediate Technical Certificates;* (*e*) *Certificate of Proficiency in Arts and Craft;* (*f*) *Intermediate Certificate;* (*g*) *Leaving Certificate;* (*h*) *Leaving Certificate (Honours).*

STATE OF TASMANIA
(COMPULSORY ATTENDANCE, 7–14 YEARS)

NUMBER IN GRADE	AVERAGE AGE AT 1.2.35
6,737	6 years 8 months
5,312	8 ,, 1 ,,
4,525	9 ,, 5 ,,
4,500	10 ,, 4 ,,
4,248	11 ,, 3 ,,
4,043 (*a*)	12 ,, 2 ,,

NUMBER IN GRADE	INCIDENCE OF EXAMINATIONS *	
	(1)	(2)
1704 (*b*)	623	222
—	389	139 (*c*)
—	389 (*e*)	139 (*d*)
—	93	—
—	62 (*f*)	—
—	—	—

* KEY

(1) *High Schools;* (2) *Junior Technical Schools.*

(*a*) *Scholarship Examination;* (*b*) *Merit Certificate Examination;* (*c*) *Junior Technical Examination;* (*d*) *Intermediate Certificate (Technical);* (*e*) *Intermediate Certificate (General);* (*f*) *Leaving Certificate.*

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION AND INCIDENCE OF EXAMINATIONS

GRADE	STATE OF NEW SOUTH WALES (COMPULSORY ATTENDANCE, 6–14 YEARS) NUMBER IN GRADE	AVERAGE AGE AT 1.2.35	STATE OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA (COMPULSORY ATTENDANCE, 6–14 YEARS) NUMBER IN GRADE	AVERAGE AGE AT 1.2.35
Infants	—	—	9,651	6 years 7 months
1	70,600	6 years 0 months	7,681	7 ,, 4 ,,
2	43,770	7 ,, 3 ,,	7,313	8 ,, 6 ,,
3	43,140	8 ,, 4 ,,	7,228	9 ,, 7 ,,
4	45,450	9 ,, 6 ,,	7,497	10 ,, 8 ,,
5	48,900	10 ,, 7 ,,	7,266	11 ,, 8 ,,
6	53,700	11 ,, 8 ,, (*a*) (*b*) (*c*)	5,968	12 ,, 6 ,, (*a*)

GRADE	INCIDENCE OF EXAMINATIONS * (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	INCIDENCE OF EXAMINATIONS * (1)	(2)
7	1,696	12,780	12,880	5,200		4,056	432
8	550	7,450	9,139	1,570	4,100	1,638	356
9	110	3,200	6,310(*d*)	600		407(*b*)	259(*b*)
10	—	—	2,030	—	—	8	167
11	—	—	1,710(*e*)	—	—	5(*c*)	161(*c*)

* KEY

(1) *Composite Classes (Correspondence pamphlets to rural children)* ; (2) *Superprimary Classes (Junior Technical, Domestic, Commercial, Rural)* ; (3) *High School, Intermediate High School, District Schools* ; (4) *Composite Courses (High School, Junior Technical, Domestic, Commercial, Agricultural)* ; (5) *Evening Continuation Classes.*

(*a*) *Primary Final (53,733 Candidates)* ; (*b*) *Included in above, 18,833 candidates for admission to secondary schools* ; (*c*) *included also 3,332 bursary candidates* ; (*d*) *Intermediate Certificate* ; (*e*) *Leaving Certificate.*

* KEY

(1) *Higher Primary Grades* ; (2) *High Schools.*

(*a*) *Secondary Scholarship Examination* ; (*b*) *Intermediate or Junior Public Examination* ; (*c*) *Leaving Certificate.*

CHAPTER THREE

Examinations in South Africa

(*See also* Year Book, 1937, *pages* 201–18 *and* 308–13)

I. Introduction

THERE is no aspect of the educational system which looms larger in the public eye in South Africa than examinations. There are several reasons for this. There are, in the first place, those reasons which South Africa has in common with other countries: viz. the fact that examinations constitute the point of most intimate contact between the schools and society. Not only educational authorities, universities, schoolmasters and students, but also parents, employers and the public in general are vitally interested in examinations. At all times examination results have high news value, and if any person of some prominence "has a crack" at the examination system he is featured in newspaper headlines. For days afterwards the Press will publish letters on the subject of the "examination fetish" which has to be exorcised in some way or other. Still, as with the weather in England (according to Mark Twain), everybody complains about it, but nobody does anything about it. Why not?

Historical Development of Examinations

The answer brings us to the second set of reasons for the almost unassailable prestige of examinations in the educational system of South Africa. The reasons are historical. In the first place, South Africa is a pioneer country isolated by distance from the cultural sources of Europe, but with, nevertheless, a tradition of European civilisation which sets high store by learning. And it is in this solicitude to *maintain scholastic standards* amid the disintegrating tendencies of pioneer life, which must of necessity be preoccupied with overcoming physical obstacles in opening up a vast continent, that we find the reason (not necessarily consciously formulated) for the strong position which the examination (chiefly the external examination) occupies in our national life. Then, too—and this point is important, for in this respect we differ from another pioneer country, the United States of America, where external examinations do not dominate the educational horizon so much as with us—our education system has been centrally administered from very early times. Centralised State control and supervision brought with it the motive for maintaining a uniform scholastic standard in contradistinction with the bewildering variety of standards found in the United States of America, where education control and supervision are so largely a purely local affair.

Establishment of Board of Examiners

Right from the early days it was found necessary to import professional men. Further, when colonists desired to see their own boys take up professions, they were obliged to send them overseas to be trained. This was both costly and inconvenient. The demand arose, therefore, for facilities for certification and training within the colony itself. Thus it came about that a *Board of Examiners* was established in 1858. This body consisted of seven members appointed by the Governor, and was empowered to grant " certificates of merit and attainment in literature and science, of qualification for admission to the public service, and of proficiency in the principles of law and jurisprudence, and in the theory and principles of civil engineering, of land surveying and of navigation."

This Board was further to award certificates (a higher and a lower) in literature and science, " the qualifications for which shall correspond, as far as circumstances of the colony will admit, to the qualifications required for degrees in the faculty of arts, granted by the universities of the United Kingdom."

Abolition of Board of Examiners

In 1873 this Board of Examiners was superseded by the University of the Cape of Good Hope, which was established in that year. It was purely an examining and a degree-granting body modelled on the University of London. The most indispensable qualification of its examiners was that they should know nothing about the candidates beyond their powers of assimilation. The old Board of Examiners had come in for a good deal of criticism because it was alleged that the examiners were not impartial. Hence it was stipulated in the original constitution of the University of the Cape of Good Hope that the Council of the University, in appointing examiners, should avoid, " as much as may be, appointing any person to be an examiner of any candidate who shall have been under the tuition of such an examiner at any time during the two years next before the examination."

Thus the external examination became firmly entrenched in South Africa. This happened not only at the upper end of the educational scale, in the sphere of higher education, but also at the lower end, in the primary and secondary levels. In the schools the external examination took the form of *inspection* which was the natural concomitant of the *payment by results* system imported into South Africa from England in the late sixties. Under this system the inspector from the Education Department came into the school once a year and gave the children tests which were virtually an external examination. These tests were usually printed on little cards, and were carefully guarded lest the teacher copy them and coach the pupils therein for the next year, or perhaps pass the questions on to another school which had still to be inspected.

Effects of System of Inspection

As measuring instruments these tests were very rough and ready. In arithmetic the test usually consisted of five sums. If the pupil had three right, he passed. If he had two right, he failed. There was no guarantee of any kind that the sums or "units" which constituted this measuring-rod were equal. Such a question was not considered. It was, therefore, quite conceivable that a pupil with two sums right might in actual fact have done as well as, if not better than, the one who had the other three right. Lack of reliability was, however, not the greatest weakness in this system of examining. A far greater defect was the fact that it gave the school, the teachers and the pupils a distorted sense of values. Those parts of the curriculum which were readily measurable, such as arithmetic and spelling, assumed an importance out of all proportion, and the less easily measured but equally important subjects, like geography, history, nature study, hygiene, music, art, etc., were often neglected. An almost equally disastrous consequence was the attitude that was fostered towards supervision. The inspector was regarded generally as a sort of policeman and a spy. His annual visits were dreaded by teacher and pupil alike. Luckily this attitude is dying out. Instead of being looked upon as the bogy-man in whose hands lay the power to pass or fail, the inspector is filling more and more the rôle of helper and friend. Also the passing and failing of the pupils from standard to standard is left largely, and in many schools exclusively, in the hands of the teachers themselves. In many rural areas, however, teachers find it convenient in their own interests to keep alive the fiction amongst the parents that it is the inspector who passes or fails their children.

Apart from the examinations such as the School Elementary, later the School Higher and the Matriculation, which were ordeals of a terminal and more or less public nature, the school "standards" themselves marked certain generally recognised stages of academic attainment. They served, *inter alia*, as entrance examinations to the courses for teacher training. For example, the entrance requirements to the Normal School were Standard IV in 1894, Standard V in 1899, Standard VI in 1901, Standard VII in 1909, Standard VIII in 1920 and Matriculation in 1929 in the Cape Province.

Warning against Examination Fetish

These are briefly the historical reasons for the important position which the external examination holds in South African education to-day. As early as 1883 a keen observer, such as Donald Ross, noticed this preoccupation with examinations in the minds of educators and educated alike, and sounded a warning note. In his memorable *Preliminary Report* he wrote the following words: "To prepare highly educated students, after all, is more

important than to impress the stamp upon those who are taught ; *to teach well is infinitely more important than to examine.*" (Writer's italics.)

In spite of these words of warning uttered more than half a century ago, tradition dies hard and the external examination is still much revered in South Africa, particularly at the terminal stages of education such as the completion of the primary school and the completion of high school. Though in recent years greater and greater flexibility is being allowed, and the teacher has more and more say in connection with the award of the primary school certificate, we are still a long way off from adopting a system of accredited or approved schools whose certificate at the high school level would be accepted as equivalent to the departmental certificates of School Leaving or Matriculation. The practicability of such a system in South Africa would to-day be viewed with scepticism and its introduction with alarm. And this in spite of the fact that nearly 100 per cent. of the teachers in South Africa are trained and qualified teachers.

Influence of the Dutch Reformed Church

Before describing the examination system in operation to-day, we might draw attention to another historical factor which possibly contributed towards the widely prevalent worship of the Matriculation Examination. In the early days the Dutch Reformed Church had a strong hold upon the life and education of the people. To become a member of the Church was something to which every self-respecting person aspired. In fact, preparation for Church membership and " confirmation " was the chief, if not the sole, aim of education in the early days. The " aanneming," as this examination was called, was often referred to as the " Boer-matric "—for it constituted the common denominator of cultural attainment amongst the farming population in the outlying areas, and was for them the gateway to Church membership, marriage and respectability.

Ulterior Motives for Maintaining System

Behind all this, as with the Matriculation, we have the underlying motive—viz. to *maintain standards*, to which we referred above.

Incidentally, the keen competition between high schools in striving to obtain " results " has entrenched the Matriculation Examination still more. Particularly in the smaller centres, the number of pupils a school can draw into the upper standards is an important factor in determining the grading of the school, and incidentally the principal's salary. Parents like to send their children to " good " schools, i.e. to schools which can parade in their advertisements a high percentage of passes and so many firsts in the Matriculation Examination. Remove this external " standard " with which schools can measure themselves, and all the " kick " would be taken out of teaching for many a teacher who seeks to " work up " his

school, and incidentally to advance his own salary. It is probably true to say that, while teachers and educators often rail against the "stranglehold of examinations," there are many who in their hearts cherish their chains.

II. The Matriculation Examination

As we saw above, the Matriculation Examination was conducted by the University of the Cape of Good Hope since its inception in 1873. Its aim was *selection* for university study. In fact, from the beginning it was part of the work of the university colleges themselves to prepare students for this examination, and the last Matriculation class was shed by the colleges as late as 1909. With the reorganisation of the university system and the establishment of teaching universities in 1918, the University of the Cape of Good Hope ceased to exist, and the responsibility for conducting the Matriculation Examination was entrusted to a newly formed body, the Joint Matriculation Board.

Influence of the Joint Matriculation Board

In its control of the Matriculation Examination the old University of the Cape of Good Hope, and later its successor, the Joint Matriculation Board, was, and probably still is, the greatest single force in making for uniformity in South African education, so far as the primary and secondary schools are concerned, in spite of the fact that administratively and financially education is controlled by five independent departments (the Union and the four Provincial Departments)—a uniformity greater than would probably have been contemplated or tolerated under a system of avowed Union control of education. Through the Joint Matriculation Board the universities dominated the high schools, and the demands of the latter again influenced the work of the primary schools. What is more, the character of the work of the schools was dominated by the historical fact that the Matriculation was primarily a test for "clerks" and the entrance to the white-collar professions. Learning a trade, or the attainment of proficiency in the technological field, was thereby automatically relegated to a position of inferiority in the school as well as in the social system of the country.

When the Joint Matriculation Board took over from the University of the Cape of Good Hope, the Matriculation Examination required a pass in each of six subjects, made up as follows :

1. Three compulsory subjects, consisting of :
   - (*a*) An official language on the A grade ;
   - (*b*) Latin ;
   - (*c*) Mathematics.
2. *One* science.
3. *Two* further subjects (one being either Greek or History) selected from a list of eleven.

The maximum marks awarded were : Language (A Grade), 400 ; Latin, Greek, History, 350 ; Mathematics, 500 ; others, 300 each. The minima required were : 30 per cent. in each subject, and approximately 40 per cent. of the total aggregate.

In 1918, some changes were introduced, among which were that French and German were allowed as alternatives to Latin, and further that candidates passing in five subjects and obtaining the required aggregate were allowed to take a supplementary examination in the failing subject.

Dual Function of Matriculation

Up to recent times the Matriculation Examination performed a dual function. It was an entrance examination to the university and also a school-leaving examination. Though the former was its primary aim, the majority of pupils who took the examination had no intention of proceeding to the university. These two functions were not compatible, and the criticism against the examination that it forced all high school pupils into one mould, viz. that required for university purposes, was not without foundation. A study of the elimination of pupils from school confirmed this criticism. Out of every 100 starting school, 34 arrived in the secondary school, and of these 7 passed Matriculation and less than 3 proceeded to university. Therefore it was the interests of the 3 per cent. which dominated the whole situation. Out of 6,500 pupils in the Matriculation, or Standard X classes of the Union to-day, only 1,600, i.e. 25 per cent., entered the universities. (These figures are averages based on statistics for the last five years for which they were available.)

Commercial Value of Matriculation

In these figures is to be found the real ground for the accusation contained in the phrase—" the stranglehold of the Matriculation Examination." The Matriculation Certificate was not only supposed to be a means of selecting those who would be likely to profit by university study, but it was actually required also as an entrance qualification into the civil service, the banks and the higher clerical positions in other business concerns. And even where Matriculation was not actually required, the possession of that certificate, or its equivalent, was always an asset when boys competed in the labour market. In spite of the fact that employers sometimes break out in the Press denouncing the education system because of the (alleged) incompetence of possessors of the Matriculation Certificate, it is the universal experience of Juvenile Affairs Boards that they have no difficulty in finding employment for matriculants, and that they are most often left with non-matriculants on their hands. The Matriculation Certificate, therefore, has a social value in the country's economic life, as well as in purely academic circles.

The combination of two functions in one and the same Matriculation Examination—(*a*) as a test of further educability, and (*b*) as a stock-taking of past learning or as a guarantee that a certain level of education had been reached—lay at the root of much of the dissatisfaction which people felt with the Matriculation Examination in South Africa.

Establishment of School Leaving Certificates

Luckily, when the Joint Matriculation Board was constituted in 1918, representation was given also to the Education Departments and to the teaching profession. These had to do with the actual preparation of pupils for this examination, and therefore had to have some say in the matter. It was not long, therefore, after the first few meetings that proposals were put forward to the effect that there should be a School Leaving Certificate specially designed to fulfil function (*b*) mentioned above, as well as a Matriculation Certificate for university entrance. It was also proposed that the school record should be taken into account when determining the candidate's passing or failing mark.

As a result of these representations the Cape and the Transvaal Education Departments soon instituted their own School Leaving Examinations, which had to be taken by all the pupils in their schools. The former was called the Cape Senior Certificate, and the latter the Transvaal Secondary School Certificate. They were recognised by the Joint Matriculation Board in 1924 and 1922, respectively, for purposes of exemption from Matriculation in all cases where a certain prescribed combination of subjects had been taken.

Reasons for establishing Leaving Certificate

The reasons for this step were formulated as follows by the Cape Education Department :

> " The Matriculation Examination was primarily intended for prospective University entrants. A large number of pupils from the Department's schools who took the Matriculation Examination had no wish to proceed to a University.
>
> " The Department was of opinion that there was a danger of excessive concentration on ' Matriculation ' subjects by many pupils whose time might more suitably have been given to other subjects, that wider options should be allowed, that some of the subjects to be offered required oral and practical examination by Inspectors and Departmental Instructors and Instructresses, and that the Department should be in a position to certify that pupils had satisfactorily completed a four-year course of secondary education. It was felt that the time had come for high school leavers to be examined by the Department under whose ægis the schools were working. In instituting the Cape Senior Certificate Examination the Department hoped, by means of one examination, to meet the demands of pupils who satisfactorily completed a four-year course of secondary education but had no intention of proceeding to a University, and to make provision for those pupils who looked forward to a university course."

We quote these arguments in full because much the same reasons actuated the Transvaal Department in instituting its own Secondary School Certificate, and the same reasons are advanced to-day by the Orange Free State in a similar demand for its own examination. It is likely that the latter's wish may be granted in 1938. If that is done, only the schools of the province of Natal will be submitting candidates for the Joint Matriculation Board's Matriculation Examination—besides, of course, the candidates from private schools and those who enter by private study. Even Natal was not without its complaints. As far back as 1902, Mr. P. A. Barnett, the Superintendent of Education for Natal and a writer of a well-known textbook on educational method, declared that "Natal, with South Africa generally, is positively hagridden by examinations," and suggested "that certification should depend less on any final examination than on the record of work done through the whole previous years."

Attempts to introduce Flexibility into System

In 1932, the Joint Matriculation Board recognised the National Senior Certificate conducted by the Union Education Department for purposes of exemption from Matriculation. This certificate is usually attained piecemeal fashion by apprentices and part-time students attending the technical colleges under the control of the Union Education Department.

Several other steps were taken to bring about greater flexibility in the system. For example, the Joint Matriculation Board allowed candidates to sit for Matriculation in June as well as in December. A supplementary examination was held in February to enable those who failed in one subject under certain conditions to retake it and still pass in time for the opening of the university courses. In 1926, however, the June open and the February supplementary examinations were replaced by a February open examination. In 1931, a much wider choice of subjects was allowed and a lower percentage for passing in the aggregate was possible. In 1936, the Joint Matriculation Board issued its own School Leaving Certificate. This was given to candidates who, while failing to obtain the Matriculation Certificate, nevertheless passed in an official language on the higher grade and four other subjects. In 1937, an oral test was introduced as an integral part of the examination in the official languages taken on the ordinary grade.

In spite of the introduction of a School Leaving Certificate and of a fairly large measure of flexibility in the choice of subjects, university examination requirements continue to dominate the work of the high school.

Choice of Subjects for Matriculation

For the guidance of high schools the universities published information which states definitely what subjects pupils should take for

Matriculation if they wish to study for certain degrees at the university. For example, those who wish to go in for law, medicine and theology must have Latin. Those who wish to go in for medicine, commerce and economics must have mathematics. English and Afrikaans are both required for law, commerce and economics. And as many parents who desire to send their children to university would like them to enter one or other of the above-mentioned professions, they play safe by seeing to it that their children do not take such a combination of subjects as would be likely to shut the door for them to any of these learned professions. The result is that in the small high schools (which constitute the large majority in South Africa) where they cannot cater for all the possible options in the long list of about forty subjects, the choice of pupils is limited to the central core of subjects which lead to university entrance. This is what we have called elsewhere (see article in 1937 YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION) the *determinism of distance* which dominates the education of children in a sparsely populated country. On actual analysis it will be found that about 75 per cent. of the high school pupils are by circumstances forced to take the following subjects for high school leaving: English, Afrikaans, Latin or German, mathematics, science and history—not a bad combination—still it is restrictive on a number of pupils who cannot do mathematics and do not like Latin.

The Four Examining Bodies

To recapitulate: there are at present four bodies conducting examinations on the Matriculation level which may lead either to ordinary School Leaving Certificates accepted by the civil service and business concerns or, if the right combination of subjects be taken, lead to the Matriculation Certificate which gives entrance to university.

These four bodies are:

1. The Cape Education Department.
2. The Transvaal Education Department.
3. The Union Education Department.
4. The Joint Matriculation Board.

While each of the first three appoints its own examiners and is free to conduct the examination on its own lines as regards matters of detailed procedure, they are all subject to the general control of the Joint Matriculation Board which moderates every paper set and has a right to scrutinise the scripts, beside laying down the general conditions under which the examination as a whole is recognised for exemption purposes. The control is, therefore, a very real one, and until recently no single department had the right to publish its results until the Joint Matriculation Board had formally passed them.

The Selection of Examiners

In the case of the two provincial departmental examinations the examiners are not selected so much from the ranks of the university professors as was the case formerly. Examiners are selected, not only for their knowledge of the subjects as specialists, but also for their knowledge of children and school conditions. The Transvaal Department has its own Board of Moderators, consisting of representatives of the high schools, normal college, universities and of the education department, who not only moderate the papers set, but also advise the department regarding the general requirements of the examination and the syllabus. Similarly the Cape has its departmental Examinations Committee, which determines the syllabuses and standards of marking at the examinations. This Committee consists of nineteen members, of whom nine are representatives of teachers' associations. The teachers are therefore definitely recognised in the examination system.

Oral Examinations and School Records

Oral examinations are, where they are given, confined to testing a candidate's proficiency in languages. There are in the case of the Cape Senior Certificate *practical* examinations in such subjects as needlework, cookery and woodwork.

In the Transvaal the *school record* counts one-third of the marks upon which the final result of the candidate's passing or failing is determined in each subject. This is taken into account, not so much as a corrective of examination marks, but for its stimulating and disciplinary effect upon the pupil's work throughout the year.

III. The Junior Certificate Examination

Considerable space has been devoted to the Matriculation Examination because of its importance in the social and educational life of South Africa. Brief mention should, however, be made of public examinations which are conducted at earlier stages in the high school. The Transvaal at one time had a School Certificate Examination just one year prior to Matriculation, i.e. at the Form IV or Standard IX stage. While this examination usually served by way of a preliminary canter to the Matriculation Examination, it was abandoned when the Transvaal instituted its own Secondary School Certificate Examination at the Matriculation level.

The examination which, however, has a fairly nation-wide significance is the Junior Certificate Examination, which is taken at the end of Standard VIII, i.e. two years earlier than the Matriculation. In the olden days it was called the School Higher Examination.

This examination was also originally conducted on a nation-wide scale by the Joint Matriculation Board, which is still the examining body for schools in Natal and for private candidates and institutions.

The Cape Province has been conducting its own Junior Certificate Examination since 1921, the Transvaal since 1932, and the Orange Free State since 1933. This development indicates a clear tendency on the part of the respective education departments to cut themselves loose gradually from the apron strings of the Joint Matriculation Board, and to make the examinations at pre-Matriculation stages, at any rate, less and less of the external kind.

Use of the School Record

The devolution has gone farthest in the case of the Transvaal, where this examination is conducted by regional committees who set and mark the papers, subject, of course, to the moderation of the Transvaal Board of Moderators. These committees consist of teachers, with the inspectors of the circuits as chairmen. While no teacher is allowed to set a paper in the subject he actually teaches, there is nothing to prevent him from marking the scripts. The *school record* counts for one-third of the marks in the final result. A minimum of $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. is required in each subject and 40 per cent. of the aggregate for a pass. In the case of the Junior Certificate Examination in the Orange Free State the school record counts for one-quarter of the maximum number of marks for each subject. If, however, this record (which is based on a written examination conducted by the school staff plus an oral test in the case of the official language (on the lower, or B grade) conducted by departmental examiners) "differs widely from the results of the final examination, and thus appears to be unreliable, the department shall have the power as far as the examination is concerned, to disregard the school record, and such a school runs the risk that its school record may not be taken into account during a further specified period."

The Cape Junior Certificate Examination does not take into account the school record.

The Purpose of the Junior Certificate

While bursaries are sometimes awarded on the results of the Junior Certificate Examination to help pupils pay for their board, where they have to go away from home in order to continue their high school studies, this examination is more of a stocktaking than of a selective or predictive nature. It is rather a guarantee that a certain level of education has been reached than a test of further educability. In the case of the Transvaal, where the limits of compulsory education are the sixteenth birthday or the completion of Standard VIII, the examination is in the nature of a culmination course of general education. Both the Cape and the Transvaal have made it optional for pupils who are continuing their high school education, unless such continuation involves the transference from a school where Junior Certificate is the highest class. Strangely enough, both parents and teachers nearly always prefer

to submit pupils for this examination, even though it is not required, which seems to indicate that not only teachers but also parents and the public in general cherish their chains.

Value for eliminating Unsuitable Pupils

It should be mentioned, however, that while the Junior Certificate Examination is not a very significant step in the educational ladder, it nevertheless does eliminate quite a number of pupils of lower mentality who would not profit much by further academic study. But what is more significant, it marks an important exit from the education world to the world outside it. For example, it is recognised for positions in the Government service as a minimum educational qualification for stenographers, second-grade women clerks, post and telegraph apprentices and white first-grade messengers. It is also required for certain positions in the Railway service, except in the higher technical and clerical work. The typographical union requires Junior Certificate as the minimum educational qualification for apprenticeship.

IV. The Primary School (or Standard VI) Certificate

We come now to the third examination which has public significance in South Africa, and that is the Standard VI Examination. This examination performs a triple function: (*a*) It is a terminal examination marking the end of the primary school and in three provinces the scholastic limit of compulsory education (in the Transvaal the limit is Standard VIII, as we saw above). (*b*) It is a prerequisite for admission to high school,[1] and as such exercises a certain selective function. As a matter of fact, over 40 per cent. of those who start school do not attain it. They reach the compulsory age-limit of 16 and leave school before passing Standard VI. (*c*) It is a minimum required from apprentices for admission into all skilled trades, and for entrance into nearly all forms of permanent Government service, including the railways. This has important implications for our social structure in South Africa. Brief mention should be made of these.

The Problem of Sub-normals

It has been found as a result of extensive research[2] that no one with an Intelligence Quotient below 85 has succeeded in passing Standard VI in the ordinary way (unless there has been some condonation). The percentage of the school population below 85 I.Q. is about 15 per cent. This means that 15 per cent. of our boys cannot pass Standard VI (if the present standards are maintained),

[1] There is one exception: for purely local and temporary reasons the Transvaal has a High School Entrance Examination at Standard V in certain urban centres.

[2] *Carnegie Commission's Investigation into the Poor White Problem in South Africa*, vol. iii, page 185, and vol. ii *passim*.

and are therefore automatically excluded from entrance into the skilled trades. The placement of such "sub-normals" creates a very difficult socio-economic problem, because, on the one hand, they cannot operate effectively in the field of skilled labour, which is generally regarded as the white man's prerogative; on the other hand, the field of unskilled labour is mostly cared for by the black population, and to relegate a white person to that level for good is viewed with apprehension. This circumstance, together with the absence of large industries and concerns like the Navy and the Army, which readily absorb low-grade mentalities in other countries, makes the problem of the sub-Standard-VI person in South Africa a very complicated one.

Varied Administration of the Examination

On account of its importance as a generally recognised certificate, the Standard VI Examination has been, and still is, to a large extent an external examination in which the standard of the papers set is to a greater or less degree controlled by the education departments.

In the Cape Province printed Standard VI tests are issued by the department to the inspectors for distribution to the schools, and the examination on these tests is held on the same days throughout the province. The examination is supervised and the scripts marked by the staff—the inspector moderating the marking within his circuit. Recently some latitude has been granted in the use of these tests in so far as it is permissible for the inspector to substitute his own tests or accept tests set by the school. A pupil who has passed Standard VI can obtain a Standard VI Certificate from the principal. Where necessary, the certificate is counter-signed by the circuit inspector.

In the Transvaal, since the scholastic limit of compulsory education was raised to Standard VIII, the Standard VI Examination has been abolished as a leaving certificate, except for those who have reached the compulsory age-limit, i.e. the sixteenth birthday, in which case it is conducted internally by the school staff. A Bursary Examination was, however, introduced in 1935 at the Standard VI level for those who wish to proceed to high school. This Bursary Examination comprises tests in the two official languages, arithmetic and general knowledge. The examination is conducted in much the same way as the Junior Certificate Examination described above.

In the Orange Free State, until this year, there has been one uniform Standard VI Examination that was written simultaneously by all candidates in the province. This central examination has now been abolished and the whole matter has been left in the hands of the circuit inspectors, who jointly or severally co-operate with the schools in setting and marking the papers.

In Natal the Standard VI Certificate Examination is wholly a centrally administered departmental examination. The certificates are issued by the department, but provision is made for endorse-

ment by the school principals. The examination serves two purposes: (*a*) as a Primary School Leaving Certificate, in which case 330 out of a possible 1,000 marks are required for a pass in five subjects (consisting generally of the two official languages, arithmetic, history and geography); and (*b*) as an entrance qualification to the secondary school, in which case it is called a *Continuation Certificate*, and 400 marks are required for a pass. Those who wish to compete for bursaries have to take, in addition to the above examination, an *intelligence test* and a *comprehensive syllabus test*. Each of these tests lasts one and a half hours, and the total marks of these as well as of the Standard VI Examination are taken into account in awarding the bursary.

Before discussing scholarships, it must be pointed out, in conclusion, that in South Africa, with its more or less democratic, *end-on* system of school organisation, examinations play a different social rôle from that which they play in Europe (and to a certain extent in England), where there are parallel systems of education determined largely by class distinctions.

V. Bursaries and Scholarships

One important function of examinations is to serve as a basis for awarding bursaries in order to enable deserving students to continue their studies. The scholarship system, while probably not quite so democratic as a system of free education from the kindergarten to the university, is often better because it is more selective. In actual practice it gives better effect to the ideal of providing *eine freien bahn dem tüchtigen* than the universally free system, because it does not clutter up the higher classes with those who are not really able to profit and who by their presence may have the effect of reducing academic standards. If, however, a scholarship system puts a premium on one type of education, e.g. the academic, it can have serious drawbacks. This is the case, unfortunately, in South Africa, where over £200,000 per annum is devoted to bursaries for secondary education in the more or less purely academic direction fitting boys for white-collar jobs, while less than £10,000 goes for bursaries in the field of technical education.

South Africa has not the variety of scholarships available to youth as in England. On the other hand, it has abolished school fees in the high schools of two provinces and has to spend a great deal of money in transporting and in boarding pupils, because of the sparsity of its population. In fact, most of its bursaries are definitely earmarked for the purpose of bringing the child to the school instead of the school to the child.

Method of awarding Bursaries

So far as the schools are concerned, bursaries are awarded at three stages:

(*a*) The Standard VI stage, in order to enable a pupil to enter the secondary school.

(*b*) The Standard VIII or Junior Certificate stage, in order to enable a pupil to continue his secondary education ; and

(*c*) The Standard X or Matriculation stage, in order to enable a pupil to go to university. (Scholarships awarded at the university for post-graduate study or research will be dealt with below under universities.)

In the last case the scholarship is provided by the university or by some local organisation interested in a particular pupil's career. In the first two cases the scholarships are provided by the education department or by the local school, or town, or organisation interested.

The System in the Cape Province

In the Cape Province the Standard VI Examination is not a basis for awarding scholarships. The department's boarding bursaries to secondary school pupils depend on the pupils' position in the pass list of the examinations. To be eligible the pupil must show ability to profit by a course of secondary education. How exactly the degree of that ability is measured the departmental regulations do not say, though the department gives twenty-five merit awards of £10 per annum, tenable for two years to pupils obtaining the highest aggregates at the Senior and Junior Certificate Examinations.

The System in the Transvaal

In the Transvaal, as we saw above, there is a special bursary examination at the Standard VI level. Pupils who reach 60 per cent. in this examination, and are also poor, are eligible. The bursaries in no case exceed the cost of board, nor do transport bursaries exceed the actual cost of transport. Education is free to all pupils in the Transvaal as regards tuition fees. Bursaries may also be awarded to pupils who pass the Transvaal Junior Certificate Examination in the first class. Such a bursary may be renewed if the pupil's conduct and progress are satisfactory. Then there are also transport and book bursaries awarded at the Junior Certificate stage. Apart from the above, there is a general regulation which states that "bursaries are awarded to pupils who without financial assistance will not be able to proceed with their studies. The amount of the bursary is fixed according to the need of the parents." The school board or governing body of the school makes recommendations to the department and affixes after the name of each applicant : Full, $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ bursary, according to their judgment as to the deserts of the pupil.

The System in Natal

In Natal, as we saw above, there is a special bursary examination at the Standard VI level. On the results of this examination departmental bursaries tenable for two years are awarded (161 for Europeans, 12 for non-Europeans) ; and at the Standard VIII level (as a result of the Junior Certificate Examination) 48 departmental bursaries are awarded to Europeans and 6 to non-Europeans.

The System in the Orange Free State

The Orange Free State has a slightly different system in so far as the bursaries are given in the form of *loans* which are subsequently repayable. Such loans are made at the Standard VI and Junior Certificate levels to indigent pupils who are likely to complete successfully the Junior Certificate and Matriculation courses respectively. In order to determine their ability to profit by a secondary course, pupils are submitted to an intelligence test, and loans are awarded only to those who register at least an intelligence quotient of 100. To the ten best pupils in junior high schools, i.e. schools without a Matriculation course, bursaries of £25 each are awarded on the results of the Junior Certificate Examination, in order to enable the pupils to complete the course elsewhere. Bursaries of £10 each are also awarded to the ten best candidates in all schools. These are non-repayable and tenable for two years. Grants at the Matriculation level are given only to students who intend to follow the teachers' training course. In this respect there is a premium placed on the teaching profession. It is a fairly common practice also in the other provinces to subsidise the teaching profession in this way.

VI. University and Professional Examinations

(a) Internal and External Examinations

As was pointed out above, up to 1918 all the examinations conducted by the University of the Cape of Good Hope were of an external nature. The person who taught a student had no say whatever as to whether a student should pass or fail. The result of this was that students often "loafed" during the year or failed to attend lectures, depending almost entirely on their cramming ability during the last month before the examination, or on their good luck in "spotting" questions after having analysed the frequency with which certain questions occurred in the examination papers set in previous years. If professors or lecturers were not particularly good in their lectures, students had no scruples about "cutting" their classes. There was no real penalty, for a student could always present himself as an "external" candidate for the university examination. Now that the professor or lecturer is also the examiner, students cannot afford to be on bad terms with the instructor, and they often attend classes, even though they feel that they might have spent their time more profitably otherwise.

Under the old system there was the Intermediate Examination at the end of the first year at university. Then there was no other examination until the final one, which came at the end of the third year for B.A. This was somewhat of an ordeal, because a candidate was examined in all his B.A. subjects (five or six) taking two to three three-hour papers in each subject. Under the present system students take their courses and examinations more in tandem

fashion instead of all abreast, as before. Now, passing a course at the end of each year affords a student something of a licence to forget.

With the abolition of the University of the Cape of Good Hope in 1918, the larger colleges, like Capetown and Stellenbosch, became universities responsible for their own examining as well as teaching. The smaller colleges were federated under the University of South Africa, which awards degrees on the combined results of the student's college record and of the final examination. For this examination every internal student is examined by two examiners, one of whom is the professor or lecturer in the subject concerned and the other of whom is a person not connected with the teaching of such student. Besides examining the students of the constituent colleges, the University of South Africa also conducts examinations for, and awards degrees to, external or private students. In the case of such external examinations each candidate is examined in each course by two examiners.

In the case of the teaching universities it is usual to appoint an external examiner in each subject. Sometimes such an external examiner is from another university, and sometimes he is a member of another department in the same university. For the Doctor's degree there are usually two external examiners besides the internal. In the case of the Witwatersrand University it is required that one of the two external examiners be from overseas. Stellenbosch University is an exception in the opposite direction in so far as it usually has only internal examiners for its Bachelor and Masters' degrees. In general, however, it may be said of South African universities that the rôle of the external examiner, whilst subsidiary, increases in importance with each additional year of advanced study. This is probably another manifestation of the underlying motive mentioned above, viz. the desire to maintain standards of a recognised uniformity in scholastic attainment.

(b) Oral Examinations

With the decrease of the importance of the external examination and the concomitant increase of the more intimate and personal relationship between the student and the instructor (or examiner) the oral examination has come to the fore in university examinations. This applies not only in the case of examinations in modern languages where the oral part is regarded as more or less essential, but also in the other degree examinations, particularly at the post-graduate stages, where a candidate is generally examined orally on his thesis, and often at the final medical and other professional examinations.

(c) University Scholarships

About 4 per cent. (viz. £32,000 per annum) of university expenditure is under the head of scholarships and bursaries. Of course, as was mentioned above, students are assisted by loans and grants

from other bodies besides universities. Such awards are made almost entirely on the results of examinations (though in some universities bursaries and grants in remission of fees are available for matriculated students in necessitous circumstances irrespective of standard of attainment in examinations). Generally scholarships given to students on entering the university are awarded according to the relative positions of applicants on the results of the Matriculation Examination. These marks are supplied to the university confidentially for this purpose by the various bodies responsible for conducting the Matriculation Examination. The value of the scholarship is generally equivalent to a remission of tuition fees, and is sometimes sufficient to pay also part of the student's board.

In the case of major scholarships awarded at the M.A. and M.Sc. stage candidates must obtain a first class, but other factors are also taken into account. For example, the University of South Africa requires from its examiners a written statement in the case of each candidate recommended for a scholarship. Such a statement should cover the following: (*a*) extent of the candidate's reading; (*b*) presentation of matter; (*c*) personality; (*d*) special aptitude; (*e*) research ability; (*f*) scholarship. These major scholarships are generally large enough to enable a student to proceed overseas for advanced work.

(d) Professional Examinations

Universities as examining bodies perform a wider function in modern society than merely to maintain academic standards. Society needs, besides scholars, men to have a closer contact with daily needs—men who are competent leaders in public affairs, organisers of production, researchers, administrators and men with highly specialised professional skill. Standards of competence in these applied fields have to be maintained, and the universities have become the recognised agencies for testing and certifying as well as training in specialised knowledge and skill. Here the university examinations serve as a means of exit from the educational world to the world outside it. Their stamp or hall-mark is a guarantee and a safeguard in professional practice.

It is impossible in this small space to embark upon a detailed exposition of each of these professional examinations with a view to ascertaining the extent to which they fulfil the above-mentioned ideal. There is, however, one point which must be mentioned in discussing the social functions of examinations, and that is the rôle which the professions themselves play in determining the requirements of these professional examinations conducted by the universities in South Africa.

Examinations for the Medical Profession

For example, the South African Medical Council by statutory authority prescribes the minima required as regards the curriculum

and examinations for the medical degree (M.B., Ch.B.) and determines the qualifications (medical, dental and nursing) entitling the holders thereof to practise their professions in South Africa. That Council may appoint inspectors to report to it on the examinations for qualifications recognised by the South African Medical Council (e.g. M.B., Ch.B.). Such inspectors have the right to be present at the examinations, although they take no part in them. In this way the medical profession satisfies itself regarding the training and examination of entrants into that profession. As a rule, however, the curriculum and examination requirements of the university are more exacting than those required by the profession. The position is somewhat similar in architecture and quantity surveying, where the controlling body is the Institute of South African Architects.

Examinations for Engineering and Law

In engineering the situation is different. While the university's requirements are such as to qualify graduates for recognition by professional bodies in engineering, these bodies play no part in fixing the university's requirements. In Law the universities feel that they retain sufficient contact with the profession if they appoint, as they usually do, leading barristers (often K.C.s) and judges of the Supreme Court as examiners in their LL.B. and LL.D. Examinations. In 1936, however, a conference consisting of Judges, Advocates, and Professors of Law was held at Capetown, where certain resolutions were passed in connection with the training in Law. *Inter alia* these resolutions stressed: (*a*) that candidates for the LL.B. degree should hold a bachelor's degree in some faculty other than law, and (*b*) that no candidate after 1939 should be admitted unless he shall have completed a qualifying course in each of the official languages (Afrikaans and English) and two qualifying courses of one year each in Latin. This Conference was further of opinion that if the proposed resolutions were adopted and carried out by the different universities, there would be no need to appoint a supervising committee as suggested in the Resolution of the Judges' Conference in 1933. The Law Faculty of the University of Stellenbosch has modified its regulations accordingly.

Examination of Teachers

Regarding the certification and examination of teachers in training at universities there is a basis of co-operation between the latter and the education departments who are to employ these teachers. This co-operation has been developed farthest by the Education Faculty of the University of Capetown. Here not only the Cape Education Department and the Cape School Board, but also the two Teachers' Associations (English and Afrikaans) are represented on the University Board of the Faculty of Education. The Cape Education Department approves the examiners, and one of the

external examiners is a departmental school inspector. So much for university examinations.

(e) Technical, Commercial and Public Service Examinations

We come now to examinations for certificates of vocational proficiency at the sub-university level. In 1916, the Union Department of Education instituted certain examinations in technical and vocational subjects for apprentices in the engineering and building trades and assumed responsibility for the conduct of examinations in commercial subjects, such as book-keeping, shorthand and typewriting. Prior to this, examinations in these subjects had been conducted by the Associated Chambers of Commerce.

The passing of the Apprenticeship Act of 1922 created an ever-increasing demand for training in subjects related to various trades and industries. The growth of the technical colleges and of the number of candidates sitting for technical examinations during the last fifteen years is one of the most remarkable developments in the educational history in South Africa. The number of candidates for the National Technical and Commercial Examinations grew from about 2,000 to over 27,000 in this period. These include candidates for examinations in art and domestic science.

Selection for the Public Service

The Union Education Department also conducts the examinations required for entrance by the South African Railways and Harbours: (i) Entrance Clerical Examination (2,080 candidates), (ii) Apprenticeship Examination (1,538 candidates), (iii) Standard VI and VII Language Examinations (4,996 candidates). The figures are for 1936. Special examinations for entrance into the Public Service were instituted a few years ago. They are taken by those who have passed Matriculation or School Leaving Examination. The Public Service Examination consists of tests of a general nature in language, accuracy and general knowledge. The candidates who pass are arranged in order of merit, and appointments are made in that order of precedence. The number of candidates for the Entrance Examination to the clerical grades of the Public Service was 3,749 in 1936. Before this system of selection by examination was introduced, the Public Service, which always has a long waiting list of applicants, made its first selection for appointments from the first-class matriculants amongst the applicants. This is another instance of the great store that is put by the Matriculation Examination as a means of selection in South African public life.

The Union Education Department, which conducts all the above-mentioned examinations of a vocational nature, is advised by committees consisting of representatives of the Chambers of

Commerce, the Public Service Commission, the Apprenticeship Committees, the Railway Administration, etc., in order to ensure that the training and the certification meet the requirements of industry, commerce and the Public Service.

The Union Education Department also conducts examinations on behalf of other education departments outside the Union and supervises the conduct of the examinations of the University of London and of the Royal Sanitary Institute in South Africa.

VII. The Reliability and Validity of Examinations

Beyond ensuring the accuracy in the computation of marks assigned and the issuing of careful instructions to examiners, sub-examiners and moderators, the two rather vital problems of (*a*) the reliability and (*b*) the validity of examinations have until recently received very little serious study from those responsible for conducting examinations in South Africa.

Reliability, as Spearman puts it, "designates the degree of agreement between any two independent sets of measurements of the same set of things. *Validity*, on the other hand, is the agreement of measurements with the things measured." [1]

In view of the fact that the Matriculation Examination and its equivalents are regarded as tests of such great importance in South African education, it may be of interest to see in how far they have been reliable and valid measures.

The Problem of Reliability

Looking at the Matriculation Examination from the point of view of *reliability* first, one finds that there is a great variation from year to year in the standard applied. For example, it is not an uncommon occurrence to find that from *two to ten times* as many candidates fail in a subject in one year as in a previous year, or *vice versa*. This happens fairly often, and even in subjects taken by large numbers of candidates (in fact, by nearly all the students taking the examination). Further, the examination is conducted by the same Board which is supposed to keep the same standard from year to year. The group of pupils taking the examination does not differ from year to year like crops. One year the crop may be good, and the next year it may be affected by blight. There is no reason to believe that the ability of a nation's children varies so much from year to year—or that the teaching in a particular subject became all of a sudden ten times as bad as in a previous year. On the contrary, we have found from nation-wide surveys conducted by means of standardised scholastic and intelligence tests, that in proportion as the tests were well standardised all differences between the ability of children in one year and that of children in another year tend to disappear. If

[1] *Essays on Examinations:* "International Institute Examinations Enquiry," page 108. (Macmillan, 1936.)

there did exist any difference between the innate ability and the attainment (even in school-taught subjects) of the nation's children from one year to the next, man has not yet devised any measuring instrument by which to gauge that difference. Therefore, it would seem to be more justifiable to ascribe the variations in the examination results to variations in difficulty of the papers or to variations in standards of marking, or to the presence of both variables, than to assume variation in the ability or training of the whole country's candidates from one year to the next.

Variations in Number of Students Failed

Not only does the study of the Matriculation (and also the Junior Certificate) results show a great variation in the results in different subjects, but there is also a disturbing variation in the percentage of candidates failing the examination as a whole. For example, in 1910 over 60 per cent. of those entering the Matriculation Examination failed. Six years afterwards only 28 per cent. failed. Then in 1919 the failures rose to over 50 per cent. In 1921, 40 per cent. failed and in 1923, 53 per cent. In later years the percentage failing decreased to a figure varying from round about 40 per cent. to 20 per cent. The percentages getting first class, or honours, also vary greatly—the lowest being 2·6 per cent. and the highest 24 per cent. These are the results of the Matriculation Examination conducted by the Joint Matriculation Board. Similar fluctuations are to be found in the Matriculation Examinations conducted by the Transvaal and the Cape Education Departments, which the Joint Matriculation Board moderates together with its own. Not only do the results of one of these examinations vary from year to year, but the standards in the three different examinations in the same year differ considerably, in spite of the moderating by the Joint Matriculation Board, as judged by the percentages failing. A much greater uniformity of standard would be attained if the Joint Matriculation Board fixed the *percentage of candidates* which should pass in the examination rather than the *percentage of marks* which should be attained. The former would be a much more objective standard of uniformity than the latter, which is so dependent upon subjective factors, viz. the difficulty of the papers and the marking of the examiners. After all, the fixing of a percentage of marks to be attained is just as arbitrary an act as the fixing of a percentage of candidates which should pass or fail would be—as far as the Joint Matriculation Board's function to maintain standards is concerned. If it finds at any time that there is a demand by society for higher standards, or that too many ill-prepared students enter university, the Board could just as arbitrarily raise the percentage of weak ones to be eliminated at the examination as tell the examiners to set harder papers or raise the minimum percentage required for passing. At any rate, they will then be using a more rational and objective

method of regulating the supply according to the demand—and also the quality of the supply—which is, after all, the social function of examining bodies. Though the Joint Matriculation Board is not yet prepared to adopt this as an alternative measure, there is ample proof to show that not only the Board, but also other subsidiary examining bodies, have tacitly vindicated this principle in practice.

Attempt to rectify Percentage of Failures

For example, when the Board finds that too many candidates fail in a particular subject, the office is told to add 10 per cent. or 5 per cent., or some other number, to the marks of each candidate in order to bring the relative number of failures more or less in line with that of previous years. Though this method of "correcting" the marks is open to criticism from a statistical point of view —because the 10 per cent. added to a 20 per cent. mark is obviously not equal to 10 per cent. added to a 50 per cent. mark, or a 90 per cent. mark—yet it shows that the examining bodies are vaguely aware of the lack of objectivity in their preconceived standards. But they have still a long way to go to secure that reliability which they imagine they are conferring on their results by merely "moderating" them in the time-honoured fashion of subjective judgment. In this respect South Africa is considerably behind the times. Even conservative bodies like the College Entrance Boards in the United States of America and the Joint Matriculation Board in England are using variants of the above-mentioned principle by which a more or less constant percentage is passed. In other words, the standard applied in each examination is determined entirely in relation to the achievement of the group as a whole in that examination: the "spread" being taken into account as well as the average mark.

The Cape Education Department has gone farthest in giving attention to this aspect of the problem in connection with the conducting of the Senior and Junior Certificate Examinations—largely as a result of representations made by the South African Teachers' Association. By means of reducing the marks to percentile curves and fitting these next to curves of normal distribution, the percentages of failures in the Cape Department's examination, not only in the whole examination, but also in the different subjects, have become much less subject to arbitrary variation than formerly.

Unreliability of Percentage Marking

When one discusses these problems with examiners, it is amazing how many of them, particularly university professors, fail to realise the arbitrariness of a percentage mark in a particular subject, when considered apart from the attainment of the whole group taking that subject. To them a $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. or a 40 per cent. mark represents an absolute standard below which a candidate fails and above which a candidate passes; 60 per cent. is regarded

as " honours," or first class, and marks of 90 per cent. and above are rarely awarded. In other countries, notably in the United States of America, 60 per cent. is regarded, probably with as much conviction, as the minimum for a pass, and marks above 90 per cent. occur just as frequently as marks above 60 per cent. in South Africa. Yet the South African examiners will be the last to admit their scholastic " standards " are any lower than those in the United States of America. Of course, from a point of view of reliability the one method is just as good or as bad as the other. The percentage mark has only a spurious objectivity, and should be replaced by *percentile scores* or *standard deviation* units as measures in examinations where standards are applied to a whole nation's children.

The above remarks on reliability would apply *mutatis mutandis* with equal force to the examinations conducted at the Standard VI and Junior Certificate stages as to the Senior Certificate or Matriculation stage.

The Problem of Validity

Coming now to the question of *validity*, i.e. whether the examination actually does measure what it purports to measure, we must point to a relationship between reliability and validity. This relationship, as Professor Spearman has pointed out, is one-sided. " Low reliability," he says, " necessarily involves low validity, but the converse is not true. Wherever we find bad agreement between the different measurements, then we can safely say that the examination is bad. But when the measurements agree, we can *not* forthwith say that the examination is good." Therefore, in so far as it has been shown that the reliability of our examinations is low, we can conclude immediately that the validity is low also. But the position is even worse, because that which is intended to be measured by our examinations is generally most vague and undefined. What do the Matriculation Examination and its equivalents really measure ? Are they stock-taking tests or tests for prognosis of future success ? If both, which criterion are we to apply when determining validity ? If the latter, i.e. as an estimate of the examinees' likelihood of future success, the question arises : success in what ? If it is success in after-life careers, we have unfortunately no data on the subject. If it is success in passing further examinations, we have a little data.

Correlation Coefficients of University Students

We recently studied the university careers of over 8,000 students who entered South African universities over a period of six years. Incidentally we worked out some correlation coefficients between the class passed in the Matriculation and Senior Certificate Examination on the one hand and the students' success in the first-year courses at university as measured by fewness of subjects failed on

the other. We had to do this for two sets of students : (*a*) the Joint Matriculation Board matriculants (who are divided into three classes), and (*b*) those who passed the Cape Senior Certificate and the Transvaal Leaving Certificate (these are divided into only two classes). In the former, where we used the " product moment " formula for qualitative series, we found a correlation of ·625 (P.E. ± ·008) on 2,567 cases. In the latter, where there are only two classes, we had to use the biserial *r* formula and obtained a correlation of ·357 (P.E. ± ·010) on 3,267 cases. The latter is somewhat lower because *two* classes are less discriminative than *three*.

We managed also to obtain the Matriculation aggregate in the case of students entering certain universities and correlated that with university success as indicated by first-year ratings. The results were :

University of South Africa	·606 ± ·018 (526 cases)
Capetown	·468 ± ·044 (462 cases)
Pretoria	·400 ± ·041 (191 cases)
Stellenbosch	·538 ± ·041 (386 cases)

Difficulty of determining Significance of Variations

It is difficult to determine the exact significance of the variations between the different universities. It may be due to the fact that the system of marking and examination of one university is more like the system of marking in the Matriculation Examination. An interesting point emerged in this connection, and that is, that the correlations in all institutions were higher in the case of the younger than of the older students, probably because the former are as a rule more homogeneous as a group.

VIII. Conclusion

When it is considered how very variable university examinations themselves are—the incidence of failure in different subjects in the same institution differs enormously and also in the same subject in different institutions—then it is remarkable that the above correlations are as high as they are. In any case, they lead us to conclude that the Matriculation Examination has an appreciably high prognostic value with regard to the success or failure of students during the first year at university. Of course, this is a general tendency only, and it will be unsafe to infer that it has high predictive value in individual cases. This will be seen from the table on page 224.

Part A of the table deals only with the Joint Matriculation Board's Matriculation Examination, which has three classes. Part B has the combined results of the Joint Matriculation Board's Matriculation and the Cape Senior and the Transvaal School Leaving Certificate Examinations. Note the rapid tapering off in

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CLASS PASSED IN MATRICULATION AND FAILURE IN FIRST-YEAR COURSES AT UNIVERSITY

Number of Subjects failed in First Year

A.	*None*	*One*	*Two*	*Three and more*	
	%	%	%	%	%
1st-Class Matric. (1,083 cases)	79·8	13·8	3·5	2·9	100
2nd-Class Matric. (1,148 cases)	48·8	25·2	12·5	13·5	100
3rd-Class Matric. (821 cases) .	23·6	25·0	18·0	33·4	100
B.					
1st-Class Matric. and Sen. Cert. (2,280 cases) . .	80·6	13·5	2·9	3·0	100
2nd- and 3rd-Class Mat. and Sen. Cert. (3,980 cases)	44·1	26·1	11·7	18·1	100

the percentages of those having failed in none, one, two, etc., subjects amongst both the groups of first-class passes.

All the above goes to show how much work remains to be done in South Africa (just as in most other countries) before we can hope to have an examination which is reliable, has validity, can be easily administered and scored and arises normally out of the work which pupils have done. Then, and then only will it deserve the prestige which examinations enjoy to-day in South Africa.

E. G. Malherbe.

CHAPTER FOUR

Examinations in New Zealand

(*See also* Year Book, 1937, *pages* 219–38, *and* 321–25)

Introduction

AT first sight, there seems no useful contribution that a student of New Zealand education can make to a symposium on examinations. We have nothing to add to the world's knowledge of the reliability and validity of examinations, and certainly a bare description of our examinational machinery would not offer much of interest to the overseas reader. Like all countries, we are over-examined, and, like most of them, we know it only too well, but, until recently, have done very little about it. Professional and popular opinion on examinations appears to be swinging in the same direction as in England and America; and, from reading and occasional personal contacts, we are coming to the rather comforting conclusion that our problems are not unique, but are the world's problems writ small. This suggests a minor contribution that we might make to the study of examinations. New Zealand is a very small country, with a culturally homogeneous population, and a short and fairly peaceful history. Compared with Europe, it has only vague class distinctions. Its over-centralised system of school administration, its greatest educational weakness, has resulted in a very high degree of uniformity of practice, which makes the work of the investigator relatively easy. If there are any general sociological principles governing the development of examinations in a modern democracy, they should show in a simpler and purer form in New Zealand than almost anywhere else.

The tracing of such principles is the purpose of this chapter. Examinations will be considered, not primarily as school devices, but as instruments used by the community, consciously or unconsciously, for certain social purposes, and the New Zealand situation will be studied less for its own sake than as a simple example of the working of general laws. The danger of such an approach, within the limits of a short survey, is that one is liable to over-simplify the situation in order to compress recalcitrant facts into the pattern of one's theory. There is too little room to qualify and explain, and brevity leads to dogmatism. Facts, which should provide the material from which theories are built, are liable to be selected, and used merely as examples. The reader is duly warned that there may be an element of this in the following pages, although every effort has been made to keep it out. The thesis put forward could be scientifically proved only by prolonged investigation. Perhaps the most that can be done in so brief a space is to establish a *prima facie* case for such investigation.

The Thesis—Falling Standards

The thesis to be maintained is that every examination in a democracy tends to fall steadily in standard. In other words, every standardised examination bears within itself factors making for its own decay. At the same time, the bare framework of the examination system stands outwardly unchanged, with the result that the relationship between structure and function becomes increasingly distorted.

Examinations represent an attempt at standardising certain human relationships, an attempt doomed, from the outset, to at least partial failure, because of the complexity of human nature. Any fixed standard in human relations is, at the best, only a poor substitute for that sensitive and ever-changing relationship between individuals which may occur in a small group such as the family. The smaller the group, the more personal and complete may be the relations ; the larger the group, the more partial and standardised must be the contacts of the units. When any community reaches a certain size and complexity of structure, formal examinations tend to be introduced to standardise relationships.

The most obvious social function of examinations is to test and control the amount of knowledge which children have acquired at each stage of schooling. In a completely feudal system, this maintaining of standards might well remain the only major function of examinations, but, as soon as it is acknowledged that higher education is not the exclusive privilege of the rich or the well-born, examinations begin to be used to select from the mass of the people those who are fitted to continue schooling beyond the elementary levels. There is a further step which few communities have yet cared to take—the giving of prolonged schooling to all who want it, irrespective of either wealth or scholastic ability. When this is done, the purpose of examinations will change again, but, until then, the two main social functions which examinations try to standardise will continue to be, in most countries, the selection of individuals for certain special privileges and duties, and the controlling of the amount of knowledge they receive at each stage in their preparation for those duties.

But human nature takes its revenge by altering the standards almost as soon as they are set up. It is usual to speak of examinations as hurdles or gateways—both terms are used elsewhere in this chapter—but the metaphor is deceptive in one respect. Gates and barriers are relatively fixed things, but examination standards tend to be constantly on the move. The name of an examination, to be sure, stands firm to all the winds that blow, but its meaning, its value, drifts before any breeze. This change in the standards of an examination is difficult not only to prove, but even to become aware of. To the pupil passing through it, no less than to the man-in-the-street, a country's examination system seems fixed and stable as the stars, and no less awe-inspiring. Glance even casually

at its history, and the eternal quality vanishes, and it seems as haphazard, shifting and uncertain of itself as any institution could well be. Prescriptions change, marking-systems change, purposes change, examinations grow, flourish and die ; and yet, at any given moment, the system has all the sanctity of immutable antiquity, and its standards are verities to be defended with one's life.

A better analogy than the gateway is provided by the unit of currency that has left the gold standard. Its face value remains the same, but its real value tends steadily to fall, unless it is in some way pegged. There is probably more than mere verbal analogy here : the basic psychological laws that determine the movements of the unpegged currency are perhaps not so very different from those that control the movements of the examination standard. Dangerous though argument from analogy can be, this one will be developed later, at least to the extent of using a few simple economic terms, such as "inflation" and "purchasing power," in relation to examinations.

The contention that standards constantly tend to change is not based on the proved unreliability of examinations. Even if we assumed absolute reliability in the statistical sense, we still could not fix the standard of an examination, for change is of the essence of such standards in a democracy with any degree of equality of opportunity. There are two common methods of trying to fix the standard of an examination, the one based on classroom practice, and the other on statistical theory. In the first case, an attempt is made to fix the amount of knowledge that must be absorbed at that stage, and, in the second, the fixed quantity is the percentage of candidates who are permitted to pass. The simplest method of developing the argument is to watch these two techniques at work in New Zealand, but before we can do this we must know the general framework of the country's examination system.

The Framework of Examinations in New Zealand

Until 1937, two examinations dominated the educational structure: the Proficiency Examination, coming at the end of the primary (elementary) school course in Form II (equivalent to Standard VI or Grade VIII), and the University Entrance (Matriculation) Examination, taken after three or four years at post-primary school. Both are external examinations. The Proficiency is set for the whole country by the central Education Department, acting through its inspectors, and the Matriculation by the University of New Zealand. The Proficiency has been, until now, virtually the gateway to the post-primary school, but is being abolished by Order-in-Council as from September 1937. It is yet too soon to know what will take its place. The Matriculation still continues to guard the entrance to the University.

These are the only two external examinations which the child passing through the New Zealand public school system is ordinarily called upon to face. He rises through the standards of the primary

school on the strength of the headmaster's examinations at each stage. In the post-primary schools also he is promoted on the results of internal examinations. At the end of the second post-primary year, some pupils are required to sit for the Intermediate Certificate, the possession of which gives them free schooling until the age of 19, but the great majority are accredited for the certificate on the recommendation of the school principal.

There are, of course, other external examinations, which certain pupils can, and do, take. In an attempt to free the post-primary schools from the domination of the severely academic Matriculation Examination, the Education Department in 1934 instituted a School Leaving Certificate which purports to be of the same standard as the Matriculation, while permitting a much wider range of subjects. In order to save duplication of examinations, the University continues to set and mark the papers in all subjects that are common to the two examinations. Any pupil who remains at school for one year after passing the Matriculation or the School Certificate Examination may, on the recommendation of the principal, be granted a Higher Leaving Certificate, which entitles him to a University bursary. The very brightest may stay at school for still another year and sit for a Junior University Scholarship.

In the Arts and Science faculties of the University, there is a system of so-called " internal " examinations up to but not including the final stage of the baccalaureate. Except in one subject, education, the final papers for the Bachelor's and Master's degrees are set and marked overseas, although it is now legally possible for the University teachers to examine their own subjects at all levels. Even at the lower stages, the examinations are not internal in the sense that a professor examines his own students in his own way. There are four affiliated colleges teaching Arts and Science, and the four professors of each subject set a common paper based on a common syllabus, and assist in the examining of one another's students.

This is the highway that the academic type of pupil ordinarily traverses from infant room to university. Various occupational groups put up their own hurdles in front of the bypaths that branch off the main route at various points. For the skilled manual worker there are the City and Guilds Examinations, or the Education Department's series of technological examinations, beginning at the Form IV stage and extending through apprenticeship. Would-be lawyers must take Latin as a subject in the Matriculation Examination, and aspiring doctors must take Latin, a science and a modern foreign language. Those entering the teaching profession sit for the Training College Entrance Examination a year after the matriculation. In the University itself there is the usual array of professional courses, each with its own examinations.

The following table, adapted from the 1936 *Report of the Minister of Education*, gives the framework of the system in a more concise form. Only the more important examinations are shown.

EXAMINATION	STAGE OF COURSE AT WHICH TAKEN	NUMBER SITTING IN 1935	NUMBER FAILING IN 1935
Proficiency [1] . .	At end of Form II	25,131	1,733
Intermediate [2] .	At end of Form IV	996	465
University Entrance (Matriculation)	At end of 3rd year post-primary (Form V) at earliest	4,602	2,480
School Certificate .	At end of Form V .	4,307	1,220
Training College Entrance	At end of Form VI	684	106
Junior University Scholarship [3] .	At end of Form VI	297	—
Other University Examinations	During University Course	8,266	3,015

[1] The Competency Certificate, given to pupils passing Form II but not securing a high enough mark for the Proficiency Certificate, was awarded to 3,328 candidates in 1935.

[2] The Intermediate Certificate was awarded to 6,622 pupils in 1935 without examination.

[3] Thirty scholarships are awarded each year.

The Effort to maintain Standards

New Zealand has tried, at one time or another, to fix her examination standards by both the techniques previously mentioned. The device of limiting the percentage of passes has been used more unconsciously than consciously, but she has thrown herself wholeheartedly into the business of devising set syllabuses of instruction for the maintenance of standards. The Education Act of 1877 gave the country a national school system, and in 1878 the primary school was divided into six "Standards," each with its rigidly prescribed syllabus. "The prescription for Standard IV [Geography], for instance, covered the chief countries of the world, their capitals and chief natural features. Thus in Europe 20 capes ; 12 straits, 20 gulfs, bays and inland seas ; 30 islands ; 40 rivers ; 20 mountain ranges ; 6 peninsulas ; 2 isthmuses, had to be thoroughly memorised at the map." [1] The duty of seeing that no child passed into Standard V without his full quota of gulfs, bays and inland seas, and his two isthmuses, devolved upon the inspectors, who had to examine every child every year. Printed examination cards helped them to keep their standard accurate to a peninsula.

The percentages of passes for every school were published, and became the basis, not only of strong local rivalries, but even, in true colonial fashion, of mild gambling. The Inspector-General in 1891 is convinced that "the number of passes and failures . . . afford evidence of decided progress. . . . Of the pupils on the roll, 49·21 [per cent.] passed one standard each in 1890 ; in 1889

[1] A. G. Butchers, *Education in New Zealand*, page 53. I am indebted to this book for much factual material.

the percentage was 48·45 and in 1888 it was 47·15." It apparently never entered his head that the rise in the percentage of passes might well mean (if, indeed, it meant anything at all statistically) only that teachers and pupils were becoming more adept at the game of examiner-beating. That such examiner-beating was already taking place in even its cruder forms is shown by a report of two inspectors in 1883. "We have taken the trouble to find out the cause of so many children being absent on the examination days, and fear that it is attributable to the fact that in these schools the backward children are not only not encouraged, but, in some cases, actually forbidden to be present. . . ."

Uneducational Effects of Fixed Standards

But it is the subtler varieties of examiner-beating that constitute the chief objection to the attempt to fix an examination standard by prescribing a rigid syllabus. Only that which is examinable is taught, and this not only makes true education impossible, but even frustrates the very purposes for which the examination was founded. Presumably even the narrowest administrator does not intend that the facts of the examination syllabus shall constitute *all* that a child learns at school, but the skill of teacher and pupil in picking up the tricks of the examination trade soon reduces education to nearly this level under a rigid system. For example, the examiners for Matriculation English once had the brilliant idea of broadening the scope of secondary school reading by asking candidates to identify fragmentary quotations from standard authors. A number of secondary school teachers rapidly responded by dictating strings of neatly labelled quotations, which freed their pupils from the irksome duty of reading the books. Complete sets of "model answers" to Matriculation papers are advertised in the daily press at 12*s*. a time, and some coaching colleges guarantee, for a single fee, to go on coaching the candidate until he either passes or falls exhausted.

A fixed syllabus of instruction thus not only fails to maintain a standard in any real sense, but actually is the prime cause of the dropping of standards. Children without the ability to pass an examination demanding originality or genuine thinking can, given time, be coached to pass, if all that is needed is the memorisation and routine manipulation of a set number of facts and processes. The Bruce-and-the spider principle, strengthening though it may be to the candidate's character, can play havoc with the standard of an examination based on a rigid syllabus. From the outside the examination shows no change, but its value either as an upholder of standards or as a selective device steadily falls. Returning to our currency analogy, we may say that the examination has imperceptibly become inflated. The process of inflation is, in examinations as in currency, cumulative. The lower the real standard falls, the lower is the average intelligence of the children passing, until at last items begin to be dropped from the sacred syllabus itself on the grounds of their difficulty. The disappearance of stocks and shares from the

primary school arithmetic syllabus, desirable as it was educationally, represented in a narrow sense a lowering of the academic standard originally set, a pandering to the multitude that finds such arithmetical gymnastics difficult as well as meaningless.

Suggested Reasons for Increased Number of Passes

When looking for the working of these tendencies in the New Zealand education system, one must remember that opposing tendencies are also present. In the early days the increasing use of trained teachers no doubt made for better school achievement, and from time to time conscious efforts have been made to raise examination standards. Unfortunately, there is no direct method of measuring the changes over a period of years in the exact amount of knowledge needed to pass any examination. One cannot statistically prove that, in this sense, a fall in standards has occurred as a result of the adoption of fixed syllabuses.

Indirect evidence, however, is provided by the numbers passing the examination. If the percentage of pupils passing any examination rises for no obvious external reason, there is some basis for assuming that its standard has fallen. To avoid confusion here we must make explicit the two possible meanings of a fall in standard. It can mean either that the amount of knowledge possessed by those just passing the examination has decreased, or that their innate capacity is lower. The two changes need not go together. Improved teaching techniques may result in pupils of lower capacity just achieving the amount of knowledge necessary for a pass. Nor does an increased number of passes necessarily mean that the standard of the examination as a selective instrument has fallen : it may be that increased facilities for higher education have resulted in the tapping of a new economic level of the community, and that poverty rather than lack of intelligence previously kept the children from passing. If, however, no very marked changes in the facilities for free education have occurred, we may fairly assume that an increase in the number of passes relative to the total population means a lowering of the average level of capacity, if not the average level of knowledge, of the successful candidates.

Figures 1 and 2 give, for the years 1886 to 1935, the essential figures concerning the Proficiency, the entrants to post-primary schools, the Matriculation and the degree examinations. Minor points to be noted are : the Competency Certificate was given to children passing Form II but not securing high enough marks for the Proficiency Certificate ; from May 1932 to December 1935, five-year-olds were excluded from the schools, thus increasing the proportions sitting for Proficiency ; the scale in Figure 1 is in relation to primary school population, in Figure 2 to total white population ; comparable figures being often unobtainable, it is not possible to give every fact for every date.

Figure 1 shows that the number of Proficiency passes per 10,000

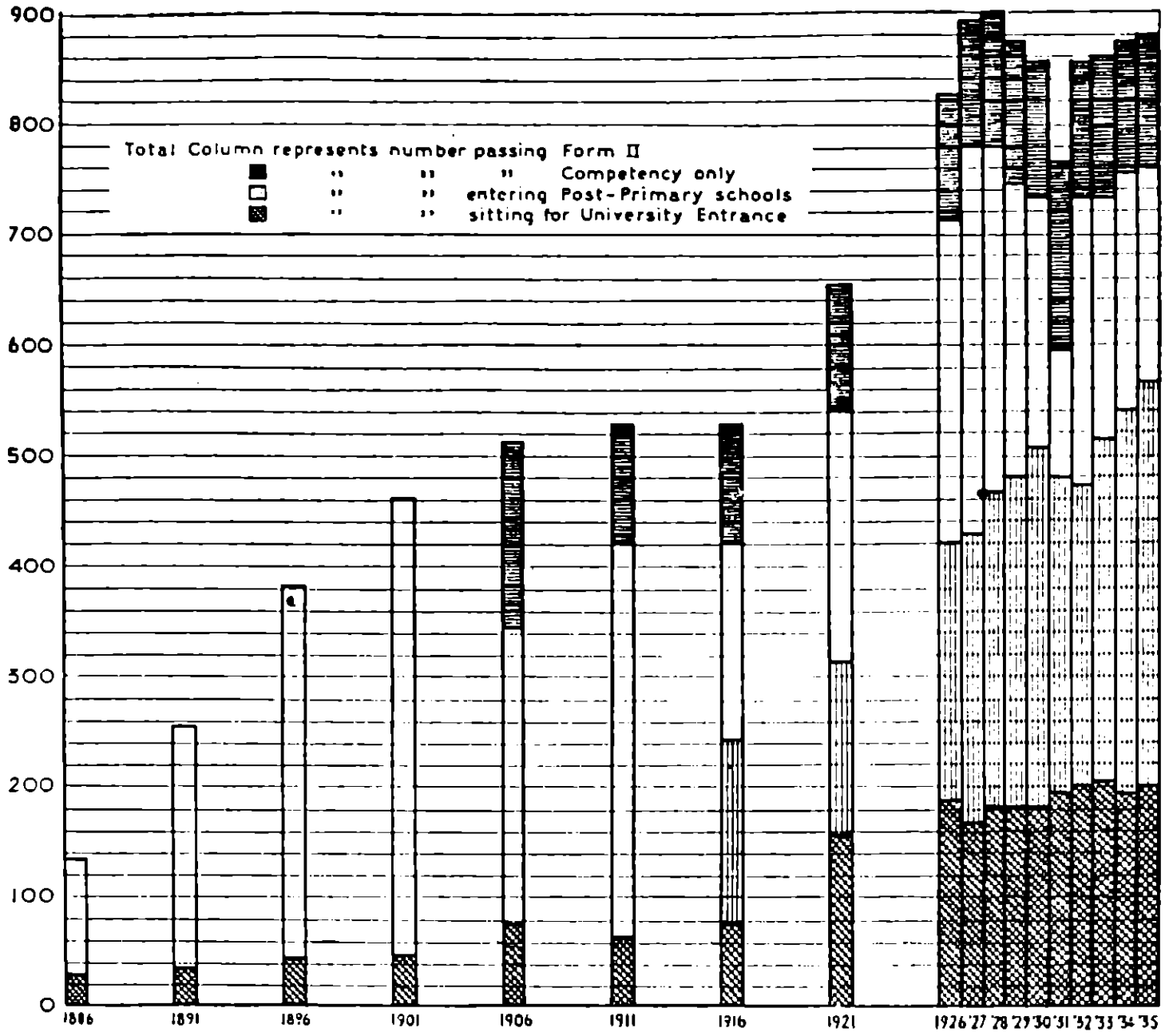


FIG. 1.

of the primary school population was 343 in 1906, and had risen to 781 in 1927, since when it has remained fairly constant except for 1931. Primary education over the whole of this period has been free and compulsory, so that there is every reason to believe that the selective standard of the Proficiency Examination dropped heavily during these twenty years. This only means that, in so far as the Proficiency was, in the first place, a valid selective device, its standard has fallen. It is easy to be misunderstood here. The people now passing may be as worthy of some form of post-primary education as the handful who passed in the early days, but, if the normal curve of distribution means anything, they are not as good on the standards laid down by the original examination. The numbers taking advantage of the facilities for post-primary education are also shown for 1916 onwards in Figure 1.

The Matriculation figures (Figure 2) show a similar rise in the number of passes since the beginning of the century. After making allowances for growth of population, we find over three times as many passes in 1931 as in 1901. We cannot immediately conclude that there was a drop in standard, because in 1901 only 27 per cent. of the pupils at post-primary schools were holders of scholarships or free places. A large number of intelligent children were probably unable for financial reasons to attend. The Education Act of 1903

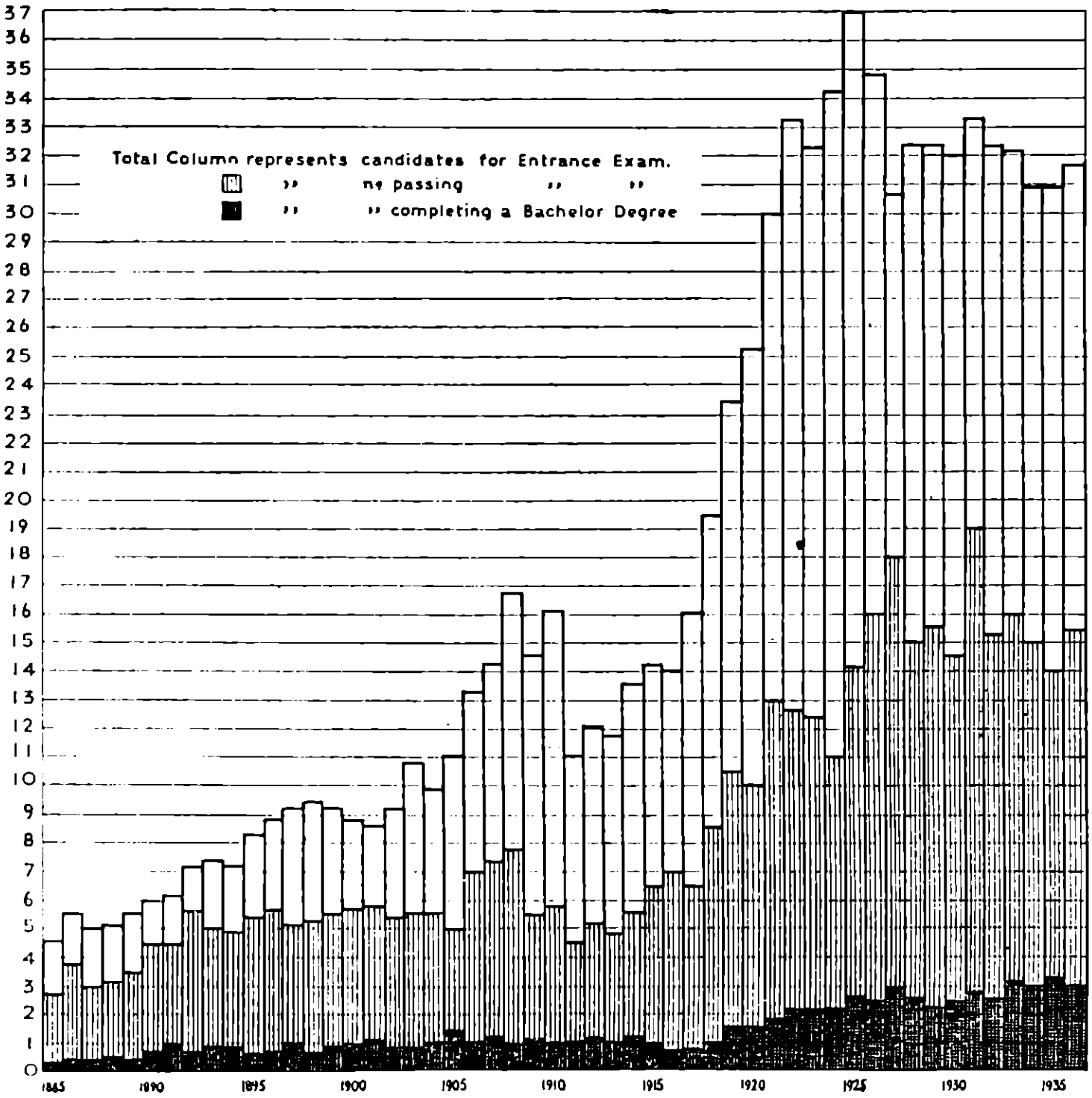


FIG. 2.

gave free post-primary education to any child gaining a satisfactory pass in Standard VI (now Form II). The result was that in 1906, 74 per cent. (or 5,070 out of 6,864) of the post-primary school population were receiving free education. Unfortunately, this figure is not easily comparable with later figures, and is better expressed in another way. In 1906 about 1,000 children out of the 6,864 were in schools which refused to accept free pupils on the basis of a Standard VI pass. Of the children in the remaining schools [1] the percentage receiving free post-primary education was, in 1906, 87 per cent.; in 1911, 87 per cent.; in 1916, 92 per cent.; in 1921, 91 per cent.; in 1926, 96 per cent.; in 1931, 99 per cent.; and in 1935, 99 per cent.

It appears that, during most of this century, there have been adequate facilities to enable bright children to attend post-primary school. So we are probably justified in deducing, from the marked increase in Matriculation passes over the same period, that the

[1] These included in 1906 all the technical and district high schools, and twenty-three of the twenty-eight secondary schools. The last of the secondary schools came into line in 1914.

standard of the examination as a selective agency has dropped considerably. It has become inflated or devalued in the same way as the Proficiency. Both examinations, because they have allowed a bigger percentage to pass, have almost certainly caused the average academic *capacity* of the successful candidates to fall. The opinion of experienced teachers gives some grounds for thinking that the amount of actual knowledge needed for passing has also fallen, but of this there is no proof.

Alternative Method for controlling Standards

This leads to the consideration of the second method of controlling standards, a method adopted, since 1931, by the University of New Zealand for its Matriculation Examination. The percentage of passes for each subject in the Matriculation is now arbitrarily fixed, and the marks are adjusted in such a way that only that percentage of candidates reaches the pass mark. This procedure is based on the assumption that the general distribution of ability and capacity amongst the candidates is more constant from year to year than is the amount of knowledge representing a pass mark for a multitude of examiners. But what happens when the number of candidates for any reason increases more rapidly than the total population? A greater percentage of the population automatically passes the examination, and once more inflation of the standard occurs. If, for instance, the percentage of passes in 1901 had been accepted as a standard, the rise in the number of passes between then and 1926 would have been much greater than that shown in Figure 2. The number of candidates has remained fairly constant since the system was introduced in 1931, so that the problem has not yet arisen.

A much more detailed analysis would be necessary to prove beyond all shadow of doubt that examination standards have fallen in New Zealand since the beginning of the century, and further investigation is needed to explain the flattening of most of the curves during the past decade. There is, however, a sufficiently strong case to justify our drawing tentative deductions from our central thesis. If these deductions are found to tally with observed fact, our case will be still further strengthened. But before looking at the consequences of inflation of standards, we might glance at its possible cause. The fundamental causal factor seems to be the steady pressure of that bourgeois " getting-on " motive, which, as shown in the article on New Zealand in the 1937 YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION, dominates secondary and higher education in this country. Opportunity for free secondary and University education arouses ambition, but it tends to be ambition at a purely material level, ambition that finds more satisfaction in certificates than in culture, and that tempts children of very mediocre ability to undertake academic courses for which they are quite unfitted. The more care is taken to fix the standard of an examination, the greater is the public confidence in it. The greater the public confidence,

the stronger is the pressure brought to bear on children by employers, parents and teachers to make them pass. But the greater the pressure, the more children pass, and the lower falls the standard of the examination.

Consequences of Inflation

Very important consequences must follow in any country from the inflation of its examination standards. Not the least of these is that the " purchasing power " of each examination certificate falls. This is seen most clearly in the economic sphere, where, quite apart from any drop in the academic standard of the examination, the law of supply and demand operates to reduce the value of an examination certificate as an entrance to certain occupations, if increasing numbers secure it. There is a tendency for the higher examinations to drive out the lower. Examples of the working of this principle are found at every level in New Zealand. The Competency Certificate, which was intended to represent an ordinary pass in Standard VI, soon came, as the Proficiency was given more freely, to be looked upon by employers and parents as a mark of failure. Entrance to the clerical divisions of the Public Service used to be by the Public Service Entrance Examination held at the end of the second year at post-primary school, but so many applicants with Matriculation qualifications presented themselves that the lower examination became almost useless for the purpose for which it was intended, and was abolished in 1932. Practically the same thing has happened in the case of the nursing profession. Technically, the educational requirement for probationers is two years of secondary schooling, but, in practice, it is becoming increasingly difficult to enter the profession without passing the Matriculation. Many business firms, also, have raised their requirements for clerical positions from the Intermediate Certificate or the Public Service Entrance to the Matriculation. Even the newly-created School Leaving Certificate is not finding much favour with employers and parents, because there is a vague idea that it is an inferior copy of the Matriculation.

If the Matriculation has become more necessary for certain occupations, it has become, in the process of general inflation, insufficient for others. A few years ago a person could become a pupil-teacher with no higher qualification than the Intermediate Certificate, and could enter training college without passing the Matriculation. Since 1929, the Matriculation has not been enough to secure him a place in the training college, and he must take the Training College Entrance Examination after a year of post-Matriculation work.

Reasons for Fall in Value of Examinations

There are two apparent exceptions to this general fall in the purchasing power of examinations in New Zealand. A pass in

Matriculation has continued to give entrance to the University, and, since the time when the Proficiency Certificate first gave free access to the post-primary schools, no higher qualification has ever been demanded. Indeed, even the nominal level of the entrance certificate has been dropped. In each case two opposing forces have been at work, the one a conscious and rather spasmodic effort to raise the standard of the examinations, and the other the constant democratic urge to reduce the qualifications demanded for free post-primary and University education. Throughout the history of the examinations, the first force has had only temporary victories.

The history of free admission to post-primary schools is rather complex, and begins before the birth of the Proficiency Examination. After the passing of the 1877 Education Act, there were two or three hundred scholarships tenable at secondary schools. Later, free places were given in some schools to children securing over a fixed percentage in the scholarship examinations. In 1900, free places in district high schools (mostly in rural areas) were granted to children passing Standard VI, and in 1902, secondary schools were permitted to give free schooling to children passing the Proficiency Examination before the age of 14. In the following year, pressure was brought to bear on the secondary schools to compel them to accept such pupils, and the great majority did so. Two or three held out for a few years, but by 1914 all public secondary schools were admitting children on a Proficiency pass.

The number of children entering the secondary schools under the 1903 scheme was far greater than had ever been anticipated. The Director of Education at that period expected about 16 per cent. of children in Standard VI to qualify for free places: in 1935, 57 per cent. of all children leaving primary schools began some form of full-time post-primary education. In 1916, an attempt was made to deflate the Proficiency Examination by raising the pass mark. Figure 1 shows that the process of inflation was checked only temporarily. By 1921, the curve is back on the line it was following before 1916.

In 1929, curiously enough, the two opposing forces found expression in the same projected set of regulations. The standard of the Proficiency was to be raised, and only those securing it were to be admitted to full academic courses, the children gaining the lower certificate of competency being restricted to the pre-vocational courses. Yet the same regulations made provision for any child of 14 years of age being granted free post-primary education whatever his academic standard. Popular outcry defeated the attempt to raise the standard of the Proficiency by regulation, but in 1931 the Department tried to check the fall by different means. For some time headmasters had been allowed to accredit their better pupils for the Proficiency Certificate. In 1931, all candidates were examined by the inspectors, and, as Figure 1 shows, the percentage of passes dropped heavily. "The lower percentage of passes," the Director thought, was due in some measure to an unintentional

and unperceived lowering of the standard of attainment required of the candidates " (in previous years). The drop was not permanent, and by 1935, 80 per cent. of the children in Form II were passing the Proficiency, and 57 per cent. of primary schools leavers were continuing their education further. The examination was by then as meaningless for selection as it was educationally pernicious, and was abolished as from September 1937.[1]

The Matriculation Examination was founded in a national form in 1879. Since then, there has been a constant and rather pointless shuffling and reshuffling of required subjects, and at least two explicit attempts to raise the standard. In the earliest years the examination could be taken by a good pupil in his second year. Three years gradually became, with a few exceptions, the minimum and usual time of secondary preparation, until, in 1911, the standard was fixed as " that which may reasonably be expected from students who have completed a four-year course at a secondary school." Figure 2 shows a marked drop in the numbers of candidates and passes in 1911, but before 1920 the curve has swung back to the point it would probably have reached if no attempt at tightening standards had been made. Partial passes were abolished in 1925, and this probably did help to eliminate a few of the weaker candidates. But 1931 sets a new record for passes.

General Effects on Standard of Academic Education

Returning to our argument concerning the drop in purchasing power of an inflated examination certificate, we find we have good reason to believe that the real standards of the Proficiency and the Matriculation have fallen, whilst their nominal values have remained the same. The one continues to buy entrance to the post-primary school, and the other to the University. Immediately the suspicion arises that the kind of higher education bought by the debased examinations is academically " cheaper "than the kind previously bought by the more valuable examinations. The inflated Proficiency, that is to say, buys a post-primary education that is necessarily different because so many take it. If it is different in the sense of providing more differentiated courses of a realistic type, the education given to the increased numbers might be of more real value than the academic education previously given to the few ; but, in so far as the post-primary schools try to give to the many the scholastic education fitted to the selected few, they must work at a lower average standard. The rapid increase in the numbers sitting for Matriculation is evidence of such a concentration on the academic courses.

Whether the same drop in academic standards occurs in the university as a result of the inflation of the Matriculation Examination, it is impossible to prove. It seems extremely likely that it does.

[1] For a fuller account of the history of free secondary education, see Butchers, *Education in New Zealand*, Chapter XV *et al.*

Certainly no University teacher would deny that the University Colleges of New Zealand have a large percentage of students who are fitted neither by intelligence nor learning to carry on academic work at a University level. So inflation of the Proficiency tends to lead to an academically cheaper post-primary course, which in turn tends to lead to an inflated Matriculation and cheapened University courses. Where, then, does the process of inflation cease ? As in the case of a monetary system, the inflation is held in check, if anywhere, at the point where the local currency touches the world's currency. The University degree provides the contact-point of the examination system. Degrees compete to some extent in a world market, so that the standard of the whole examination system tends to be set by them.

It is the consciousness of its responsibility for all the Dominion's academic standards that has made the University of New Zealand cling so tightly to its system of external examinations, although there is some doubt whether standards can be upheld merely by sending examination papers around the globe to be marked. The same sense of responsibility accounts in part for the increasing conservatism noticeable as one proceeds from the lower to the higher educational institutions. It is inconceivable that the Matriculation Examination should have been abolished before the Proficiency. But, because the tension is from above, the abolition of examinations lower in the scale does relatively little to ease the strain on teacher and child. The Education Department handed over the examining of all children below Standard VI to the schools themselves, but, whilst the Proficiency Examination in Standard VI was conducted by external inspectors, it was too much to expect teachers to take full advantage of the freedom offered them in the lower standards. In the same way, the removal of the Proficiency Examination will not, of itself, greatly relieve the children who are considered to have any chance of passing the Matriculation, and work in the primary school will still tend to be dominated by the supposed needs of the few who may go on to a higher stage.

Conservatism of Examinations

No study of the behaviour of examinations as social instruments could be complete that ignored the factors preventing the abolition or alteration of an examination when it has ceased to serve any useful purpose, or when its evil consequences far outweigh the good. The first of these factors we have already considered—the desire to maintain standards—which, if not the most powerful motive, is at least the most commonly professed. Another, seldom professed, is sheer inertia. An example of this occurs in the University Colleges. In the days when all degree papers were sent abroad to be marked, each college gave its own " Terms " examinations a month before the University degree examinations. The function of " Terms " was to eliminate those candidates quite

unworthy of presenting their efforts to the English examiner. Now, although the examining at the lower levels is done by the professors themselves, most of the colleges still insist on a pass in "Terms" before permitting the student to sit, a few weeks later, for very similar papers, set and marked by the same examiners. A third factor which makes examinations difficult to abolish is vested interest, both financial and intellectual. The University, for instance, makes quite a useful income from its Entrance Examination, and professors have become accustomed, over a period of years, to paying rates and income tax from their share of the examination fees. No less powerful are the interests of the large number of teachers who have specialised in coaching (the word is used advisedly) for the examinations.

An even greater obstacle to anyone trying to reform the examination system is the universal tendency for means to become ends. The Proficiency and Matriculation were originally intended as means to post-primary and University education respectively, but they have gradually acquired in the public mind an intrinsic value, and are the infallible marks of a completed education at the primary and post-primary levels. They have, moreover, come to serve other ends than those for which they were devised. A pass in the Matriculation is a prerequisite to some forms of quite elementary clerical work. As for the Proficiency Examination, a headmaster recently stated, in all solemnity, that he had to try particularly hard to force his dullest pupils through the examination, because they would not be going on to secondary school, and so could get no higher certificate. A strange end for an examination originally designed to select the few brightest minds capable of benefiting from secondary education!

Conclusion

It is not within the scope of this article to say how far New Zealand is typical of other democracies with respect to her examination system, or to draw conclusions claiming any validity beyond her shores. But the conclusions which naturally follow from our thesis tally very closely with those already reached in at least one other democracy, America. (The cynical reader may, of course, suspect that the thesis naturally followed from the conclusions.)

If it is true that the standard of our examinations has fallen so heavily over the past few decades that they have largely lost their value as selective instruments, there are two possible lines of action before us. We might, in the first place, take drastic steps to raise standards and decrease the number of passes. We have seen that devices such as the laying down of a detailed syllabus, the raising of the pass work, or the passing of a fixed percentage of the candidates, do not necessarily safeguard examination standards. If the community is convinced that it wants only a certain proportion of children to receive higher education, or to enter the professions, it

must fix the number of passes in the qualifying examination, not on a percentage of the candidates sitting, but on a percentage of the total population. Whether or not it is desirable, the fixing of such a rigid selective standard would not be politically possible in any democracy that had once experienced a more liberal system of higher education. Nor do recent investigations into their reliability give us much faith in examinations as the basis of so complete and final a selective process.

The only other course open is to abandon altogether the selective function of the examination. This demands in the administrator almost as much courage as the rigid application of that function, for it involves the recognition of the very expensive principle that every child, irrespective of wealth or academic ability, has a right to higher education of a type best fitted to his needs. Within such a system, the purpose of the examination is not to bar the entrance to this field or that, but to guide the individual to make a free and intelligent choice between attractive alternatives. As Professor I. L. Kandel has said: "The task which confronts education to-day is not one of separating the sheep from the goats, of dividing the population into those who have passed and those who have failed, or of setting up the curriculum as a hurdle to be overcome. . . . The success of an educational system can or should no longer be measured in terms of the numbers who pass or fail in examinations, but by the degree to which it has been able to discover the abilities and needs of pupils and students and has provided for them the type of education from which they are capable of profiting."[1] Such a philosophy lay behind the abolition of the Proficiency Examination in New Zealand.

In short, examinations have failed to do what was asked of them. They cannot maintain academic standards, for the maintenance of standards depends ultimately on the calibre and training of the teachers, and on nothing else. Neither can they, in a democracy, maintain selective standards, for the passion of the many for the education and privileges of the few undermines every attempt to raise fixed and final barriers. And, if these failings are insufficient, there is no lack of evidence that they are unreliable even in spheres where they might appear to have a legitimate place. It remains to be seen how far examinations, chastened and humble, can take up their new function as agents of educational guidance, and how far a generation of teachers and pupils, brought up to regard them as natural enemies, can accept them as allies.

C. E. BEEBY.

[1] I. L. Kandel, *Examinations and their Substitutes in the United States*, pages 88–9.

CHAPTER FIVE

Examinations in the Irish Free State

(*See also* Year Book, 1937, *pages* 239–46)

EXAMINATIONS in the Irish Free State, as in other countries, may be conveniently classified as professional and scholastic, the latter including all tests of "general knowledge," the knowledge assumed to be possessed by the members of a social class at the various stages of their development. The tests of general knowledge may be said to begin with the primary school examinations, though, of course, they do not, for all pupils begin in the primary schools; in the Free State, children in increasing numbers begin their formal education in lower divisions of secondary schools, if not in private preparatory schools. The tests continue in the Intermediate and Leaving Certificate examinations conducted by the Department of Education, and in the Arts and Science examinations of the universities. The Science courses at the universities, which run parallel to the courses in Arts, are far from being courses in general knowledge; but, on the other hand, they are not professional courses, though no doubt intended to be introductory to them. Even the pass courses in Arts have become so varied that Arts examinations can no longer be regarded as tests of the knowledge of all educated men and women.

Practical Value of Free State Examinations

In the Free State, a country in which industry, despite Governmental encouragement, provides comparatively few careers for members of the middle or upper class, examinations—from the school examinations upwards—are probably of more practical, or immediate, importance than they are in Great Britain. They are a ladder to the professions. One of the school examinations, the Intermediate, usually taken in the sixteenth year, has become a means of qualifying for business posts; but, as its name implies, it is not meant merely to provide qualifications for such posts. The Intermediate Certificate is intended "to testify to the completion of a well-balanced course of general education suitable for pupils who leave school at about 16 years of age"; that is, for those choosing business careers. But it is also intended to testify "to the fitness of the pupils for entry on more advanced courses of study in a secondary or technical school." Those who enter on the more advanced course leading to the Leaving Certificate Examination, taken two years later, are not so numerous. The published results of the examinations in 1936 show that 6,343 candidates (3,478 boys and 2,865 girls) were examined for the Intermediate, and 2,396 (1,479 boys and 917 girls) for the Leaving

Certificate. The difference between the two totals does not indicate the number of secondary pupils who leave school every year for business posts, for many of the Intermediate candidates go on to the university without sitting for the Leaving Examination. So, too, the number of candidates who sit for the Leaving Examination is a very imperfect indication of the numbers who have in view professional careers or posts of professional rank. A large number of Intermediate students must be added. On the other hand, to estimate the number of students who reach their goal in the professions or in the higher branches of the civil service, one would have to subtract from this total a considerable number representing the women students who find their careers in marriage and the home. But, having made all necessary allowances and corrections, one is probably right in estimating at 2,000 the number of students who every year enter the professions or the public services. The medical profession attracts a large proportion, a far larger number than could hope for employment in the Free State, but not too large, apparently, to find posts in Great Britain, in India, and in other parts of the Empire which accept Free State qualifications.

Status of the Leaving Certificate Examination

The Leaving Certificate Examination is described as a testimony to "the completion of a good secondary education and the fitness of a pupil to enter on a course at a university or an educational institution of similar standing." It is accepted at the two Free State universities as equivalent to their matriculation examinations. As a matter of fact, it is a severer test than the entrance examination at either university. At some of the Roman Catholic secondary schools, pupils take the matriculation examination of the National University a year before sitting for the Leaving Examination. The subjects for matriculation being much the same as those for the Leaving Examination, while the standard for a pass is somewhat lower, the University's examination has served as a useful stepping-stone to that of the Department. At first sight it may seem odd that pupils who had matriculated should spend another year in preparation for an examination which has no greater academic value than the examination for matriculation. The *raison d'être* of the Leaving Certificate Examination has indeed been often questioned. The examination does not provide students with qualifications for business careers, and, though of a higher standard than the examinations for matriculation, it does not count as an Arts Examination. The Department gives no scholarships to Leaving Examination candidates. Under the regulations of the old Board of Intermediate Education, which was dissolved soon after the establishment of the Free State, senior grade candidates (corresponding to Leaving Examination candidates of to-day) were eligible for valuable exhibitions and prizes. Clever students had

therefore substantial inducements for remaining at school till their eighteenth year. At present the pupils' monetary inducements are university scholarships offered by county councils. School authorities have the prospect of capitation grants to induce them to send pupils up for the Leaving Examination; and the pupils of secondary schools who wish to enter the training colleges for primary teachers must qualify by passing the same examination. All preparatory college students, moreover, must pass this examination before gaining admission to the training colleges. The Leaving Examination, therefore, has a use, but it may be doubted whether the use justifies the examination's existence. The *Great Eastern* was used as a cable-laying ship, but it was not built to be a cable-layer. What was the Leaving Examination intended to be?

Statistics of the Leaving Examination

Judged by the increase in the number of candidates, the Leaving Certificate Examination seems to be regarded by the public as a useful test. (There is no doubt about the usefulness of the *course* on which the examination is based.) At the Leaving Examination of last June there were more candidates than at the examination of the previous year, and the total of that year (2,396) was more than three and a half times as great as the total in 1926. In that year only 672 candidates entered for the Leaving Examination. In the same year the candidates for the Intermediate Examination numbered 2,766. The total, as shown above, rose to 6,343 in 1936, a big increase, but proportionately smaller than the increase in the higher grade. It looks as if the Leaving Examination had "come to stay."

Preparation for the Leaving Examination

The division of the secondary school course into two parts is due to a recommendation of the old Intermediate Board. In its report for 1916 it favoured the substitution of two examinations for its junior, middle and senior grade examinations. (For a short period there had been a preparatory course and a written examination for youngsters at the beginning of their 'teens). In recent years there has been some feeling, at least amongst teachers, in favour of three examinations. It is easier for a teacher to prepare pupils for three examinations than for two; the shorter periods of preparation make it easier for a teacher to estimate the amount of work required, and the nearer goal makes it easier for the pupil to concentrate. It is, however, unlikely that the Department of Education will introduce a third examination. "The educational unit" is now "a course of study over a definite number of years," not "an isolated year's work." The Department apparently wishes teachers and pupils to work in quietness and confidence rather than in the dust and heat of competition. The course consists of two parts: the first part, of three or four years' length,

" according to a pupil's age and attainments on entering the school," and the second, of two years. There are no "set" books, and the only checks on the teacher's liberty are the requirement that programmes of work in each subject shall be submitted to the Department at the beginning of the school year, and the knowledge that the genuineness of the programme will be tested by the Department's inspectors.

The Place of the Irish Language

In accordance with the Department's scheme, there is no sharp break between the junior and senior portions of the curriculum. The same subjects are studied, but teaching and study, of course, change as adolescence proceeds. The subjects are, with one exception, those which are studied in most secondary schools in the British Isles. The exception is Irish. This language, in accordance with the Government's aim at making the country Gaelic-speaking, is given a favoured position in the curriculum. It is an essential subject for a pass, and more marks are assigned to it than to any other subject except mathematics (which, however, includes arithmetic, algebra and geometry). In the full course in Irish 600 marks are obtainable; not more than 400 are obtainable in English or in Classics. Moreover, a student of Irish can obtain extra marks by using the language in answering any of the examination papers other than those in Irish, English, modern Continental languages, mathematics and drawing. A bonus of 10 per cent. is obtainable, but, to be eligible for it in any subject, candidates must use Irish in all their answers. A bonus of 5 per cent. is offered to candidates using Irish in a modern language or a mathematical paper. It is evident that political, or politico-social, considerations rather than educational suggested such a scheme of marking, which gives to modern Irish, a language almost without a literature, a position twice as important as that given to French or German. Not more than 300 marks are assigned to any Continental language. The marking scheme, of course, gives a great advantage to Gaeltacht and preparatory college candidates. It is true that preparatory college candidates are ineligible for the Department's scholarships (their maintenance at the colleges being equivalent to scholarships), but, in the competition for these valuable prizes it seems likely that candidates from the Irish-speaking districts and their neighbourhood will have a lasting advantage over others. As things are, candidates from the other parts of the country who are being educated for actual rather than for ideal conditions can be beaten in the competition for Intermediate scholarships by candidates who are inferior to them in knowledge of every subject but Irish. And, while the high marks assigned to Irish give pupils who have been able to specialise in the language an advantage over those whose best subject gives 200 marks fewer, they also make it harder for the latter to pass in Irish, and therefore make it harder for them to pass the whole examination.

The Institution of Lower Courses

The institution of full and lower courses in certain subjects is an experiment begun in the school year 1932–3. It was explained in the Department's report for the previous year that, Irish having become "the dominant vernacular" in many schools, "the chief aim of the English teaching" in such schools "should be to give the pupil power to write English for practical purposes, and the range of work, choice of reading and methods of treatment should be adjusted to this aim, as is done in the teaching of other foreign languages." So, in the next year's programme of work, full and lower courses in English appeared. There was more than a trace of make-believe in the reason given for devising the lower course, but the Department showed that it was in touch with reality by arranging for lower courses in French, German and science. The fact seems to be that making a subject so highly marked as Irish an essential part of the curriculum threatened to discourage the study of subjects that had always been regarded as part of a liberal education.

Effects of Lower Marking for non-Irish Subjects

The Department, one may be sure, had no wish that the practice of the preparatory colleges (in their earlier years) should be followed generally by secondary schools. Pupils of these colleges for some years passed the Department's examinations, and passed brilliantly, without Latin or Greek, French or German. Some of the colleges have since availed themselves of the lower course in Latin; others have found the full course not too difficult. And, when Irish has become, in these colleges, the ordinary medium of thought as well as of expression, one may expect pupils normally to take the full course in Latin; and it may be possible for them to take at least the lower course in French, a subject which they have hitherto completely neglected. The lower course papers in French and German are mainly a test of the candidate's ability to read; knowledge of grammatical niceties is not expected. But, to pass the test, the candidate needs a somewhat larger knowledge of vocabulary than he can get under present conditions. Yet, since the small number of marks (300) obtainable for full course French or German does not encourage school authorities to devote as much time as is necessary for the study of a foreign language, the time that they can give pupils to prepare for the lower course in these languages, for which 150 is the highest mark, must be short indeed.

The Training of Teachers

The low marking of French and German in comparison with the marking of Irish would no doubt be defended as an emergency measure. Continental languages and science, subjects whose educational value is appreciated by the authorities, are being sacrificed to Irish. The Department is making great efforts, not

only to have Irish taught in all secondary schools; it is trying to have it adopted as the ordinary teaching medium. In accordance with this policy the Registration Council has made a regulation, which is to become operative in 1942, that all applicants for registration as secondary teachers shall be required "to produce evidence of having a competent knowledge of the Irish language before being deemed eligible for admission to the register."

Without Irish, intending teachers have enough to do to satisfy the Registration Council. To obtain provisional registration, a candidate must have a degree of an Irish or British university, or of some other approved university; a diploma in education testifying to his having practised teaching under supervision; and a year's teaching experience in a recognised Free State school. For definitive registration, a candidate must have, in addition to degree and diploma, three years' teaching experience.

Such requirements, naturally, have stimulated the study of educational science. The demand for instruction has greatly increased the supply, and the education departments of the National and Dublin Universities are as busy as most. There are Chairs of Education at the colleges of the National University—at Dublin, Cork and Galway—and at the "recognised" College of St. Patrick, Maynooth. At University College, Dublin, where the Rev. Dr. Corcoran, S.J., has been Professor of Education since the founding of the University, the number of education students has greatly increased. In 1909–10, the average number enrolled was 10; twenty-five years later the number had grown nearly to 180.

University Education Departments

The National University offers three distinctions to education students: the Higher Diploma in Education, the degree of M.A. in educational science and the degree of Ph.D. Only holders of primary degrees are eligible for these distinctions; and for M.A. and Ph.D. only honours graduates are normally eligible. Three terms must be devoted to preparation for the Higher Diploma; attendance at lectures for three terms may suffice for M.A. candidates who have completed the course for the Higher Diploma. For the research degree of Ph.D. nine terms' work is normally required. In recent years research work for this degree has produced some important books, of which *The Hedge Schools of Ireland*, by Dr. P. J. Dowling, is perhaps the best known.

At Trinity College, Dublin, the education department, under Professor R. J. Fynne, has grown greatly in late years. The Chair of Education was established in 1905 and occupied till 1922 by the late Professor Culverwell, who by his lectures and his *Montessori Principles and Practice*, did much to lift Irish educational practice from the ancient ruts. The present occupant of the Chair is assisted by a staff of specialists, and the course of study has been much enlarged. It is a one-year course, and students can prepare

for a Higher Diploma in Education or for a Higher Diploma with honours. Education, moreover, is one of the optional subjects in the Arts course of the University, from the Trinity term of the Junior Sophister year up to graduation, an arrangement which somewhat shortens for students who have little time to spare for the long and difficult course in education.

The University Arts Course

Of other university courses and examinations not much need be said. At Dublin, as at London, it is still possible to graduate in Arts without attendance at lectures. But the keeping of Arts terms by examinations is only possible when the University authorities are satisfied that the student cannot keep his terms in any other way. Normally, students are required to keep every term by lectures, and to keep certain terms by examination as well.

The "steamboat degree," which in old times was believed to be a convenience to many British students who desired a Dublin (pass) degree without the expense of residence in Dublin, was always rare, and is to-day probably non-existent. The regular duration of the Arts course is four years, but it is possible to graduate in a shorter time. A student may "save a year," but he cannot save fees at the same time; he must pay fees for eight half-years. After Little-Go (in Dublin, the final examination of the Freshman years), a student can drop several of the grammar school subjects. Latin, which is obligatory at entrance, becomes optional in the Senior Freshman year; and in the Junior and Senior Sophister years most tastes are catered for. The B.A. degree must be taken by all professional students, except students of music, before graduating in their several faculties. In recent years a science course leading to a B.Sc. degree has been instituted. The course runs parallel to that for B.A., but it has no honours side. For this reason it does not entitle a student to proceed to M.Sc., a research degree for which a moderatorship in science (i.e. an honours degree in that subject) is deemed to be a necessary preliminary.

Examinations in the Arts Course

There are three examinations in the Arts course of the National University—matriculation, first university examination and degree. But, in the corresponding college course, four examinations must be passed, no student being permitted to enter on the third year's work of the Arts course till he has passed a college examination in the work of the second year. At matriculation, Irish is compulsory for all Irish-born students, and Latin, or a modern Continental language, has recently been made essential. The Arts course is of three years' duration. It is not, as at Dublin University, a necessary preliminary to graduation in any faculty except Arts and Law. Primary teachers can enter on the Arts course without matriculating

and without passing the first university examination, if they have passed the final examination at a training college. If Latin has not been one of their subjects at that examination, they will be allowed matriculation, but they will have to pass in the Latin of matriculation before they are admitted to the first university examination in Arts. These concessions are perhaps explained by the fact that the Leaving Certificate Examination, which, as already stated, is a somewhat harder test than matriculation, is the usual entrance examination at the training colleges.

Conclusion

A certain similarity, or parallelism, is noticeable between the secondary school *plus* university system and the system which begins in the primary school and ends in the technical institute. The secondary school prepares for the university, though great numbers of secondary pupils leave for business at the Intermediate Examination stage. In the other system, though great numbers of primary pupils leave school finally at 14 years of age, an increasing number, since the passing of the Vocational Education Act, have been continuing their education in vocational or technical schools. The " Primary School Certificate Examination," open to pupils in the sixth and higher standards, is both a test of attainments and an incentive to further study. The latest available returns show that, out of 61,742 pupils in the sixth and higher standards, 10,998, or 17·8 per cent., took the Primary School Certificate Examination. In the vocational schools courses and examinations have been arranged to suit students aiming at " a certain standard of practical knowledge and skill in a particular trade," and also those who are looking forward to positions " such as those of clerk of works, foreman, works manager, draughtsman and quantity surveyor." Trade certificates attest the attainments of the former, technological certificates the attainments of the latter.

H. R. CHILLINGWORTH.

CHAPTER SIX

School and College Entrance Examinations in the United States of America[1]

(*See also* Year Book, 1937, *pages* 247–63 *and* 280–93)

The Beginnings of Critical Investigation

THE critical investigation of examinations, which has only recently been undertaken in England and several other countries in Europe, was begun in the United States more than thirty years ago. This long start has enabled American educators to analyse the various ramifications of the problem of examinations and to develop a fuller insight into their functions and the methods of conducting them, even though the theories which have been evolved are only just beginning to be translated into practice. It is important, however, that English students of the problem be reminded that the methods of attack on examinations would not have been possible without the fundamental contributions of Sir Francis Galton, F. Y. Edgeworth and Karl Pearson. Of these, Galton and Pearson laid the foundations for the application of statistical methods to the human element, and Edgeworth made the first use of statistics in a critical investigation of examinations. The American investigators continued the work begun by the pioneers in this field in England.[2]

Differences between American and European Education

Before entering upon a consideration of examination it is essential to consider certain important differences between the American and European systems of education. Examinations may, in general, be said to perform two functions. The first of these functions is to test the standard of attainment of pupils and students; the second is to select candidates for admission from one institution to another or to evaluate their qualifications for certain types of employment. The first type of examinations is standardising, the second is competitive—a distinction which is made by the French in their use of the term *examens* for the first and *concours* for the second. Except for some civil service appointments, such

[1] The reader is recommended to read *Examinations and their Substitutes in the United States*, being Bulletin No. 28 of The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Learning.—Editor.

[2] Another Englishman, J. Rendell Harris, a graduate of Cambridge University, and Professor at Johns Hopkins University and Haverford College, was, I think, the first to discuss the idea of the normal curve of distribution when he pointed out in 1890 that the function of "a well-conducted examination" is "to produce a dispersion among the group of persons presented."

a distinction can hardly be said to exist in the American system of education, for the practice of awarding scholarships on the basis of competitive examinations is practically unknown, and admission from the secondary school to college is coming to depend more generally upon certification and school records than upon examinations of the old type.

The American "Vertical" Principle

Unlike the European systems of education the American is organised on the vertical or "ladder" principle, each level of education being directly articulated with the one which precedes it. A pupil who completes the work required in the elementary school may be promoted automatically, and without a further entrance examination, to the high school. With certain reservations, which will be mentioned later, the same principle applies in the transfer of students from the high school to college, particularly in those states—and they constitute the majority—in which the college is part of the public educational system.

The vertical organisation of American education has not, however, eliminated the problem of examinations, but they are considered only in terms of the first function mentioned above, as standardising or qualifying. The conduct and marking of examinations is mainly left to the teachers, even in those states which prepare state-wide examination questions for pupils who are about to complete the work of the elementary schools. With two important exceptions, which will be discussed more fully in this survey, external examinations of the kind established in England or France are unknown in the United States, although new types of state-wide and nation-wide examinations of the new or objective type are gradually beginning to be introduced for both high school and college students. The story of the development and use of these examinations is in itself interesting as a method of meeting the prevailing practice, whereby teachers have been accustomed to "brand their own herrings."

Absence of Emphasis on External Examinations

Another important difference between the European and American systems of education is the absence in the latter of that strong emphasis on *sanctions*, as in France, or *Berechtigungen*, as in Germany, or school certificates, as in England. While the pressure for education for status is beginning to be noted in the United States, it has not yet resulted in producing that stress on examinations which is to be found in Europe. When the late Dr. Carl Becker made the statement that American pupils and students are as much ridden by examinations as the European, his reference was to the frequency of tests, quizzes and examinations conducted by teachers in their own classes rather than to stated examinations conducted by external boards of examiners. Since access to employment,

except, of course, in the professions, is not as much dependent upon the possession of certificates, and since with the large number of colleges with varying requirements and standards of admission most students can find their way into some institution beyond the secondary school, examinations again do not seem as formidable as in those countries in which failure means the closing of the doors to certain careers. To this should be added the fact that the opportunities for education are being extended by the recent development of the "junior college," which in many places is a direct continuation of the high school.

Importance of Differentiated Curricula

Another differentiating factor which cannot be ignored as mitigating somewhat the rigour of examinations has been the recognition of the importance of differentiated curricula or the adaptation of the curricula to the abilities of the students. The elective system was in part a response to this recognition. More generally, this means that, as contrasted with European countries, there is less emphasis on the traditional concept of culture or liberal education, which is characteristic of secondary education elsewhere. As the enrolments in the high schools increased soon after the opening of the present century attention was directed both to the examinations and to the curricula by the large number of pupils who failed or left school without completing the courses which they had begun. Out of this situation the following types of questions began to be asked: How much real education do pupils who fail actually receive? How may the curricula be diversified so as to meet the needs of different types of abilities and aptitudes? How valid and reliable are the methods of examinations, and what should be their rightful function in an educational system? These questions could perhaps be better answered in a system organised as the American system is organised with one high school for all adolescents. And yet some of these questions and others of a similar character were raised in England about ten years ago by Mr. (now Sir Percival) Meadon, Director of Education for Lancashire, and Mr. J. H. Hallam, formerly Director of Education for the West Riding of Yorkshire. Despite some of the more obvious differences in the organisation of the educational systems of England and the United States, there are many points at which the problems involved in the procedure of examinations are common to both countries.[1] The method of enquiry into examinations initiated in England by Professor Edgeworth was adopted by students of the question in the United States, but with the improvement in the methods of statistical enquiry it has come to be recognised after three decades of study that more is involved in the investigation of

[1] For discussions of the educational system of the United States the reader is referred to the *Year Book of Education*, 1932, pages 878–902, and 1936, pages 340–67.

examinations than a critical evaluation of the reliability of marking or scoring.

History of Examinations

Written examinations were not introduced into American schools or colleges until about the middle of the nineteenth century. Up to that time they had been individual and oral. Public examinations were held, but came to be regarded more as public displays for the glorification of the teachers than genuine tests of the pupils. The introduction of written examinations in the public schools of Boston in 1845 was regarded as revolutionary. The same printed questions were used in all the schools and were administered by a sub-committee, which rushed from school to school in order to prevent the divulgence of the questions; although the introduction of written examinations in place of, or in addition to, oral examinations was due to the increase in the number of pupils in the schools, the idea of conducting the examinations in all the schools simultaneously did not appear to occur to any one at this time. The innovation was welcomed with enthusiasm by Horace Mann, who strongly supported written examinations because they were impartial and just, provided an opportunity for a larger sampling of the pupil's knowledge, removed the risk of favouritism, improved the quality of teaching, and, as he said, yielded "a sort of Daguerreotype likeness, as it were, of the state and condition of the pupils' minds." More important still, a written examination of the pupils in all the schools established a recognised standard of comparison in place of the subjective opinions of examiners in an oral test. Chicago adopted the practice of written examinations in the public schools in 1856.

Reaction against Written Examinations

What had been regarded as an important contribution for the improvement of education in the fifties began to be criticised thirty years later as "a system of strait-jackets," which led to a "lockstep" system of education, cramming for marks, and vicious habits of study; individual differences among the pupils were ignored, and the work of the schools was perverted. Although the need for comparable standards was recognised, the marking of the examinations was itself unreliable. In the opinion of Mr. E. E. White, the Superintendent of Public Instruction in Cincinnati, it was better for purposes of promotions to rely on the judgment of the teachers based upon the pupils' records than to depend wholly on examinations, although they might still be used to supplement the teachers' judgment. The most serious criticism which Mr. White had to bring against examinations was their effect upon the work of the schools: they led to strain and over-pressure, to waste, miseducation and dishonesty. There was no objection against examinations and even frequent examinations conducted by teachers in their own classes for the purpose of testing the growth of their pupils and for the improvement of instruction. Opinion among

educators from this time on began to favour teachers' reports rather than examinations.

President Eliot's Criticism of Examinations

In 1869, President Charles W. Eliot had in his inaugural address criticised the prevailing practice in American colleges whereby the instructors conducted the examinations and marked the papers of the students in their own classes, and had deplored the absence of some form of external examinations. In 1890, discussing the relations between secondary schools and colleges mainly with reference to methods of admission, President Eliot, while recognising the possibility and importance of preparing and marking examinations more carefully, expressed himself strongly in favour of a system of inspection rather than examinations. He was most concerned with the danger of lockstep methods which might result from external examinations and the failure to adapt education and instruction to the individual differences among the pupils. He had no objection to examinations conducted by teachers themselves for instructional purposes and for the discovery of the diversity of abilities in pupils in order to provide for them the type of work best suited to them. The chief danger which he saw in a system of external examinations was the emergence of uniformity in the aims and standards of education. President Eliot's essays and addresses, which were subsequently published under the title *Educational Reform* (New York, 1901) anticipated by nearly thirty years the emphasis which is now placed on the importance of the individualisation of education. "Selection of studies for the individual," he wrote, "instruction addressed to the individual, irregular promotion, grading by natural capacity and rapidity of attainment, and diversity of product as regards age and acquisitions, must come to characterise the American public school, if it is to answer the purposes of a democratic society."

Examinations attacked from Statistical Point of View

The first attack on examinations from the statistical point of view was made in 1890 by Professor J. Rendell Harris, to whom reference has already been made. At the first meeting of the College Association of the Middle States and Maryland, he suggested that "the first thing to be reformed is the examiner." While he acknowledged the value of examinations for purposes of recapitulation and the concentration of studies, Professor Harris pointed out that the object of examinations should not be to pass or fail candidates on the basis of a standard which is inevitably arbitrary, but to discover where they stand in relation to each other. "A well-conducted examination divides the students one from another like the opening out of a fan. I affirm that the first thing to be aimed at is to produce a dispersion among the group of persons presented for examination." This statement will be recognised as an anticipation of what later came to be called "the normal curve of distribution."

System of accrediting Secondary Schools

In the Middle West and the West, where state universities were established as integral parts of the public system of education, the difficulties raised by the problems of examinations were obviated by the adoption of a system of accrediting secondary schools. In 1870, the University of Michigan first established the practice, soon adopted by other state universities, of admitting students on the recommendation of the principals of schools which were accredited after inspection by officers of the University. In the East, a number of colleges agreed in 1902 to admit candidates on certification from secondary schools included on a list approved by the New England College Entrance Certificate Board. Schools were placed on the approved list on meeting certain requirements in such matters as the course of study, equipment and the number and qualifications of their teachers; except that there was no inspection, this system of approving schools was not unlike that later adopted by the English Board of Education for placing secondary schools on its list of efficient schools. Approval was granted for periods of three years, and was renewed on the basis of the records of former pupils while in college.

Movement for Uniform Standards of Requirements

There still remained, however, many colleges in the East which continued to admit candidates only on the basis of entrance examinations. Unfortunately, the requirements for these examinations differed from one institution to another. Tentative efforts were made to overcome the difficulties which resulted, particularly for the schools, from these differences, when in 1879 the Conference of New England Colleges agreed to accept the requirements for the examination in English set by Harvard. This practice was gradually extended to other subjects, and in 1885 the New England Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools, and two years later the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools in the Middle States and Maryland, were established to promote the common interest of colleges and secondary schools. The movement for uniform standards and requirements for admission to the colleges led in 1900 to the establishment of the College Entrance Examination Board, whose function was to meet one of the demands expressed by the Committee on College Entrance Requirements—"to study the question of college entrance examinations for the purpose of harmonising the relations between the secondary schools and colleges." It is not necessary to remind the reader of the somewhat similar situation which existed in England in the multiplicity of examinations and examining boards for English secondary schools until 1917.

College Entrance Examination Board

The moving spirits in the creation of the College Entrance Examination Board were President Eliot of Harvard University, and

Professor, later President, Nicholas Murray Butler, of Columbia University. The Board was established as a voluntary agency to promote co-operation between secondary schools and colleges, and to discover by examinations whether a candidate was fitted to enter a college and profit by the education and instruction there offered. Indirectly, it could set up uniform standards for secondary schools and for admission to college. The Board began by adopting the requirements of a number of associations of specialists in different subjects of the secondary school curriculum. Papers in each subject were prepared by committees of three, consisting of a college teacher, as chief examiner, and a secondary school teacher. The papers so prepared were submitted for approval or revision by a Committee of Revision. The panel of examiners was made up of college and secondary school teachers. Efforts were made to secure uniformity of standards of marking by going first over specimen scripts and then by common marking. A standard of 60 on a scale of 100 was established as the passing mark; scripts below 60 were read a second time. The form of requirements or the syllabuses for the examinations was changed in 1907 in order to adapt them better to the work of the schools.

Attempt to obtain Uniformity in Marking

The most difficult task which confronted the Board was to secure uniformity in the standards of marking. The standards were discussed in advance by the examiners, and a Committee on Examination Ratings was established to unify and systematise the reading of scripts and to act as a clearing-house for complaints. Everything was done to avoid mechanical methods of marking and to ensure fairness and common sense in the procedure. The greatest meticulousness was shown in preparing the questions and in marking the papers. The questions were carefully scrutinised, the numerical values to be assigned were determined, the types of possible answers were discussed, a number of specimen papers were read, marked and commented upon by the whole group, readers were paired in doubtful cases, and scripts on which agreement could not be reached were referred to a chief reader. Despite all the care that was taken, and despite the growing experience of the readers, fluctuations in the marking appeared from year to year in the same subject and in different subjects. Various explanations failed to explain the situation: it was suggested that fluctuations might be due to the increasing number either of candidates who took the examination before they were really ready for it or of inexperienced examiners. It was, however, recognised that the fluctuations might be due to the length, difficulty and wording of the questions or the unfamiliarity of the terms used.

The Board's Attitude to Reliability of Examinations

In 1924, measures were proposed to lessen the fluctuations by increasing the number of questions, by a better distribution of the

questions over the whole field of the subject under examination, by using only questions that had been previously tried out in a secondary school, or by building up a large reservoir of questions tested in advance. About ten years later a Sub-Committee of the Board on Policy recommended a more liberal interpretation of the examination requirements. In 1934, a new Committee on Revision was appointed " to consider all phases of examinations including their relative importance and use, the advisability of continuing certain examinations, the type of examinations to be held, and their number."

One criticism the Board refused to entertain—that the examinations lacked reliability. It was argued that reliability could not be expected from a single examination, since so much depends on the equality of questions in character and difficulty, the nature of the special topics selected, and the mental characteristics and abilities of the candidates and their methods of preparing for the examination. In any event, the schools concerned reported that there was a correlation between the examination results and their expectations in the cases of the best and worst candidates presented, an argument which is similar to that used by English examining boards in the recent discussions of the *Examination of Examinations*.[1]

Development of Objective Tests

In the meantime, interest in the new-type or objective tests had been spreading throughout the country. In 1922, the Board decided to experiment with such tests and adopted a scholastic aptitude test, not in lieu of, but supplementary to the usual examinations and other records, and taken by candidates at their own option. More recently the Board has decided to embark on a number of experiments—the retention and improvement of the traditional essay type of examination, the tentative introduction of objective tests, and the use of the scholastic aptitude test. The result of these experiments may perhaps lead the Board to abandon its caution in favour of a plan which has stood a variety of tests. The former Secretary of the Board, Professor Thomas S. Fiske, has stated that the problem involved in examinations is concerned with three questions : How much has a pupil learned ? How much more can he learn ? How much more will he learn ? The first of these questions can be answered by an examination without, however, throwing light on a candidate's " originality, imagination or ability to meet a new situation." Through the scholastic aptitude test the power of a candidate to learn, to concentrate, to comprehend or to interpret, as well as other mental gifts, may be discovered. How much more a candidate will learn can only be answered reliably with an adequate knowledge of his character, habits and inclinations. Efforts to secure information on the last question are being made in other directions by the adoption of cumulative record blanks (cards).

[1] See *Year Book of Education*, 1936, page 834.

New York State Regents' Examination

The only other examination in the United States which is similar in character to that of the College Entrance Examination Board is the examination conducted in the schools of the State by the New York Board of Regents. This Board began in 1865 to conduct examinations at the end of the elementary school course as a basis for the distribution of the State Literature Fund; in 1878, the practice was extended to secondary schools "for the purpose of measuring the work of the schools and to establish proper standards of scholarship," and "to furnish a suitable standard for graduation from academies and academic departments of union schools, and for admission to the several colleges of the State." Support from the Literature Fund was also distributed to the schools on the basis of the results of the examinations, a practice which was abandoned in 1900. In 1880, the Board of Regents began to publish syllabuses for the guidance of schools and pupils. Until 1906, the questions for the examinations were prepared by inspectors and examiners, under the supervision of the Secretary of the Board; later committees, representing high school and college teachers and state supervisors of instruction were appointed to prepare the questions, which were then submitted for criticism to the editorial staff of the State Department of Education and to a Board of Revision for final scrutiny. Since 1920, the aim of the examinations has been declared to be to test power, mastery and comprehension rather than memory and recall of factual knowledge.

Criticism of the examinations and their results from the advocates of scientific measurement and the rapid increase in the number of candidates, without a corresponding increase in the number of examiners, impelled the Board in 1923 to experiment with the new type, objective or short-answer tests in English grammar and silent reading; this experiment was gradually extended to other subjects, and in 1929, the Board came to the conclusion that the ideal examination is a combination of the new and old type of questions, one to measure factual knowledge and the other as a test of mastery and ability to organise knowledge and to present it in essay form; "one is a test of cumulative knowledge, the other of assimilated knowledge." Objective tests have now been extended to practically all the subjects of examination, the proportion varying somewhat with the nature of each subject.

The Board's System of Marking

The system conducted by the Board of Regents differs from that of the College Entrance Examination Board in the method of marking. The scripts are read and marked on the basis of detailed suggestions and instructions issued by the Board by teachers or committees of teachers in the schools where they are written. The passing papers or, as they are called, "the papers claimed" are

forwarded to the State Department of Education to be re-read by the staff examiners and teachers who must have had at least three years of experience in teaching the subject which they examine. Scripts from schools with outstanding records are read by sampling, and only when the sampling reveals a failure to maintain standards are all the scripts re-read. Where the marks are debatable, the scripts are given a further reading, and no script is rejected until it has had a second reading, usually by a senior examiner or the supervisor. The number of scripts to be marked rose from 1,126 in 1878 to 1,117,516 in 1934.

Criticism of Board's Marking

And yet, despite all the care taken to ensure that questions are adapted to the normal work of the schools and that the marking is as fair as possible, the examinations of the Board of Regents have been subjected to the same criticisms as those of the College Entrance Examination Board : while the quality of the candidates remains constant, the charge is made that there are variations in the difficulty of the questions and in the standards of marking ; there are discrepancies and fluctuations in the results in different subjects from year to year ; in general, there is a feeling that the results are unreliable. One important discrepancy under the Board's system has been between the number of papers claimed by the teachers as passed and the number accepted by the examiners. Since the introduction of new-type, objective questions this discrepancy has continued to decrease ; thus, while on the average about 89 per cent. of the papers claimed by the teachers were accepted in the five-year period from 1916 to 1920, before the new-type tests were introduced, in the period from 1931 to 1935, the average percentage had risen to about 97. The close approximation between the standards of the teachers and examiners raises the question whether there is any justification for the retention of a system of examinations which involves the marking of more than a million scripts. If the approximation now reached can be attributed to the new-type, objective tests, it may be argued that a system which yields so little might be abandoned in favour of the more extensive use of objective examinations and a scheme of constructive inspection, one of the functions of which might be to see that the educational values of the essay examinations, whose value cannot be denied, are not neglected.

In a study of the predictive value of the new and old type of examinations for admission to college, Professor Ben D. Wood found that of four methods—Thorndike Intelligence Scores, Regents' Examinations, College Entrance Board Examinations and secondary school marks—the Regents' examination results correlated nearly as high as the Thorndike tests with the marks obtained by students during their first two years in college. There was, however, one very important difference between the two types

of tests—the Regents' examination took fifteen hours, while the Thorndike test required only three hours.

Criticisms of Examinations

The early criticisms of examinations have been mentioned ; like the results of the examinations themselves, they were based on opinion rather than objective evidence. In 1905, Professor J. McKeen Cattell began where Professor Harris had stopped in 1890 by subjecting the whole question to the scrutiny of statistical techniques, which he and his students had already introduced in the study of human traits. In an article on " Examinations, Grades and Credits," which appeared in *Popular Science Monthly* (Vol. 66, page 367 ff.), Professor Cattell urged the use of scientific methods to determine the validity of examinations, their standardisation and improvement. " It seems scarcely possible to determine whether students are fitted for a college course by means of a written examination. . . . To devise and apply the best methods of determining fitness is the business of the psychological expert." When this article appeared, Professor Edward L. Thorndike had already begun to study the reliability of marking in the examinations of the College Entrance Examination Board. On the basis of the records of the students admitted to Columbia College in 1901, 1902 and 1903, on the results of the Board's examinations, Professor Thorndike concluded that " even so carefully managed examinations as these are extremely imperfect means of estimating an individual's fitness for college." He found that the estimate at the examination was wrong in forty-seven out of fifty cases as to success in the third or junior year of the college course ; the entrance examination was an inadequate measure of success in college ; students who failed at one examination might pass a few months later by special coaching rather than because of their ability. " Sooner or later," wrote Professor Thorndike, " there will be someone so barred out who would, if admitted, have been the best man in his class. . . . [The traditional examinations] do not prevent incompetence from getting into college ; do not prevent students of excellent promise from being discouraged, improperly conditioned, or barred out altogether ; do not measure fitness for college well enough to earn the respect of students or teachers ; and do intolerable injustice to individuals." These conclusions are not unlike those found thirty years later by Professor C. W. Valentine in his study of *The Reliability of Examinations*[1] in England.

Investigation into Validity of Marking

The reliability of marking in general now became the subject of investigation. After a series of experiments in the marking of papers in English, history and geometry by several hundreds of teachers, Professors D. Starch and E. C. Elliott reached the con-

[1] London University Press, 1932.

clusion that the variability of marking is a function of the examiner and of the method of examination, and not of the subject, that standards of marking differ in different schools and with different teachers, and that there is no consistency of judgment on the relative values to be assigned to different elements in an examination paper. The investigators recommended the substitution of standard tests and scales for measuring efficiency in all subjects. The results reached by Professors Starch and Elliott were corroborated by numerous other studies of marking and grading made at this time.

The cumulative effect of both the subjective and objective criticisms of the traditional examinations and their marking was to bring them into disrepute. The examinations were criticised as being injurious to the health of pupils and leading to pressure and overstrain. They tend to become ends in themselves and encourage memorisation and cramming and methods of study which are inconsistent with modern aims in education. The brief time allotted to examinations is responsible for poor handwriting and the careless use of English. And, finally, a good teacher can grade his pupils without examinations. On the technical side, it was argued that the marking of traditional examinations yields inaccurate results and the examinations themselves do not furnish an adequate measure of the achievements of pupils, since they cover only a few questions which are not equal in difficulty and whose weighting by the teachers is subjective. Finally, the question was raised whether an accurate measure of a pupil's ability can be secured through an examination in which he is working against time.

These criticisms exercised a considerable amount of influence throughout the country, particularly since they came at a time when the numbers of pupils in the secondary schools were beginning to increase and greater flexibility was being sought in the organisation of curricula to meet the wider range of abilities to be educated. Despite the apparent case which seemed to have been made against the reliability of examination results and in favour of more objective methods, there were many who feared the abandonment of the essay type of examination and a tendency to confuse the reliability of examinations with the validity of the content of a sound education. For there are many who do not feel that all problems of education have been solved by the introduction of the new scientific methods, and who still believe that the essay, whatever its status may be for purposes of examinations, provides better evidence of understanding, reasoning and ability to organise information than do the objective tests, which in their opinion measure only knowledge of facts.

The Scientific Attack on Examinations

The critical investigation of examinations was made possible by the development since the beginning of the century of statistical methods applied to the study of human traits. The first investiga-

tions were devoted to a critical study of the reliability of marking examinations and to an attempt to discover more valid and reliable substitutes for the traditional type of examinations. With the rapid increase in the number of students, first in the high schools and later in the colleges, it began to be recognised that examinations or whatever substitutes might be found for them had another purpose to serve than merely to measure achievement. This purpose was to discover the different types and ranges of abilities for which education had now to be provided. Unlike the European systems of education, the American seeks to provide equality of opportunity for all. Since the American concept of a liberal education is less traditional, less formal and more flexible than the European, the educational problem to be faced is not whether a pupil is fit for a particular type of curriculum—classical, modern, or scientific—but what curriculum is best for each pupil in the light of his abilities. The theory upon which this is based is that there are no misfit children, but there are misfit schools and misfit curricula and courses. In contrast with the European tradition in secondary schools and colleges of a *table d'hôte* education or course in which the onus for passing or failing is on the student (*caveat alumnus*), the American institutions seek to provide an *à la carte* menu of courses from which each individual student is expected, with advice and guidance, to select those from which he is likely to derive the greatest profit. This theory, which has been the basis of later studies of examinations, tests and measurements, is significantly defined as follows by Professor Ben D. Wood :

> The duty of publicly supported educational institutions, especially those that operate under the compulsory attendance law, is to help all pupils, whether they be geniuses, mediocrities or morons. To fail large masses of young people on the ground that they have not lived up to the minimum essentials of a predetermined curriculum is both a professional blunder and a social injustice. There is no way of adjusting the school except by studying the capacities, achievements, interests and needs of growing individuals.

The implications of this theory have been summarised by Professor Henry C. Morrison, of the University of Chicago, in the statement that " Teachers should spend half their time studying their pupils as individuals, and the rest of their time doing what that study shows to be desirable and necessary."

Value of Intelligence and Attainment Tests

The tendency is, accordingly, to look upon examinations as instruments and devices for guiding, advising and placing students as well as measures of achievement. In other words, they are expected to have both prospective and retrospective values. Hence the efforts have been directed to make examinations or tests as accurate, reliable and valid as possible. It is unnecessary here to give an account of the historical development of tests and measurements in

education. The movement was well under way when the United States entered the World War, and it was discovered that intelligence tests offered a useful and speedy method for classifying soldiers and officers for the different services in the army and navy. The use of such tests on so vast a scale attracted widespread publicity and tended somewhat to develop an exaggerated view of their value and potentialities in the minds both of the public and many members of the educational profession. It was not long before the intelligence tests began to be criticised as claiming too much and as too deterministic. The criticisms yielded one salutary result in so far as they stimulated an enquiry into the meaning of intelligence. A somewhat similar fate befell the rapidly developing movement to use achievement tests. The criticism of these tests was that they established group norms rather than suggested standards of attainment for individual pupils. From another point of view many of the tests themselves were open to the charge that they were too often prepared by specialists in the techniques of measurement without an adequate mastery of the subjects which they undertook to measure. Experience was also to prove before very long that the hope of discovering a reliable test of ability and promise by one single measure had been over-sanguine. To cope with the large influx of students after the war, many colleges had substituted the Army Alpha Test for the usual entrance examinations, and discovered that the predictive value of such a test was slight. One important result of this experience was the general recognition that reliance could not be placed on one single test or on a series of tests given at one time, and that the provision of the right education for the right individual requires cumulative information and records continued over a period of an individual's scholastic career.

New-type Objective Tests

Faith in the objective measurements of intelligence and achievement was by no means shaken by the critical attitude which was shown towards them after the war. The need for greater caution and of sounder methods of construction and checking was impressed upon all who had anything to do with the tests. While intelligence tests as the sole measure of ability and promise have receded somewhat into the background, there has been an improvement in the construction and evaluation of what have come to be called new-type or objective tests, or short-answer tests to distinguish them from the essay type of answer which is called for in the traditional examination. The arguments in favour of the new-type tests is that they yield more objective, more valid, more reliable and comparable results than do the traditional examinations. They provide for a larger sampling of questions in the field which is being tested than is possible in the old examinations : instead of five to ten questions to be answered in two or three hours, from fifty to a hundred questions can be answered in a new-type test lasting an

hour. Irrelevant factors can be eliminated both in the answers and in the marking, since there is only one variable—whether the answer is right or wrong. The preparation of the new-type examinations takes much longer and the marking much less time, while the conditions are reversed in the case of the traditional examination. Nor do the new-type examinations control the work of the schools, since the questions are constructed out of the materials actually covered in the courses of study and textbooks. There are, of course, those who still object that this practice emphasises wrong habits of study, but such critics are usually opposed to examinations of any kind, both the new and the old, and insist that the purpose of instruction is not to train pupils in " what to think, but how to think."

Criticism of New-type Examinations

Such criticisms raise the question of the place of knowledge in education. It is alleged that the new-type examinations test " mere knowledge," the acquisition of facts and information, and memory rather than ability to reason. The important issue which arises from these criticisms is whether the recalling of factual knowledge and thinking are independent of each other, and whether the functions of intelligence and reasoning are dependent on external forms as opposed to the substance of questions to be answered. Do facts exist in isolation, and can one think without facts ? Or, again, are facts a legitimate and necessary aspect of thinking, and is reasoning possible without breadth of information ? Experimental studies have shown that there is a close relationship between the measurement of information, on the one hand, and intelligence or ability to think in the materials of the field concerned, on the other. Those who argue that the new-type examination does not measure the " higher processes " in thinking have still to answer the question of how indispensable knowledge is in thinking and education. There is the further question whether all the steps in the process of reasoning must be described as in an essay, or whether the end-product cannot be stated without writing out all the steps in full. Again, it must be emphasised that the leaders in the movement have never advocated that the essay should be abandoned as a form of training and practice in the clear organisation and logical presentation of facts, concepts and ideas. All that is claimed is that the new-type examinations are better instruments for testing the amount of information acquired and of reasoning ability, and for attaining other purposes which are equally important for educational controls.

Arguments in Favour of New-type Examinations

The arguments in favour of the new-type tests are as follows : They more nearly meet the standards of definable ability, since they measure what they are designed to measure, to the exclusion of irrelevant details. They are statistically more reliable and are

more objective, since subjective factors such as bias, prejudice, personal opinions and temperament are excluded. Hence they are accurate and consistent in their scores, irrespective of the number of examiners, and the units of measurement are more nearly equal at all points of the scale used. Since the tests include a wider sampling of the subject under examination, the results are more reliable. Finally, the new-type tests are more easily administered and marked more quickly, and the results can be interpreted more readily and used for such specific purposes as improving weaknesses discovered in pupils and adapting work to their revealed abilities. A further advantage of the new-type tests is that they can be constructed in a variety of forms—recall, completion, recognition, true-false, multiple choice or multiple response, analogies, similarities and classification types. The essay type of question is on the whole limited to a few verbal forms, such as "describe," "discuss," "compare," "give reasons for," "explain" and "tell what you know about."

With the development and improvement of new-type tests there has taken place a change in the recognised purposes of examinations. The traditional examinations aimed to divide candidates into those who passed and those who failed on a preconceived, unchanging and arbitrary standard. They frequently revealed little more about each candidate, and the general reviews of the results were so vague that few teachers could derive from them specific suggestions for the improvement of instruction. The gap between those who just passed or just failed was so wide as to be unjust to both, whose future education or career depended on the hazard of a single examination. Such examinations failed to take the wide range of individual differences into account, identified abilities only in a general way and threw little light on the weaknesses of individual pupils, or offered inadequate suggestions for remedying them.

The Aim of the New-type Tests

The aim of the new-type tests, which have been increased in number and forms, is to discover the needs and abilities of the pupils, and, with the aid of other available information, to provide for them the kind of education and instruction from which they are most likely to profit. The traditional examinations were negative in their results so far as the failures and the near-failures were concerned: they provided no answer to the question of how much education these pupils had received. The new-type tests seek to meet the public and social responsibility of education to provide for each student the type of education from which he is most capable of profiting. In the case of the traditional examinations there was a tendency for the passing mark to be shifted as the number of candidates increased. The United States is not the only country in which the charge of lowering of standards has been alleged: there is hardly any educational system in the world which is not

facing the danger of cultivating mediocrity. One reason for this situation is the tendency of students to undertake courses for which their abilities are not best adapted.

The new-type tests, it is felt, meet most of the purpose of the traditional examination and have the further advantage of yielding more reliable information about the actual abilities of each individual pupil. It is no longer claimed, however, that such information can be secured either by one test alone or by a series of tests given at one time. The tendency, indeed, is to advocate more frequent and more different types of examinations spread over a period of years and to accumulate the results in order to secure the kind of picture of an individual's abilities necessary for suitable guidance and advice. This, it is recognised, is the only method by which genuine equality of educational opportunity can be provided and by which failures and misfits can be avoided. The aim, then, is to discover in a positive way what an individual can do rather than to wait for failure to reveal what he cannot do. The purpose of examinations or tests has thus shifted from the segregation of the passes and failures to diagnosis, prognosis and guidance according to the results obtained.

The Thorndike College Entrance Intelligence Examination

Reference has already been made to the attempt to use the Army Alpha Test as a measure for predicting success in college. It was soon found that the prognostic value of this test was only ·50. In 1919, Columbia College, the undergraduate section of Columbia University, began to use the Thorndike College Entrance Intelligence Examination for the purposes of admitting students. This test was more comprehensive and more difficult than the Army Alpha Test. It was soon shown that the Thorndike test together with a candidate's school record had a prognostic value of ·67, a figure far higher than that of secondary school marks, and somewhat higher than that of the New York State Regents' Examinations, with the further advantage in favour of the Thorndike test, that it could be taken in three hours. At the same time it also began to be realised that no single measure alone was perfect for diagnosing differences in individual abilities and interests, and that success in college is dependent also on other factors, such as health, methods of study, financial status, earnestness, perseverance, the types of courses selected and time devoted to extra-curricular activities. Everything pointed to the use of cumulative records. It was also recognised that it is not enough to discover that a student has ability to succeed in college, but that it is necessary to know in what subjects or courses he is most likely to succeed ; hence " placement tests " have been introduced in a number of institutions. Such a procedure is, of course, more possible under the American system of flexible courses than in other educational systems where courses are defined more or less uniformly.

The Spread of New-type Tests

After experimenting with the new-type tests for admission, Columbia College undertook to extend the same type of examinations to the courses in a number of departments. This meant breaking down the traditional practice whereby instructors set examinations in their own classes and on their own courses and " branded their own herrings." For this practice there was now introduced a system of co-operation between instructors in the same subjects on the one hand, and between the instructors and experts in the construction of tests and the techniques of measurement on the other; it provided common objectives, encouraged the students to review their work, and provided a method by which they could be given help where needed. The new-type tests served at once as a method of assessing achievement and as a method of education.

The new system of examinations which was tried by Columbia College soon spread to other institutions, as, for example, the University of Minnesota and the University of Chicago. Apart from the consideration of the technical aspects of the new-type tests, the innovation at the college level tended to establish comparable standards for different classes in the same subject, and promoted co-operation between the instructors and technical experts. Examinations constructed in the way which has been described practically performed the function of external examinations so far as each instructor was concerned. A further contribution which came from the new development was to stress the recognition that the preparation and marking of examination papers is a technical function to be entrusted to a qualified group of experts.

State-wide Examinations

One of the characteristics of the American system of education is the absence of a national authority for the administration and supervision of education, and while there are state departments of education, their function is in the main advisory and financial. The control and provision of education is thus left to the local authorities, the state exercising some functions of administration only in the smaller, rural areas. Thus twenty-one states conduct state-wide examinations to determine the eligibility of elementary school leavers for admission to high schools; these examinations are thus in the nature of elementary school leaving examinations. In most instances, however, the state authorities only prepare the examination questions, the conduct of the examinations and the marking of the papers being left to the teachers in each school under the supervision of a local official. There is at present no common practice in the form of the examinations: some are of the old, others of the new type. Examinations at this stage in the educational system are beginning to be subjected to criticism, and it is recommended

that they be replaced by testing programmes in which standard tests are used as a basis for guiding the pupils, improving instruction and measuring the efficiency of the schools.

In the field of secondary education state-wide examinations are conducted only in the state of New York by the Board of Regents ; in the other states, excepting the few in the East, the adoption of the system of accrediting high schools either by the state universities, the state departments of education or by regional accrediting agencies, replaced both school leaving and college entrance examinations. The rapidly increasing enrolments in the colleges since the World War have aroused certain doubts about the validity of admitting students on the basis of their school records alone, particularly since the qualifications of high school teachers are nowhere yet adequately standardised. The effect of wholesale admissions to the colleges on the basis of school records was noted in the large percentage of failures in the freshman year. To meet this situation a number of states have introduced state-wide examinations of high school pupils in order to secure comparable standards of attainment and as a basis for advising them whether to enter college or not. Such state-wide examinations are now conducted in Alabama, Colorado, Georgia, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, New Hampshire, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Texas and Wisconsin. In all cases the examinations are of the new type ; the details of organisation differ from state to state. Only a few examples of these state-wide examinations can be given here.

The Ohio College Association Intelligence Test

Influenced by the fact that high school marks do not have the same meaning and are not based on the same standards throughout the state, the colleges of Ohio have entered into a co-operative scheme for the use of a state-wide examination—the Ohio College Association Intelligence Test. The test is taken annually by all high school pupils ; all the high school marks are transmuted to a common basis for purposes of comparability and prognosis ; and the results are sent back to the schools for the use of the guidance official or counsellor. The test, which is used by some fifty colleges, has a validity coefficient of ·50 to ·60 in predicting success in the college freshman year. It is, however, admitted that such tests cannot tell the whole story about a candidate for admission to college, since they " fail to measure important character traits—such as industry, persistence, conscientiousness, enthusiasm, seriousness of purpose and those other factors which have a real bearing upon success." Hence, the introduction of the examination has been accompanied by a recommendation that cumulative records be kept to give as much information as possible for each pupil over a period of years.

The Every Pupil Testing Programme

In Iowa the same conditions—increasing enrolments and the lack of validity of high school marks—led to the development of the Every Pupil Testing Programme, which is conducted under the co-operation of the College of Education and the Extension Division of the State University, in order " to provide superior instruments for the measurement of educational achievement, to encourage better scholarship, and to accelerate improvement in the content and methods of high school instruction." The same tests are given on the same day in the co-operating high schools of the state to about 40,000 pupils, and norms are established each year on the results from all the schools. Here, too, the tests and their results are used for the same ends as in Ohio—to serve as a basis of comparison of the schools, to discover the weaknesses of instruction and for the educational guidance of the pupils. Already the use of the tests has revealed the dominance of the textbook, mechanical rote learning, meaningless verbalisation, memorisation of " pat " expressions, words and phrases. Efforts have been made to construct the tests in such a way as to overcome these defects, to call for application and interpretation, and to encourage reasoned understanding. Tests have now been constructed in a variety of subjects studied in the four years of the high school course. One important contribution made by the Iowa experiment has been the discovery of the somewhat haphazard methods by which boys and girls decide whether to enter college or not: it has been found that a large number of high school pupils decide to continue their education despite an obvious lack of ability, while others who have the ability tend to leave the high school for lack of advice and guidance. Both in the Ohio and the Iowa experiments, the conclusion has been reached that, in the interests of the individual and of society, better measures for distributing education to those who can make the most of it are necessary, and that the state-wide examinations provide instruments for the partial solution of the problem of guidance.

Experiments in Wisconsin

In the state of Wisconsin the movement for the introduction of a state-wide examination was stimulated by the remarkable increase in enrolments in the high schools and colleges, accompanied by a high percentage of student failures or mortality, and the need for devising an adequate system of guidance based on a knowledge of individual abilities. It was recognised that the concept of equality of educational opportunity must be redefined in such a way that each individual should be given the type of education from which he can derive the greatest benefit for himself and for society. A State Committee on Co-operation was organised in 1928, consisting of representatives of the High School Principals' Association, the Association of City Superintendents, Privately Endowed Colleges,

the State Teachers' Colleges, the State University and the State Department of Public Instruction. The examination first used was the Ohio State Psychological Test, and later, the American Council Psychological Examination. The tests are administered and scored by the Bureau of Guidance of the University of Wisconsin. The results have revealed an extraordinary range of individual differences, and, as in other states, the fact that the best students are not going to college. In order to secure information over a longer period, the examination, which was at first given only in the last year of the high school, is now taken by pupils in the last three years of the course.

Minnesota Aptitude Tests

At the University of Minnesota the question "Who should go to college?" has been studied since 1915. College aptitude tests have been developed and used since 1917. The score on the tests which were prepared for the Association of Minnesota Colleges, which is made up of sixteen colleges and the University of Minnesota, is combined with rank in high school scholarship to yield the College Aptitude Rating (C.A.R.), which has high predictive value. The logic of the results revealed by the tests led to the establishment in 1928 of the General College in the University of Minnesota, which was intended to provide a suitable education for those students who, according to the C.A.R., were not likely to succeed in the regular courses of the College of Liberal Arts. Sufficient evidence has now been accumulated to justify the claim for prognostic value of the tests, which, supplemented by other information about a student's interests, energy, industry, determination, application and other qualities, furnish a sound basis for educational guidance.

Nation-wide Testing

With the exception of the examinations of the College Entrance Examination Board, which examines candidates throughout the country and in centres abroad, there has not until recently been developed any system of nation-wide examinations. As within each state, so for the country as a whole, there has developed a recognition of the need for some measure of comparability of standards in the midst of the great variety which exists in schools and colleges, in classes, and in the qualifications of teachers. The only standard which can be said to exist in the country as a whole is the quantitative definition in terms of time spent in secondary schools and colleges and devoted to the subjects of instruction; in other words, the only measurable standard has been in terms of points, units, and credits. In 1931, the Committee on Educational Testing of the American Council on Education recommended the adoption of a College Sophomore Testing Programme in order to secure comparable standards of attainment at the college level.

The following statement of the purpose of this Programme throws light upon the uses to which examinations may be put :

> The main purpose of the tests is to throw light on the capacities, needs and problems of individuals rather than to furnish a basis for institutional comparisons. The results of the testing programme here suggested, when announced, may throw light on the selection of students and the conditions affecting the selection ; on the response of students to the formal and informal facilities for cultivation offered by the college ; on the relative effectiveness of instruction in departments ; on the importance of various factors influencing student performance : age, home and social conditions, previous school training, scholastic and vocational aims, extra-curricular interests, faculty counsel and the like.

Thus the essential objective of the Programme was to secure information over as wide an area as possible which could be used for the guidance of students in selecting the type of education from which they could best profit. The Committee was fortunate in having available the Pennsylvania College Achievement Test, which had been used by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching in an investigation of secondary and higher education in Pennsylvania. In addition, the Committee co-operates with other agencies of the American Council on Education, such as the Co-operative Test Service, and with the Educational Records Bureau, which will be discussed later. Through the Co-operative Test Service there had been available tests in a great variety of subjects taught in both the secondary schools and colleges.

Some Results of the Programme

The results, when tabulated, give the national standing of each student taking the test on national sophomore percentile scales. The most important result which the Programme has revealed so far is the extraordinary degree of variability among colleges, among the students in these colleges, and among students in the different years of the college course. It has been shown that while the colleges, in the interests of an ideal of equality of educational opportunity, have tended to treat all students as more or less alike with the inevitable tendency to cultivate mediocrity, the student body is far from being homogeneous, and that " mediocrity, as an ideal, is not democratic. Mass instruction designed to level individual differences cannot show the schools what to do for the unusual or failing student." The brief experience of the Committee has directed attention to the importance of constantly improving the tests to secure greater validity, and of promoting co-operation between experts in measurement and psychology and experts in the materials of instruction. It has been further recognised that, while the results of tests may be used for the purpose of educational guidance, such guidance can be greatly improved if supplemented by information based on systematic, continuous and cumulative records for each student.

The Co-operative Test Service

The extension of the scope of the College Sophomore Testing Programme was made possible by the creation under the American Council on Education of the Co-operative Test Service,[1] which was established in 1930 to prepare over a period of ten years a series of tests adequate in number, sound in construction, and of measurable validity and comparability. The Test Service co-operates with experts in the universities of the country and with schools and colleges which use the tests, and in this way is subject to continuous and constant criticism which stimulates the improvement of the tests. The fear that the tests might, like the traditional examinations, exercise a constricting influence on education and instruction has not been justified by experience, because " the tests in most of the subject-matter fields are based largely upon certain fundamental common aspects of the subject-matters which are widely recognised as important elements of achievement in those fields, and therefore worthy of being measured." The purpose of the tests is not to prescribe any syllabus for instruction, but to furnish sources of comparable information regarding the achievement and growth of individual pupils and students. At the same time the claim has never been made that the tests do and can measure all the desirable aims of education, or the more imponderable aspects of achievement, for which subjective judgments must still be relied upon.

The advantages claimed for the series of comparable tests, such as those prepared by the Co-operative Test Service, are that (1) they make possible the measurement of individual growth year after year in certain types of achievement ; (2) on the basis of the results educational guidance and research may be conducted since the tests exist in a large number of comparable forms related to each other ; (3) an educational institution can maintain standards of admission, placement, promotion, certification, and graduation which remain uniform from year to year ; (4) by using the results of the tests as a common denominator, the results of subjective and other local examinations can be made closely comparable. The Co-operative Test Service publishes norms for its tests as they become available, subject to revision from time to time as additional data are secured. Tests for high schools and colleges have now been constructed, each in a number of equivalent forms, in English, foreign languages, mathematics, general science, botany, chemistry, physics, mechanics, heat, light, electricity, modern physics, geology, historical geology, physical geology, American history, mediæval history, modern European history, English history, world history, economics, contemporary affairs and general culture.

Private Schools and the Educational Records Bureau

Private schools in the United States are subject to even less supervision by external authorities, whether directly or indirectly,

[1] 500 West 116th Street, New York City, U.S.A.

than similar schools in England. The only external standards by which they may be measured are the entrance requirements of the colleges for which they prepare their pupils and the examinations of the College Entrance Examination Board, but it has come to be felt that such controls come too late in the pupils' careers to be of the fullest educational value. To meet the desire of such schools for reliable and comparable measurements of the native capacities and scholastic achievements of the pupils, and for other continuous information which can be used for their guidance, the Educational Records Bureau was established in 1927. The Bureau is a non-profit-making organisation supported by the annual subscriptions of the schools which use its services, and a charge for each test supplied. About 260 private schools are at present members of the Bureau.

The tests used are those prepared by the Co-operative Test Service. Each school may score its own tests, but since the Bureau was established to develop norms by which the schools could compare themselves in relation to other schools of the country, the state or the community in which they are located, or with other schools of the same size or type, the schools are urged to permit the Bureau to score and report on the tests. When the Bureau was established, the tests were administered to pupils in the tenth year of their educational careers; later they were introduced at an earlier stage and are given at the elementary school level. The Bureau seeks through the tests and their results to enable the schools to study the pupils as individuals and to adjust the work to their needs and abilities; in other words, the tests serve as much corrective and remedial purposes as they do the aim of measuring achievement. They differ from the traditional examinations since the results are comparable from year to year and lend themselves to more detailed and realistic analysis of abilities and deficiencies of pupils, and thus aid in the discovery of the type of education most suitable for them. The tests may be supplemented by a variety of scholastic aptitude and diagnostic tests, as well as such other information as may be recorded on cumulative record cards. Not only has it been found that the use of tests does not limit the curriculum or mechanise the educational process, but it is admitted by the schools concerned that they have helped to improve and clarify the curriculum.

Relations of Secondary and Higher Education in Pennsylvania

A unique experiment, which, although it has been limited to one state, may exercise a far-reaching influence on American education, is the Study of Relations of Secondary and Higher Education in Pennsylvania, conducted by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Education in co-operation with the Association of College Presidents and the State Department of Public Instruction. Under the direction of Dr. William S. Learned of the Carnegie

Foundation and Professor Ben D. Wood of Columbia University, continuous records of ability and achievement of pupils and students have been secured over a period of eight years beginning with the last years of the elementary school, and carried on through the secondary school into college and up to the time of graduation. Intelligence and new-type tests as well as cumulative records have been used in the investigation. The Study began with tests of mental, social and physical traits in order to obtain a comprehensive and trustworthy story of the achievements of each pupil, whose subsequent career was followed on cumulative record cards. The Study was initiated in order to discover better methods of adjustment between the secondary schools and colleges. It was soon recognised that the system of quantitative measures by means of units and credits was inadequate for improving this adjustment; that such measures should be replaced by sequential and continuous programmes of study and cumulative measurements of achievement, which would also furnish the basis for competent guidance of students.

A number of interesting and important results have emerged from the tests used in the Study. It has been found, for example, in the case of students who were admitted to college and withdrew during the first year, that there were discrepancies between the marks obtained in high school and the scores obtained in the objective tests, and that students were admitted to college without an adequate knowledge on the part of the authorities of the abilities, defined achievement and effective interests of the students whom they admit. On the basis of a " general culture " test, which was intended to be " a fair measure of the permanent increment, the effective accumulations, attributable to a student's desire really to assimilate the ideas that constitute an academic education as contrasted with the urge merely to possess a degree as the result of having secured credits in a sufficient number of semester courses," it was found that there was no substantial difference between the four contemporary college classes in command of " enduring knowledge." The general culture test included a total of 1,222 questions distributed in the fields of general science, foreign literature, fine arts, and general history and social studies. Repetition of the tests in subsequent years revealed the existence of variability between institutions, among students taking the same courses in each institution, and in each institution among students taking different courses, such as arts, science, business, education and engineering. There was also found a considerable amount of overlapping among high school seniors, college sophomores and college seniors, so that a percentage of college seniors was found to rank lower than a percentage of high school seniors. Such a system is obviously defective in attempting to deal with groups of students as though they are homogeneous, when the tests reveal that they are actually heterogeneous.

The most important results of the Pennsylvania Study lie not so

much in specific recommendations as in the establishment of certain principles which are important for education. Education must be individualised and adaptations to individual abilities and needs are possible only as efforts are made to discover them. The American practice of defining education in terms of units, points and credits defeats the real ends of education, which can only be attained if it is a continuous process. The abilities and capacities of students must be identified as early as possible, and more adequate provision must be made for differentiated treatment of students in the assignment of their programmes of study. Finally, a continuous and integrated education must be based on a knowledge of the abilities of the students, co-operation between teachers at different levels of education and more co-ordinated procedures, all of which can be made more effective through the use of cumulative record cards which follow a student through his educational career.

Cumulative Records and Educational Guidance

Repeated references have been made throughout this article to the recognition which has now become general that the new-type or objective tests cannot be accepted as complete substitutes for the traditional examinations, that there is a place for both oral and essay types of examinations, and that the new-type tests can only measure a part of the total educative process. The chief argument in favour of the substitutes for the traditional examinations, after the first extravagant expectations of complete solutions of the problems concerned had been exploded, is that they furnish more accurate, more reliable and more comparable results. Those who have worked most intelligently in the field of educational measurements are agreed that there has not yet been discovered any single device for predicting educational success. At the same time, it has come to be accepted that it is the duty of educators to discover the kind of education from which an individual may be expected to profit. This means that it is essential to have some method of appraising the intellectual status of a pupil, and as complete information as can be secured on his intellectual, personal and social characteristics both in and out of school. The result of this recognition has been the development and use of cumulative record cards, on which may be recorded, from as early a time as possible in a pupil's educational career and for a period of years, information derived from tests, examinations, marks, and details about his health and physical condition, his social and economic background, his character and whatever affects his personality.

The use of cumulative record cards, which had already been proposed earlier, was strongly advocated in 1927 by the Sub-Committee on Personal Records of the American Council, which published the Secondary School and College Record Form prepared by Professor Ben D. Wood. The form provides for the recording of information on the following items ; Name, religion, sex, date

of birth; mental age, chronological age; intelligence quotients, school grade achieved; school grade attended; educational quotients; achievement test and school marks; height and weight; photograph; schools attended; record of attendances and absences; causes of absence; discipline; unusual accomplishments; mental, emotional and physical experiences; extra-curricular experiences; athletic and non-athletic; clubs and offices; vocational experiences; educational plans; educational recommendations; vocational and professional preferences; interests reported; special defects; health; mental hygiene; social adjustments and home conditions; personality ratings; and measurements. Information on these items is recorded for each calendar year in such a way that the progress of the pupil can be traced easily across the record form.

The Value of Cumulative Record Cards

The value of the cumulative record form or card lies, however, in its use as a basis for educational guidance or the provision of the right education for each pupil in accordance with his needs, interests and abilities as so revealed. The information so obtained can be employed to prevent failure and frustration, by making the most of such capacities as are discovered. It points further to greater flexibility in the curricula and course. How much flexibility there can be developed in this direction will, of course, depend on a more fundamental question—the validity of the curricula and courses offered from the point of view of a sound philosophy of education. All that can be claimed at present for the experimentation with examinations and their substitutes is that education must be relieved from the pressure of examinations, and that provision must be made for the normal progress of each pupil through a curriculum from which he is capable of deriving the greatest benefit to himself and to the society in which he is to live. It is interesting to note that the International Committee of the New Educational Fellowship[1] recommended the introduction of the cumulative record card as a way out of the examination tangle, and that it is being used by the Kent Education Committee[2] for the following purposes: (1) to serve as an indication of the level of work to be expected from a pupil; (2) as a first step in diagnosis; (3) for the information of new teachers in cases of a change of class or school; and (4) for changes in class and school organisation.

Examinations, Education and the Individual

The history of examinations and their substitutes in the United States must be considered not so much from the technical aspects

[1] *The Examination Tangle and the Way Out*, being a Report of the International Commission on Examinations of the New Education Fellowship (29 Tavistock Square, London, W.C.1), edited by Wyatt Rawson.

[2] See also the account of the Wiltshire Education Committee's experiment in *The Educational Guidance of the School Child* (Evans Bros., Ltd., London, W.C.1).

of constructing new types of tests which yield more reliable and accurate results, as from the conclusion reached almost universally that the problem of examinations strikes at the very roots of the meaning of education for the individual and society. The problem has resolved itself into a recognition of the importance of the distribution of education according to the abilities and capacities of the individual to be educated in the interests of society; it also points to danger to social stability that may result from educational and vocational maladjustment. The issue raised is whether it is not the function of an educational system to promote the best happiness of the individual by putting him in the way of the highest development of which he is capable and which will contribute at the same time to society. This does not mean the adoption of the primrose path as the method of educational salvation, but it does imply that a pupil is likely to profit most from work in which he can engage intelligently.

Experimentation in this field has on the whole been easier in the United States than in other countries because of the differences in the cultural traditions, the flexibility of education, and the more ready adaptability of education to changing social demands. There are, however, many educators in the United States who recognise that the distribution of education in accordance with individual abilities does not necessarily imply the abandonment of a common educational denominator or of the promotion of scholarship and the advancement of learning. The studies and discussions on the subject do, however, raise the question as to the amount and value of the education derived by those who under a system of traditional examinations have failed. A further question which is asked is whether the success of a system of education can be legitimately measured by a high percentage of failures; standards may be maintained by such a process, but for whose benefit? The demands of modern life more insistently than ever require the extension of educational opportunities, but these opportunities must be defined in terms of the abilities and capacities of those who are to benefit from them.

Conclusion

It is interesting to note that such experiments as those conducted in connection with the Pennsylvania Study and the state-wide testing programmes also carried with them a consideration of the validity of education, a consideration which is all the more necessary in view of a tendency to place the emphasis on the reliability and validity of tests and on the mechanical processes of the techniques. It is beginning to be realised more and more generally that examinations, whether of the old or the new type, are not ends in themselves but rather means to more genuine and more effective educational ends. There has, in fact, been a loss of faith in tests alone as the sole solution of the problem of the distribution of education, and the most important result reached up to the present is that it is

important to concentrate on the development and use of cumulative records, on the basis of which educational guidance may be made effective. This problem of the distribution of education and the need of better methods to be employed for such guidance is not limited to the United States. There is to-day no country in the world which is not confronted with the same problem, and the results of the International Examination Enquiry in France, Germany, England and Scotland all point in the same direction. It would be a mistake to look upon these results as a criticism of the examination systems which prevail in these countries, for they point to much larger issues of educational and social policy. Properly interpreted, these results offer a basis, not merely for correcting the present techniques of examinations, which have been found lacking in reliability, but for giving reality to the more important issue, which is in danger of being overlooked, that of putting into effect one of the soundest definitions of the purposes of educational administration. According to the late Sir Graham Balfour the purpose of the administration of education is " to enable the right pupils to receive the right education from the right teachers at a cost within the means of the state under conditions which will enable the pupils best to profit by their training." Allowing for the differences between the American and European systems of education, this is the issue which stands out more clearly than ever after nearly three decades of research into the subject of examinations in the United States; it is to promote this aim that the substitutes for the traditional examinations have been evolved; but in the end it is admitted that these substitutes alone cannot furnish in themselves a complete answer to the problem as defined by Sir Graham Balfour, and that in order to provide the right education for the right pupil, it is necessary to know considerably more both about the pupil and about education.

I. L. KANDEL.

SECTION TWO

The Purposes of Examinations

(*See also* YEAR BOOK, 1935, pages 413–570)

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTORY SURVEY

I. THE NOTIONS OF PURPOSE AND OF UTILISABLE SKILL

IN the judgment of the present writer the greatest weakness of the present system of examinations in England, and in many other countries, is the failure to define with any degree of exactness the purpose of each examination and of each examination-paper and other test forming part of an examination. The criticism does not apply to certain technical examinations of great importance—those which test a utilisable skill required for the exercise of a certain specified calling or profession, e.g. that of actuary, doctor, dentist, architect, nurse, air-pilot, motorist or shorthand typist.

In examinations of this kind, the examiners feel the grave responsibility of assuring the public that every candidate whom they pass is capable, without danger to the public, of exercising the profession or skill which they certify the successful candidate to be capable of exercising. The ideas of purpose and of utilisable skills are clearly present in their minds.[1]

Before proceeding to sketch the purposes for which examinations are used to-day, I give an illustration of an examination in which, under present conditions, the examiners are precluded by the very nature of the examination itself from feeling a responsibility of the kind above referred to.

The examination in French for the School Certificate Examinations may consist of two two-hour papers, including tests of (1) dictation, (2) translation from French prose and French verse into English, (3) translation from English into French, (4) free composition in French. It is common for a total percentage mark in all these subjects, lumped together, of from 30 and 40 to ensure a " pass " and of from 40 to 50 to ensure a " credit " for the candidate who obtains it. What utilisable skills does such a " pass " or " credit " necessarily connote ? It is impossible for anyone to say. Consider one of the " utilisable skills " supposed to be tested. The number of possessors of School Certificates who, at the age of 16 or

[1] But many persons are of opinion that in some of the examinations in ancillary subjects, e.g. in the examinations in botany as a preparation for the medical profession, the purpose of the examination may be easily lost sight of.

thereabouts, can write a piece of translation from English into French, or who can write a correct piece of French composition, is very small. The marks earned on French composition might have been negligible, since a " pass " could be earned on the other parts of the examination. On this point, one might rely on common knowledge. But the last official report of the Investigators appointed by the Secondary School Examinations Council, published in 1932, gives us a more precise opinion of this matter. They say that the level of performance reached by the average candidate in this branch of the subject was in most of the examinations " regretably low." [1]

When we come to a subject like history, taken at the School Certificate stage, the purpose and meaning of the examination become still more vague.

That eminent historian, the late Sir Charles Firth, defined very clearly what in his opinion the purpose of history teaching should be in secondary schools, and the failure of examinations to test whether that purpose had been achieved.

> " Consider [he said] . . . the reason for which history is taught in schools. Its purpose is to fit boys and girls for the duties of citizenship by giving them some knowledge of their own country, and it is also intended to develop their intelligence and their imagination by interesting them in the past. At best the boy or girl can only carry away from school a small amount of historical knowledge and a limited number of facts. The real test of the value of the teaching given is the question whether it creates an intelligent interest in the subject. Does the boy or girl carry away from school some intelligent understanding of the past of the country and some interest in it ? Unless the teacher makes them want to read he achieves nothing permanent, because the facts and dates are soon forgotten, and are of no great value *per se* even if remembered. They are only pegs to hang further knowledge on.
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> " An examination of the existing type shows well enough the number of facts and the amount of elementary knowledge which a candidate possesses, but does not adequately show whether the teacher has achieved the more important part of his work. Unless he has taught his pupils to read history because they are interested in it, he has achieved nothing lasting." [2]

The same ideal of the teaching of history as a necessary part of education in fitting boys and girls for citizenship was recently developed by Professor Ernest Barker.[3] " When you talk," he said, " of education for citizenship, it is the teaching of history that is the crucial teaching."

Of the actual performances of the candidates at the School Certificate Examinations of 1931 the Investigators wrote as follows :

[1] The School Certificate Examination, being the Report of the Panel of Investigators appointed by the Secondary School Examinations Council to enquire into the eight approved School Certificate Examinations held in the summer of 1931. (H.M. Stationery Office, 1932. Price 2*s.* 6*d.*)

[2] This quotation is from an article on " How to Mitigate the Evils of Examinations," published in *History*, vol. iv (1919), pages 80–1.

[3] *Education for Citizenship* (page 16), published for the University of London Institute of Education by the Oxford University Press, 1936. Price 1*s.*

> " The mass of scripts which have been placed before the investigators affords convincing evidence that by encouraging the reproduction of lifeless text-book formulæ the existing type of examination deadens the pupil's interest in what should be one of the most stimulating subjects of the school curriculum." [1]

It is possible, of course, that there may have been an improvement since 1931. But the striking " inconsistency " of the marking of School Certificate history scripts shown in the investigations carried out by Dr. Rhodes and the present writer indicates the want of " validity " of the present tests, whatever may have been the purposes of the teaching in the minds of the teachers or of the examination in the minds of the examining authorities. (See YEAR BOOK for 1936, page 836.)

I have thought it well to begin by giving actual instances of examinations of which the purpose was well-defined, and by examinations of which the purpose was ill-defined, before embarking on more general considerations.

II. THE ORIGIN OF WESTERN EXAMINATIONS

It is not only because of its fundamental importance in considering the efficiency of examinations that I have introduced the notion of a utilisable skill at the outset of this brief survey, but because of its historical importance in the development of the systems of examination prevalent in the Western world.

The first educational examinations in the West were the examinations of the universities which sprang up in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The historians of these universities tell us that they were in the first instance gilds of teachers founded on the model of the gilds of craftsmen of mediæval times. In the crafts there were three grades : those of apprentice, companion and master, to which in the university corresponded the grades of student, bachelor, and master or doctor, two terms at first equivalent. The title of master in a gild of craftsmen was only conferred on one who had proved his utilisable skill in the craft by accomplishing a piece of work to the satisfaction of the gild. The title of master in the gilds of teachers was only conferred on one who had proved publicly his skill in that art of " disputation " on a thesis which played so important a part in the teaching of the schoolmen in the Middle Ages.

We must push our analysis further. The accomplishment of a piece of goldsmith's work implied the effort of days, weeks or months. It could be regarded as trustworthy evidence of a permanent skill.[2] One could be reasonably sure that the sample

[1] *Op. cit.*, page 84.

[2] I use the word " permanent skill," bearing, of course, in mind that every human skill may be affected by disuse or by injury to or illness of the possessor. No human characteristic is permanent in the sense that a characteristic, such as the density, of a portion of non-living matter may be regarded as permanent. To safeguard oneself against misconstruction, one might use for human beings the term " semi-permanent."

was a fair sample of the candidate's skill and a fair basis for judgment.

But could one be equally sure that even a long disputation on one subject could be regarded as a typical sample of a man's teaching powers and of the scope of his knowledge? Might it not be chosen so as to be too favourable or too unfavourable a sample? Alongside the disputation we find an accumulation of additional tests of a man's memory and knowledge, such as examinations on set-books, etc., used by the universities to make the examination cover a wide field. These are the direct ancestors of our modern examination tests.

III. The Distinction between Tests of Utilisable Skill and Memory Tests

Henry Latham, in an original and suggestive though unsystematic and little-read book on *The Action of Examinations* (1877), was the first to lay great stress on two functions of examinations, first hinted at by Mark Pattison—their functions in testing a candidate's power *of doing something* (the phrase occurs repeatedly in Latham's book), and his power of remembering things required to be known. Latham does not use any uniform nomenclature, but refers to the first kind of test as a test of an "*Art*," or a "capacity," or sometimes of a "skill." I myself in 1911 distinguished between "capacity-tests" and "knowledge-tests" or "memory-tests."[1] But I have discarded the use of the word capacity in this connection, as it may be confused with natural capacity, and for "capacity-test" I have substituted the term "test of a utilisable skill."

It is obvious that any utilisable skill involves the possession of memorised knowledge, but the converse is not true. Thus it is impossible to translate Latin at sight into English without a knowledge of Latin accidence. But it is quite possible to have an extensive and accurate memory of the details of Latin accidence without being able to use them to translate Latin into English (or to compose in Latin), as the writer can certify by personal experience of his own schooldays.

IV. Use of Examinations to arrange Candidates in an Order of Merit (or Proficiency)—Systems of Marking

At an early stage university examinations began to be used not only as a test of a utilisable skill, but in order to arrange candidates in "order of proficiency"; or to use the customary, though less accurate, expression, in "order of merit."[2]

When the number of candidates is small and their several performances in a series of tests are retained in the memory of the examiner or examiners, an elaborate system of marking may easily

[1] See *Examinations and their Relation to Culture and Efficiency* (Constable & Co., 1918), page 11.

[2] On the distinction between the terms "order of merit" and "order of proficiency," see *Examinations*, etc., page 138.

be dispensed with. But as soon as the number of candidates becomes considerable some form of numerical or literal marking becomes indispensable, if only as an aid to memory; and the technique of marking becomes both elaborate, and generally speaking, uncertain. For an exhaustive treatment of the subject there is not space here. But certain difficulties may be indicated. Let us suppose for the sake of simplicity that an examination paper comprises ten questions, all of which must be attempted by every candidate. What criteria can be used for determining the relative values of the questions, estimated as percentages of a total mark, fixed, say, at 100? Is there any certainty that two or more examiners, all regarded by the appointing authority as equally competent, would adopt the same marking scheme? There can be none. Eliminating the variable of the marking scheme, is there any certainty that different examiners, regarded as equally qualified, will allot the same marks to the same scripts? The answer is again "No."[1]

The same problems arise when we attempt to compare the relative maxima to be allotted to different tests forming constituent parts of a whole examination.

The general reply to criticisms of this kind is that "the system works." In many cases where these tests form part of a large-scale examination for hundreds or thousands of candidates, the final marking scheme is only settled after a number of scripts have been looked over, so that the examiners may deal with unforeseen difficulties. An immense amount of pains is taken, but nevertheless the "consistency," i.e. the degree of agreement between the marks of different examiners, or of the same examiner when he marks the same papers on different occasions, may be low. Generally speaking, it may be said that in large examinations of the essay type any order of merit is greatly affected by chance. There can be no doubt that exceptionally brilliant candidates will almost always find themselves near the top of the list, and exceptionally poor ones near the bottom, but in the middle the element of chance is far greater.

It must be frankly recognised that no system, whether "literal" or "numerical," of marking can ever eliminate the element of chance. But that element can be tested; and I believe that in many cases it could be diminished. It is obvious that when the purpose of an examination test is ill-defined, the examination must be much more liable to chance than when examiners have clearly in their minds the exact purpose of the test. I suggest that the more "valid" an examination is, the more likely it is to yield consistent results; though this remains to be proved.[2]

[1] See *An Examination of Examinations*, by P. J. Hartog and E. C. Rhodes (1935), and *The Marks of Examiners*, by P. J. Hartog, E. C. Rhodes and Cyril Burt (1936) (Macmillan & Co.), and the *Year Book of Education for* 1936, pages 834–46.

[2] On the relations of "validity" and "consistency" (or "reliability" as it is sometimes called), see a note by Professor C. Spearman, F.R.S., in *Essays on Examinations* (Macmillan & Co., 1936). Low consistency means low validity, but high consistency does not prove high validity.

V. Use of Examinations as Tests of Progress towards the Attainment of a Utilisable Skill

An examination may be used not as a test of a utilisable skill, but as a test of progress towards that attainment—that kind of test which is essential in every classroom and for every teacher. Let me illustrate briefly. In a test of progress, a boy who gets two addition sums right out of ten on a first occasion, and four right out of ten a little later, deserves, say 20 marks on the first occasion, and 40 on the second. But he has no "utilisable skill" in adding. He cannot add. If you were examining him for competency as an accounting clerk, you should give him no marks at all.

When such examinations are conducted, not by the teacher aequainted with the work of each pupil from day to day, but by an external examiner, they present special difficulties.

A passage quoted from a recent address by the writer on *Secondary School Examinations and the Curricula of Secondary School Examinations, with Suggestions for Reform*,[1] will illustrate this :

> "It is far easier to conduct a large general examination which is designed to test a utilisable skill than one which is designed to test progress. When we are testing a utilisable skill, we need not worry about statistics at all. Of 100 candidates, all may possess it, or none. If 100 candidates were to present themselves for a job as an air-pilot, and none of them satisfied you in 'visual signalling,' an essential subject, your sense of responsibility would compel you to reject the whole lot. On the other hand, if they all satisfied you, you would cheerfully pass the whole lot.[2]
>
> "The same procedure would apply to motor drivers.
>
> "We now come to examinations designed to test progress towards the attainment of a utilisable skill.
>
> "Now suppose that you had before you, say, a hundred strange babies between twelve months and eighteen months old all trying to learn to walk (but none of them able to do so) and you were instructed by some august body, like the Board of Education, to classify them in order of merit, and to say which of the stumbling babies 'passed' and which 'passed with credit,' you would, I suggest, have an exact analogue with the task of an examiner in many of the subjects of the School Certificate Examination—French composition for instance—in which no utilisable skill is attained. Nothing, I imagine, could be more difficult for a stranger to mark or to compare with certainty than the relative progress of these stumbling babies, yet mark them you must ; and you must assign to each one a 'credit' which (in the opinion of the Investigators) ought to mean 'reasonably good,' or a 'pass,' which ought, perhaps, to mean 'tolerably good,' or else a 'plough.' I confess that 'reasonably good' and 'tolerably good' in this connection convey very little meaning to my mind.
>
> "But there is another method of approach. Suppose for the moment that you have allotted your marks and established what you believe to be an order of merit, it is then perfectly justifiable to say that you would regard as a 'tolerable' level of progress that reached or exceeded by 75 per cent. of the candidates, and as a 'reasonably good' level that reached or exceeded by 50 or 51 per cent. of the candidates. Here you

[1] Published by the National Union of Teachers, 1937.

[2] Candidates are required to obtain not less than 90 per cent. of the marks in visual signalling (see on this point *The Marks of Examiners*, by Hartog and Rhodes, page xvi).

introduce the statistical consideration of which I spoke, what may be termed the ' percentile ' criterion. Now the Examining Bodies try to make the best of both worlds. They try, so it appears, both to use the criterion of a pass-mark (of something between 30 and 40 per cent.) and that of a credit-mark (of something between 40 and 50 per cent.), and also the percentile criteria for passes and credits, of which I have spoken, and then to ' reconcile ' the two sets of criteria : the percentile criteria, based solely on *order* of merit and independent of absolute degree of merit, and the criteria based solely on percentage marks, i.e. on degree of merit—very different things.

" Before proceeding, I wish to point out that although this fact is not generally recognised, a percentile criterion makes the examination in reality a competitive one. There is an obvious struggle between candidates to reach that fatal 25th or 50th percentile as the case may be, and if the marks are liable to the vicissitudes of chance, so is the fate of the candidates."

Such examinations are, therefore, in fact examinations of which the purpose (generally unrecognised) is to determine an order of merit, and so really come into the preceding category.

VI. Use of Examinations to test the Efficiency of Schools

Another purpose for which examinations have been used is to " test the efficiency of schools." This raises very large and difficult questions. It is true that difficulties with regard to the " order of merit " of individual candidates become of less importance. For, supposing that two independent sets of examiners allot the same average marks and the same distribution of marks to the candidates from a given school, it is of no importance in judging the school results whether any given candidate A is first or tenth in the list. But there are grave sources of error in comparing individual schools by the examination results obtained by their pupils, especially when the environment and origin of the pupils in different schools are entirely different. The point is so obvious that it need not be elaborated. Nevertheless, at prize-givings the success of a school is frequently estimated by a record of examination results ; and until recently there can be no doubt that there has been a tendency for educational authorities to judge teachers by the performances of the pupils at large examinations. The result of this tradition has been in many instances to fit education both in school and home to the requirements of a large-scale examination, and not to the individual requirements of the children.

Example of such large-scale examinations are the " Free Place Examinations " for children between the ages of 10 and 12, on the results of which pupils in English elementary schools at present gain admission to " central " schools or secondary schools, and for which the entries each year are estimated to be between 400,000 and 500,000 ; and the " School Certificate Examinations," taken about the age of 16 by pupils of English secondary schools for which there are between 60,000 and 70,000 candidates annually.

VII. Indirect Effects of Examinations on the Candidates

Quite apart from the effect of an examination on the candidates during the actual period of an examination, the prospect of an examination has in many cases profound effects on the prospective candidates which may be good or bad, and it is of importance in considering the purpose of each examination to take these effects into account. It is generally admitted that the prospect of an examination likely to have an important effect on the future career of the candidates tends to make the candidates steadier in their work ; but it may produce over-work and undue anxiety.

On this point, reference may be made to the Educational Pamphlet No. 110 of the Board of Education on *Homework* (1937), relating to the Free Place Examination, from which two quotations may be made, pages 13 and 17 :

> " The evil is rather that the . . . examination subjects loom so large . . . that the educational values of the curriculum as a whole, for all children, are not considered, and interests in, e.g., nature study and practical work, which might be developed out of school, are apt to be neglected."
>
> " The scholarship class looks lively and vigorous at present, but the headmaster says that when the examination is imminent they show very marked signs of strain. His own description of them is ' they look as if they were carrying all the cares of the world on their shoulders, and look like old men and women. The parents have made them feel the tremendous importance of the examination.' All these children of 10 and 11 are doing regular homework."

The purpose of the Free Place Examination is clearly not to produce indirect results of this kind.[1]

Over-anxiety is certainly also produced by the School Certificate Examinations, but it is probably less generally acute owing to the fact that the candidates are older. On the other hand, there is much evidence that with the regulations as they stand, the examinations fit the pupils to the examinations and not the examinations and their education to the needs of the individuals, to the loss of both individual and national efficiency.[2]

In the definition of the purpose of an examination, it is always necessary to consider the indirect as well as the direct effects of the design of the examination made to achieve such purpose.

VIII. Effects of Examinations on Curricula

Examinations are sometimes primarily used not as a test of the candidates examined but, to quote Latham, " to give a sanction to some course of teaching." It is often held that a subject on which no examination is held will be entirely neglected, especially in secondary education, and that any evil resulting from the examination is less than the evil which would result from the neglect.

[1] On the purpose of the examinations, see the chapter by Dr. P. B. Ballard on pages 289–94 of this volume.

[2] On this point see the address of the present writer, quoted on page 283, and also the work by Professor I. L. Kandel referred to on page 273.

There are, however, ample powers to ensure that a subject shall be inserted in the curriculum without any examination in it. In the medical curriculum there are requirements to furnish certificates of attendance at courses of practical and theoretical instruction, which must be satisfied before the candidate is admitted to any examination at a given stage. It would be quite possible for the Board of Education to make instruction in English literature, history and general science compulsory for all pupils in grant-aided schools; quite apart from examination requirements, it would be equally possible for a School Certificate authority to require a proof of attendance at teaching in these subjects as a condition for admission to the School Certificate Examination in any subject.

IX. Uses of Examinations for Tests of "Intelligence"

This subject has been dealt with at length in articles by Professor H. R. Hamley and others, in the YEAR BOOK FOR 1935, pages 413–570.

X. Use of Examinations for Vocational Guidance

The whole question of examinations, regarded not as tests in which the candidates "pass" or "fail" but as tests to guide educators in the fitting of the education of each child to his native aptitudes, is put in a new light by the masterly book of Professor I. L. Kandel on *Examinations and their Substitutes in the United States*, of which a summary appears in the present volume, pages 249–77.

The question of vocational guidance has been dealt with in the YEAR BOOK FOR 1936, especially in the "Review of Psychological Methods of Giving Vocational Guidance," by C. Scarborough, *loc. cit.*, pages 233–48.[1]

XI. Use of Examinations to test Culture

One of the objects of examinations is to test "general culture." A volume might be written on the meanings attached to this term by different writers. I think that in the minds of all it means a combination of two things: the possession of a certain field of knowledge, regarded as of value, and something more than its possession. M. Bouglé, the Director of the École Normale in Paris, carefully distinguishes between *culture générale* on the one hand and *encyclopédisme* and *spécialisme* on the other. The term implies not a mosaic of knowledge, but "*une gymnastique de l'esprit.*" "*C'est la capacité, c'est la personnalité, c'est l'esprit.*" He thus insists on the quality of individuality as essential for the possession of *culture générale.* In 1911, I defined the cultured man as "one who is sensitive and responsive over a large field of knowledge regarded as of value by the community." Professor A. N. Whitehead defines

[1] A short general survey of the subject is given by Dr. C. S. Myers F.R.S., in an essay on "The Help of Psychology in the Choice of a Career,' in his *Realm of the Mind* (Cambridge University Press, 1937), pages 1–24

culture as "activity of thought, and receptiveness to beauty, and humane feeling." Between the distinguished authors I have quoted and myself, there is little difference. I have suggested that whereas efficiency is the possession of a utilisable skill, something to be tested by examination, culture "exactly covers that vital part of education which cannot be tested by the ordinary written examination."[1] I may of course be wrong. What convinces one that a man (outside the examination-room) is cultured? His spontaneous speech or his individual writings. But if you ask a question in the examination-room and get a written reply, which seems to you to show individuality, how can you know that the answer is not a second-hand one? It is impossible. An experienced examiner told me that she had read an answer to a question on history at the School Certificate Examination that seemed to her admirable. The following twenty answers or so from the same school were practically identical. The examination testified to memory, but not to culture. And, without the overwhelming evidence to be found in this case, what examiner can tell that some brilliant spark in the examination-room has not been borrowed from some unknown fire, and reproduced with the help of an excellent memory? In published work, the borrowed spark is likely to be detected. I shall leave it to my collaborators to discuss whether the possession of an honours degree in the first (or second) class in history or philosophy or literature should be regarded as a certificate that in the eyes of the public the possessor is a cultured person, or whether he or she may quite well be a dull dog with a reasonable amount of erudition and reasoning power, and a second-hand mastery of material.

It might be thought that the *viva-voce* examination could be used to test the possessor of culture. But "responsiveness" in a *viva-voce* examination depends on personal reactions between examiner and examined, and is a singularly uncertain quality. The experiment recorded in *The Marks of Examiners*, pages 168–78, shows how uncertain it may be.

XII. The Problem of Relevancy to Purpose in Examinations[2]

This is a question which should be considered in connection with every single examination test. Unless the purpose of an examination is defined with some approach to clearness, it is often difficult to say whether a given question is relevant to the general purpose of an examination or not. It is impossible to lay down general principles in this matter, of which a few examples will illustrate the importance.

In a footnote on page 278, attention has been drawn to discussions on the relevancy of questions in botany and other subjects ancillary to medicine to the purpose of the medical

[1] See the book on *Examinations*, etc., by the present writer, *passim*.

[2] Mr. W. A. F. Hepburn, in a paper read before the Psychological Section of the British Association in 1936, suggested that the word "relevance" should be substituted for "validity" in connection with examinations.

examinations as a whole. It is especially, though by no means solely, in dealing with ancillary subjects that the problem arises.

One experienced university examiner in dentistry informed me that at a certain examination his colleague in anatomy determined to plough all dental students who did not know what muscles of the arm are used in extracting teeth, and acted accordingly. My informant suggested that it was no more reasonable to prevent a man from practising dentistry on this ground than it would be to prevent a man from playing cricket who did not know what muscles were used in wielding a bat. Of course he agreed that for all dentists a general knowledge of anatomy, and a special knowledge of the anatomy of the mouth and adjacent parts, were essential.

Take the question of a knowledge of geography as ancillary to history. A second informant told me that he had missed a First Class in a History Honours Examination because he had been unable to draw from memory a map of Europe showing its divisions at a given period. He would have been able to show the divisions on a sketch map, but despite many efforts he had never been able to acquire any skill in drawing maps or anything else. The question arose, was the requirement to draw a map from memory relevant to the general purpose of the examination? Is a candidate less competent as a historian because he cannot draw from memory a complicated outline like that of Europe, which he would never be obliged to draw, once he had completed his examination?

XIII. Plan of the Articles in this Section

It was suggested that the chapters in this section should conform generally to the following plan: (1) Statement of general purpose of examination discussed, and of any differences of view in regard thereto; (2) Conditions of admission to examination; (3) Plan of examination (i.e. brief description of duration, papers set, *viva voce* and practical examinations, if any); (4) Conduct of examination, including (*a*) method of appointment of examiners, internal and external, and of any board or boards of examiners, (*b*) allotment of work among the various examiners, (*c*) marking schemes, literal or numerical, fixing of any minima for award of special classes, (*d*) provision, if any, for independent marking of scripts by different examiners, (*e*) method of final settlement of marks and classes; (5) Discussion of the extent to which, in the opinion of the contributor, the purpose of the examination is at present achieved, and of the meaning to be attached to success in the examination, if possible, in terms of what any successful candidate can do (distinguishing, if necessary, between candidates awarded first, second and third classes); (6) General remarks.

Contributors were naturally not limited in any way in the expression of their opinions, for which they are solely responsible.

P. J. H.

CHAPTER TWO

The Free Place Examination

NO secondary school may be aided by grants from the national exchequer unless it reserves a certain number of free places or "special" places for promising children from public elementary schools. So local educational authorities hold an annual examination for the purpose of selecting these promising children. This examination is officially known as the Free Place, or Special Place examination. Some authorities have not limited their awards to elementary school children, but have extended them to all children whose parents are unable to pay the school fees. Sometimes maintenance fees, or scholarships, are granted; sometimes places are reserved for special purposes, such as recruiting for the teaching profession; sometimes places at central schools are allotted on the results of the Free Place examination; so that the title "Free Place examination" does not fully define its function. Indeed, the free place system was not officially established till the Board of Education issued its Secondary School Regulations in 1907, whereas the examination itself dates back to the scholarship system made possible by the *Technical Instruction Act of* 1889, and the *Local Taxation* (*Customs and Excise*) *Act of* 1890. While the Free Place system is thirty years old, the examination now connected with it is at least forty-five years old.

From the pedagogical as distinct from the administrative point of view, the aim of the examination is to select, not those children who are most proficient in their school studies, but those who show the greatest capacity and promise.

(2) All children are admitted to the examination who belong to a certain age-group; that is, whose tenth or eleventh birthday falls within two specified dates one year apart. At least one local authority (the London County Council) holds two examinations a year, and thus reduces the age-range to six months. Arrangements are often made for the inclusion of older children who for some reason or other have missed the prescribed opportunity; but these cases are exceptional, and are few in proportion to the total number of examinees.

(3) As for the plans of the examinations, they are as varied as the authorities that conduct them. Each local education authority having evolved its own system, and having in most cases changed or modified that system from time to time, the variety of types is bewildering. To describe them all would be both tedious and unprofitable. There are, however, certain features common to the majority of the examinations, and certain tendencies which, under the guidance of the Board of Education, are gradually reducing the

Free Place examinations to a uniform type. These tendencies may briefly be indicated. In a very large number of cases the examination is administered in two parts. The first part is set to all, or nearly all, the candidates who are eligible by age. Its purpose is to eliminate all those who would stand no chance of ultimate success. It is, in fact, a rough sifting examination. The second part is the real competitive examination. It is generally held on one day, and as a rule, in the morning only. Two papers are generally set, one in English and the other in arithmetic. There is a growing tendency to include a third paper, an intelligence test. Papers in other academic subjects have in the past been included by a few authorities, but this practice has now been almost entirely abandoned.

Most authorities take into consideration the school records of the candidates, but they vary greatly in the value they attach to such records. Marks are sometimes awarded for them, and are added to the totals which determine the order of merit. In some instances school records are taken into account only in considering border-line cases.

Though many of the larger education authorities find the application of oral tests impracticable, a large proportion of the whole number in the Kingdom seem to use oral tests either for all the candidates or for the few near the border-line.

(4) The mode of marking the scripts is as varied as the type of examination. The larger authorities, however, agree in appointing a board of examiners which is nominally responsible for the examination, but which delegates its powers to a salaried Chief Examiner, who is aided by a team of assistant examiners. The board itself acts in a critical, advisory and, if necessary, a revisory capacity. The Chief Examiner drafts the examination papers, and in his first draft presents to the board more questions than are actually needed, thus giving the board an opportunity of expressing its views by rejecting those which they regard as the least suitable. The examination takes place simultaneously at convenient centres, certain teachers being detailed to act as superintendents or invigilators. These teachers are responsible for carrying out the examination in accordance with printed instructions. The worked scripts are sent in sealed packets to the central office, where they are dealt with by the examiners.

The greatest care is taken, so far as the circumstances allow, to mark the scripts consistently and accurately. The elaborate machinery set up by the examining bodies for the School Certificate Examination is imitated in its essential features. The marking is specialised, English specialists marking the English scripts and mathematical specialists marking the arithmetic scripts. The Chief Examiner issues detailed marking instructions to his team, holds conferences with them, discusses the marking of trial-scripts and serves as moderator for the whole proceedings. He devotes much personal attention to border-line cases, and acts as referee in all cases of doubt. He presents to the board his list of candidates

arranged in order of merit, together with his recommended selection. The board seldom challenges his decisions.

The smaller authorities find this elaborate machinery unnecessary. They sometimes leave the matter entirely in the hands of the Director of Education, who acts as Chief Examiner himself or delegates his powers in any way he pleases. Sometimes a committee is formed, comprising some of the heads of the secondary and elementary schools concerned, and this committee makes its own arrangements for conducting the examination. Where the authority has inspectors of its own, those inspectors generally take a hand in some stage or other of the procedure.

(5) The marking scheme is numerical, a maximum of 100 being as a rule allowed for each of the two papers, English and arithmetic. One authority at least allots more marks to the English than to the arithmetic. The early custom was to add the marks for the two papers in arriving at the total mark. This method, however, was criticised by statisticians on the ground that the marks in arithmetic were more widely distributed than the marks in English, and that, therefore, arithmetic had an undue influence on the final order of merit. Some sort of statistical adjustments are now generally made to obviate this.

Whether the Free Place examination is held once a year or twice, it is always now customary to make an age allowance, for in the early days it was discovered that most of the awards fell to the older children in the age-group. Attempts were therefore made to weight the marks so that the awards might be evenly distributed among the different ages calculated in months. There are two ways of making this age allowance. One is to base it on the results of previous examinations ; the other is to base it on the results of the examination itself. The second method is the more satisfactory. This is because an age allowance which will secure an even distribution of awards with one set of examination papers will not as a rule secure it for a different set of papers. Moreover, the allowance should not be based on the results obtained from a selected group (and the candidates at the final examination are invariably a selected group), for there is no assurance that the selection itself has been equitably made. It often differs from school to school, and nearly always results in the exclusion of an undue proportion of younger candidates. In order, therefore, to secure a just age allowance, it is necessary to examine the complete age-group in a representative portion of the area concerned.[1]

(6) Beyond the few trial-scripts that are marked by all the examiners, and the few doubtful cases (generally border-line cases)

[1] Various modes of attacking this problem are discussed in Chapter IX of the Board of Education's pamphlet, No. 63, *Free Place Examinations* (1928). The problem is also discussed at some length in Chapter VII of *The Selection of Children for Secondary Schools*, by J. B. Thomson Davies and G. A. Jones (Harrap & Co., 1936), which also deals with other aspects of the Free Place Examination, and is " mainly an account of experience gained . . . [under] the West Riding County Council [Yorkshire]."

which are marked by the Chief Examiner as well as an assistant, no provision is made for the independent marking of scripts by different examiners. Indeed, the scripts are so many, the markers so few, and the time so short, that for the bulk of the scripts more than one marking is practically impossible.

(7) In those areas where there is a system of selective central schools, as well as of secondary schools, the Free Place examination serves the purposes of both systems. After the awards have been made for scholarships and free places at secondary schools, the candidates highest on the truncated list are available for central schools. Here, however, the awards are usually made, not by the board of examiners, but by the head teachers of the central schools concerned. Each of these head teachers has a number of neighbouring elementary schools affiliated to his school, and from these he has to select his recruits. Geographical considerations are more potent than in the secondary school awards. Many a candidate who is chosen in one district would have been rejected if he had resided in another district. The awards are, of course, less valuable than the secondary school awards, and are, in fact, occasionally refused by the parents.

(8) When the award of a scholarship or free place at a secondary school has actually been made, it is supposed to be a guarantee that the chosen candidate is not only capable of profiting by the instruction given at the secondary school, but is more capable of doing so than any of the rejected candidates. That the examination does in a general way fulfil this function is widely believed by the authorities concerned and by the heads of both the secondary schools and the contributory elementary schools. The misfits are ascribed to accidents to which any system of selection would be liable.

There are, however, certain facts which indicate that in spite of the conscientious care exercised by the examiners, grave misjudgments are not infrequent. Scholarship children sometimes fail to make good at the secondary school. They not only fail to matriculate, they fail to get even the School Certificate. When, on the other hand, pupils at central schools are permitted to take the School Certificate examinations, so many of them matriculate that doubt is thrown on the validity of the discrimination made at the Free Place examination between the candidates who are suitable for secondary schools and those who are suitable for central schools. In fact, the region of uncertainty on the examination list is not confined to a small section near the border-line, but extends for a long range above and a long range below.

Again, the research carried out by Professor C. W. Valentine, and reported in his book *The Reliability of Examinations*,[1] indicates that there are serious discrepancies between the performances of children at the Free Place examination and their performances after four or five years' instruction at a secondary school. The average correlation between the order at the Free Place stage, and the order at the

[1] University of London Press, 1932.

School Certificate stage for 625 pupils proved to be ·4 (*op. cit.*, page 179). This is so low that the predictive value of the Free Place examination cannot but be regarded as highly questionable. The results of the examination do not indicate so well as one might reasonably expect the degree to which the candidates can profit by secondary schooling.

(9) The failure of the examination to fulfil completely its administrative purpose is no doubt due to its failure to achieve its psychological aim—that is, to make intelligence the basis of selection. The professed aim of the examination is to pick out the most intelligent children. That aim has been formulated in the most unequivocal terms both by the Board of Education and by the local educational authorities. " Capacity and promise rather than attainment " is a phrase constantly occurring in official documents bearing on the examination. And yet the standard of attainment in English and arithmetic required at the examination has been so high that however much native ability a candidate may possess, he stands no chance of securing an award unless he has also been assiduously and skilfully taught. Whereas native ability is the alleged selective factor, scholastic attainment is the real selective factor.

This non-scholastic ideal clearly differentiates the Free Place examination from other public examinations, such as the School Certificate examination, whose function is to measure the extent to which the candidates have absorbed secondary school instruction. The aim of the Free Place examination is prospective, that of the School Certificate examination is retrospective. One aims (or should aim) at measuring promise, the other at measuring achievement. And since the traditional form of the Free Place examination has imperfectly succeeded in achieving its avowed purpose, advantage should be taken of any method which bids fair to make the examination more efficient.

(10) The main criticism that may be levelled at those responsible for the Free Place examination is that they have resisted the introduction of better methods, even when those methods have, in other spheres, proved their effectiveness. Psychologists have, for the last thirty years, been devising methods of measuring native ability. That they have not succeeded may readily be admitted, but they have succeeded far better than the traditional examiners. They have invented mental tests ; and in applying those tests and interpreting the results they have developed a technique which remedies the most serious weakness of all current examinations, including the Free Place examination. That weakness is " unreliability "—a lack of consistency in the marking of scripts. The nature and extent of the weakness are vividly brought out in *An Examination of Examinations* and *The Marks of Examiners*, by Sir Philip Hartog and Dr. E. C. Rhodes.

(11) The new psychological tests as well as the new psychological technique were at first ignored by the larger education authorities ; but gradually the value of the new system has been receiving

recognition, and by this time most of the important education authorities have added to the two customary papers a third paper which consists of intelligence tests. This new paper is, as a rule, considered co-ordinate with the two old ones, and is allotted one-third of the total number of marks.

Moreover, the new technique is transforming the academic papers, so that a large number of questions requiring brief answers is replacing the small number of questions requiring long answers.

(12) It must be realised, therefore, that the Free Place examination lacks the stability and uniformity which characterise some of the older examinations ; but it is gradually shedding its worst defects and is, under the fostering care of the Board of Education, moving towards a wiser, stabler and more uniform régime.

The latest pamphlet on the subject issued by the Board of Education (Supplementary Memorandum on Examinations for Scholarships and Special Places in Secondary Schools, July 1936) indicates clearly the goal towards which the Free Place examination should move. It expresses doubt as to the inclusion of essay questions in view of their unreliability. It notes that oral tests and interviews, as generally conducted at present, appear to have little value in the competitive part of the examination, and may even affect results unfairly. It recommends that intelligence tests should always be included ; that the range of the syllabus examined should not be greater than the average child who takes the examination may fairly be expected to cover ; that the proposed questions should be tried out in advance in some other area ; that short questions should supersede long ones ; and that in assigning the relative weight to the separate papers and to the school records, the examiners should ultimately be guided by the " follow-up." By the " follow-up " is meant an investigation of the actual success of the candidates at the secondary schools.

In the same pamphlet the Board makes the suggestion that a series of tests separated from one another by a few months' interval might profitably be substituted for the single examination. Experiments recently made by the Board seem to indicate that such a system would more completely eliminate the element of chance. A valuable suggestion !

P. B. BALLARD.

CHAPTER THREE

The Examinations for the Bar

THE system of examinations for call to the Bar is in the first instance designed as a qualification for the practice of a profession. It differs from most, if not all, other professional examinations by reason of the fact that many persons qualify who have no intention of practising. There are many civil servants and other officials, and there has always been a number of students whose purpose in qualifying is to obtain a competent knowledge of the law so as to enable them the better to administer public affairs as members of either House of Parliament or as country gentlemen taking a part in county affairs. Further, those who are engaged in the teaching of law almost invariably qualify as barristers. Even those who intend to practise do not always mean to do so in England: there are many students from the Dominions and Colonies whose intention is to return there for their professional lives. The law differs from many other professions also in the fact that there is no single legal system of equal validity throughout the world. A broken leg is the same in whatever country it is broken. That is not the case with a broken contract. Consequently, the examination has always covered ground wider than is strictly necessary for one whose intention it is to practise at the English Bar: the course is designed to enable the student, whichever of the possible objects he may have in mind, to pursue that object with knowledge and understanding. The scope of the examinations has thus given rise to the erroneous view that the Bar examinations are "easy." They are certainly elementary and ought to be passed by any student of intelligence who has read with proper care the textbooks which cover their subject-matter. The examinations are not intended to test knowledge which can only be acquired by practical experience, since they are almost, if not quite, alone as professional examinations in not requiring some measure of acquaintance with the actual conditions of practice of the profession and do not assume any first-hand acquaintance with it.

(2) Call to the Bar is a privilege belonging only to the Four Inns of Court, which are quite independent of one another. They have, however, joined in laying down common regulations for call to the Bar, and, with the exception of Royal personages (who are admitted as students, called to the Bar and elected to the Bench on the same occasion without any test), no one will be called to the Bar unless he complies with those regulations.

(3) The course of instruction and the management of the examinations is entrusted to a joint committee of the four Inns, called the Council of Legal Education, set up in 1852. The actual conduct of the examinations is entrusted to the Board of Examiners, a body

consisting of the Readers, who are lecturers appointed by the Council and are examiners *ex officio*, and a number of external examiners (also appointed by the Council), and presided over by the Director of Legal Studies.

(4) The " Consolidated Regulations " prescribe the qualifications which a person must have in order to become a student at one of the Inns. There is no preliminary examination, but the candidate must have passed one of a number of prescribed examinations of educational authorities. The standard of such examinations is such that any person who has been educated at a public or secondary school or like institution should be able to pass them.

(5) The student must " keep " the prescribed terms, normally twelve, of which there are four in each year, before being actually called to the Bar. " Keeping a term " or " eating dinners " means attendance at the Hall of the student's Inn during the dinner for a prescribed number of times in each term. He is not, however, bound in any way as to place of residence or as to his course of study. There are lectures arranged by the Council of Legal Education and given by their Readers and Assistant-Readers, and also classes held by Tutors, but at none of them is attendance compulsory.

(6) The examination is divided into two Parts. Part I consists of four sections, Part II of six. Each of the sections of Part I can be taken separately and at any time after the candidate has entered as a student. Exemption may be given by the Council to any student as to all or any of these sections if he has passed an examination in the same subject or subjects at a university, provided that the examination is one qualifying for a degree, and that the Council considers that it is equivalent to the section or sections in question. There is no exemption as to Part II, which can only be taken after the student has kept six terms (though in certain special cases a less number of terms may be required), and after he has passed or been exempted from Part I.

It will thus be seen that though there is no formal division into Intermediate and Final Examinations, the actual division has the same effect, and Part II is commonly referred to as " the Bar Final."

(7) The subjects for examination are as follows :

Part I. Section 1 : Roman Law ; Section 2 : Constitutional Law (English and Colonial) and Legal History ; Section 3 : Elements of the Law of Contract and Tort ; Section 4 : Elements of Real Property Law *or* of Hindu and Mahomedan Law *or* of Roman Dutch Law.

It will be seen that these subjects overlap the law courses at the universities, and the exemptions which may be given obviate what might otherwise be a multiplicity of examinations.

Part II. Section 1 : Criminal Law and Procedure ; Section 2 : Common Law (special subjects) ; Section 3 : Equity (General Principles and special subjects) ; Section 4 : Company Law and *either* Practical Conveyancing *or* Hindu Law (special subject) or

Mahomedan Law (special subject) *or* Roman Dutch Law (special subject); Section 5: Evidence and Civil Procedure; Section 6: a General Paper in two parts on Common Law and Equity.

The student must pass in the whole subject and also in each part of each paper. The special subjects are changed by the Council of Legal Education from time to time.

(8) The examinations are held three times a year during the Whitsun, Long and Michaelmas Vacations at one or the other of the Inns of Court. There is a printed paper in each section. Each paper is divided into two parts. Three hours are allowed for each paper, and the examination is wholly by written answers.

(9) In setting and marking the papers the examiners work in pairs and confer with one another. As far as practicable a Reader and an external examiner are associated together. Their work is subject to the decisions of the Board of Examiners, and these decisions in their turn come before a Committee of the Council of Legal Education called the Board of Legal Studies. Care is taken that the questions asked shall be fair and proper and that the assessment of results is not dependent on the idiosyncrasies of particular examiners. In case of need, further consideration is given to the answer-papers during the period that elapses before the publication of the results. These are settled and published by the authority of the Council of Legal Education. There is no formal announcement: the lists are published in *The Times* and other London daily newspapers, and screened at the Inns.

(10) In each section of Part I, and in Part II as a whole, the successful candidates are classed in three classes. Though there are no formal Honours or Pass examinations, or classification, to be placed in Class I is usually styled "getting Honours." There are prizes and studentships that may be awarded for special merit. The Council of Legal Education also award the Barstow Law Scholarship, which is gained at a separate examination held once a year in Jurisprudence, International Law, Public and Private and Constitutional Law and Legal History. This examination need not be taken, as it is no part of the qualifying examinations for call to the Bar. At each of the Inns there are scholarships and prizes awarded by examination and open to students of the Inn concerned. These examinations are not under the Council of Legal Education and do not form part of the qualifying examinations.

(11) A successful student who has completed his examinations and has kept the prescribed number of terms can then be called to the Bar. Call is not automatic. The regulations must be complied with and a student must be proposed by a Bencher whose duty it is to satisfy himself that the student is a fit and proper person to be called to the Bar.

(12) The usual criticism made as to the Bar examinations is that they are "too easy." It is true that a number of instances can be adduced where candidates have been so lucky as to be passed without adequate reading. Such accidents do happen. But the

criticism is really aimed at the purpose of the examination. If the intention is taken to be that the successful candidate has shown a competent knowledge of the practical working of the profession, then the examinations do not carry out that intention. But, as already explained, the aim is somewhat different. The examination is intended to precede and not follow or accompany practical experience in chambers, and it does not follow, therefore, that the successful candidate is competent at once to conduct a case or advise a client. It is the usual procedure for such of the successful students as intend to practise to spend a period as pupils in chambers. If the examination were arranged to meet the criticism, then the Bar examinations would become nothing more than a test of the students' qualification for actual practice, and the Bar would not, as it does now, supply men who are qualified lawyers for work which lies in other directions. It may well be that a change would be an improvement so far as the practising Bar is concerned, but the powers that be would have to be convinced that such a change would not involve the disappearance of the great classes of barristers whose function is not purely forensic and whose number is probably far greater than that of the ordinary intending practitioners. It is at least open to doubt whether an improvement in the qualification of a practitioner so obtained would be worth the price. The Third Class does not represent a very high standard. It is well within the powers of the average diligent student, and it compares with the same class in university Honours examinations. The writer has known many instances where successful University Honours men have found the Bar examinations a severe test and have had to sit more than once. The First class is distinctly difficult to obtain, and a man who has obtained a First in the Final Bar Examination need fear no comparison with one who has obtained a First in the School of Jurisprudence at Oxford or the Law Tripos at Cambridge, or the London LL.B. Examination.

(13) Some criticism is occasionally passed upon the range of subjects. In some instances, the examination is said to be too academic. In view of the part played in the world by barristers of all kinds, this kind of criticism is, it is suggested, shortsighted. Even the practitioner of no particular note is the better for having some knowledge of another system of law besides his own and of the constitution, and the development of the laws of his country. It is a commonplace that a lawyer has some difficulty in appreciating how reform can be necessary in the system of law that he practises; this difficulty would be accentuated if the academic subjects were eliminated. A mastery of principles and a reasonable acquaintance with their origin and development cannot fail to be of advantage even to one who is never called upon to go beyond the ordinary work of the Bar, and it is essential for those whose sphere lies in legislation, administration and instruction. Another criticism is that the subject-matters are limited. The average barrister is certainly not a master of jurisprudence and approaches the great problems of international

intercourse very much as does an intelligent layman, but there must be some selection or the course would be too burdensome, and the Council provides instruction and examination in such subjects for those students who desire to enlarge their knowledge in that respect without insisting that all students shall acquire such knowledge. Jurisprudence is essentially a post-graduate course, so far as the essential principles are not learned implicitly in the reading of the prescribed subjects, and few members of the Bar are called upon to deal with international affairs.

(14) To repeat and conclude: the aim and object of the Bar examinations as a professional qualification is to secure that a student shall, when entering chambers in order to acquire practical knowledge and experience, come to actual work with a competent knowledge of the principles governing the legal system under which he intends to exercise his profession; and on the whole that aim and object is secured.

ROLAND BURROWS.

CHAPTER FOUR

Examination for the Final Honour School of Literæ Humaniores ("Greats") in the University of Oxford

History of the Examination

THE Final Honour School of Literæ Humaniores at Oxford, commonly known as "Greats," may be traced back to a measure, introduced in 1800, which allowed candidates for the degree of Bachelor of Arts, as an alternative to offering the exercises which had been prescribed since 1636, to submit themselves to a new and more exacting test, on the results of which Honours would be awarded. At first those who sought Honours were examined in both Classics and Mathematics, but in 1807 it became possible to obtain Honours in either of these subjects separately. This arrangement was maintained until 1850, when the classical course was given its present form by the substitution of two examinations for one. In that year there was introduced what was somewhat misleadingly called a First Public Examination, now normally taken by undergraduates shortly before the middle of their four years' residence in Oxford, as a preliminary to the Second (and final) Public Examination, which in the Faculty of Literæ Humaniores is Greats.

(2) During the first three decades of the nineteenth century Literæ Humaniores, which had formerly included a larger variety of subjects, came to mean primarily the evidence for the civilisation of ancient Greece and Rome; and, when this material had to be divided between the two parts of the classical course, the division was made by assigning the languages and literatures (in the narrower sense of that word) to the First Public Examination, and the history and philosophy to the Second. Thus Greats became an examination in so much of the history and philosophy of the ancient world as undergraduates could profitably study in the time at their disposal; but the relevant University Statute, by formulating the philosophical subject as "Logic, and the Outlines of Moral and Political Philosophy, each Candidate being required to offer at least two treatises by ancient authors," and adding that "the writings of Modern Philosophers shall be admitted, but not required," left the way open for a salutary development by which men soon began to pass on from the philosophy of Greece to the study of European thought from the seventeenth century down to their own day.

Changes in detail have been frequent; but the general outline of the classical course in Oxford has thus remained unaltered for more than three-quarters of a century, and the views of those by whom that outline was drawn do not adequately express the purpose

which the course is serving now. Yet there is no later statement of its aims which can claim to be authoritative, and any account which may be given must consequently be offered as no more than a personal opinion.[1]

The Aim and Organisation of the Degree Course

(3) It would be a platitude to say that the syllabus is designed to offer a course of reading, and of thinking, which, if its requirements are conscientiously performed, will continue to the best advantage, during the time it occupies, the education of those who come to it with the qualifications it demands. What those qualifications are it is more difficult to state. By Statute a candidate for the Second Public Examination must have passed, or have obtained exemption from, the First. In fact, however, a candidate for Greats must be at least familiar enough with Greek and Latin to read those languages with ease. And there are some who would add that behind the curriculum of the Final Classical School lies the assumption that candidates will bring to it, not only a knowledge of the classical tongues, but also the precision of thought which is one of the most valuable qualities produced by the process of acquiring that knowledge. With such equipment they are then invited to study considerable periods of the histories of Greece and Rome and, starting with the philosophy of Greece, in which they are generally expected to make themselves particularly intimate with Plato's *Republic* and the *Nicomachean Ethics* of Aristotle, to follow the development of thought from Descartes to Kant or later, and to think out for themselves a position which will enable them to give reasoned and consistent answers to at least the more central questions with which philosophy is concerned.

(4) The value of this discipline is not briefly to be explained; and, even if they were at one on the general lines which the explanation should take, not even those whose experience of the School is longest would agree about the precise degree of emphasis to be laid on this or that among the factors which combine to yield the final result. To begin with, it may be said that the main purpose of the School is not to be found in the production of men of learning or of teachers. Teachers and men of learning it does indeed produce; but its reputation has been acquired far more by its steady output of men who in the most varied walks of life—whether as statesmen or ecclesiastics, as lawyers or administrators, in the public service or in commerce, industry and the professions, whether at home or abroad—have shown themselves peculiarly qualified for positions in which initiative must be taken and responsibility borne. Approaching the course with habits of accuracy in thought, undergraduates are encouraged to exercise their

[1] What follows owes much to the constructive criticism of Professor R. G. Collingwood. He must not, however, be assumed to share any particular opinion here expressed.

powers of reasoning on materials supplied by the evidence for ancient history and by philosophy. For its success in training those powers to greater efficiency this exercise depends on two of its conditions. The first is that the evidence to which the students apply their minds is, whenever possible, the whole of the evidence for their particular problem. In ancient history, for instance, they are required by statute to use the original authorities, and this means that superficiality can be treated as unpardonable. Reference to modern interpretations is very far from being excluded; but the consideration of such accounts is the study and criticism of the ways in which older men have pieced together evidence with which the students themselves are familiar, and not the idle comparison of rival versions made in ignorance of the material on which all alike are based. The second is the tutorial system. In the Greats School lectures play a subordinate part. They may give the audience matter about which to think, and they may help to arouse an interest which will make the audience think about it more vigorously. But the main source of the intellectual training which the School can offer is the tutor. According to the most usual arrangement, every student spends one hour a week during Term with his tutor in ancient history and one with his tutor in philosophy; and this time is devoted, not to random debate, but to the discussion of an essay which the undergraduate has written beforehand. In his essays on ancient history he has put down the results of his thinking about some body of evidence, and it is the business of the tutor, having heard the essay read, to suggest, if possible, and to explain, how the thought might have been made more effective. This same individual treatment of maturing minds is likewise carried on by the tutor in philosophy—with the slight difference that in philosophy, when he has passed from the detailed consideration of texts to reflect upon the problems of epistemology, ethics and politics, the student finds himself concerned with subjects which present fewer unalterable data than the evidence for history and so invite him to more sustained efforts of thought of the kind whose success is to be measured, not only by the justice it does to what is given, but also by its precision, penetration and consistency.

(5) Mere intellectual efficiency, however, is not the only quality which the Greats School seeks to promote. If men learn to think well by thinking, with tutors at hand to show them how they might have thought better, it is certainly not essential for this purpose that their thought should be about ancient history and philosophy. Yet the subject of their thought is not irrelevant to the result. Much as the reputation of the School is due to the natural ability of the men it has attracted, its students probably owe no less to the School for its choice of the matter on which their minds should be exercised. It would be an exaggeration to assert that the only certain access to modern philosophy is by way of Greece; but the value of Greek philosophy as an introduction to philosophical study, especially for those who do not intend to become professional

philosophers, is undeniable. Some would say that this is because in the works of the Greek philosophers all the greater problems are not only presented, but presented in the language of the market-place—free from technical jargon like that which by degrees accumulated round the philosophy of the Middle Age, or which by gathering again during the last three centuries has made the philosophy of the modern world sometimes baffling to a beginner. Others would rather stress the fact that, since Greek philosophical thought determined the main lines on which the intellectual development of our civilisation has proceeded in later ages, some understanding of it is indispensable to the formation of an independent judgment concerning the validity of the ideas which that civilisation takes for granted. But all would agree that, whatever may be the reason, a training in Greek philosophy may be expected to produce a readiness to examine convention and to think out problems to the end. And to this it may be added that, where such training is thorough and is applied to some natural aptitude, a further result of it is to make men relatively immune from the risks that are run by such as trust to beliefs, uncritically accepted from others, which sooner or later may crumble and betray their victims.

(6) The achievement of Greats men in practical affairs may also be ascribed in some considerable measure to their study of ancient history. In the course of their work at school and for the First Public Examination in Oxford they have become familiar with large parts of the literatures of Greece and Rome; and this familiarity is deepened and extended by their study of history for Greats, until in the end they acquire a general knowledge of that Græco-Roman culture which is not only the main source of contemporary European civilisation, but in particular is the origin of that humanistic outlook which is the most characteristic feature of the modern world. It was the Greeks who first proclaimed that man is the measure of all things, and it was their influence which taught the Renascence that the problems of this world can legitimately claim some part of the attention which the Middle Age had generally reserved for the prospects of the next. In the course of ancient history from the beginnings of the city-state in Greece to the unification of the *Oikoumene* by Rome, they can see the fundamental problems of society and government presented in simple terms, and often successfully solved. They can see again how the elements of our civilisation were formed, and also, by having their origins laid bare, what is the essence of the ideas of which that civilisation is composed. And finally, in contact through the documents with the minds of those who in certain periods determined the course of history, they can learn how man behaves towards man and what is possible in human affairs. If the School has been successful in the production of capable administrators, not a little of its success has been due to the study of ancient history which it demands.

(7) Thus it may be said in brief that the aim of the Greats

course is, first, to continue to the limit the training of its students' minds in accuracy, power and independence, and, secondly, to direct their thoughts to subjects on which reflexion will give them some firmly established and coherent view of life, together with an insight into the nature of man's relations to his fellows and the methods by which progress in human affairs has been achieved. Of technical qualifications it confers none, except an ability to study, and, if necessary, to teach, philosophy and ancient history; but the experience of three-quarters of a century leaves little room for doubt that the combination of these subjects in a single School has provided a means to make the most in power, efficiency and practical ability of the minds which the students bring to it more effective, perhaps, even than the architects of Greats foresaw.

Length of the Course. Detailed Subjects of the Examination

(8) The course normally occupies undergraduates from the beginning of the third Term in their second year to the latter part of the third Term in their fourth, when they take the examination. This consists of twelve papers, of which the more important are six, having as their subjects (i) Greek Philosophical Books, (ii) Logic, (iii) Moral and Political Philosophy, (iv) Ancient History (general), (v) Greek History, and (vi) Roman History. Though it is in no way necessary, a candidate may also offer a special subject chosen from a wide selection by himself. Such subjects have often served a useful purpose by allowing men to develop a peculiar interest in some particular branch of their studies—for instance, in some part of the archæological evidence for the history and culture of the ancient world; and more than one expert of repute owes the foundations of his knowledge to work bestowed on a special subject for Greats. But the proportion of candidates who shoulder this additional burden is at present small, mainly because what Lord John Russell's Commission described in 1852 as "the vast mass of matter which now goes under the name of Literæ Humaniores" has not been diminished as knowledge increased, and the compulsory subjects by themselves are enough to keep any but the quickest worker occupied throughout his course.

Method of appointing Examiners. Conduct of the Examination

(9) The examiners are appointed by the Congregation of the University on the nomination of a Committee consisting of the Vice-Chancellor, the Proctors and three persons chosen to hold office each for three years by the Board of the Faculty of Literæ Humaniores. They are six in number—three philosophers and three ancient historians. Scholars in other universities are occasionally invited to examine, but in practice only if they are Oxford men who have themselves taken the School as undergraduates.

(10) Every script on the more important papers is read by at least two examiners, of whom the second at the time of reading does not know the marks given by the first. Marking is literal, and there are no fixed minima for the award of the different classes. When the scripts have been read, the examiners compare their marks; and then, in any case where a considerable discrepancy exists, they read the script in question again. After that, if their difference still persists, they meet and discuss the grounds of their disagreement, invoking, if necessary, the help of the third examiner in their subject. Thus the problem of discrepant markings is constantly present to their minds, and a procedure for dealing with it is provided. In practice, however, serious discrepancies are not common. Colleagues who have never examined together before, but know each other as representatives of differing schools of thought, are often somewhat surprised to find how closely their judgments agree.

(11) After this stage, every candidate is examined *viva voce*. Many of these interviews are formal, but a considerable number are not. It should be said, however, that serious use of the *viva voce* examination generally occurs when the examiners incline to put a man in the Second, Third or Fourth Class, but think well enough of his written work to give him an opportunity of raising himself to the Class above. In such cases the proceedings are conducted by the examiner who holds the highest opinion of the candidate, his object being to demonstrate to his colleagues that this opinion is justified.

(12) Classes are finally settled by a vote of the examiners. Where there is no serious discrepancy in marking and where all a candidate's marks fall well within the limits customary for a certain Class, the vote may be taken before the *viva voce* examinations begin, and will in such a case be unanimous. As a rule no vote is taken until, after full discussion, unanimity seems reasonably certain; and where there is a serious *viva voce* examination, a vote is not taken until after it has been held. When unanimity is not arrived at, the issue is deferred for still further consideration at a later stage. In a very small minority of cases—perhaps 1 per cent. or less—unanimity is never reached, and the candidate's class is decided by a majority vote.

Conclusion

(13) When the class-list has been published, it is, of course, subjected to the minute and expert scrutiny of those who have been tutors to the candidates. Sometimes there are particular decisions which attract adverse criticism; but this is not common. For no one who has been long engaged as a tutor for Greats is likely to deny that, with so large a body of evidence available as that contained in a candidate's scripts, except perhaps in the cases of increasing rarity where the combination of ability and indolence requires the striking of a balance between merit and offence, it is hard for the examiners to be in doubt about the Class to which a man should be assigned.

Though great industry has sometimes perhaps received a richer reward than it deserved, observation maintained now for a good many years has left the present writer with a clear impression that, in the absence of disturbing circumstances, such as illness or habitual idleness or indulgence in occupations irrelevant to their proper work, candidates seldom fail to appear in the Classes appropriate, according to the high standards of the examination, to the various orders of mind with which they leave the School.

HUGH LAST.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Classical Tripos, Part II, in the University of Cambridge

General Objects of the Course and Examination

WHEN the Classical Tripos was remodelled in 1918, the ideas that underlay the change were set out as follows in a Report to the University : " They (the Board for Classics) desire to encourage the wide and accurate reading of Classical Literature and at the same time to ensure, as far as possible, that the authors shall be read with literary appreciation, with knowledge of their subject-matter and with some reference to the bearing of their contents on modern thought, and further they desire to give opportunity in the Examination for the intensive study of particular authors and books. . . . They think it important that while the reading of Classical Authors should be encouraged by the Examination, proper stress should be laid on the history of the civilisation and thought of the ancient world."

(2) The Second Part of the Tripos is complementary to the First Part, which, for examination purposes, is mainly concerned with composition and translation. It should, however, be made clear that the teaching for Part I is not narrowly linguistic. It is wide in range and more than a formal sharpening of the mind's edge, though it is also that. It contains a General Paper, in which a candidate may show knowledge of Ancient Literature, Thought and History, and it is intended to form in itself a course of Classical studies. Rather less than half those who take Part I proceed to Part II. The rest go on to such other Triposes as Theology, English, Modern History, Law or Modern Languages. Those who remain are, it may be presumed, those who wish to develop a fuller appreciation of the masterpieces of Greek and Latin through further and wider study of the intellectual, material and historical setting of those masterpieces and to work at ancient literature, philosophy, social ideas and history more directly for their own sake. In addition, each candidate for Part II chooses one (or very rarely two) from among five special subjects or groups. These are (A) Literature, (B) Philosophy, (C) History, (D) Archæology, (E) Language. The examination thus tests a more advanced study of the general background of Classical Literature, together with a limited amount of specialisation in a field of the candidate's choice, and it is designed to ascertain with what degree of ability and diligence the candidate has pursued these ends. What has been said above represents the *rationale* of Part II taken in conjunction with Part I, and though some teachers in the University attach more value to one or the other Part or to one or other branch of knowledge in Part II, there are few who would doubt that the Classical Tripos, thus divided, is well suited to its purpose.

Since Part II is regarded as complementary to Part I and in no sense a substitute for it, no one is admitted to it who has not already taken Part I except Affiliated Students whose previous studies at another university have covered adequately the ground of Part I.

Scheme and Conduct of the Examination

(3) The Examination consists of three General Papers on the wider subjects already mentioned, two papers in each of the Groups and an Essay Paper in which the topics set roughly reflect the subjects of the Groups. Each paper is of three hours, and the whole written Examination falls within three days, unless the fact that some candidate is taking two Groups makes necessary a spacing out over more days. It may be explained at once that the Examination is conducted by six Examiners, three of whom are also Assessors, and by seven other Assessors. This is to allow each Group paper to be examined by two Assessors, each General paper by two Examiners, and the Essay by three Examiners. The Assessors for each of the Groups decide each year if they will have a *viva voce* examination for the candidates in that Group. Of the *viva voce* examinations, which follow the written papers at a short interval, that in Group D has a special character. It is in some sense a "practical," for the candidates are presented with objects, and their skill in dealing with these and drawing deductions about them is tested. In other Groups the *viva*, usually held only in Groups C and E, mainly serves the purpose of checking the impression made by the written work, which is the decisive factor. Each is conducted in an informal atmosphere by both the Assessors of the Group, and my own experience of the *viva* in Group C is that it is useful and not misleading. The number of candidates in Part II has varied between about sixty and eighty. The interval of time between the first paper and the publication of results is practically three weeks.

(4) The Examiners and Assessors for the Tripos are appointed by the General Board of the Faculties on the recommendation of the Faculty Board of Classics. The Faculty Board is advised by a Committee consisting of its Chairman, the Chairmen of the Examiners in each Part in the previous year and the Chairman of the Preliminary Examination which is taken by students the year before their First Part. The composition of this Committee aims at securing an informed judgment on the capabilities of Examiners both in general and for particular subjects, and its judgment is controlled by that of the Faculty Board. Care is taken to include in each team of Examiners some of those who examined in the previous year and to avoid having a personnel either too senior or too junior. There is usually an external Examiner in one of the Groups, with the result that each of the Groups has the advantage of advice from without in about two years in each decade.

(5) The Examiners are an autonomous body, settling each year

their own procedure, subject to the Regulations and the implications of their appointment, which takes account of a suitable division of papers both for setting and marking. But this autonomy is, in fact, guided, if not limited, by a tradition kept alive by minutes, taken by the Examiners of each year, which are at the disposal of their successors. In setting the General papers, two or sometimes three Examiners work together, as also do the two Assessors in setting the papers for each Group. The Essays are set by all the Examiners in common. All the papers are considered at a meeting at which all Examiners and Assessors are present, and are then settled. Naturally, the extent to which the Examiners are able to criticise the papers of the Assessors varies, and the main concern of the Examiners with the Group papers is to ensure that they are clear and well balanced. The structure of the General papers is governed by Regulation, that of the Group papers mainly by tradition. The Examiners or Assessors concerned with each paper mark it independently, but then compare results and re-read papers wherever this seems to them necessary. A Regulation provides "that the Examiners and Assessors shall have regard to the style and method of the candidates' answers and shall give credit for excellence in these respects." So far as my experience shows, this Regulation is kept in mind.

(6) The two papers in Group A are—(1) Textual Criticism, and (2) an ancient Literary Form; in Group B—(1) Platonic and pre-Platonic philosophy, (2) Aristotelian and post-Aristotelian philosophy; in Group C—(1) A short period of Greek History, (2) A short period of Roman History; in Group D—(1) Greek and Roman Sculpture and Architecture, (2) Greek and Roman coins, Greek vases, Greek and Roman Painting; in Group E—(1) Sounds and forms of the Greek and Latin languages in relation to one another and other Indo-European languages, and especially to English; the general principles of the history of language, (2) Comparative Syntax; the early history and civilisation of the Indo-European peoples; Sanskrit grammar; and set books.

The fact that the General papers described below include the topics of Groups A, B and C, but do not offer the same opportunity for the special knowledge acquired in D and E (although some non-technical archæology is brought into the History General paper), presents an interesting problem in the technique of examination. For it is important that those who take this Examination should be guided by their inclination rather than by tactical considerations in their choice of a Group, and a disproportionate concentration on the Group topics is not desired. In the General paper on Greek and Latin Literature any questions that touch upon the Literary Form prescribed for Group A and in the History General paper questions that are concerned with the special periods of that Group may not be taken by the candidates in these several Groups. The General paper on Ancient Philosophy, Thought and Society consists of three sections, the first on a set portion of ancient philosophical

writing, the second on the outlines of Ancient Philosophy; the third consists of questions of a general character on Ancient Thought and Society. Questions may be set involving a knowledge of ancient religious, æsthetic and moral ideas, educational theory and practice, social conditions and political theory. Candidates who offer Group B are precluded from taking questions in the first section and are limited to three questions in the second. The History General paper is divided into four sections with a slight amount of overlapping. The first section covers Greek History to the surrender of Athens in 404 B.C., the second Greek History from 435 B.C. to the death of Alexander the Great, the third Roman History to the death of Cæsar, the fourth Roman History from 61 B.C. to the death of Hadrian. Candidates must offer any two of the sections, provided that no candidate may offer either only Greek History or only Roman History. It may be remarked that the periods of History presented for Part I are, in Greek History, from 600 B.C. to 404 B.C.; in Roman History, from 220 B.C. to the death of Augustus.

(7) In recent years in which I have taken part in the Examination, the class list has been drawn up by a double procedure. First, the Examiners meet, and account is taken of the results of the General papers. These are discussed, and the Examiners form a judgment on the performance of each candidate in these papers. The results of the several Groups are handed in, together with a recommendation from the Assessors about each candidate so far as the Group work alone is concerned. On a second day, the candidates in each Group are discussed between the Examiners and the Assessors. The judgments based on the General papers and those based on the Group papers are compared and debated. Any cases that seem to present a difficult problem are reserved, and a second discussion about these follows after a short interval. The class of each candidate is decided by the votes of the Examiners, but only in the presence of the Assessors in his Group, who are given every opportunity of putting forward their views. The Examiners of each year are free to establish their own standards, but it is, so far as I know, the invariable tradition that marks are used to provide a basis of discussion. and are not taken in any way as a mechanical criterion. There are also two marks of distinction: one for exceptional merit in the General papers, which is given by the Examiners, one for exceptional merit in the Groups work, which follows a recommendation from the Assessors. When all candidates are classed and the Group distinctions are decided, the Assessors' task is done and the Examiners sign the class list, for which they assume the ultimate responsibility.

General Remarks

(8) It is not easy to find any absolute criterion for the success of this very elaborate system of examination which has been evolved

over a period of nineteen years. Part I is in scope and character sufficiently different from Part II to prevent a comparison of performance by candidates, first in one and then in the other, from being an infallible guide. Success in Part I may, for instance, be due to gifts, such as a delicate feeling for ancient idiom, which find less opportunity for expression in Part II. My own personal opinion is that a first class in Part II, where it does not denote high ability, denotes exceptional diligence, but that it usually reflects a combination of ability and diligence in varying proportions. This is borne out by what I have observed of the future careers of candidates. But, of course, there may sometimes be candidates who, because of bad health or bad nerves, do themselves less than justice. On the other hand, the candidates are relatively well experienced in examinations, and though the whole affair is a certain strain, the strain is far from insupportable.

Many of the Examiners have themselves been candidates in this Tripos since the war, and all the internal Examiners have had experience in teaching for it, and should have learnt the best methods of evaluating candidates who have passed through this particular discipline. The discretion given to the Examiners and the degree of autonomy they enjoy hinder the growth of stereotyped standards, and any suggestions for improvement which any board of Examiners makes are always carefully considered. The precise methods of examining candidates must vary from subject to subject and, most probably, from university to university. It is by applied experience that this diversity can be secured, without which examinations may easily fail in their object.

F. E. Adcock.

CHAPTER SIX

The Final Honour School of Modern History in the University of Oxford

General Purpose of the Examination

THE final Honour Examination in Modern History at Oxford naturally reflects the purpose or purposes of the three-year course in the School of Modern History. This school originally combined law with modern history, and, although the two subjects have now been separated for more than fifty years, the emphasis laid in the history school upon the nature and development of institutions is to some extent inherited from the days when historians studied law and lawyers studied history. The framers of the new historical curriculum, still in the same tradition, were especially concerned to make the school of modern history a preparation for public life, in the widest sense of the term. They did not intend, of course, to provide a " professional " course of study, but they wished those who passed from the school into public services, whether in the empire, or Westminster or in local government, and into business, educational work and the other learned professions, to have a thorough intelligent grounding in English history, and especially in English constitutional history. They wished them also to understand the development of political thought and the rudiments of political economy ; and they wished them to study objectively a considerable period of European history and some special subject. The special subject was to be studied in the light of the chief available original authorities. The primary object was not to turn out historians, but informed and unprejudiced men. They realised, however, that if they were to do this through the medium of historical study, they must provide some opportunity for the observation of historical method. Their students, whether they availed themselves of the opportunity or not, should be encouraged to examine for themselves how history is written and not merely know the outcome—generally only the fugitive outcome—of what had been written.

On the whole, this purpose is still maintained to-day, in spite of the changes which have affected historical study in England, as in other countries, during the last fifty years. There have been doubts and questionings, but these have had little influence. Methods of teaching have been adjusted here and there, but the general character of the curriculum has not changed.

Conditions of Admission

(2) A candidate for admission to the examination must have studied as a matriculated student of the University for at least nine

terms (three years) unless, as a graduate of an approved university, or for such other reasons as are allowed, he has been admitted to the status of a senior student, who can take the examination at the end of his sixth term. The examination, the final test for the degree of Bachelor of Arts, is known as the second public examination, and implies a first public examination. The first public examination required of candidates in history has had a changeful and complicated history of its own ; it is constantly raising tiresome problems. Here it is sufficient to say that the normal avenue to the second public examination, with which we are concerned, is Pass Moderations, roughly equivalent to the Intermediate examination in other universities, except Cambridge. But it should be remembered that in Oxford any first public examination is legally an avenue to any second public examination. For example, a man who has taken what is called Honour Moderations in Classics (a first public examination) can and sometimes does proceed to his second public examination in modern history. Finally, any man who has taken the second public examination in one honours school can and frequently does proceed to the same examination in another honours school in the following year ; hence in any one year we find several candidates in history who in the year before have taken " Greats " (the second public examination in the school of *Literæ Humaniores*) or some other honours school.

Organisation and Conduct of the Examination

(3) The examination begins in June and consists of eleven papers for those candidates who aim at a place in the first or second class. In the later part of July the *viva voce* examination is held. The eleven papers comprise three on the history of England from the beginning to 1914 (divided at 1307 and 1660), one on constitutional history, mainly prescribed texts, selected from three alternative papers, two on a period of general history, selected from nine alternative periods stretching from A.D. 285 to A.D. 1914, a paper of general questions " related to history and questions in political thought," one on set books in political science, an optional paper containing passages for unprepared translation from French, German, Italian and Spanish, and two papers on a special subject, chosen from fourteen subjects, ranging from St. Augustine to the Principles of Modern English Government.

(4) (*a*) The examiners, at present five in number, are appointed by a committee selected by the Board of Faculty of Modern History. This committee is summoned, when required, by the Vice-Chancellor. One of the five examiners is usually a teacher in another university. The examiners serve for three years and retire in rotation. They constitute a board which elects its own chairman and secretary. The board has the power to nominate assessors who may be needed for the examination in particular papers and who are appointed, if he thinks fit, by the Vice-Chancellor. The assessors

do not take part in the *viva voce* examination, nor do they attend any meetings of the board of examiners, nor have they any voice in the final adjudication. They report their marking of the papers allotted to them.

(*b*) The board of examiners allots to its members the duty of drafting the questions in particular papers, other than those entrusted to assessors, and of marking the scripts. All the papers of questions are passed for press by the board as a whole. After the scripts have been read, the board collects and views the results and comes to preliminary decisions. Doubtful and difficult cases involve a considerable amount of re-reading and discussion as the *viva voce* examination proceeds. Marking is literal, not numerical. The board, which has a long series of precedents and inherits a long tradition, decides tentatively on the *minima* required for the award of particular classes, first, second, third or fourth, but, unless the standard attained is too low or some statutory obligation (e.g. a knowledge of political and descriptive geography) has obviously not been satisfied, its final decision is not mechanical, but takes into account the general impression made by the work of the candidate. The *viva voce* examination is of much importance in deciding the class to be given in doubtful cases.

How Far does the Examination fulfil its Purpose?

(5) "To what extent is the purpose of the examination at present achieved?" This question raises issues which have been much discussed. It should be remembered that at Oxford the number of candidates each year in the School of Modern History exceeds 250, comprising men and women of all kinds of social position, in various financial circumstances, and with an incalculable variety of objects in life. A sharp-witted *arriviste* may get a first class, yet by no means have satisfied the intention of the examination; a man of average ability, who has had a "good time" in Oxford, may get a third class and yet justifiably feel in after-life that his modest preparation for the examination enabled him to discharge his duties as a citizen as otherwise he might never have discharged them. It is not always possible to call a halt to the former, nor to find sufficient inducement to the other to make himself an historical scholar. Moreover, by the very nature of the subject which, however exact in method, invites conclusions which are as variable as human nature itself, it is impossible and would be unjust to assess the good results attained by the course in modern history by reference to the range or even the accuracy of the candidates' knowledge of history in later life. Hence any answer to the question under consideration must be based on general impressions. The ordinary man, who takes an interest in affairs and who applies himself steadily to his studies, as an intelligent human being, finds every encouragement, both while he is working for the schools, and during the course of the examination. The man who wishes to pursue his studies farther is suffi-

ciently equipped on taking his degree to be able to do so, provided that he is willing to learn and to go slowly. A perfect adjustment between the needs of public life and those of the scholar is probably impossible, and recent developments in historical work have increased the difficulties of adjustment. The good ordinary man is often worried by the amount he is expected to know, the latest view of X, or the important criticism by Y. The future historical scholar is often embarrassed by the riches about him and the absence of clear guidance. Each is conscious of, and perhaps impeded by, the presence of the stupid and the frivolous. Probably the history school is too large, and its amateurish elements preponderate too much. Yet, just as it is unwise to expect a graduate in history to be able to answer every definite question on an historical matter, so it would be unsafe to come to hasty conclusions on the limits of the good which he has got out of his comprehensive course. The question before us seems, in short, to imply that a history school should be a small, compact, professional body, coping with an exact science. It is possible that, as the schools, especially that of the social sciences, develop, the School of Modern History in Oxford may gradually approximate, so far as the nature of the subject permits, to this kind of discipline; but there are no visible signs of such a tendency at present, and it is very questionable whether in the end a change of this kind would really be a service to the study of history or to society. The better way is to regard the graduate students as an integral part of the School of Modern History and so, without interfering with the existing curriculum, to do something to drive home to undergraduate students the truth that they are only on the fringe of a vast and unfathomable study.

F. M. Powicke.

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Historical Tripos, Parts I and II, in the University of Cambridge

General Purpose of the Examination and Organisation of the Scheme of Studies

THE general purpose of the Historical Tripos is to provide, for those candidates who take both Parts, a general historical education which includes :

(*a*) The study of general European History ;
(*b*) The study of the Economic and Constitutional History of England ;
(*c*) The study of Political Science or some cognate subject ;
(*d*) The study of a special subject in original authorities.

Part I is normally taken at the end of the second year, and Part II at the end of the third. Under the Cambridge system, however, it is not necessary for students to take both parts of the same Tripos. A student may take Part I of one Tripos and proceed to Part II of another. Accordingly a number of those who have taken Part I of the Historical Tripos do not take Part II : in 1936-7, for instance, there were 243 students reading for Part I, and only 180 for Part II. Conversely, a number of the students reading for Part II of the Historical Tripos are likely to be students who have taken Part I of some other Tripos ; and thus the 180 students reading for Part II in 1936–7 included some who had not taken Part I of the Historical Tripos. It is not, therefore, possible to plan the two Parts of the Historical Tripos simply and solely as inter-dependent parts of a single whole. It is necessary also to consider, in either Part, the interests and the needs of students whose study of history will be confined to that Part.

The changes recently made in both Parts of the Tripos (changes which came into effect in the Examination of 1936) are partly based on this necessity. As things now stand—

A candidate in Part I normally takes, in addition to an essay paper, a paper on Mediæval European History, three papers on the economic and constitutional history of England and a paper on the history of political thought. (There are, however, options : e.g. a candidate may take a paper on Ancient History in lieu either of the paper on the history of political thought, or of the first or the last of the three papers in English History.)

A candidate in Part II normally takes, in addition to an essay paper, a paper on Modern European History, two papers on a Special Subject studied in original authorities and a paper *either* on the theory of the Modern State *or* on International Law and Organisation. (Here again, however, there are options : e.g. it is

possible to take a paper *either* on the economic history of Modern Europe *or* on a variable subject prescribed from time to time—at present the social and political theory and institutions of Germany from 1871 to 1919—in lieu of one of the alternative papers just mentioned.)

So far as any difference of view exists in regard to the purpose of the Historical Tripos, it is concerned mainly with Part II, and it turns on the question whether purely historical study, or a study more definitely directed to modern social and political problems, should be encouraged. There is, however, no serious difference of opinion ; and the present plan of the curriculum and examination affords sufficient opportunity for different bents and tastes.

(2) Any student, duly qualified for admission to the University, may proceed at once to study Part I, and may take the examination in that Part at the end of his second year. A student who has successfully taken the examination in Part I is not thereby qualified to proceed to a degree. For this he must take Part II of the Historical Tripos (or of some other Tripos) ; and this is normally taken at the end of the third, though it may also be taken at the end of the fourth, year. As has been already stated, candidates are admitted to Part II of the Historical Tripos who have not taken Part I of that Tripos, provided that they have taken a Part of some other Tripos.

Affiliated graduates of other universities may, with the permission of the Faculty Board, take either Part of the Tripos after two years' work, and proceed to a degree on passing in that Part : they may be required (and in Part II are always required) to take additional papers, from among the various options, over and above those taken by ordinary candidates.

(3) The plan of the examination for Part I of the Historical Tripos involves, in view of the various options, an examination spread over four days ; but each candidate offers only six papers (of three hours each), of which one is an essay paper. In the examination for Part II the conditions are similar ; but here the number of papers normally taken is five, of which one is an essay paper. There is no *viva voce* examination in the examination for either Part. The strain of the examination is eased for the candidates by the division into two Parts ; it is also eased for the examiners, as there are two distinct and separate Boards of Examiners, who act in entire independence, for the two Parts. The duration of the examination, from the first day on which candidates sit to the final publication of the results, is generally less than three weeks : in the year 1937, for example, the examinations for both Parts began on May 31st, and the results of both Parts were published on June 19th.

The nature of the papers set has already been generally indicated in section (1). Nine papers are set in Part I, of which one is an essay paper, three are papers on Ancient, Mediæval and Modern History, three are papers on the economic and constitutional history of England, and one is a paper on the history of political thought.

The six papers generally selected from these nine by the bulk of the candidates (some of them being compulsory for all [1]) are (i) the Essay paper *; (ii) Mediæval History; (iii) English History to 1399; (iv) English History from 1399 to 1688 *; (v) English History from 1688; (vi) History of Political Thought. In Part II nine papers are also set, of which one is an essay paper, two are papers on Mediæval and Modern History,[2] two are papers on the special subject (it should be added that there is a choice of about nine special subjects), one is a paper on the economic history of modern Europe, one a paper on the theory of the Modern State, one a paper on International Law and Organisation, and one a paper on a subject prescribed from time to time, at present the social and political theory and institutions of Germany from 1871 to 1919. The five papers generally selected from these nine by the bulk of the candidates (some of them being compulsory for all) are: (i) the Essay Paper; (ii) Modern History; (iii) and (iv) the Special Subject; and (v) International Law and Organisation *or* the Theory of the Modern State (about evenly divided).

Conduct of the Examination

(4) For the conduct of the examination, a board of five or six examiners is annually appointed for each Part by the Faculty Board of History, on the advice of a committee of its own members with the addition of the two chairmen of examiners in the previous examination. Each examiner is usually reappointed for a second year; and it is the custom that one of the examiners should be an external examiner. The invitation to each of the appointed examiners is sent directly by the Secretary of the Faculty Board, who is elected by the Board from among its own members; and in general there is a close contact between the Faculty Board and the examiners, though each Board of Examiners, during its term of office, is entirely independent. The first meeting of the Board of Examiners is summoned by the senior resident examiner, generally in January; but the Board elects its own chairman when it meets. The allocation of the setting of papers and the marking of scripts is determined by the Board; and as each examiner is separately remunerated according to the number of the papers he sets and the scripts he marks, the allocation is primarily based, not on considerations of equality in the distribution of work, but on the particular capacity and knowledge of the individual examiner. Some examiners may have a greater, and some a lesser burden; and this makes it easier to secure the services of persons who might otherwise

[1] The universally compulsory papers are marked by an asterisk.

[2] A candidate may take Mediæval History in Part I and Modern History in Part II (the normal choice), or he may take Modern History in Part I and Mediæval History in Part II. A candidate reading for one Part only of the Tripos may choose, in either Part, Mediæval *or* Modern History, according to his preference.

be unable to examine. In each Part the examiners may be assisted by assessors appointed on their advice by the Faculty Board.

No system of marking is prescribed for the examiners. In practice they use a literal system (α, β, γ) ; but the subdivisions and niceties of that system enable them to distinguish candidates very clearly. There is no absolutely and rigidly fixed minimum for a class ; but the examiners generally discuss, in advance, the boundary line (e.g. β, or β ? +, or β ? —) which is to divide one class from another (e.g. the first division of the Second Class from the second division of that class). The essays (and also, in Part II, the paper in Modern History, which is the only other paper taken by almost all the candidates) are marked independently by two examiners, who subsequently meet, before the final meeting of all the examiners, to compare their marks. The other scripts are marked by one examiner ; but as it is seldom that one examiner marks two scripts by the same candidate (with the exception that an examiner who has marked an essay paper will also generally mark another paper, and again that the same examiner will generally mark the two special subject papers), the result is that there are generally about five (in Part I), or about four (in Part II), different and independent marks given by different and independent examiners for each candidate. This gives each examiner due weight ; and it ensures to each candidate the advantage of having his work judged by almost as many examiners as he has done papers, each judging in the light of his particular capacity and knowledge. The general congruity of the marks is remarkable ; and it enables the final settlement of classes to be readily made during the two days of the final meeting of the examiners, who sit with all the scripts of all the candidates round them, and refer to them in any case of difficulty or difference of opinion. The chief problem is always that of border cases ; and the difference of opinion here seldom turns on the particular merits of particular candidates, but rather on the general question of the fixing of the boundary line between class and class.

How Far Does the Examination fulfil its Purpose ?

(5) In the opinion of the present writer, who examined for the Historical Tripos as external examiner before the war, and who has examined several times as internal examiner in the last ten years, the examination for the Tripos, and the curriculum on which it is based, are working well and successfully. There is no parallel in Cambridge to the Oxford 'Greats' Examination ; and in the absence of that the Historical Tripos (and the same may also be said of the Economics Tripos) has a special duty. It attracts some of the best undergraduates : it provides them with a general outlook and a general method of approach ; it fits them not only for teaching, but also for public and social service and for the work of the business world.

The First Class (in which candidates of special distinction are

marked with an asterisk) has produced, in the writer's experience, not only scholars and teachers (men who are now fellows of colleges and university professors or lecturers), but also administrators who bid fair to rise high in the British Civil Service and in international service at Geneva. It would be invidious to mention names ; but there are names which could be mentioned in support of this general statement.

The first division of the Second Class is large : it feeds secondary schools, business and the professions. The second division of the Second Class is perhaps larger : it has the same function, if in a less degree. The Third Class is by no means the largest : it contains some men who have scraped through the University with little work, but have done enough work (and certainly have enough ability) to satisfy even a rigorous conscience that they deserve some form of Honours Degree ; it also contains some patient and industrious students who have atoned by their patience and industry for a lack of native ability, and will bring some glimmerings of an " Honours " light into their subsequent work.

It is possible to criticise the curriculum, the teaching and the examination in the Historical Tripos. The strict historian may say, and say justly, that it includes many students who are not, never will be, and do not want to be, historians. Those who are interested in education for the community, or " education for citizenship," may say, on the other hand, that the Historical Tripos is too historical, and too recondite, to meet the needs which they feel acutely. But it may fairly be said that an Historical Tripos (like most other Triposes) has to serve at once the purpose of producing the specialist and that of producing the man who has had a sufficiently good general training (within a particular field) to be generally useful. The Cambridge Historical Tripos serves that dual purpose with a large degree of success : its system of options (especially in Part II) enables a candidate to be strictly historical or to study modern subjects and problems, as he prefers ; and the general university system, by which students are allowed to take the first part of a Tripos in one field and the second in another, also enables a student to link History with another Arts subject (e.g. Economics or Law), or occasionally with Mathematics or Science, at his choice.

The Preliminary Examination

(6) It only remains to add that in addition to the two examinations for the two Parts of the Historical Tripos there is also an examination, called the Preliminary Examination, which is taken at the end of a candidate's first year, when he is half-way through his work for the first Part. It is a University examination, but it is not a legally necessary examination for a degree, though in practice it is taken by all (and more than all) the candidates who eventually take the examination in Part I. It serves to test the work of the first year ; it also serves to eliminate those candidates who are

unlikely to succeed eventually in Part I. The candidates are examined by a separate Board of Examiners, appointed in the same way as the examiners for Parts I and II; and they are classified in the same way. But the class given does not count in the final reckoning: the examination is, in practice, a rehearsal or trial run, and more a matter of discipline than of legal regulation. Its one legal effect is that a candidate who does not proceed finally to an Honours degree may be allowed by the University, if his performance in the Preliminary Examination is adequate, some part of what is required for the Pass degree which he eventually takes. The subjects of the examination are those subjects of Part I which have been studied, through attendance at lectures and in supervision, during the first year, and the papers normally include a whole paper on English Economic History, which is thus examined separately in the Preliminary Examination, though not in the examination for Part I.

ERNEST BARKER.

CHAPTER EIGHT

The M.A. Degree of the University of Edinburgh

The M.A. Degree—A First Degree

THE Mastership of Arts of Edinburgh, like those of the other three Scottish universities, and unlike those of most or all other universities, is a First Degree, taken immediately at the end of an undergraduate curriculum and not preceded by a Baccalaureate. The Edinburgh M.A., again, may be taken as representative of the Scottish universities' M.A.s generally, since they all, in spite of many variations in detail, still conform to a common type, which was laid down—upon foundations dating from the seventeenth or sixteenth century—by the Scottish Universities' Commissions of 1858 and 1889.

Conditions of Admission

(2) It is a fundamental principle of these universities that they do not confer degrees—at any rate degrees by examination, as distinct from degrees by thesis, which in a few cases may be taken by candidates from outside—upon persons whom they have not taught. A condition of admission to all their degree examinations is that the candidate shall have given " regular attendance " in the University upon a recognised (or " qualifying ") course of instruction in the subject of the examination, and shall also have " duly performed " the work of the class. That is, both a certain period (in each case not less than two academic terms and in most cases three) must have been spent in attendance, and a certain minimum standard (commonly called the " D.P.," i.e. " due performance ") attained in the prescribed class exercises of the period. The tendency in recent times has been to insist less strictly upon mere attendance at lectures, and to lay more stress upon the other requirement, which is intended to promote continuous and progressive study throughout the course and to reduce—though it can never wholly remove—the evil of " cramming " towards the end.

(3) For admission to begin the degree curriculum, the student must possess a general entrance qualification attested by an Entrance Board representing the four universities, and obtained either by means of a Leaving Certificate of the Scottish Education Department, or by a corresponding English or other " matriculation," or by passes in the Scottish Universities' Preliminary examination conducted by the Board itself. And for admission to degree classes in certain subjects (foreign languages, mathematics, etc.), he must have passes *in these subjects* on the requisite standard—so that a student possessing the general entrance qualification may still have

to take the Preliminary examination in one or more subjects before he can be admitted to all the classes included in his curriculum.

(4) Since the degree is obtained by a series of separate examinations in separate subjects, any attempt to assess its standard as a whole, or to say what it represents in attainment or "utilisable skill," must proceed upon an understanding of its content.

The Ordinary or Pass Degree

(5) *The Ordinary or Pass Degree* implies a curriculum of not less than three years and comprising not less than seven full courses, each leading to its own degree examination. Until 1892, the seven courses were fixed and identical for all students: the traditional "seven subjects," going back to the early eighteenth century—Latin, Greek, mathematics, natural philosophy, logic and metaphysics, moral philosophy, and rhetoric and English literature. Since 1892 successive changes have been made, with the addition of new subjects of teaching and the introduction of options. Under the existing regulations, which have been in operation in their present form for more than ten years, the degree is taken in one of three alternative "types." In each of these, at least one subject must be studied for two years, the second year's course and examination being more advanced than the first; a second "double course" must be taken, either of the above kind or consisting of two "cognate" subjects (e.g. philosophy and psychology, or geology and geography), the second of which must be passed on a higher standard; and every curriculum must include (*a*) a foreign language (ancient or modern); (*b*) philosophy (general or moral); (*c*) a science subject (mathematics, physics, a natural science or geography). The first type (which approximates most nearly to the traditional form of the degree) must include a classical language; the second, two modern foreign languages, one of them studied for two years; the third, three courses in science subjects, at least one of which must be in mathematics.

(6) Within these limits, considerable freedom of choice is left to the individual. The number of separate subjects in which courses are provided is about forty, arranged in four "Departments"—Languages and Literature, Mental Philosophy, Science, and History and Law—and one effect of the regulations summarised above is that every ordinary curriculum must include subjects from at least three of the four. The distribution of the courses over the several years of the curriculum is not rigidly fixed; but for this, and for other details, each student is under the advice and control of a Director of Studies acting under the authority of the Dean of the Faculty. This system provides guidance among the complexities of alternative options, and prevents unsuitable combinations, the accumulation of arrears and the overcrowding of the year's programme of work. The tuition fee for the curriculum is an inclusive one, paid in annual instalments; and more than the statutory minimum of

seven courses may be taken, and are, in fact, taken in a large proportion of cases.

(7) It thus appears that the ordinary M.A. represents the completion of a fairly broad and balanced programme of study, tested from stage to stage by the " D.P." and the degree examination for each course. It remains to try to assess its standard, and here the difficulty presents itself, that in each subject the examinations are separately conducted by different examiners : there is no examination board and no machinery for consultation between examiners in different subjects or departments.

A certain uniformity of standard, or at any rate of notation, is, however, imposed by the Faculty's rule that in degree examinations numerical marking is used, and the minimum mark for a pass is fixed as 50 per cent. ; the higher standard required for the second of two " cognate " subjects (when taken to complete a " double course ") is 60 per cent. These figures are to be understood as symbols—i.e. as qualitative rather than strictly quantitative ; and no rules are laid down by the Faculty for such matters as the distribution of marks over the several parts of an examination, which are left to the discretion of the examiners in each subject.

(8) All degree examinations—both the setting of questions and the marking of answers—are conducted by both internal and external examiners : the former are the teachers actually in charge of the several courses, who are thus dealing with examinees whom they have themselves taught and of whose work they already have some estimate ; the latter are appointed from outside by the University Court—usually on the recommendation of the Faculty of Arts—for periods of three or four years, without continuous reappointment. No pass or failure is thus decided without the concurrence of an examiner who is not a member of the university teaching staff. But in certain subjects (chiefly languages and science) the attainment of a " merit certificate " in the class-work throughout the course—representing a standard considerably above the bare pass (certainly not less than 10 per cent. higher, and probably a good deal more)—may exempt from the whole or part of the degree examination ; in these cases the class-examinations on which the certificate has been awarded are subject to scrutiny by the external examiner, though he does not actually take part in setting or looking over the papers. The proportion of students who thus obtain exemption is probably not more, and in most cases less, than one-third of the total membership of the class, and consists of those about whose attainment there can be no doubt. The proportion of those who fail to obtain the " D.P." Certificate, and are thus excluded from the degree examination, is much smaller. Such failure involves reattendance on the course in a later year. There are two degree examinations a year in each subject. The " D.P." certificate is valid for admission to the examinations falling in the year in which it has been obtained, and in the following year : if its holder does not pass on any of these four occasions, the certificate lapses, and

he must obtain another by reattendance, unless for special reason the Faculty give permission otherwise.

(9) While there is, as has been said, no machinery for consultation or comparison of results between examiners in different subjects, the Faculty has for some years applied a method whereby the records of Passmen in the third and later years of their curriculum are reviewed, so as to avoid possible hardship in individual cases. Examiners are instructed, in these cases, that a mark of 49 or 48 per cent.—i.e. one or two marks below the pass minimum—shall mean that they are, while inclined to fail the candidate in this particular subject, prepared to allow him a pass if on scrutiny of his record as a whole it is found that he has been a satisfactory student and deserving of the degree. All such cases are then considered by the whole Faculty, who may raise the mark to 50 and allow a pass. In practice, the raising of the mark takes place only in cases where (*a*) in not more than one subject of those taken for the year has the candidate's mark been below the 50 per cent. line, and (*b*) the pass thus granted will enable the candidate to complete his degree: if he has failed in two or more subjects (including that in which the "doubtful" mark has been returned), or if he lacks more than that one pass to complete the degree, the examiners' mark is allowed to stand and a failure is recorded. No such review takes place in the case of students of the first or second year, or in the case of Honours students: for these, the examiners' decision is final.

(10) The standard of the pass degree, therefore, would seem to depend upon its content in the individual instance. At the lowest, the graduate may have passed only the minimum seven examinations, taking, it may be, several years beyond the statutory three (since there is no upper time-limit), and only passing at or near the 50 per cent. line in each subject, with a number of previous failures in some or even most of them. But it should be said that many of the best Passmen are of a calibre quite as good as the average Honours man. Many students whose abilities would clearly justify their reading for Honours content themselves with the Pass degree, perhaps because they intend to go on to a degree in another Faculty, or because they prefer the wider range of subjects to the more intensive Honours study in a narrower field. External examiners, with experience of other universities, are often heard to express a high opinion of the level of knowledge and competence shown in the Pass papers. A graduate who has taken—as many do—one, two or even three subjects beyond the minimum number, and has passed in all or most of them at a mark well above the 50 per cent., obviously possesses a degree well worthy of being accepted as the stamp of a "liberal education." But even at the minimum attainment represented by the degree, it cannot justly be said of Edinburgh, as it was said of one of the older English universities in a recent correspondence in *The Times*, that "it is much harder to fail to graduate than to get a Double First."

As regards what has been called "utilisable skill," it would be

hazardous to express an opinion. Certainly the M.A.—despite its title, which was originally that of a *teaching* degree—cannot be taken as a guarantee of its holder's competence to *teach* all the subjects included in it. In this connection, indeed, it is possible to get some hint of an estimate from the regulations of the Scottish Education Department regarding the acceptance of Scottish ordinary graduates as candidates for training *as teachers of particular subjects*; these indicate the judgment of an outside authority which has long experience of what the degree represents for the purposes of one particular profession. Among other details, the Passman who is to become a teacher in an " Advanced Division " of one of the Department's schools (not a " principal teacher " in a secondary school, who must have an Honours degree in his subject) must have taken at least a " double course " in the subject he is to teach; and all such candidates are advised, if not absolutely required, to have included English and psychology in their degree curricula.

The Honours Degree

(11) *The Honours M.A. Degree* is perhaps rather less difficult to assess. It is taken in one (or occasionally in more than one) of a number of " Groups " (the " Group " corresponding to the Oxford " School " or the Cambridge " Tripos ")—classics, mathematics and natural philosophy, mental philosophy, English literature and language, modern languages (in which there are several alternative combinations), Hebrew and Semitic languages, Sanskrit and Indian languages, history, economic science, and geography. The minimum period of study is three years, the normal four, the maximum five (with a possibility of extension to six in special circumstances). The curriculum of study varies from Group to Group—being in no case rigidly fixed, but in each case following a normal sequence, beginning with the same " ordinary " courses as for the Pass degree, and advancing through intermediate to final Honours courses in the subjects of the Group—the latter being in many cases taken for two years. In the modern languages Group (which in most cases includes two languages, one principal and the other subordinate), the curriculum includes a period or periods equivalent to three academic terms, spent in study in a university of the country where the " principal " language is spoken. Each Honours candidate must have taken at least two subjects *outside* his Honours Group, the courses and examinations in these being the same as for the Pass degree: the choice of these " outside " subjects is restricted by regulations varying for the several Groups. The purpose of this is to secure that the Honours degree shall not be a wholly " specialised " one, but shall retain something of the general and comprehensive character of the original M.A.

(12) The work of the Group is directed to the final Honours examination taken at the end of the curriculum and covering the whole field in a series of papers—from six to ten or eleven in number

—with or without *viva voce* or " practical " tests. But in most cases there are also intermediate examinations to be taken at an earlier stage, satisfactory completion of which is a condition of admission to the final courses. Students whose progress is unsatisfactory are advised, and may in certain cases be required, to discontinue study for Honours ; and most of these turn back to take a Pass degree, which is usually practicable, since, as has been said, the courses taken in the earlier years of an Honours curriculum are the same as for a Pass. Similarly, students who at first intend to read for a Pass and who show special promise, are encouraged to transfer to Honours.

(13) The final examinations are conducted by both internal and external examiners ; but in each Group these function as a Board, and the classing of candidates is decided by the whole Board in consultation. In each Group there are at least four examiners, and in some as many as eight, according to the number of alternative " options." Three classes of Honours are awarded. The assignment of these, of course, varies from year to year and perhaps from Group to Group ; but so far as statistics are helpful as indications of standard, the following figures may be given. In the last five years, there have been 137 Firsts, 322 Seconds and 44 Thirds—approximately 27, 64 and 9 per cent. respectively. It is, on the whole, admitted that the Third Class represents a poor standard : at any rate—to adduce again the evidence of an outside body—the Scottish Education Department, which requires an Honours degree for admission to training as a " principal teacher," does not recognise the Third Class for this purpose.

(14) The Honours degree, then, represents the completion of a curriculum very rarely less than four years in duration, with a fully articulated and progressive programme of study, in which the weaker students are as far as possible " weeded out " in the earlier stages. How far independent and "original" work is stimulated and achieved, and how far merely receptive and repetitive work may be rewarded by a good class, are questions to which no confident answer can be given—especially with reference to the larger Groups. But it should be noted that the proportion of Honours to Ordinary Arts graduates in Edinburgh, in the last decade, has been about 3 to 7, and that less than 10 per cent. of Honours graduates have failed to attain a second class ; so that the degree may fairly be taken to represent a tolerably high average of attainment.

A. F. GILES.

CHAPTER NINE

The London Internal B.A. (General) Degree

"No course of study will be satisfactory that is conceived in a narrow spirit."

History of the Degree

IT was with this sentence that the University of London concluded the Regulations, drawn up in 1924, whereby it instituted a General Honours Degree in Science as an alternative to a Special Honours Degree in Science. These words convey a statement of policy and a justification of a reform rather than an enforceable rule, and they no longer appear in the Regulations. But they set forth a view of University education that is gaining momentum throughout the country. The Senate of the University, in 1923, had formally approved the principle that it was desirable "to broaden the basis" of first degrees. No action was taken in relation to the Faculty of Arts, however, until 1928.

(2) From the early months of 1927 onwards representations reached the University recommending a similar broadening of the basis of the B.A. Honours Degree. They came from its own Constituent Colleges and its Boards of Studies, as well as from outside bodies of professional school opinion. And they were reinforced by reports from the University's Inspectors upon the needs of its Colleges and upon their corporate views. The Board of the Faculty of Arts set to work upon the problem of organising an alternative approach to the Honours Degree. Its first proposals embodied the maintenance of the existing B.A. Pass Degree (reducing the number of subjects to be taken from four to three), and the institution of a B.A. (General) Honours Degree, in which three subjects should be studied on a higher standard, in addition to the existing B.A. Honours Degree, with its principal subject and one subsidiary subject. These proposals were modified subsequently by the abolition of the B.A. Pass Degree, and the substitution for it of the B.A. (General) Degree.

(3) Until then, it had been understood, with the approval of the Boards of Studies concerned, that the principal object of reform had been the creation of an alternative approach to an Honours Degree. But in the final stages of the proceedings, when the new Degree thus appeared to be as much a substitute for an old Pass Degree as a new alternative to an Honours Degree, it was proposed that the question of granting Honours on this examination should be deferred for five years and then considered in the light of the working of the General Degree. This proposal was carried into effect. And it was upon this basis that regulations were drawn up, and decreed by the Senate in January 1929.

(4) Their effect was to maintain the B.A. Special Honours examination as the sole avenue of approach to an Honours Degree in Arts, and to substitute a three-subject General Degree for the old four-subject Pass Degree. The result has been the rejection of the movement for broadening the basis of the Honours Degree. The new General Degree is still commonly referred to as the Pass Degree (as indeed it was in the letter inviting the present writer to discuss its working !) even by the Boards of Studies concerned with the reform attempted. To it have been directed students judged to be of inferior calibre, from its inception, as to the old Pass Degree. At the same time, the syllabuses drawn up for this Degree were conceived on a higher standard, in most cases with a view to the granting of Honours, and in all cases with consideration of the reduction in the number of subjects. The working of the Degree has thus been completely vitiated from the beginning. The refusal of " Honours " disqualified the holder of the General Degree from admission to certain Training Colleges, including the Institute of Education, and from consideration as a possessor of a " good " Degree for the purposes of salary scales, as also from admission to courses of study for Higher Degrees. On the other hand, the course of study involved has proved to be difficult, even for such students of high quality as have elected to take it, not wishing to specialise. It is generally agreed that high success in the B.A. General is more difficult of attainment that in the B.A. Honours. And the absurd situation arises that an inferior student pleads his incapacity for the B.A. General course, and is conceded the privilege of taking the Honours Degree.

(5) When, therefore, in 1936, the question of granting Honours on the B.A. General Degree came up for review, the five years' experience of the working of the Degree was highly unfavourable. Moreover, opinion in certain Boards of Studies had hardened into the conviction, opposed to the views held by their predecessors, that the sole avenue to Honours can properly be only through concentration of study upon a single subject. The point at issue has been resolved into the debate whether " Honours " means specialisation or meritorious achievement. It may be said with truth that the present position of the B.A. General in London is now one of equivalence with the old Pass Degree, despite its difficulty, its higher standard and its appeal to an increasing number of students of high quality who are desirous of a broader university education.

The debate, however, continues, and alternative constructive proposals are being explored.

Purpose of the Degree and Condition of Admission

(6) The educational purpose of the B.A. General Degree emerges from this necessarily lengthy account of its history. It was intended to supply a university education upon a broad basis for students of high quality whose interests were wider than those of

the specialist student. It was thus divorced from the narrowly vocational purpose which has become increasingly predominant in the Faculty of Arts, namely the provision of specialist teachers in secondary schools, whom the specialised Honours Degree attempts to equip with such completeness as is possible in the time for their life's work, both in knowledge of facts and in the technique of study.

(7) The General Degree, on the other hand, aims at offering a variety of interest to the student. It opens to him several fields of enquiry and curiosity, in which the guidance and stimulus of scholarly experience are available for him. It assumes some individual correlation of these varied interests. It looks forward to the later development of these interests, upon well-informed and broad foundations. Above all, it bears in mind the needs of education for citizenship upon a higher plane in the university, as against the vocational narrowness of specialisation. It is therefore less interested in the amassing of facts, or the technicalities of method, than in quality and breadth of thought, in disinterested and philosophic grasp. Such are its ideals. Its crown should be a Prime Minister rather than a Permanent Secretary.

(8) In practice, however, the syllabuses and the examinations tend to follow the lead of the specialised Honours courses with reduced exigency. Exact knowledge is sought. Texts are prescribed for detailed study. Mediæval and linguistic studies are included in the courses. And some measure of specialisation is introduced. In History the study of original sources is expected. Utilisable skill is demanded in the study of languages, ancient and modern. In modern languages considerable stress is laid on ability to write and to converse in the language concerned. In general, it would be difficult to find in the syllabuses and in the examinations any difference of purpose between the General and the Honours Degrees.

(9) The candidate for admission to the course of study must have passed the Intermediate Examination of the University, or have been exempted by virtue of certain approved equivalent qualifications. The course of study extends over a minimum of two years, except for holders of an Honours Degree of the University, who may enter for the examination after one year's study.

Organisation and Conduct of the Examination

(10) The examination is held once a year, in June, at various centres in London. Three papers of three hours' duration are set in each of the three subjects taken, in addition to which (in modern languages and Psychology) there is an oral examination, and (in Geography and Psychology) a practical test in lieu of a third paper. An oral test may be given by the examiners in any other subject, but this option is never exercised in fact except in Hebrew. The oral test is used in Psychology and Hebrew to check and supplement the

written test, and in modern languages mainly to test command of the spoken language.[1]

(11) The examiners in each subject are appointed by the Senate on the recommendation of the Boards of Studies concerned. Together with the Honours examiners in that subject, appointed in the same way, they form a Board of Examiners which sits as a whole and considers finally the marks given by the individual examiners of any one paper. The marks for the General examination are considered by the same final Board which deals with the Honours examination in each subject, and also with the marks for the subject where it is taken as a subsidiary to a principal Honours subject. The same External Examiners, appointed in the same way, may be allotted indifferently to the General or to the Honours work. The External Examiner takes part both in the setting of papers and in the reading of scripts. All scripts are read independently by two examiners allotted to each paper, with subsequent discussion at a joint meeting. Capricious or uneven marking is thus eliminated.

(12) A numerical system of marking is adopted, which is translated into a literal mark for each subject, viz. A = First Class, B = Second Class, C = Pass, D = Doubtful, E = Fail. The numerical percentages allotted to each letter vary considerably in the various subjects, e.g. from 61 to 80 for A, from 33 to 50 for C, and from 32 to 45 for D. In four subjects no D mark is given. There is thus a considerable divergence of practice in the different subjects, which affects the final decision concerning the candidate.

The last stage in the process is reached by a meeting of all examiners in all subjects, who have before them a list of candidates with the literal marks set out in each subject. Their final class is decided according to the following scheme :

1ST DIVISION	2ND DIVISION	3RD DIVISION	DOUBTFUL	FAIL
AAA	AAC	AAD	ADD	DDD
AAB	ABB	ABD	BDD	E
	ABC	ACC	CDD	
	BBB	ACD		
	BBC	BBD		
		BCC		
		BCD		
		CCC		
		CCD		

" Doubtful " cases are discussed, upon reports of the examiners concerned. But there is an inevitable tendency for other decisions

[1] Any three subjects may be chosen from a wide list, including certain Sciences, Law and Music. A former restriction, prescribing that one subject shall be a language other than the candidate's own, has recently been abrogated, as a measure of reform.

to be automatic, in view of the large numbers involved. This particular problem is now under discussion, along with others.

(13) It will be observed that, in order to reach the First Division, a triple test has to be surmounted at two stages, and the severity of this gauntlet to be run is shown in actual results. In five years, out of a total of 600 candidates, 14 only have reached the First Division, and 228 have failed.

How Far does the Degree fulfil its Purpose?

(14) It will be obvious that, in the opinion of the present writer, the B.A. General Degree, its courses of study, and its examinations, fail to achieve the purposes for which they were instituted originally. A reform that might have been a valuable contribution to the problem of education for citizenship in the highest sense has been diverted into a device for making a Pass Degree more difficult of access. It serves its true purpose only in rare cases, where individual students of high quality proceed from the General Degree to an Honours Degree in a total period of three years. It may reasonably be stated, however, that the fault does not lie in the mechanism of the examination as a test of attainment so much as in the conception of the Degree and its courses. Success in the examination, to the degree of attaining a First or Second Division, vouches for a competent command for teaching purposes of three subjects, not excluding foreign languages. It also certifies a broad and valuable foundation of knowledge and interest, especially when subjects have been chosen which support and enlarge each other. The candidate who achieves a First Division has surmounted a searching test, and is undoubtedly of very high calibre indeed. He is a person of intellectual power, of capacity in a variety of studies, and promising to build further upon these bases. With him may fairly be associated the upper half of the Second Division, which is at present insufficiently differentiated.

C. J. Sisson.

CHAPTER TEN

The Examinations for the M.B., Ch.B. Degrees of the University of Edinburgh

BEFORE considering the examinations for the M.B., Ch.B. degrees of the University of Edinburgh, some brief reference to examinations for qualifying diplomas in Medicine is required.

The obvious and essential purpose of these examinations is to ensure that the graduate or licentiate possesses the requisite knowledge and skill to undertake the general practice of medicine. In terms of the Medical Acts such examinations are qualifying examinations for a professional diploma. This confers the right to registration under the Acts and *ipso facto* legal status as a medical practitioner. Under the Act of 1858 a " General Council of Medical Education and Registration " was set up, and since then this body has exercised certain statutory supervisory powers over the courses of study and the examinations leading to all qualifying diplomas. Thus, the standard of examinations for a qualifying degree in medicine and the courses of study preparatory to these are subject not only to the academic body of the university granting the degree, but also to the General Medical Council. The Council is, of course, concerned that standards shall not fall below a certain minimum irrespective of the requirements of the university, which may be as high as the academic body deems appropriate for the degree.

Organisation of the Curriculum

(2) The M.B., Ch.B. degree examinations of Edinburgh University, as in other universities and under other diploma-granting medical corporations, are arranged in successive steps. Thus, in Edinburgh there are four " professional examinations " : the " first " consisting of examinations in Chemistry (Inorganic and Organic), Physics, Botany and Zoology, completed normally at the end of the first year of study ; the " second," in Anatomy and Physiology, completed normally at the end of the second year of study ; the " third " in Materia Medica (Pharmacology), Therapeutics, Pathology and Bacteriology, taken at the end of the third year ; and the " fourth or final," in Forensic Medicine and Public Health (at the end of the fourth year), and in Medicine, Clinical Medicine, Surgery, Clinical Surgery, Obstetrics and Gynæcology, and Clinical Obstetrics and Gynæcology (at the end of the fifth year on completion of the whole curriculum). The final examination is the essential qualifying test. The earlier examinations, while testing the candidates in subjects a knowledge of which may be essential for the actual practice of medicine, have a somewhat different relationship. Their immediate purpose is to determine whether the student has such knowledge of basic subjects as to enable him to proceed to a further stage of his curriculum in which this basic training has

to be applied. In Chemistry, Physics, Botany and Zoology, the courses preceding the examinations are of an elementary nature, just sufficient to ensure such training in these subjects as to fit the student for later studies, e.g. in Physiology, Anatomy, Pharmacology. Similarly the courses in Anatomy and Physiology are designed to train the student for the studies which follow them, and the same applies for the most part to the third professional examination. It must, of course, be understood that the final examinations may include questions which necessitate a knowledge of the applications to Medicine and Surgery of the earlier subjects, e.g. Anatomy, Pathology, Materia Medica, etc. In the case of the first, second and third professional the examination is dominated by the course of study which has preceded it and its standard must depend on this. In most cases the elements only of the subject can be studied. This statement needs no elaboration in the case of the first professional group, but even in the medical sciences the courses are of necessity limited to essentials. While the purpose of the final examination, as an obvious safeguard to the public, is clearly defined, and there can be little or no difference of opinion regarding its standard, on the other hand the purpose and standards of the earlier examinations may admit of varying interpretations, and there is inevitably some difference of opinion regarding them.

(3) It might be argued that the purpose of these earlier examinations is to test whether the candidate has such knowledge of the constituent subjects as he may require to apply later in the practice of medicine. But the examinations considerably antedate the entry of the graduate into the profession, and no general practitioner requires for practical purposes all the actual knowledge which may be necessary to pass these examinations. In the long run the purpose of such tests must be to enforce a standard of training in the basic and medical sciences which will in the opinion of the academic body provide an adequate scientific foundation for the further study and practice of medicine ; the actual standard is laid down in the courses of study prescribed, and the professional examinations ensure that the student has fulfilled the requirements of the courses.

(4) Any differences of opinion, therefore, in regard to the earlier professional examinations pertain to the extent of the preparatory courses and the content of these, which, as explained, are governed by university ordinances and regulations agreed on by the Senatus Academicus on the advice of the Faculty of Medicine, and also by the professor of the subject who frames his syllabus of teaching within the time allotted to him. It may be of interest to instance some of the criticisms put forward. It has been suggested that botany is now an unnecessary subject in the curriculum. It is felt, however, by others that the biological training should not be too restricted and that there is a place for botanical instruction in order to give the student the broadest conception of both animal and plant life before proceeding to human medicine. These basic sciences will be referred to again in connection with admission to the cur-

riculum and its examinations. The examinations in anatomy and physiology follow courses extending over 854 hours and 335 hours respectively. The examinations are in accordance with the preceding training. Here the criticisms are that the anatomical training is excessive and the physiological instruction insufficient. There is the more general criticism that the courses in all the medical sciences (anatomy, physiology, pathology, bacteriology, pharmacology) go far beyond the necessities of training of general medical practice. This criticism, however, is hardly justified; the fact remains that in these subjects there is a great deal of information which must be inculcated and fundamental principles which must be taught if medical training is to be more than a mere apprenticeship in the art of medicine. Thus, while some critics in the profession may consider the courses in these sciences and the subsequent examinations of too exacting a standard, it seems unlikely that the universities will ever accept for their degrees anything lower than that which at present holds, and some may even require a higher level of knowledge in certain branches.

Conditions of Admission

(5) Admission to the examination is in accordance with the requirements as regards general education for admission to degree curricula in the Scottish Universities. The regulations need not be dealt with here. While there are certain minimum requirements, the general educational level of entrants to the medical curriculum varies considerably. Thus, a class of medical students in a university such as Edinburgh is somewhat heterogeneous in intellectual abilities. A few enter after some difficulty in passing the necessary admission examinations; a small number proceed to medical studies after graduating in Arts or Science. Between these there are all gradations, though the general average is good. It is not infrequently suggested that the educational requirements for admission are insufficient, that a higher standard is needed and some mechanism for excluding those of the lowest grade. It seems possible, however, that a stiffening of the entrance examination would only intensify the present specialised " cramming " for these examinations in schools and tutorial colleges at the expense of a more liberal education and in some cases might exclude potentially capable medical students. If selection is to be carried farther it seems more appropriate that this should take place during the first two years of the medical course. Those students who then prove unsatisfactory should be rigorously excluded from further medical study. Some years ago, in addition to the ordinary requirements for admission to a degree curriculum, a " preregistration " examination was instituted (in accordance with a resolution of the General Medical Council). In Edinburgh University this is an examination in elementary inorganic chemistry and physics, and is quite separate from the first professional examination. The standard is such that an entrant who has received an adequate school training in these

subjects should be able to pass the examination. No student is now allowed to start the medical curriculum until he has completed this examination, but he may be exempted from it if he has passed certain equivalent examinations (e.g. Higher Science of the Scottish Leaving Certificate), provided this pass is not one of those constituting his ordinary qualification for admission to the University. It may be explained that the General Medical Council expects students of medicine to register under them at the commencement of the curriculum, and that five years should elapse from the time of registration before qualifying as a medical practitioner. The passing of this preregistration examination is necessary for registration.

(6) In Edinburgh University each year there are now about four hundred applicants for admission to the medical school and the number accepted has been limited to two hundred. This necessitates further selection in addition to the entrance examinations. A fair proportion of applicants are from foreign countries (e.g. United States) and the British Dominions and colonies. Certain preferences are of course given, e.g. to British subjects, sons and daughters of graduates, etc., but at the same time the scholastic record is scrutinised by a selection committee as a basis for selection. This year out of those accepted seventy to eighty may be classified as students with first-class records in general education.

(7) As mentioned before, the professional examinations are in steps, and the first professional must be passed completely before admission to the second, and so on. For admission to each examination certain prescribed courses must be taken, and in each of these the student must have a " duly performed " (" D.P.") certificate which implies that he has attended the class regularly, performed the practical work satisfactorily (if this is included in the course) and obtained in the " class examinations " a minimum aggregate mark of 40 per cent. In certain special subjects in which there is no separate degree examination (e.g. Ophthalmology, Dermatology, etc.) a higher standard is demanded—50 per cent. The allotment of marks in the class examinations is practically on the same lines as in the professional examinations in which the pass mark is normally 50 per cent. This will be referred to later. Failure to obtain a " D.P." certificate means that the student is obliged to take a further course in the subject, and this may entail the addition of a year to his curriculum. After three opportunities of passing a professional examination the " D.P." certificate normally expires. To exclude the wholly unsatisfactory student from further attendance certain rules have recently been made whereby students who, after a certain length of time, have failed to pass the first and second professional examinations may be required to discontinue medical study at the University.

Organisation and Conduct of the Examination

(8) While there is some variation in detail as regards the system of examination in different subjects, in general the professional

examination consists of a written paper, an oral or *viva voce* test and, in subjects in which there is practical or clinical study, a practical or clinical examination. The written examination usually extends over two hours and generally includes four " questions " each of which on an average requires slightly less than thirty minutes to " answer " ; in some cases more questions are set and a choice allowed to the candidates. In the final examination there is no such option. In the basic and medical sciences the practical examination embraces the carrying out of laboratory observations or practical tests or exercises with the submission of written reports or " answers " on the results. In the final professional the clinical examinations have a somewhat more important status than the practicals in the laboratory subjects ; these include reporting on clinical cases, which involves bedside examination of patients, diagnosis, prescription of treatment, etc. In the oral examinations each candidate is questioned by two examiners sitting together ; the duration of this varies according to the judgment of the examiners in the particular case, but ten to fifteen minutes is the general average. The oral normally follows the other parts of the examination, and at that stage the examiners are in a position to assess the proficiency of the candidate in the first place on the basis of his written, and in some cases also his practical, work. Associated with the clinical examinations of the final professional there are oral examinations which are separate from those which follow the written tests in these subjects. Examiners make the result of the oral test the deciding factor in the case of candidates who are on the border-line. They generally use it as a means of confirming the results of the written and practical examinations, and thus ensure that the candidate has not attained a pass mark in these sections by " chance " knowledge.

(9) The examiners in all cases include the professor or a senior teacher of the subject along with an external examiner, and in some cases one or more lecturers. An external examiner is nominated by the Faculty of Medicine on the recommendation of the professor and holds office for not longer than four years (normally three). Along with the internal examiner he is responsible for setting questions for the written papers, reading the scripts and conducting oral examinations. He is " external " in the sense that he has not been concerned with the teaching of the candidates examined and is usually a teacher from another university or college.

(10) In the first professional the constituent examinations in Chemistry, Physics, Botany and Zoology are independent, and a student can pass each separately. (Normally the examinations in Chemistry and Zoology are taken together, and likewise Physics and Botany.) The same applies to Anatomy and Physiology in the second professional, though normally these two examinations are taken concurrently. In the third professional the candidate is required to pass the examination as a whole and is not allowed passes in individual subjects. The results are therefore determined by a board of examiners consisting of the professors of Materia Medica,

Therapeutics, Pathology and Bacteriology, along with external examiners ; with them are associated informally lecturers in these subjects, who take a share in the practical and oral examinations. The final examination is in two parts : first, Forensic Medicine and Public Health, and here again a pass in a single subject is not allowed, candidates being adjudicated on jointly by the professors of these subjects along with their external examiners ; second, Medicine, Clinical Medicine, Surgery, Clinical Surgery, Midwifery and Gynæcology, and Clinical Midwifery and Gynæcology ; in this part the candidate is required to pass all the constituent examinations together, but if a high standard has been attained in two of the three groups (1) Medicine and Clinical Medicine, (2) Surgery and Clinical Surgery, (3) Obstetrics and Gynæcology and Clinical Obstetrics and Gynæcology, with a failure in the third, he may be referred for six months only in the subjects of his failure and allowed passes in the others. In this case on reappearance for examination in one group only he is expected to attain a higher standard than the normal. Over the different sections of an examination, written, practical and oral, the student is required to obtain an aggregate mark of 50 per cent., and though weakness in one section can be compensated for by strength in another, he is not allowed to pass if in any section he falls below 40 per cent. In the final examination the clinical examinations with their orals are separate from the other examinations, but a certain amount of weakness in Medicine may be compensated for by strength in Clinical Medicine, and the same applies to Surgery and Obstetrics and Gynæcology. An aggregate of 75 per cent. entitles the candidate to the award of " distinction " in a professional examination. After the final examination the marks of all professional examinations are aggregated on a basis which gives most weight to the final examination and least to the first professional, and 70 per cent. entitles the graduand to an " Honours degree."

(11) As regards marking of scripts the practice of course varies slightly in different examinations, but this is shared according to some agreed-on system between the internal and external examiners.

(12) At the adjudication of results in professional examinations each student's record of class work is before the examiners or examination board, and in doubtful cases this may have a determining influence. At the meeting of the final-examination board the student's complete record may also be considered.

How Far do the Examinations fulfil their Purpose ?

(13) The general feeling among examiners is that these examinations yield a satisfactory result in testing the candidates' fitness.. The system of written and oral or written, practical and oral examinations in each subject is both searching, well balanced and essentially fair to the candidate in permitting compensations as explained above. It also reduces to a minimum " chance " passes or failures. Most examiners use the oral test for eliciting the " best "

in a candidate, though if he detects weakness he will naturally try to assess this by more searching questions. The unsatisfactory candidate who without an adequate grasp of a subject has by " cramming " and memorising managed to attain a pass mark in a written paper will show his weakness in the practical and oral tests. Thus the examinations, while maintaining a sound standard, are to be regarded as generally very fair to the candidates. While the marking is on the percentage basis, this must be broadly interpreted. The examiner has his standard of what constitutes a passable knowledge ; to the minimum of this he assesses 50 per cent. and the deviations above or below this level are marked accordingly. It might be argued that different examiners must vary greatly in their assessment, but a recent statistical investigation in connection with class examinations in the third year where several different teachers each independently marked the same series of scripts elicited remarkably close correlations.

(14) The award of honours on graduating undoubtedly betokens a student of high capability both from the academic and professional standpoints, and this has been well illustrated among Edinburgh medical graduates by the post-graduate performance of those who have attained this level. A consistently good record below the honours level in these examinations could certainly not be attained by mere " cramming," though such record connotes steady and thorough undergraduate work ; it also generally indicates capacity for later professional work. At the same time some students who have had difficulties with the earlier examinations either through lack of consistent application to their studies or through some inherent difficulty in presenting their knowledge at examinations ultimately prove to be quite capable doctors.

(15) The whole question of the true significance to be attached to the results of these examinations in the University of Edinburgh has recently been under critical consideration, and in this connection a recent article in the *British Medical Journal*, by Dr. W. G. Millar (a lecturer in the Medical School), on the " Consistency of University Examinations," may be quoted. He has undertaken a study of the correlation among students' marks in the six subjects of the third-year class examinations—Medicine, Surgery, Pharmacology, Therapeutics, Pathology and Bacteriology—and in the various professional examinations. He has been able to show that the performance of a candidate, although judged in six different subjects, and in the case of most of these independently by three or four different teachers, is remarkably constant. Correlations have also been calculated between the final and other professional examinations and the class examinations referred to, and these have proved to be very high and significant, though, as might be expected, the correlation in the case of the first professional is less marked. From such analyses Dr. Millar has concluded that the examinations form a reliable guide to the students' academic capabilities.

T. J. MACKIE.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

The Final Examination for the M.B., B.S. Degrees in the University of London

General Objects and Standard of the Examination

THE M.B., B.S. degrees of the University of London are registrable with the General Medical Council as a qualification for the practice of medicine. The final examination is therefore a test of utilisable knowledge and skill. This attribute it shares with the examinations for all the registrable qualifications. The final M.B., B.S. of a university is more than a registrable qualification, for only the holders of this degree can proceed to the higher degrees of M.D. and M.S. The examination must therefore be a test of progress and of the probable ability of the candidate to benefit by further training in the special branches of medicine, surgery, obstetrics and pathology. This characteristic it shares with the corresponding degree examinations of all the universities in the country. In the University of London there are two factors that have placed the M.B., B.S. examination on a standard rather higher than that of the corresponding examination in almost all the other universities in Great Britain. Firstly, the majority of the candidates have already obtained a qualifying diploma from the Royal Colleges and have been engaged for at least a few months in hospital or private practice ; and secondly, the examiners are not the teachers of the candidates, and have as a rule no knowledge of their previous capabilities or performance, so that the examination is, in fact, external. The general purposes of the examination are therefore to test whether the candidate has sufficient knowledge—(i) to be permitted to practise medicine ; (ii) to proceed to a further training in a special branch of medicine or surgery ; and (iii) to attain the standard that has become traditional in the University of London. Many examiners do not recognise the third of these purposes, but the nature of the examination probably determines the high standard, apart from any design on the part of the examiners. A few examiners do not acknowledge the second purpose, and maintain that the only purpose is to test the candidate's utilisable skill, but as the panel of examiners is a large one and those who maintain this attitude are few, they have no effect on the standard as a whole. Much discussion has been aroused from time to time, owing to the examiners in some subject of the examination endeavouring to use the examination to improve the standard of instruction in that subject throughout the medical schools of the University, by raising the standard required for a pass in that subject. This is probably a legitimate use of the examination in a university with twelve separate constituent medical schools, throughout which it would be extremely difficult by any other means

to raise so effectively the standard of instruction. That the use of the examination for this purpose imposes a hardship on the candidates, there can be no denying, and the only excuse for so doing is the fact that in London the majority of the candidates are already qualified to practise, so that a failure to pass one part of the examination rarely interferes seriously with the candidate's career.

Conditions of Admission to the Examination

(2) For admission to the final examination, five and a half years must have elapsed since matriculation and three years since the passing of the examinations in anatomy and physiology (Part II of the Second Examination), and the candidate must present evidence of satisfactory attendance at courses in medicine, surgery, obstetrics and gynæcology, pathology, forensic medicine and hygiene, and a number of special branches of these subjects at a hospital recognised by the University for the purpose. In these courses practical experience is emphasised and the minimum period of attendance at the practical work of the hospital stated, but the details of the lectures are left largely to the medical school attached to the hospital to decide. In forensic medicine and in hygiene only are detailed syllabuses of the ground to be covered laid down by the University, with the result that the courses in the other subjects are influenced to a large extent by the questions asked at the examination.

Plan of the Examination

(3) The subjects of the final examination are divided into two Groups, which may be taken separately or together, and failure to pass in any one subject necessitates re-examination in all the subjects of the Group. Group I consists of medicine, pathology, forensic medicine and hygiene, and Group II of surgery, and obstetrics and gynæcology. In medicine and in surgery there are two papers, each of three hours' duration ; in the other subjects there is one paper of three hours' duration ; and in each subject there is an oral examination of a quarter of an hour's duration. In medicine the practical examination consists of (i) the clinical examination of a patient and the writing of a commentary on the case ; for the former, three-quarters of an hour is allowed, and for the latter one hour, and (ii) the examination in the presence of the examiner of one or more patients in respect to some special aspects of the case or cases and an oral report to the examiners. In surgery (*a*) one or more patients are examined clinically and discussed with the examiners, and (*b*) a further oral examination is held on surgical appliances, splints and bandages and on operative procedures. In obstetrics and gynæcology, the practical examination consists of the clinical examination of one or more patients in the presence of the examiners and an oral report and discussion ; and in pathology also, a practical examination is held. In forensic medicine and hygiene the oral examination is made as practical as possible by requiring the recogni-

tion and discussion of museum specimens of medico-legal significance.

(4) The whole examination is spread over a period of three weeks, but each candidate is occupied for a part only of that time, and the practical and oral examinations are held in the afternoons only so that the examiners may continue their professional work during the period of the examination. Two examinations are held in each year, in May and November.

Method of Appointment and Duties of Examiners. Marking Scheme : Final Allotment of Marks

(5) The examinerships are advertised in the medical and in the public press, and the appointments are made on the recommendation of the Board of Advanced Medical Studies. In each of the three subjects, (i) medicine, (ii) surgery, and (iii) obstetrics and gynaecology, there are four External or Staff Examiners and four Associate Examiners ; in pathology there are two Staff Examiners and two Associates, and in forensic medicine and hygiene, two Staff Examiners. The Staff Examiners are appointed for four years and the Associate Examiners for two years, and the Staff Examiners are usually selected from among those who have already acted as Associate Examiners. As far as possible one of the Staff Examiners and one of the Associate Examiners in each subject is appointed from a medical school outside London, and the other appointments are so arranged that as many of the medical schools of the University as possible are represented, and that no school is unrepresented for a longer period than is unavoidable. The appointments are usually made from the list of applications in response to the advertisements, but in the event of an insufficient number of suitable applicants, the Board of Studies may recommend the appointment of someone who has not applied. Extra Staff Examiners and Associate Examiners may be appointed in the event of the number of candidates making this advisable, to avoid undue prolongation of the examination.

(6) The Staff Examiners (not the Associate Examiners) in each subject act as a board for that subject, and the examiner who has served the longest acts as chairman. They set the papers and attend a meeting of the Staff Examiners in all the subjects of the examination, at which the final settlement of the marks is made. Otherwise there is no difference between the duties of a Staff Examiner and those of an Associate Examiner. A Staff Examiner and one Associate act together in reading a proportion of the scripts and in conducting the practical and oral examinations. The total number of candidates are divided in four or five batches, and one Staff Examiner and one Associate read the scripts of one batch, conduct the practicals of another, and the orals of a third, and so on. No candidate is examined in the practical parts of the examination in the hospital in which he has been trained or by examiners who are members of the staff of that hospital. Each script is read inde-

pendently by a Staff Examiner and an Associate, and in the practical and oral parts of the examination a Staff Examiner and an Associate are always present and act together. The performance of each candidate in each of the papers and each of the practical and oral parts of the examination is thus observed and marked by two examiners; and under the plan adopted, as described above, his work will be judged by fourteen pairs of examiners who deal with different portions of it. In the practical and oral parts, the marks are allotted by the pairs of examiners in collaboration; in the papers, the marks are allotted by each examiner independently. The candidates are designated by numbers, and their names do not appear on their papers.

As the number of candidates at each examination is between 200 and 300, each examiner in medicine and in surgery reads between 100 and 150 scripts and examines between fifty and seventy-five candidates in the practical part of the examination, and the same number in the *viva voce*.

(7) The scheme of marking is numerical, and in each subject 50 per cent. is required for a pass. No rules are laid down for the method of marking, but the number of marks to be allotted for each paper, for the practical and for the oral, are stated in the University regulations, and it is usual to allot an equal proportion of the total to each question in the papers. The method usually adopted by the examiners is to give 50 per cent. of the total for each question if the candidate's performance is sufficient and only just sufficient to reach the standard traditional for the degree, and to give more or less marks as the performance varies from this. In judging the answers or performance of a candidate, the attainment of knowledge sufficient to qualify for practice, with something rather more to justify the conferment of the M.B., B.S. degrees of the University, affords a satisfactory "fixed point" around which the merits of individual candidates can be assessed. With this method of marking, and the high standard demanded for a pass, it is difficult to conceive of any candidate deserving twice as many marks as those required for a pass, and the figures are generally, therefore, on the low side; so that even 75 per cent. is rarely given except in the practicals. A mark a little below 50 per cent. for one question is usually compensated for by one a little above in another. In medicine, surgery, and obstetrics and gynæcology, a failure to attain the pass mark of 50 per cent. in the practical part of the examination cannot be compensated for by any excess over the pass mark for the papers and the oral, so that a failure to pass in the practical part of one of these subjects results in a failure in that subject and in the Group.

(8) All the Staff Examiners in all the subjects meet under the chairmanship of the Principal of the University for the final settlement of the marks, and a slight deficiency in any one subject is usually ignored if the performance of the candidate is otherwise satisfactory; a deficiency in the marks for the practical part of any subject is,

however, strictly regarded as a failure to attain pass marks in that subject and so in the Group. There is no separate examination for Honours, but Honours may be given in any subject of the examination. It is usual for the examiners in each subject to consider for Honours the candidate with the highest marks, or if two or more are close together, to consider the claims of each. Honours cannot be allotted to a candidate in any subject unless the candidate has passed successfully at the same examination in all subjects of both Groups I and II. The actual number of marks first allotted to any candidate is usually below that laid down in the regulations of the University as necessary for Honours, but this results from the system of marking, which is designed for a qualifying examination rather than a competitive one, and so it has become customary to adjust the marks of the candidates selected for Honours so that the regulations of the University are complied with. To the candidate with the highest total in all the subjects of the examination is usually given a University medal.

How Far does the Examination fulfil its Objects?

(9) As a qualifying examination, admitting the successful candidate to the Medical Register and permitting him to practise medicine, the M.B., B.S. examination of the University of London is entirely satisfactory. It is a test of utilisable skill and knowledge of a high order, and in this respect it may be regarded as of an unnecessarily high standard. The practice of medicine brings the practitioner into situations in which errors of commission, as well as of omission, may have results that are dangerous to life, and so an examination that determines the qualification to practise must be more than a test of utilisable knowledge and skill. It must also be a test to determine that the candidate has sufficient knowledge and understanding of the subject to avoid actions that may have serious results to the individual and to the community. This aspect of the examination is ever before the examiners, and in this respect also, especially by means of the practical and oral parts, the examination is satisfactory.

(10) As a test of progress to distinguish the candidates who are capable of making good use of a further training in special branches, it is satisfactory; and if financial or other circumstances do not permit the holder of this degree to specialise or to proceed to the higher degrees of M.D. and M.S., he is likely to make good use of the opportunities afforded him by the experience of general practice to increase his knowledge and to keep abreast of the advances of medical science and its applications. The subjects of the examination are arranged in two Groups, and a failure in one subject requires re-examination in all the subjects of its Group, so that consideration of each subject in relation to the efficiency of the examination in that subject alone may be irrelevant, but it is of interest that while the examinations in medicine, surgery, pathology and obstetrics and

gynæcology are all satisfactory tests of utilisable knowledge and of progress, that in forensic medicine and hygiene is not. It is satisfactory in that it tests the acquisition by the candidate of sufficient knowledge of these subjects to prevent him making errors that are hurtful to the community or to an individual; but the knowledge and skill required for the efficient prosecution of these branches can only be acquired after intensive post-graduate study and practical experience. The standard of the examination in these subjects is quite elementary, and if considered alone, the examination is a satisfactory test neither of utilisable skill nor of progress.

Statistics of the Examination. The Large Proportion of those who fail to complete the Course

(11) Of the students from one of the medical schools of the University of London who pass successfully the second examination for the M.B., B.S. degrees, only 50 to 60 per cent. present themselves for the final examination. Of these, about 95 per cent. are successful after one or more attempts, but at any one examination, less than 40 per cent. of all the candidates who take the whole examination (i.e. the two Groups together) are successful in both Groups. That so small a proportion of the students who have completed the necessary course of study enter for the final examination of the University is largely the result of financial considerations, for by means of the examination of the Royal Colleges it is possible to obtain a registrable qualification for the practice of medicine a few months earlier. Most students of the University avail themselves of this opportunity to earn money by means of resident appointments, or in practice, at the earliest possible opportunity, and so to save some of the heavy expenditure on their professional education. A large number of those who do this never proceed to the final M.B., B.S. Examination. From the point of view of the University as well as of the student, this is regrettable, but the examination itself cannot be blamed. The University is at present considering means that will make the candidate's approach to the examination more easy without lowering its standard.

The low percentage of successes at any one examination is more closely related to the examination itself. If it were an occasional or a temporary occurrence it might be regarded as a reflection on the standard of instruction, and if it were due to a low percentage of successes among candidates from certain schools of the University, it would certainly be evidence of inefficiency in these schools. It is, however, a remarkably constant occurrence, and no one school is more responsible for it than another. If it is due to an unconscious attempt on the part of the examiners to raise the standard of education given by the medical schools, it has failed in its purpose, as there is no evidence that the percentage of successes is increasing. That it may be the fault of the examination must, I think, be considered, for the majority of the candidates follow the curriculum and carry out the

requirements of the University to the best of their ability, and have by means of their success in the earlier examinations demonstrated their satisfactory progress, and yet only about 40 per cent. of those who have passed the earlier examinations pass the final examination. Four-fifths of the examiners are teachers in the University, so that it is unlikely that they consciously set a standard that is too high in relation to the education they have given. Although so large a proportion of the examiners are also teachers in the University, precautions are taken, as we have seen, that the candidates should be examined in the practical and *viva voce* parts of the examination by examiners from medical schools other than those in which they were trained. The external character of the examination may be a factor in the low percentage of passes, but a more probable explanation is that a majority of the candidates are already qualified and holding resident appointments. A resident appointment in medicine or surgery or obstetrics may result in a high standard of knowledge in that one subject, but marks difficulties in maintaining the necessary standard in the other clinical subjects and in pathology.

Internal examinations have been instituted in earlier examinations for the degree, and if this can be done also in the final examination in spite of the administrative difficulties, it will be of interest to see if the percentage of successes will rise. Alterations in the regulations to encourage candidates to enter for the final examination before holding resident appointments would probably be more effective.

FRANCIS R. FRASER.

CHAPTER TWELVE

The Mechanical Sciences Tripos at Cambridge University

General Object of the Course

SINCE the Mechanical Sciences Tripos was introduced in 1894, the broad principles governing the teaching have undergone singularly little change. It is proposed briefly to consider these principles before dealing with the examination in detail.

The courses are designed to provide instruction in the general scientific principles which underlie *all* the main departments of Engineering rather than to provide intensive training in any particular branch. The Honours Course extends over three years, and it is only in the third year that any specialisation is permitted—and then only to a limited extent.

As a result of the broad nature of the training provided, it is not claimed that Cambridge moulds its students into fully-fledged engineers, but, on the other hand, it is claimed that Cambridge-trained men acquire a working knowledge of the fundamental principles underlying all branches of Engineering—structural, mechanical and electrical. They are not, it is true, specialists in any one direction, but they possess a versatility and balance of mind which enables them to strike out with equal facility along any line which they may subsequently be called upon to pursue. The Cambridge view is that premature specialisation cramps the imagination and is destructive to the length and breadth of mental vision. Experience frequently shows that a man who has had his foundations of belief widely and deeply laid will overtake and surpass one of equal native intelligence who has had his imagination restricted by premature specialisation.

It is held that in a university course of engineering, instruction should primarily concentrate on teaching those essentials which, if not acquired at that stage, never will be acquired. Technicalities which will automatically be picked up in a student's subsequent career are useful as stimulating interest, but apart from this they are of secondary importance. The view is taken that education does not consist in the memorisation of a number of facts and formulæ, useful as these may be when leavened with intelligence ; at its best it should aim at something much deeper and more lasting, for the good of education is the power of reasoning and the habit of mind which remains when all efforts of memorisation have faded into oblivion.

(2) Having these ideals continually before them, those responsible for engineering training in Cambridge have evolved a course of teaching which, as has been said, has not greatly altered from the time when the late Professor (subsequently Sir Alfred) Ewing

obtained recognition of Engineering as an Honours Course of study and the Mechanical Sciences Tripos came into existence. Although the scope of the course has naturally widened with the passage of time, Ewing's successors have maintained insistence on preserving a wide range of subjects, whilst at the same time limiting the amount of specialisation permitted.

So to-day we find that the main part of the Honours Course consists of lectures and laboratory work in Mathematics, Mechanics, Hydraulics, Theory of Structures, Surveying, Heat Engines, Electricity, Engineering Chemistry and Metallurgy, whilst in their third year all Honours students attend a course in Industrial Economics. Throughout the courses illustrative examples are drawn from engineering practice, and work in the laboratory, in the drawing office and in the examples classes proceeds concurrently with the lectures. Furthermore, a practical familiarity with the use of tools is required of all students who take Engineering. This can now be obtained satisfactorily in the Department's workshops, either during Full Term or during the Long Vacation. Students can also get the necessary qualification by entering engineering works during the vacations.

(3) The Final Examination is, therefore, designed to test a student's knowledge over a wide range of subjects throughout which no options are permitted whereby this test of general basic knowledge might be made less comprehensive. The papers in this part of the examination are referred to subsequently as those of Section A. In addition, however, voluntary papers of a more advanced nature are provided (Section B) in order that a student may gain credit for his advanced reading in chosen subjects.

Having thus obtained a general idea of the purpose of the examination, let us consider the actual regulations and conditions governing it.

Conditions of Admission to the Final Examination

(4) In order to obtain a degree via the Mechanical Sciences Tripos, a student must have passed a Qualifying Examination in Mathematics and Mechanics (Statics and Dynamics) not later than the beginning of his second year. This latter examination is of an elementary character and a student of average aptitude should be able to pass it before the end of his first year ; it may, however, be taken as soon as a student has been accepted for admission to a college, and before he actually commences residence.

The progress of most candidates for Honours, in any year in which they do not take a Tripos Examination, is tested by Preliminary Examinations, and on the results of these the examiners can grant allowances towards the Ordinary B.A. Degree.

Details of the Examination

(5) The Tripos is taken by most students at the end of their third year. It comprises sixteen papers of three hours each (except the

drawing paper, which is in two parts of three hours each) divided into two Sections, as follows :

Section A	*Section B*	
Applied Mechanics.	Group 1.	Applied Mechanics.
Mechanics of Machines and Hydraulics.		Mechanics of Machines.
Theory of Structures.	Group 2.	Theory of Structures (Civil).
Heat and Heat Engines.		Theory of Structures (Mechanical).
Applied Electricity.	Group 3.	Heat and Heat Engines.
Chemical and Physical Properties of Materials.	Group 4.	Electric Power.
Drawing.		Electric Signalling.
Essay.	Group 5.	Aeronautics.

Candidates are required to take *all* the papers of Section A and also to satisfy the examiners that they are competent to perform simple laboratory tests and experiments illustrative of the subjects of the papers and workshop operations, that they can make and interpret drawings, and that they can adjust and use surveying instruments and plot the results of a simple survey.

The papers of Section B contain questions of greater difficulty or of wider range, and it is not necessary to take these in order to pass the examination, but it is provided in the regulations that in order to obtain a First Class a candidate must acquit himself with special merit in two of these papers selected from different Groups, *or* with special merit in one paper and with merit in two other papers. In Electric Power and Electric Signalling the examiners take into account not only the performance of candidates in the written papers, but also laboratory work done by the candidates. For this purpose the Head of the Engineering Department presents the examiners with a detailed report of the work done by the candidates in the laboratory.

(6) In classifying candidates examiners take into account ability shown in making and interpreting drawings. For this purpose the Head of the Engineering Department presents the examiners with a detailed report of the work done by candidates in an examination in this subject held in the Engineering Department in the last week of the Lent Term of the year in which a candidate proposes to take the Tripos Examination.

Conduct of the Examination

(7) To conduct the examination five examiners are appointed by the General Board of the University in the Michaelmas Term, the examiners being nominated by the Faculty Board of Engineering, which Board also nominates (for appointment by the General Board) assessors to the examiners in such subjects of Section B as they consider desirable, and in such special subjects the assessors set the papers and advise the examiners on the performance of candidates.

The questions proposed by individual examiners or assessors are submitted to all the other examiners and are adopted by them collectively, but only after a very comprehensive system of scrutiny and checking. The answers to each question are, as far as possible, examined by two at least of the examiners, and this is invariably done when border-line cases are under consideration.

Meaning of the Degree

(8) A student who obtains Honours in the Mechanical Sciences Tripos at the end of his third year is entitled to the B.A. Degree, and possesses a professional qualification in respect of scientific knowledge which is held in high esteem by engineering employers. The practical experience which is necessary for every engineer in addition to the theoretical knowledge is in most cases obtained subsequent to graduation in the course of an apprenticeship lasting two or three years in some engineering works.

(9) In the opinion of many authorities it is desirable for a boy who intends to become an engineer to spend a few months as an apprentice in works before taking up residence in a university, with a corresponding shortening of the apprenticeship subsequent to graduation. If this procedure is adopted it is desirable that the student should have passed the Qualifying Examination in Mathematics and Mechanics while still at school, and it will then not matter if his mind lies fallow as far as these subjects are concerned during the interregnum between school and university. If, however, he has not reached the required standard before leaving school, then the arrangements for his practical training must be such that he can maintain his studies in Mathematics and Mechanics so that he starts at Cambridge at least as well prepared in these subjects as when he left school.

C. E. INGLIS.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

The Examination for Honours in Physics in the University of Manchester

THE number of students who enter the Honours Physics course at Manchester University each year is generally between fifteen and twenty.[1] About one-half of these students eventually become school teachers. The majority of the remainder obtain technical posts, in one of the research associations, in research laboratories of industrial firms or in government laboratories. A few obtain posts in universities; owing to the opportunities for original research which such posts afford, they are eagerly sought by the best men. It is rarely that any of the students regard their course as a general education for administrative or other work. They are essentially specialists. Those who take up teaching generally become physics masters in secondary schools, grammar schools or public schools.

Conditions of Admission

(2) Most students take their finals after a three-year course, though a few exercise the option of spending four years over the course. Students are admitted to the course on presenting evidence that they have attained a sufficient standard in physics and mathematics. In nearly every case this evidence is provided by their record in the Higher School Certificate examination, but there is no rigid requirement. Admission is at the discretion of the Professor of Physics. In doubtful cases students are provisionally admitted to the first year's course; if their results in the terminal examinations are poor they are either advised to take four years or are deflected to the ordinary B.Sc. course. At the end of two years there is a Part I examination, failure in which debars a student from passing on to Honours Physics finals. Students who fail to satisfy the examiners in their finals are recommended for the Ordinary B.Sc. degree if they have obtained a certain standard. About a quarter of the students who embark on an Honours course drop out at one or other of these stages.

Organisation and Conduct of the Examination

(3) The final examination consists of three question papers and an essay. No practical examination is held either at the Part I or final stage. The student does only two or three experiments

[1] A considerable number of science students take the "General Honours" course, with Physics as one of the principal subjects. The standard in their final examination is identical with that of the Part I Honours Physics examination at the end of the second year.

during his final year, each being of the nature of a minor research problem, requiring about a term's work for its completion. The external examiner spends a quarter of an hour with each candidate, seeing his note-books and discussing the methods he has used to overcome difficulties, and confirms or amends a numerical marking allotted by the staff in charge of the third-year practical work. This marking ranks equally with that given for each paper. We attach great importance to the assessment of the candidates' practical ability, not only in awarding classes, but also in recommendations for posts.

(4) The questions in the Honours examination are marked by the members of the staff who give lectures in the corresponding branches of the subject (this is only the case for the Honours finals, not for Intermediate and Final Ordinary B.Sc. examinations). The external examiner sees all the Honours scripts, but generally concentrates on candidates who are border-line cases in the assignment of classes. The marking of the answer papers is numerical. There is a strong element of continuity, since changes in the panel of five or six examiners are infrequent. Precedent, therefore, is allowed to decide at what levels the dividing lines between the classes shall be drawn in the first instance, as a basis for discussion. Each essay is read by several examiners and marked literally (i.e. $\alpha +$ to $\gamma -$). These marks are not included in the total, but are given weight in border-line cases. The examiners have before them the full record of each student's first and second-year terminal examinations, and are instructed to take these records into account.

(5) Students are divided into First Class, Second Class (Division 1), Second Class (Division II) and Third Class. On the average, one-quarter of the students are placed in each class, but the numbers vary considerably from year to year. I am convinced that these variations are significant, and not due to differences in the scale of marking. A "year" of students passing up through the courses makes the same impression of being good, average or poor on the members of the staff who successively deal with it. We give no weight to the relative number of students in each class when assigning the classes, being guided entirely by the students' records and their marks in relation to the scale established by precedent.

How Far does the Examination fulfil its Purpose?

(6) I am invited to discuss the extent to which, in my opinion, the purpose of the examination is at present achieved and the meaning to be attached to success in it. This is, of course, a fair question, but one to which it is difficult to frame an answer. As I see it, the examination is of value for two reasons. In the first place, the knowledge that an examination looms ahead makes a student concentrate on his work. It is dangerously easy to think that one understands the whole of a train of reasoning, or knows all the salient facts of a group of natural phenomena, simply because one has intelli-

gently followed the details when reading an account. The scientific investigator who has to master something new—for instance, an original paper in which he is interested—acquires the habit of setting himself an examination. After convincing himself that he understands the paper, he puts it on one side and tries to reproduce the line of reasoning in his own words or to deduce the formulæ in his own way. This is always (in my experience) a distressing and illuminating task, which reveals how insecure is one's grasp of the essential points. On the other hand, if the discipline is persisted in, ideas become clarified in a very remarkable way, and what appears difficult at first is seen to be very easy. To my mind, one of the most valuable results of the series of examinations taken by a student is that it forces him from time to time to assess the extent to which he has mastered his subject. He is to a large extent his own examiner. Without some such periodic test, a student's knowledge is apt to remain vague and confused. The effect of examinations upon a good student is to give him a realistic attitude towards the extent of his knowledge, and to accustom him to test himself.

(7) I have become less ambitious in setting questions as my experience of examinations has increased. I have given up any attempt to set questions which are designed to test a student's originality or his reading of subjects outside the scope of his lectures, or to set problems which vary widely from those he has already tackled. There are in each branch of physics certain fundamental ideas and lines of reasoning. In my lectures I express these ideas in numerous alternative ways, watching my class and trying to awaken the reaction which every lecturer comes to recognise as the evidence of success—" Of course, if you put it in that way, the whole thing is obvious." It is possible to ask questions which test whether a student has grasped the significance of these ideas. If he can reproduce them in his own words, with lucidity and conciseness, I feel he has done all that can reasonably be expected in the strenuous conditions of a three-hour examination. Originality, general reading and the power of tackling unfamiliar problems are, of course, essential elements in a student's success in after-life, but I do not think it is possible to test them by examinations.

If one is content with this limited aim, then I think it can be said that the examination is a valuable and successful test. The student who tries to make up for his lack of understanding by memorising sets himself a stupendous task and is easily surpassed by the man who has a grasp of essentials.

(8) The second purpose of the examination is to enable the examiners to assess the student's ability, and to award him a distinctive class which he can offer as evidence of that ability when applying for a post. To what extent is this purpose achieved? Here, again, I think we can say that the examination is successful if it is clearly recognised that it only tests one of a number of qualities which fit the student for his work in after-life. When academic honours are discredited, and supposed to be of little significance, it is generally

because the critic wrongly assumes that they are intended to be the sole index of a candidate's ability.

The Subsequent Careers of Students

The responsibility of a university towards its students does not end when it has taught them, examined them and given them degrees. It must help them to get posts for which they are suited, and to do this it must establish a reputation with their possible future employers for assessing its graduates' capacities shrewdly. The degree represents the university's verdict on the student's intellectual ability. The opportunity to supplement this verdict by an assessment of all those qualities which no examination can test is afforded by the confidential letter which the head of the department writes as referee when one of his men is applying for a post. This letter generally carries more weight than the degree result, and it is right that it should do so. Employers want to know about a man's keenness, pertinacity, vitality and power of working companionably with his colleagues.

(9) In our Honours School a separate dossier is kept for each student, with his photograph, his record in all examinations, any important letters which have passed about his career and an assessment of his character written by the members of the staff who have come closely in contact with him during his three-year course. This last is written at the time the man takes his degree when our knowledge of him is still fresh in our minds, and it is largely based on contact in the practical classes. If he stays on to do research, we get further valuable evidence of his capacity. In my opinion it is as important to make this judgment accurate as it is to conduct the degree examinations fairly.

To take an instance, there are many students who do well in the more elementary work of the first two years, but fail to get a high Honours degree. They find difficulty in the logical analysis and complex mathematics of advanced physics. Such men may be conscientious, accurate, with common sense and practical ability of a high order. They may be more suitable for many posts than men who have got a brilliant First. Their moderate degree indicates fairly that they are limited in certain directions, but the backing we are able to give them by our experience of their ability in other directions enables them to get the good posts for which they are fitted.

(10) It must be borne in mind, when judging the value of university examinations, that the examiners have known the candidates intimately for several years. The lecturers can predict with fair accuracy what class each man will get before the examinations are held. I remember when I was taking my Part II at Cambridge in a class of about a dozen students, the laboratory boy drew up a list of the classes he expected us to get, before the Tripos examination was held, and he was right in nearly every case. The task of the

university teacher who examines his own men is much easier than that of the school teacher who is preparing candidates for a big public examination. The university man is free to teach and examine in the way he thinks best suited to fit the students for after-life. The school-teacher, on the other hand, is obliged to work to a set syllabus, and has to prepare his boys for a test in which success or failure depends on what they write in a few hectic hours. Whether this latter system can ever work well may be open to doubt. I believe, however, that the courses and examinations in a modern university are so flexible and give us so many opportunities to know our students, that we must ascribe our failures to our own lack of judgment, and not to the system. If we find, when following up the careers of our students, that we have judged their capacity incorrectly in the past, we must try to see what qualities we have overlooked, so that we may recognise and value them properly in future.

W. L. BRAGG.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

THE EXAMINATIONS FOR (1) THE SPECIAL HONOURS B.SC. DEGREE IN PHYSICS; (2) THE SPECIAL HONOURS B.SC. DEGREE IN PHYSICS WITH ELECTRICAL ENGINEERING; (3) THE GENERAL HONOURS B.SC. DEGREE, INCLUDING PHYSICS IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

Introductory

IN the University of Leeds there are three Honours degrees in Science into which Physics, as a subject, enters. There is the Special Honours degree in Physics, the Special Honours degree in Physics with Electrical Engineering, and the General Honours degree including Physics. Each of these degrees may be awarded with First, Second or Third-class Honours on the results of the appropriate examination terminating a required course. Admission to the examinations is under no circumstances permitted without satisfactory attendance on the course.

Historically, the Special Honours degree was the first of these three in the field, and the course was originally based on the Pass course in Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry, which, for a student entering with a Matriculation certificate or its equivalent, involved a study of the first two subjects for three years and the third for at least one. A further period of one year given up to Physics alone completed the Honours course.

The Two Special Honours Degrees in Physics

(2) To-day only an occasional student takes so long as four years, since in view of the more adequate teaching in the schools the majority can pass on to the second year's work in the first academic year, completing these required initial studies by the end of the second year. These initial studies—which, in fact, comprise the Pass B.Sc. course—are followed by the devotion of the whole of the third year to Physics, although, in view of the extending content of the subject, it has for some years been necessary for Special Honours students to attend some Honours lectures in their second year.

One great advantage from the point of view of the student in arranging matters in this way is that, if for any reason—inadequate intellectual development or poor health, for example—it is pretty clear that he is unlikely to raise himself to the standard required for Honours, he can readily revert to a Pass course at the beginning of his third year, and so have a reasonable hope of getting a degree.

I should like it to be plain that there is a strong body of opinion, fortified by traditional practice, not only that the course is as essential as the examination, but that the undergraduate's progress and understanding should be tested frequently throughout his academic studies; in this way alone, it is felt, can the possibility of accident,

whether favourable or unfavourable, at the final examination be minimised.

(3) Each undergraduate, then, in his progress towards the final Honours examination, is required to take examinations in his main and ancillary subjects and to attain adequate standards. The examinations take place at Christmas and June in every year, and the results may be taken into consideration in awarding the final degree.

General Purpose of the Special Honours Degree in Physics

(4) The general purpose of the course and examination is clearly to ensure that every graduate shall primarily have the knowledge and grip of his subject proper to the class of Honours awarded him. I hold the view—shared by my colleagues—that narrowness of outlook and intellectual shortsightedness should, so far as possible, be corrected in the specialist student. To this end, every Honours Physics student is encouraged to attend (without examination) some university lectures on a topic as remote from Physics as may be. These voluntary attendances are most satisfactorily general—in fact, all Honours Physics students attend at least one such course during their second year. Certain subjects are from the outset precluded from choice because of unavoidable time-table clashes ; but even so, there has been, in the past seven or eight years during which the experiment has been running, a satisfying range of subjects actually chosen. Music, Economics, Botany, Electrical Engineering, Philosophy, Mediæval History, are just a few examples.

Place and Conduct of the Special Honours in Physics Examination

(5) As to the actual Final Honours examination itself, the papers set are five in number—four papers, each of three hours, and the fifth a laboratory experiment lasting two days. The four papers are intentionally general in character, and are specifically drawn up with a view to eliciting rather a candidate's understanding and appreciation of his knowledge than his skill and ingenuity in dealing with examination problems. There is also a special test of the candidate's power of translating passages of scientific French and German, which in practice is usually taken in an earlier year.

The examiners are all appointed by the Senate, and consist, in addition to the Head of the Department and an External Examiner, of such lecturers as are nominated by the Head of the Department for the purpose. Those who have delivered Honours lectures are always included in the list, and the answers to any questions included in their several courses normally fall to the lecturer concerned for purposes of marking. The Head of the Department and the External Examiner reassess and revise the markings if necessary, in consultation, of course, with the examiner concerned.

The External Examiner, hitherto always a Professor of Physics from some other university, is appointed by the Senate, which in its turn relies on nomination from the Department.

(6) The recommendations of the examiners in regard to classification are made to the Senate, which, in the absence of query, ratifies them and sanctions their publication. It would clearly serve no useful purpose to attempt numerical definitions of the various classes, as this depends on the indefinable significance of the individual marks given. All that can be usefully said in this connection is that a standard at least as high as the average obtaining in other universities is aimed at, with the help of the External Examiner.

(7) It has been usual to allow sufficient time between the last "theory paper" and the first "practical examination" for the examiners to mark the scripts and arrive at a preliminary assessment of the candidates' work, this with the object of allowing the External Examiner, in particular, to have some initial insight into the capabilities of the candidates before interviewing them individually when at work in the laboratory. This provision is of importance in helping the examiners to come to the right decisions in placing each candidate in a class representing, as fairly as is humanly possible, his calibre and knowledge at the time of the examination.

(8) In this connection should be stressed the important point that a candidate's performance in the laboratory test is by no means the only criterion of his experimental skill and ability. The internal examiners know each case personally and well, and their knowledge is of great assistance in helping the proper judgment to emerge.

In assessing the work of the candidates, weight is always attached to the maintenance from year to year of a standard which does not violently fluctuate. Herein lies one of the difficulties inherent in all examinations—that of testing calibre as well as knowledge. The former cannot emerge except from the latter—intelligence cannot shine out *in vacuo*. The standard referred to in a previous sentence, in fact, is a composite one ; the hope is that students awarded a good-class degree not only have the knowledge but the ability to make use of it.

(9) No one, however, takes up the attitude that, since calibre is of such moment, the content of the course is of secondary importance and matters very little—rather is every effort made to preserve a reasonable balance between the older and the latest knowledge and between the theoretical and experimental aspects. Nor is the fact forgotten that applied as well as pure Physics must, in these days, find a place.

Specialisation in Physics. The Special Honours Degree in Physics with Electrical Engineering

(10) It is wellnigh impossible—in fact, it *is* impossible—to give all students the opportunity of fully exploring these varied fields. Specialisation to some extent within the broad purviews of Physics must be allowed, and the examinations are adjusted accordingly. The simplest way—and one which is almost universal—has been

adopted of giving so wide a choice of questions as to allow students who have specially attended to this, that or the other topic in their studies to give evidence of their knowledge and understanding. This method becomes unwieldy and difficult to manage when extended to the section of Applied Physics, and the new degree of Physics with Electrical Engineering has been recently (1933) instituted as a first effort in this direction.

(11) It was at first intended that an undergraduate reading this course should spend roughly three-quarters of his time on Physics and the remaining quarter on Electrical Engineering, the examination papers being in the same ratio as to number.

In practice it was found, however, that students preferred at any rate *to attend* all the Honours lectures in Physics and take all the papers without attempting the impossible task of covering the whole reading field. The modified scheme seems to work well—the time adjustment as between the two subjects being made through a more elastic laboratory time-table plus the students' own reading. These students, of course, take the full ancillary courses in Mathematics and Chemistry.

While the two Special Honours degrees of Physics and Physics with Electrical Engineering are meant to cope with the rapidly advancing scope and influence of Physics, the essential necessity for retaining a degree in pure Physics is fully appreciated, while through a system of combined degrees, such as that with Electrical Engineering, it is hoped that further contacts with technology can be made and maintained.

Employment of Graduates in Physics and their Capacities

(12) Graduates equipped by successful attendance on one or other of these Honours courses find employment either in the teaching profession or in industry. Those destined for school teaching generally proceed immediately to a post-graduate course of professional training, while those aiming at an industrial career may go straight into works or engage in research for a year or two in the University laboratories.

The future of intending teachers has been determined to some considerable extent in recent years by the class of Honours awarded; only those with "good Honours degrees"—in this University Firsts and Seconds—being likely to find places in schools of the secondary type—the remainder being destined for elementary schools. This unfortunate state of affairs apparently requires time for the necessary corrective readjustments.

In regard to future industrial workers, it should be said at once that, owing to a clear recognition of the fact that industry does not yet realise the value of the theoretical physicist, as such, nearly all are turned out with a bias on the experimental side. It is not meant to imply for a moment that their theoretical training has been neglected—far from it—what is meant is that stress has been laid on the necessity for every student to be familiar with

experimental methods and laboratory devices, a familiarity ensured by a considerable attendance in well-equipped laboratories.

At the same time, in the laboratory training, apparatus of the sheer *ad hoc* type is, so far as is practicable, avoided. It is thought that students should rig up their own apparatus in the laboratory, make their own mistakes and learn therefrom. An experiment which works perfectly from the start teaches no lessons.

Attention is drawn to this matter—relevant rather to the course than to the examination—in order to make it easier to answer the question " What can your students *do* ? "

(13) In factory, workshop or laboratory, a good Honours Physics graduate, particularly if he has had a further period of research training, should be able to attack with ultimate success most physical problems of a technical nature which come his way. If he is not familiar with details of technique, his training—again, particularly, if he has had research experience—will have brought out his powers of initiative and self-reliance, in addition to having placed the tools of his profession at his elbow.

(14) Passing reference may be made to those students who are unfortunate enough to get placed in the Third Class. This is not recognised officially as a good Honours degree—but Physics Honours men are more fortunate than some others, for it will be understood from what has already been said that they possess in effect a good general training in science—Physics, Chemistry and Mathematics up to a good standard—they are able to read French and German scientific literature—and on top of this they have acquired a fair knowledge of the Honours Physics course. It is by no means unknown for these Third Class Honours men to go into industry and be successful there.

(15) Some graduates from the Leeds school have gone into industry, however, not so much as technical employees or physicists, but rather as men with good general scientific knowledge, trained minds and, what counts for much, personality and presence. These men, while not engaged primarily in using their scientific knowledge, will doubtless in their executive or administrative posts play a more useful part on account of it.

(16) No distinction has been drawn—in these latter paragraphs—between those graduates who have taken the Pure Physics degree and those who have combined Physics with Electrical Engineering. There is really no need to distinguish them, as they all have, at any rate initially, a primary interest in Physics. The experiment of the combined degree has been running so short a time that definite statements about results may be a little premature.

All that can be said is that, so far, the graduates who have chosen this degree have divided themselves in the usual proportions (for Physics Honours students) between post-graduate research and industry, the only difference being the expected one, that industry has claimed them mainly through the existing channels of entry into the larger electrical concerns.

The General Honours B.Sc. Degree (including Physics)

(17) The General Honours degree can be suitably dealt with quite shortly—particularly as it is intended primarily for teachers and will probably be dealt with from this particular angle elsewhere.

It was originally started in Leeds in 1923, the Senate having been impressed with the utility of the Science Tripos Part I in the examination scheme.

The large content of the course and the high standard exacted, however, have prevented the realisation of the hope originally entertained by some that, as at Cambridge, this examination might usefully and easily be taken in his stride by any good student on his way to a Special Honours degree.

The General Honours degree remains, and seems likely to remain, a stiff and fully burdened three-year course, even for an undergraduate coming to the University at scholarship standard. As at present devised, the degree may be attained by studying two science subjects for three years, together with one ancillary for two years—or, alternatively, two ancillaries for one year each.

Concluding Remarks

(18) It is fair to say that, speaking generally, these Honours degrees meet the several needs for which they were designed.

There are two matters which, however, are frequently in my own mind.

The first is the comparative intellectual immaturity of many of our students. Seventeen is so often too young—but it is difficult to see what can be done about it. In some technological departments it has been found possible to interpolate a period of training between leaving school and entering the University. If it were only possible for a gap to be introduced in Physics (as well as in other university subjects), a real advantage would surely result.

The second matter is that the content of the subject has increased so greatly that it is becoming impossible to cover the field, and increasingly difficult to examine.

R. WHIDDINGTON.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

Special B.Sc. Examination in Electrical Engineering at the City and Guilds College: a School of the University of London, in the Faculty of Engineering

General Purposes of the Examination

STUDENTS following any of the undergraduate courses at the City and Guilds College are examined on the work of each of their undergraduate years.

The function of these examinations is twofold, viz.:

(i) To assess the ability, energy and personal qualities of the students, and hence to give an indication of their suitability for entry to the engineering profession.

(ii) To satisfy the College Staff that the students entering the various stages are able to benefit from the courses given and are likely to justify the expenditure of effort and public funds involved.

(2) Admission to the College is (with a few exceptions) by either the Matriculation Examination of the University of London in the appropriate subjects, by the School Certificate Examination with the appropriate credits, or by the College Entrance Examination.

Conditions of Admission

Admission to the examinations of each of the subsequent stages is dependent upon the candidate having passed the examinations of the previous stages, and upon the candidate having attended regularly and worked reasonably throughout the stage to which the examination relates. In the event of failure, students are not permitted to take an examination a second time unless the whole of the work of the stage to which the examination relates has been satisfactorily done a second time: the point of this regulation being that the objective of the course is the training of the student rather than the mere passing of the examination. Some exception to this rule is allowed when the failure is in only one subject, and that a subject which is taken again in the next stage. Such candidates are usually allowed to proceed and to take at the end of the following year the examination in the subject in which they failed.

Under modern conditions many students stay at school for at least two years after having qualified for their Matriculation Examination, and are then able to take the London University Intermediate Examination in either Science or Engineering. If successful, these candidates are exempted from the work of the first year at the College and are admitted directly to the work of the second year.

The Plan of the Examinations

(3) There are normally three examinations, viz.:

(i) The Intermediate Examination in either Science or Engineering during the first year.

(ii) Part I of the Final B.Sc. Examination at the end of the second year.

(iii) Part II of the Final B.Sc. Examination at the end of the third year.

The Intermediate Examination is purely a qualifying examination, the function of which is to ensure that students entering upon the subsequent engineering work shall be able to follow the courses satisfactorily. Marks are given in each subject for both written examination papers and for practical laboratory work, and candidates must obtain at least the pass-mark in each subject—usually about 40 per cent. In Science, the subjects are Pure and Applied Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry. The Engineering Intermediate includes, in addition, the subject of Engineering Drawing and Design. Engineering candidates who have taken the Science Intermediate are permitted to take the additional subject of Engineering Drawing and Design at the end of their second year.

The Part I examination is both a qualifying examination and an examination contributing to the decision with respect to the class—First, Second or Pass—of the awards ultimately made to successful candidates. It is the same for all students of the College, and the subjects are Mathematics, Strength of Materials, Mechanism, Heat Engines and Applied Electricity. Marks are awarded for both written examination papers and for practical laboratory work done during the year (there are no practical examinations). This examination is a qualifying examination in that students are not allowed to proceed to the work of the third year unless they have obtained at least the pass-mark in the written papers in all five subjects. This pass-mark is usually 30 per cent., but may be modified by the Board of Examiners. Also, some freedom is given to the Board of Examiners to deal with cases of failure in single subjects.

(4) The Part II Examination is also both a qualifying examination and a contribution to the aggregate mark on which the final award depends. It is a qualifying examination in the sense that only those candidates attaining to a certain standard in the *written* papers—an *average* of about 40 per cent. being usually required—are eligible for either the B.Sc. Degree or the College Diploma. This requirement being met, the Part II examination becomes a predominating factor in the class of the award, for it contributes in the proportion of 16 to 10 to the final aggregate mark on which the classification depends. In the Electrical Department of the College two courses are available, one in Electrical Power and one in Telecommunications. Both of these lead to the B.Sc. Degree, and the examinations are parallel ones with some common subjects, as shown in the following table :—

Electrical Power	Telecommunications
Mathematics (1 paper)	Mathematics (1 paper)
Strength of Materials (1 paper)	Elasticity (1 paper)
Electrical Theory and Electrical Measurements (1 paper)	Electrical Theory and Electrical Measurements (1 paper)
Principles of Electrical Machines (1 paper)	Principles of Electrical Machines (1 paper)
Electrical Power (2 papers)	Principles of Telegraphy and Telephony (2 papers)
Design of Electrical Machines (1 paper)	Wireless Telegraphy (1 paper)
Prime Movers (1 paper)	Acoustics (1 paper)

There are thus in each case eight three-hour papers which are distributed over the four consecutive days during which the candidates are under examination. There are no practical examinations, the marks for course work being awarded on the year's work in the laboratories and drawing offices. In both Part I and Part II one-half of the maximum marks obtainable is allocated to the written papers and one-half to the course work.

Conduct of the Examination

(5) For the Intermediate Examination, external examiners are appointed by the University to act with members of the staff of the Imperial College, the latter being usually senior members of the staff who are responsible for the teaching of the various subjects.

The examiners for the Parts I and II examinations are members of the college staff, and in the Electrical Department are the members of the staff responsible for the lectures and laboratory work in the various branches of the subject. Each paper is set by the lecturer in the subject, and relates to the ground which has been covered during the year. The papers are all subject to revision and, if necessary, modification by the head of the Electrical Department, and are designed to test the candidates' understanding of the subjects rather than their knowledge of facts. Before printing, the papers are considered and approved by the University Moderators, whose duty it is to ascertain that they are at least up to the standard of the other examinations leading to the B.Sc. Degree in Engineering. Finally the papers are again considered by a Co-ordinating Board, consisting of the University Moderators and the heads of the Electrical Departments of the other colleges of the University of London empowered to hold special B.Sc. Examinations in Engineering. The object of this procedure is yet further to secure uniformity of standard.

(6) The scripts are read by the examiner primarily responsible for setting the papers and by one other examiner. The marking does not, as a rule, show much divergence, and after differences have been discussed, a mean is taken of the resulting marks of the two examiners. The maximum mark allocated to the written papers in each branch of the subject is made as nearly as possible proportional

to the time devoted to this subject during the session. This policy, which seems not invariably to be followed elsewhere, is justified if the best use is being made of the students' time ; those branches of the subject having the greater educational value are those to which the greater share of the students' time and the greater share of the marks should be given.

(7) The course work marks are awarded both on the manner in which the work has been done and on the report on the work that is presented. Quick and accurate work secures an appropriate reward, and provision is made whereby third-year students may follow up interesting side-issues with, again, adequate reward if the work is well done. All members of the teaching staff take some part in the award of these marks. The aggregate course work mark is thus a measure of the impressions of the candidates' quality, formed independently by ten to twelve individuals.

(8) After the grand total of the marks of the Part I and Part II examinations has been obtained, the classification is decided upon by a full meeting of the examiners of all the departments of the College and all the Moderators. Border-line cases are discussed and compared and dividing-lines are eventually drawn separating the candidates into the three classes. No exact figures are stated in the regulations for the conduct of the examination, and the figures vary a little from year to year. An aggregate mark of 75 per cent. or above usually qualifies for first-class honours, 65–74 per cent. for second-class honours and 50–64 per cent. for a pass degree. Candidates obtaining an aggregate lower than 50 per cent. are not awarded either the degree or the College Diploma, even though they may have complied with the requirements with respect to the average mark obtained in the written papers.

(9) *Ægrotat* degrees—which are not classified—may be awarded to candidates who have been unable to take some papers of a Part II examination on account of illness. The examiners are called upon to satisfy themselves that the work actually done justifies the belief that had the candidate taken the whole examination, he would have qualified for an award.

How Far does the Examination fulfil its Purpose ?

(10) The results obtained with this system are an accurate measure of the extent to which the candidates comply with the ideals of the staff of the department. These ideals are not necessarily the same as those of practical engineers or of business administrators, but they are the result of much thought and many contacts with practical electrical engineering. Weight is attached to energy, insight, quick observation and the power of careful deduction rather than to any extensive knowledge of present-day electrical engineering practice. In the opinion of the staff of the Electrical Department the acquisition of practical knowledge is the function of the practical training which should follow the academic training and be complementary to it.

(11) It is no easier to show in engineering than it is in any other profession that there is any close correlation between high academic award and success in after-life. Even if success in after-life is measured by the responsibility undertaken, the difficulty is not removed because, on the one hand, there are too many factors involved which are neither related to nor appreciably affected by the academic training; and, on the other hand, responsibility is itself undefinable —a single individual working quietly and almost alone may contribute more to the advancement of the electrical industry than the manager of a factory employing a thousand or more workers. But in spite of these difficulties there is some evidence of correlation between success at the college and success in after-life. The men with the Honours degrees certainly tend to hold the better appointments; but it would be difficult to show that men who have obtained a First Class take precedence over men who have obtained a Second Class.

General Remarks

(12) The organisation of this examination appears to be somewhat complicated. Actually this is by no means the case, and only one slight difficulty is experienced; namely, that since the examination papers are considered by the Moderators and by the Co-ordinating Boards, they must be set some six or eight working weeks before the end of the session. For various reasons, a lecturer can never be quite sure of the subject-matter that will be included during these six or eight weeks, and in some instances the papers set have not corresponded exactly with the work done. Moreover, a conscientious lecturer may experience some embarrassment when lecturing on a subject which he knows to be included in the examination paper that his class is shortly to be called upon to answer! This difficulty has often been discussed, and the balance of opinion is that the advantage of securing uniformity outweighs the inconveniences occasioned by the early preparation of the papers.

(13) It is perhaps worthy of note also, that both the Honours Degrees and the Pass Degrees are awarded on the same examination and under the same regulations with respect to the lectures taken and the work done in laboratories and drawing offices. There is no separate examination of a lower standard whereby a Pass Degree can be obtained.

C. L. FORTESCUE.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

The B.Sc. Degree in Electrical Engineering of the University of Birmingham

General Scheme of the Course

THE attitude of the University of Birmingham towards the B.Sc. Degree in Engineering differs in many respects from that of other provincial universities. This is explicable, since Birmingham was the first to receive a charter as a unitary university, and its Council and Senate could begin without the traditions which still hamper the older universities, and without the ties which had bound the constituent colleges of the Victoria University. It is true that the Charter and Statutes were based broadly upon those of the Victoria University, modified by certain features from the Scottish models; but on the scholastic side, the powers of the Senate (itself a purely academic body) and of the Faculties were exceptional and far-reaching. This has had its influence upon the Engineering degree. For since the recommendation of a person to fill a vacant chair rests entirely upon the Faculty, that body can, by its choice of a nominee, determine the ambit or " colour " of the department concerned. Moreover, the recommendations of candidates to fill vacant lectureships, as well as all changes in the curriculum and inter-departmental dovetailing, are matters for the Faculty, though subject to confirmation by the Senate and Council.

(2) The Schools of Engineering are in the Faculty of Science. This is significant of the policy of the University. From time to time during the last fifteen years, proposals have been brought forward for the establishment of a Faculty of Applied Science or of Engineering, granting *ad hoc* degrees, such as B.Eng., M.Eng., etc., as is done in Liverpool and Sheffield. But the result has always been the same, viz. that, in the opinion of the Faculty, Engineering in a university should be an applied science, an extension of pure science, and not a vocational training for a particular industry. The latter is held to be the function of a technical college, and is adequately provided for by the Municipal College of Technology and its affiliated schools. This distinction is possible in Birmingham because there is no official connection between the University and the College such as exists in Manchester, Bristol, Sheffield and Glasgow. Each institution is clear as to its own field, defined by an unwritten " gentleman's agreement," which has always been recognised and respected by both parties. The University is thus free to warp its Engineering degrees towards Applied Physics or towards Industrial Practice as occasion demands, the composition of the Faculty being such as to prevent the B.Sc. in Electrical Engineering from ever becoming too specialised or vocational.

(3) In another respect, also, Birmingham differs from other schools of engineering. The view held is that every electrical engineer must have an adequate training, not only in Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry, but also in the general principles of Mechanical and Civil Engineering ; and conversely, that civil and mechanical engineers must have a fair working knowledge of Electrical Engineering. This principle results in the absence of specialisation throughout three-fourths of the course, and means that workshop training must be recognised as essential to the degree. Every engineer, therefore, devotes a considerable amount of time in each of his first three years, and in two long vacations, to work in the fitting, machining, pattern-making and moulding shops and in the smithy. During other long vacations he is expected to spend at least six weeks in an actual works, and the University assists him to get such experience. A student must obtain a satisfactory mark in the workshop just as he must in the drawing office or in the laboratory.

Such a programme, however, entails time-table difficulties. This was recognised from the outset, and was met by a bold policy. No student reading Electrical Engineering can, or ever could, obtain even a pass degree in less than four years from matriculation, as against the three years demanded by other universities. To adhere to this extra year demanded considerable courage, and from time to time has led to loss of students ; but the sacrifice has been worth while, as is proved by the fact that other universities are now adopting the same plan.

Conditions of Admission

(4) Though a four-year course from matriculation is essential,[1] a student who holds a Higher School Certificate in Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry may be excused nearly the whole of the first year of study ; or if he holds a certificate in Mathematics and Physics, this exemption may still be granted, provided that the candidate takes and passes the intermediate examination in Chemistry. This, however, makes the work of his first session exceptionally heavy, since it always entails extra-mural coaching.

(5) The award of the degree does not depend upon success in a single examination. The student must have attended the lectures, tutorials and laboratory classes in each subject with satisfactory regularity to qualify for the examination in that subject. At the end of each of the first three sessions, examinations take place which test the fitness of the candidate to proceed to the next year. Every candidate must pass in all papers ; for compensation is only allowed in exceptional cases. If, in a sessional examination of any of the first three years, a student fails in not more than two papers, he may, at the discretion of the Faculty, still be allowed to proceed. He

[1] From December 1st, 1937, the entrance requirements will be modified by the new matriculation conditions of the Northern Joint Board.

must, however, take and pass in these papers at a succeeding examination, in addition to those appropriate to his year of study. Generally, failure in more than two subjects involves a repetition of the year's work. This automatically excludes the examinee from becoming a candidate for honours.

It is a rule of the Faculty that in each subject there shall be at least one terminal examination per session, held either at Christmas or at Easter. These tests are intended chiefly as a guide to the student; the marks awarded are therefore made public. They form no part of the degree examination, but in border-line or *ægrotat* cases they are often used as evidence of the candidate's ability or progress.

Conduct and Significance of the Curriculum

(6) The decision as to success or failure in any of the sessional examinations rests with a Board consisting of the internal and external examiners. All these are nominated by the Faculty, the former from the staff of the department, the latter usually on a recommendation to the Faculty by the Professor. The internal examiners consist of the Professor and the senior members of his staff. The external examiner is appointed annually, but it is usual to reappoint him, provided that the same examiner does not hold office for more than three successive years. Theoretically, he approves every paper, sees every script and all work ranking as part of the degree examination. In practice his work is no sinecure. Drafts of all papers are submitted to him, and he modifies them as he sees fit, and substitutes questions of his own for some of those proposed. Scripts are usually marked first by internal examiners. Then, in elementary work, specimens of the marked papers are submitted to the "external" together with all border-line cases. All scripts of the third and the final year go to him for examination. A day or two before the examiners' meeting, he attends at the University, goes through the course work, examines orally any doubtful cases, checks the final lists and decides classes in honours. There is no rule as to the allotment of correction among assistant examiners. The matter is decided by the Professor.

(7) The external examiner may submit any candidate of any year to an oral test. Usually he elects to do this only for the purposes already mentioned. Occasionally, a student who, owing to some misfortune, feels that he has not done himself justice in a paper may ask to be examined orally; and though he cannot claim this as a right, I have never known such a request to be refused.

(8) In the first and second years, the student attends practical tests in Chemistry and in Physics, but similar examinations in Electrical Engineering have been abandoned as useless. Their place is taken by the marks given for course work, as described later.

(9) The papers are taken during the first three weeks of June. Three hours are allowed to each, except in the case of machine

drawing and machine design, where six hours are allowed. For a candidate who fails in June, there is no supplementary examination, except in the case of the first year or intermediate, for which a *post-mortem* is held in September. The Faculty decides whether a candidate may be "referred" to September or must repeat the year. The actual number of papers is not specifically laid down by regulation. At present, the scheme is as shown in the following table:

Examination	Subjects	Total No. of Papers
End of first year	Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Mechanical Engineering, Machine Drawing.	Eight papers and two practical examinations.
End of second year	Mathematics, Physics, Mechanical Engineering, Electrical Engineering, Metallurgy, Machine Drawing.	Seven papers.
End of third year	Mathematics, Mechanical Engineering, Electrical Engineering, Civil Engineering, Machine Design.	Nine papers.
End of fourth year	Mechanical Engineering, Electrical Engineering, Metallography, Business Principles.	Five papers for pass. Six for honours.

The reduction of the number of papers in the final year is due to the large amount of course work forming part of the examination (see § 11). The course in "Business Principles" is given by the Reader in the Faculty of Commerce, and includes an outline of such subjects as Accounting and Commercial Law.

(10) Up to the end of the third year, there is no distinction between the ordinary and the honours candidate, but before entering upon his final year, a student wishing to read for honours must apply to his professor for permission to do so. This is not usually withheld unless the candidate has found difficulty in following the course previously, or is carrying forward some subject, owing to failure in a previous year. In that case, for the student's own sake, the Professor will advise—rather than order—him to restrict his efforts to the pass standard. In Electrical Engineering the immense progress of the last twenty years has made it increasingly difficult to cover even the outline of the whole subject. To the ordinary curriculum of pre-war days has been added a vast amount of knowledge concerning the generation and measurement of light

current and high-frequency phenomena, without any substantial jettisoning of older material. The University, therefore, is forced to choose between two alternatives. Either the candidates for honours must be allowed to specialise, or the general course must be restricted to fundamental principles, and details of technical applications must be omitted. The former plan is adopted in Liverpool, where honours men choose between " light " and " heavy " electrical engineering. In Birmingham, the second system has been selected, the honours candidate (in addition to the " pass " papers) taking at least one paper containing questions of a fundamental character upon the more recent additions to knowledge. In preparation for this, he attends about thirty special lectures in his final year and spends some sixty hours more than his " pass " colleague in the laboratory.

(11) The B.Sc. in Electrical Engineering cannot be obtained by success in written examinations alone. It is well known that many capable men are bad examinees. Birmingham believes that they should not be too severely penalised for a defect which plays but a small part in after-life. Moreover, the old system is apt to lay too much stress upon the value of a short-lived memory. The important thing is the ability to use knowledge, rather than mere aptitude in acquiring it. A man must be able to give out as well as to take in. It has already been said that each student must pass in three sessional examinations which include workshop and drawing. The workshop mark is given purely on the year's work. Drawing is composite. There are marks for work done during the session and further marks for a design paper. In the third-year Electrical Design examination, candidates are allowed to use their lecture note-books, so as to reproduce to some extent the conditions of after-life. In the final year this idea is further developed. There is no paper in electrical design, but at Christmas a list of machines is drawn up, from which each candidate may choose one or more. During the succeeding months, he carries out the necessary calculations and drawings. The work is done partly in the design class, but the student may devote any of his spare time to it, and most men do a good deal during the Easter Vacation. The results are marked for degree purposes and submitted to the external examiner.

As regards the laboratory, note-books containing the results of experimental work are handed in at the end of the session, and marks based partly upon these and partly upon character displayed in the laboratory are allotted and included in the final total. Honours men, in addition to the foregoing, must submit a separate account of one laboratory test, in the style of a report required by a works director. These reports are marked separately, submitted to the external examiner, and form part of the honours examination.

In the aggregate, the value attached to written papers, as compared with course work, has varied from year to year as experience dictates, or as modified by suggestions from the external examiner. The system is therefore extremely flexible.

(12) There are only two classes in honours. The word " distinction " is not used. There is no hard-and-fast rule as to the mark appropriate to honours. An honours candidate must naturally have taken the honours course and the papers. For first class he must have achieved an average of about 75 per cent. in his electrical subjects, the lower limit for second class being about 62 per cent. Any lower mark can be considered for a pass degree only. These percentages are not rigidly fixed, because it is impossible to maintain over a series of years precisely the same standard either in teaching or in examination questions, and there are extraneous matters which may affect a candidate's effort. The honours depend on the work in Electrical Engineering only ; they are determined by the examiners in the department (including the external), and the actual honours marks are not submitted to the Board of Examiners.

(13) The B.Sc. degree in Electrical Engineering should connote a man who, in addition to the background afforded by his preliminary training, has a sound knowledge of physical and engineering science, is familiar with the fundamental principles of his special subject and with the more important applications thereof, has ability in the actual handling of machines and instruments, and can apply intelligently to any new problem the knowledge he possesses. He should also be able to express himself clearly both in his mother-tongue and by means of drawings and sketches. To test and to assess such qualities as these is the object of the examination ; but it is not easy. The flexibility of the system in Birmingham, however, admits of continual improvement in the method of estimating a candidate's powers. The accumulated experience of internal and external examiners has resulted in the present division of awards for papers and course work respectively, and in the privilege of using note-books in one examination. But this arrangement is not final, and may be altered if it is found to be unsound. Changes are tried from time to time and retained if they achieve their object. One instance may be quoted as being of general interest. Two years ago, it was thought that if, in papers upon electro-technology, note-books were allowed, the test would not only approximate to the conditions in after-life, but would prevent undesirable last-minute cramming. Students of the third year, therefore, were told that in the forthcoming Course II examination they might use their lecture note-books. Of course, the questions had to be framed to suit. The result was a crop of failures. On enquiry, it was found that, feeling secure with elaborate notes, the men had failed to understand how to apply what they had written ; and for many weeks anterior to the examination they had systematically neglected electro-technology in favour of subjects in which no note-books were allowed. This change then had to be abandoned, but it is my opinion that it could be made successful if extended to *all* subjects, and that it ought to be tried again on a wider basis. More than thirty years ago, the late Professor Ayrton allowed me to

make a similar experiment at the Central Technical College. The student was allowed to take in to the examination any books he pleased. Under the somewhat different conditions existing there, the plan was successful, and was continued for some years. I also introduced a similar scheme in Manchester, but I do not know whether it has been retained or abandoned.

(14) Decisions in the matter of final honours may be quoted as a further example of flexibility and as illustrating the wide powers of the external examiner. It happened, some years ago, that a very capable student failed to reach the usual second-class honours limit. The internal examiners were exceedingly surprised, and suggested to the " external " that an oral should be given. The examiner agreed and tested him thoroughly for nearly an hour. At the end of that time he said, " I do not mind what his papers show, that man is a clear case for second-class honours " ; and he raised the marks accordingly. His action was fully justified ; for within two years the candidate, without any benefit of influence, was receiving more than £600 per annum as engineer on the staff of a well-known firm.

It seems to me that such powers as these, properly safeguarded and discreetly used, are essential to equity in examinations. Is it right that the hall-mark of any student should depend upon a rigid correction of eight or nine papers without regard to accidental circumstances ? Is it not possible, under such conditions, that even temporary indisposition may seriously jeopardise the class and subsequent career of an unfortunate candidate ? These questions are of special importance in England, where to whine when bowled or to question the decision of an umpire is taboo—" it's not cricket " !

WILLIAM CRAMP.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

The Examination in Final Honour School of Philosophy, Politics and Economics in the University of Oxford

General Object and Scheme of the Course

I

FOR many years the Final Honour School of Literæ Humaniores (" Greats ") has held and perhaps continues to hold the pride of place among Oxford examinations. In form it is the last stage of a classical education ; in substance it has long been more than this. While it is based on an accurate study of eleven volumes of classical texts, more and more emphasis has come to be laid on their material content, history and philosophy, and less on the linguistic side, which is looked after by the examination of Honour Moderations. Students receive grounding not only in the facts of ancient history but also in historical method, working upon the original sources, which happily are limited in quantity ; on the philosophical side the study of Plato and Aristotle is supplemented by that of modern philosophers, to knowledge of whom at least as great an importance is attached. This combination has been thought to provide the best possible general education on the humane side.

The traditions of " Greats " had a leading influence in the creation of the new final Honour School of Philosophy, Politics and Economics (" Modern Greats ") shortly after the war. Three reasons may be set forth why it was felt desirable to provide an alternative course of similar character.

(i) After the abolition of compulsory Greek it was rightly expected that increasing numbers would come up ignorant of it. While students other than classical specialists, e.g. history scholars, often take " Greats," it is clear that only a man of very remarkable calibre could do so—it has been done—if wholly innocent of Greek at the outset. It was considered desirable to give these men the benefit of the same kind of general education that was available in " Greats " to the classical experts.

(ii) " Greats " has not been exempt from the modern tendency towards specialisation. Stress is laid on alternative sources of information, e.g. inscriptions ; a man immersed in the highly technical reasonings of scholars in current learned publications may feel somewhat impatient, if his main interest is in the modern implications. As ancient studies become more detailed and technical, it is increasingly difficult to preserve the general character of a course in ancient history.

(iii) While there is much to be said for the approach to modern

problems through the detached study of a remote civilisation, the growing complexity of the modern world and the awareness of this, and the growing body of scholarly work upon modern problems, fit to serve as an educational medium, suggested that the time had come for a more direct approach. In particular some knowledge of economics seemed indispensable for an understanding of the modern situation, and a grounding in this could not be obtained through the classical avenue.

" Modern Greats " resembles " Greats " in that both are designed as the study of a civilisation as a whole, the one of the modern and the other of the ancient world. A preliminary classification of topics is provided by the title of " Modern Greats," namely, philosophy, politics and economics. It is understood that in each of the branches, attention will be concentrated on the world of to-day.

The combination of diverse subjects is of the essence of this particular course; it is indeed the feature most open to criticism. A twofold justification may be advanced.

In the first place it may be argued that no one of these subjects has reached a sufficiently mature stage to provide by itself a thoroughly satisfactory education. In these nascent subjects of study it is important that the student should be aware of their imperfections as well as of their achievements. One study may give a corrective to the too complacent claims of the other. I take economics as an example. Economic theory provides a splendid training in subtle and accurate reasoning and clarity of expression. But by its side philosophy, equally austere and exacting, makes the student aware of the limited scope and validity of the chains of deductive reasoning to be found in economics. And the historical studies which fall under the branch of politics make him aware of the flux and change in those fundamental conditions which the economic theorist has perforce to assume static. The economic student who is more interested in the statistical and descriptive side will be chastened by that healthy scepticism with regard to sources of information which the professional historian makes it his business to induce. If the economist is thus disciplined by complementary studies, similar considerations may be applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to the philosopher and the political expert.

Secondly, in the real world the subject-matters of these subjects are hopelessly intertwined. It may be urged that one cannot be understood at all without some understanding of the other. A political historian may know this well, yet with the best will in the world can normally get but a nodding acquaintance with, say, economics, and is only too likely to assume that the economic factor operates in the opposite way to that in which it really does. " Modern Greats " aims at giving the men a surer grounding.

It is widely recognised that there is danger, with the growing specialisation of the modern world, that progressively fewer people will be able to see the wood for the trees. There is surely room, therefore, for a course of training which seeks, while preserving

high scholarly standards, to produce men qualified to take a wider view.

The danger is, and those responsible have to be constantly on their guard against it, that the students will only have time to get a smattering in each branch. This no doubt happens with a number of the weaker men. *Per contra*, the hope is that the special nature of these subjects makes it possible to combine depth with range. Economics may serve again as an example. In full-time specialist courses, such as are to be found at other universities, the student spends some of his time in playing variations upon some central theme of theory, applying an apparatus of thought to a variety of hypothetical cases, or again in collecting a mass of information about our changing world which is important to-day and irrelevant to-morrow. It is hoped that by pruning away inessentials, a man may be able in the time at his disposal to grasp the basic nature of economic reasoning and the salient facts, and that thus equipped, although not well versed in all modern developments, he will be able to distinguish, as many well-informed persons of an older generation are not, the kind of proposition which would be taken seriously by a modern economist from an economic parrot-cry handed down from a by-gone age.

It should be added that the syllabus is so arranged (see Section III, below) as to enable the student to specialise in some branch while reducing the time devoted to the others according to his bent.

Conditions of Admission

II

All are admitted (i) who have taken some form of the First Public Examination (e.g. Pass Moderations, the Science Preliminaries, Honour Moderations, etc.) or (ii) have qualified for "senior standing" by taking a degree at another approved university. The normal time for the course is seven terms ($2\frac{1}{3}$ years), but some, according to their quickness or tardiness in passing the first examination, take six or eight terms. Senior students usually take six.

Plan of the Examination

III

There are seven compulsory papers, as follows :

(1) General Philosophy from Descartes to the present time. (Candidates are expected to show first-hand knowledge of some of the principal philosophical writings of the period.)

(2) Moral and Political Philosophy.

(3) Political Institutions.

Including the study of the structure and functions of modern government, international, national and local, with special reference to the constitutional systems of the United Kingdom, the United States of America, France.

(4) British Political and Constitutional History since 1760.
(5) Economic Theory.
(6) Economic Organisation.
(7) *Either* (*a*) British Social and Economic History since 1760 (mainly that of the United Kingdom); *or* (*b*) Political History from 1871 to 1914. The main developments in the domestic and foreign policies of the principal States.
(8) All candidates must take a paper of unprepared translation from French, German, Italian and Spanish authors, and are expected to show a knowledge of at least two of these languages, of which either French or German must be one.

In addition to these, two additional papers must be taken, and these give scope for specialisation. Candidates may choose freely two out of the following :

(1) The Philosophy of Kant. (2) Logic. (3) Public Administration. (4) International Relations. (5) The Political Structure of the British Empire. (6) Political Theory since 1760. (7) Currency and Credit. (8) Public Finance. (9) Statistical Method, and the Use of Statistics in Economics. (10) *Either* (*a*) the economic works of Adam Smith and Ricardo, *or* (*b*) Labour Movements, 1815–1914, *or* (*c*) Agricultural Policy and Organisation.

In the case of papers 3–5, 9, and 10 (*b*) and (*c*), detailed lists of authorities are prescribed.

Of these optional subjects the candidates may either choose two from the same branch of study or one from each of two branches. In the former case he is regarded as a specialist in that branch and examiners tend to pay somewhat more attention to the marks gained by him in the compulsory papers within that branch than to those on other compulsory papers in assigning his class.

Each paper lasts for three hours and two papers are set on each day, but some candidates get a respite towards the end, as the optional papers have to be spread. The examination begins on Thursday and the week-end thus falls in the middle.

Considerable importance is attached to the *viva voce* examination, which falls about a month later. This can be described more conveniently in Section IV.

Conduct of the Examination

IV

(*a*) Six examiners are appointed by a standing committee. Each examiner usually serves for three years and two new examiners come on each year. There is sometimes an external examiner, who is on the same footing as the others. It is also sometimes thought desirable to appoint an assessor for one of the optional papers, e.g. statistics, who may be external or internal. His marks are recorded in the mark book, but he does not take part in the *viva voce* examination nor have a voice in the determination of classes.

(*b*) It is usual for two of the examiners to be specialists in philos-

ophy, politics and economics respectively. The setting of papers is allotted to pairs of examiners, but all papers are revised by the full board of six.

(*c*) Greek letters with plus and minus signs are used, α standing for the first class, etc. There are no rigid minima for classes, but rough conventions tend to be adopted in the final settlement. These, however, are always highly flexible.

(*d*) All scripts are independently marked by two examiners, and the mark of each is separately recorded in the mark book.

(*e*) All examiners know all the marks before the *viva voce* examination begins. At this stage it is usually possible to fix the classes of about two-thirds of the candidates. The rest are put on some border-line between two classes. Cases of doubt arise (i) because a candidate is consistently at an intermediate level, e.g. gets mainly low betas or high gammas; (ii) because his work varies much as between papers; or (iii) because there is a difference of opinion between examiners. The third case is likely to arise if the candidate is of an original cast of mind or has worked largely off the beaten track or when there is a new examiner who has not perfectly adjusted his standards. Some rough conventions may be adopted, such as that, if a candidate has five agreed marks (on non-language papers) in one class and no widely discrepant marks, he shall be assigned that class. But exceptions are always allowed.

All candidates are summoned to the *viva voce* examination, but those whose class is already fixed are only given a formal examination lasting three or four minutes. The serious *vivas* may last from a quarter of an hour to two or three hours. The purpose of the *viva* is always clearly defined by the examiners to each other before it begins. Thus it may be designed to confirm the impression of high quality in a man's best work, or to give him a chance to retrieve his bad marks on one or more papers or to settle the issue when his papers have been on the border-line. He is examined by one of the specialists in the subject-matter of his examination. When the *viva* ranges over a number of papers, he is passed from one examiner to another. When there is a difference of opinion among examiners, it is usually the man's " friend " who conducts the *viva*. External examiners have expressed appreciation at the great thoroughness and conscientiousness with which this final work of determining the class is carried out.

The *viva voce* lasts about a fortnight. Classes are usually settled by the examiners at the end of each day's work. Where there is a difference of opinion, however, the final decision may be held over for comparison with candidates whose lie of marks appears similar. In the last resort, the decision is by voting, but this does not occur often—perhaps three or four times in one examination.

The distribution of classes is usually roughly as follows :—out of, say, 150 candidates, 12 may receive firsts, 60 seconds, 60 thirds, 12 fourths and 6 be ploughed. But an endeavour is made not to make

the examination competitive, absolute standards being carried over from one year to another. Thus the first class in a particular year may be comparatively large or small according as the field is strong or weak.

The course is still in comparative youth (15 years). The numbers taking it have recently been fairly stable at about 150 a year, and it is felt that a high standard has been maintained. The complex character of the examination is continually giving rise to problems. In the early years the political experts felt that insufficient importance was attached to politics, and the syllabus has recently been revised to meet their wishes. There is always a tendency for specialists to urge that their field should be more intensively cultivated, but it is often only possible to do this at the cost of greater superficiality in other fields.

Significance of the Degree

A first class is taken to denote high intellectual distinction and to give a *prima facie* case for consideration for election to a fellowship. A second class should denote hard work and very considerable ability, a third class a modicum of work and some intelligence. The small number of ploughs suggests that the fourth class is a stigma rather than an honour. But it must be remembered that quite a large number fall by the wayside in the course of preparation, and stupid men are warned off the course at the outset.

It is hoped that this course provides as good a general education as any other and should be a suitable avenue for an academic career, public life, the law, Government service or business. It is probable that these hopes are fairly well realised, with the possible exception of business. But this relates to industrial methods of recruitment and lies outside the scope of this article.

R. F. HARROD.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

The London B.Sc. (Economics) Degree

General Object of the Degree

Introduction

THE B.Sc. Degree in Economics in the University of London might be better described as a Degree in Economics and Political and Social Science, for its curriculum is not confined to Economics and immediately cognate subjects. The degree was instituted soon after the initiation of the system of Internal Examinations in the opening years of this century. Up to that time Economics had been included as one of the subjects in the Faculty of Arts, and it still retains that position. But a wider scheme of political and economic studies had been developed at the London School of Economics and Political Science, and the newly instituted degree embraced the subjects there studied.[1] The general purpose of the School was cultural rather than technical; it was to enable students to understand the working of economic laws and governmental and other institutions in the modern world, and in the light of history. The degree may be presumed to register success in the same group of studies. Since these subjects relate to everyday affairs, they are technical in some sense to administrators, many of whom, in fact, attend the lecture courses and some of whom take the degree. Some other subjects—for example, statistics—give a practical training. The more technical work is included in the subjects of the degrees in Commerce, or for the diplomas in Public Administration or in Sociology and Social Administration.

(2) During the thirty years and more since the first syllabuses were arranged, a considerable development of the subjects included has taken place, and difficult decisions have had to be made, such as whether Sociology found its right place in this or in an independent degree; but the general scope and purpose of the studies have not been in question.

In the earlier years there were two syllabuses and examinations, the one leading to a Pass, the other to an Honours Degree. The Honours Degree involved specialisation, as described below; the Pass included only a more general knowledge of a slightly wider range. The Pass Degree attracted only a minority of students, and greater efficiency in organisation was obtained by merging the two examinations, and awarding a Pass at a lower standard than Honours. The existing degree therefore implies some specialisation for all students.

[1] University College and some other university institutions, as well as the School of Economics, prepare students for some of the degree subjects.

The Scheme of Studies

(3) It has never, however, been the intention to make the degree specialist. Every successful candidate must have passed in Economics. Those who also select Economics as their Special Subject must also take a paper in a Sociological or Legal Subject, while in the Intermediate Examination they must have passed in two papers on British Constitution. There are twelve other Special Subjects, listed below, of which perhaps the most popular are Economic History, Banking, Government, and (especially for teachers) Geography. Each candidate must also take papers in two of the alternative subjects.

There is also a compulsory pass paper in Languages, translation only, for which the requirements are small, but it is hoped that its existence encourages students to read foreign works on their subjects.

The compulsory papers in Economics cover a general knowledge of principles ; the Special papers deal with more advanced studies and the more modern developments. In other subjects, except for some training in the intermediate courses, the Special papers, together with the corresponding Alternative subjects, must cover the whole ground, general and special. Consequently the study of Economics tends to be more comprehensive than that of other subjects.

The general plan for internal students is to concentrate lecture attendance in the first year after Intermediate on the Compulsory and Alternative subjects, and to leave the last year, as far as possible, for the more advanced work for the Special papers. In this last year the groups are small enough for more complete intercourse between students and teachers, and lectures are to some extent replaced by seminars.

The degree is open to external students also. The majority of these carry out their studies privately ; some are experienced in specialised branches of Economics or Finance, and do extremely well in the examination. About one-third come from university colleges or institutions in the provinces or overseas. Some who enter externally have, in fact, attended lectures at the School of Economics, but have not been in a position to make all their preparation there.

At the School of Economics complete provision is made for students who can only attend in the evening. These are almost invariably engaged in work in or within easy distance from London. They not unusually take an additional year for their preparation.

The internal day students usually take the examination between the ages 21 and 23 ; a few may be under 21, and, especially in the case of students from abroad, some are over 23, and there is a sprinkling of candidates of maturer age. Evening students are somewhat older by the time they are ready for the examination.

The examination syllabus is the same for external and internal

candidates and the same papers are taken. At some institutions at home and overseas the conduct of the examination is arranged locally, the papers being sent from London and the answers returned.

There is an intrinsic difficulty in devising an examination suitable for external as well as internal students. For external candidates it is necessary to make a syllabus that can be covered by available published books or journals and to give full opportunity for success by answering questions relevant to the scope of existing publications. But within a university the subject is more fluid, and more stimulating teaching, at least for advanced students, arises from the discussion of theory in the making and application to current events. The group of subjects differs from those in other faculties in that the matters under analysis are changing more rapidly, the fundamental hypotheses continually being revised, and there are different groups of writers or teachers who take different views of what is established and what is important. In order that undergraduates may get full advantage of the intellectual atmosphere in which they have the opportunity of studying, it is essential that existing controversies shall be freely discussed. It may result that the emphasis of the teaching is on those aspects and developments which specially interest the tutor. An internal examination would rightly lean towards those aspects or parts of the subjects which the student has had the best opportunity of considering intensively.

There has, in fact, from time to time been some criticism in the direction that the papers tended to represent particular schools of thought, and included topics not strictly within the syllabus, and not easily studied in the conditions under which many external candidates worked.

The complaints relating to consonance with the syllabus have seldom been substantiated, and indeed it is among the duties of the examiners to collate the questions with the syllabuses. Also the adequate representation of different conceptions of the subjects is largely secured by the method of selecting examiners described below. Some of the difficulties are met by giving a rather liberal choice of questions, of which only a relatively small number refer to topics beyond the scope of external candidates. The essential difficulty, however, remains. Some provincial institutions have not the equipment in staff or library for comprehensive study of the more recent developments of fact or theory, while unattached students must be dependent on easily available books and journals, mainly in the English language. In recent years an attempt, which has met with considerable success, has been made to meet criticism, remove misunderstanding and to bring external teachers in contact with the university for which their students work. After two recent examinations there was a quite informal conference between teachers from the University Colleges and those of the University of London, at which all these questions were discussed. In addition, there has been for several years a meeting of teachers

of Economics from all parts of England in the winter, at which papers are read and discussed, questions of teaching are considered and friendly intercourse established. These procedures, however, are only of direct advantage to the minority of the external candidates who have contact with British university institutions.

The following table shows that in the last decade the proportion of external candidates who failed was greater than that of internal candidates, and the proportion obtaining first-class honours was less ; but it is not unusual for the open prizes to be won externally. This last may be due to the greater maturity of external candidates, who may already be graduates of other universities.

AVERAGE FOR 1927–37

	External	Internal
Number of Candidates	71	107
	Percentages	
Failed . . .	35	15
Obtained a Pass Degree .	28	24
Obtained Second-class Degree	34	52
Obtained First-class Degree	3	9

Admission to the Examination

There is no differentiation by sex or between nationalities.

To be admitted to the B.Sc. (Econ.) Examination as an external candidate three academic years must have elapsed since matriculation, and one since the completion of the Intermediate Examination (the two parts of which may be taken separately). These periods are minima and any greater intervals are allowed. Registration for the Examination must be made about two years before it begins.

To be admitted internally a candidate must have attended for not less than three academic years an approved course of study as an internal student, and two academic years must have elapsed after completion of the Intermediate. The Intermediate may be taken externally, and it is not uncommon for one of its Parts [1] to be taken from school, in which case preparation for the other part occupies the first of the internal years. Any longer interval between the examinations is permitted, and there is no age-limit ; but it is not permissible to enter a second time after passing, in the hope of obtaining honours ; re-entrance after failure is allowed.

The language paper may be taken separately at any time after completion of Intermediate, but if it is not passed at or before the final examination, no degree is allowed without taking the whole examination again.

[1] More rarely both Parts are taken before entry at the University.

The Examination

Compulsory Subjects

Language translation : two of the three languages, French, German, Italian. (1 paper.)
Principles of Economics. (1 paper.)
Banking and Currency. (1 paper.)
Economic History since 1815, England and the Great Powers. (1 paper.)
Essay (of a general character with choice of subjects). (1 paper.)

Special Subjects. (3 papers.)

One of the following thirteen :

Economics, descriptive and analytical. Economic History (Modern). Economic History (Mediæval). Government. Sociology. Banking. Currency and Finance of International Trade. Transport and International Trade. Geography. Statistics. Industrial Law. Commercial Law. History of English Law. International Law and Relations.

Alternative Subjects

Two of the following seven. (One paper each.)

English Constitutional History since 1660. Comparative Social Institutions. Social Philosophy. Political History of the Great Powers from 1815. Statistical and Scientific Method. Elements of English Law. Political and Social Theory.

(The choice of alternative subjects is limited in relation to the special subjects taken.)

Ten papers, each of three hours, are taken. The eight papers on Compulsory and Special Subjects occupy Monday to Thursday, the Alternative Subjects the following three or four weekdays. In 1937, the examination commenced on June 14th. The examiners met on July 16th and the pass list was issued on July 30th.

Conduct of the Examination

The examiners, external and internal, are appointed by the Senate, year by year, after a report from the appropriate Board of Studies, and are responsible to the University. External examiners are included, one or more for each subject or group of subjects ; they are professors in other universities or otherwise of eminence in their subjects. Internal examiners are teachers in the University nominated by the Board of Studies in Economics and Political Science (including Commerce and Industry). These groups acting together form the Board of Examiners and are jointly responsible for setting the papers, marking scripts and making awards. In practice two or more examiners take responsibility for each paper, one of them being an external examiner. It is a regulation of the University

that every Honours paper (at least for internal candidates) should be read by two examiners. At the final examiners'. meeting, at which an official of the University presides, every examiner should be present. In 1937, the numbers of examiners were 20 external and 45 internal.

The University regulations prescribe numerical marking as a general rule, but, in fact, in many cases the examiners can assign classes by letters. In this case it is customary to use also a numerical scale for translation of the letters if necessary. The Board of Examiners has complete discretion as regards the limits which divide the classes. It is also within the discretion of the Board to award a class or pass or failure on any system it pleases, with the understanding that every effort is made to keep the standards unchanged from year to year, without reference to the numbers of successes, honours or failures.

The candidates are not placed in order of merit, except where it is necessary for the award of prizes. No distinction of any kind is made between internal and external candidates. The names of the candidates are not before the examiners, but only their formal numbers.

In the final list, issued by the University, the names of successful candidates are given as First Class, Second Class I, Second Class II, Pass.

The candidates are informed privately in which, if any subjects, they have failed.

Conclusion

It will be clear from the foregoing that the attainment of the degree has a wider meaning for internal than for external students. The former must have spent three years in systematic study under direction at the School of Economics or other Institution of the University of London. They have worked in a definite tutorial system, in which rather small groups are allotted to a teacher. In the seminars they have had the opportunity of becoming acquainted with and discussing modern conditions and modern theory. There has also been the opportunity of hearing eminent authorities from abroad who are invited by the University to lecture. At the School of Economics especially they have been in contact with students of many nationalities, young and old, with different views and varying experience. Whatever their examination attainment, they have been subject to a widening cultural influence. External students have in some measure enjoyed similar advantages if they have studied at University Colleges, but the attainment of the degree does not show this. Their studies, however, are of special cultural value when they are associated with allied professional work.

Whether the purpose of the University in providing for systematic and liberal study in this group of subjects is fulfilled depends on the intelligence and receptivity to ideas of the student. The examina-

tion assesses the knowledge and analytical power attained, but not the reaction to the environment. The after-career of graduates suggests that they are capable of critical understanding of the course of economic and political events, and that they form an important section of the informed public.

It is found by comparing the examination performance with knowledge of the candidate's intellectual development, that a first class marks a definitely high standard of ability, such as enables its possessor to succeed in university or public work. The second-class graduates find useful employment in business, social or political work at home or abroad. Pass graduates are found in a great variety of occupations, as secretaries, in welfare work, business offices and other subordinate positions. It is to be remembered that many students are already occupied, and have worked for the degree either in order to understand their activities more liberally, or for sheer interest, or in the hope of obtaining promotion. For school teachers an honours degree has a financial value; for others it may lead to recognition in their existing posts, or facilitate the obtaining of superior jobs. A considerable number who become secretaries take a technical course after the degree.

Though the curriculum is not technical in any narrow sense, it is found that it is a useful preparation for very many occupations. It is the exception to hear of graduates who have not found employment soon after they have left the University.

ARTHUR L. BOWLEY.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

The Economics Tripos, Part II

(University of Cambridge)

Purpose of the Examination

THE Cambridge Tripos in Economics and Associated Branches of Political Science, usually known as the Economics Tripos, dates from 1903, the study of Economics having previously formed part of the course for the Moral Sciences Tripos. The purposes which governed its foundation cannot be better exhibited than by quoting some sentences from a memorandum written in 1906 by Professor Alfred Marshall, who inspired its birth and presided over its early years, and whose ideals and methods its later history has continued to reflect.

"The Tripos . . . was instituted . . . in order to give encouragement to a form of liberal education which had already obtained a high place in many of the leading universities of the Old and New World, and at the same time to make special provision for students who are proposing to devote their lives to the professional study of Economics, and for those who are looking forward to a career in the higher branches of business or in public life. . . . It is indeed true that a man is likely to be more efficient in business who has braced his mind to hard work in subjects that have no connection with it, than if he had occupied himself with an enervating form of technical instruction, however directly that might bear on his after work. But, provided the studies themselves be of a truly liberal character, the closer their bearing on his after work, the more active is his interest in them likely to be during his stay at Cambridge and in after life. . . . A Grote, or a Lubbock may harvest rich fields of thought remote from their business; and a Siemens may work in the field of physics with both hands. But yet there remain many business men, whose experiences in later life are likely to be turned to much higher account for themselves and for the world by an early study of economics than by any other study."

"This combined training of mind and character is serviceable not only to those whose main energies are given to private business, but also to those who, as directors of joint-stock companies, or members of executive committees of County or City Councils, are called on to decide questions of broad policy in relation to business affairs of which they [have] had little or no specific experience. . . . And nearly the same thing may be said with regard to those who as public officials, as ministers of religion, as owners of land or cottage property, or in any other capacity will be largely concerned with 'the condition of the people question,' with public and private charity, with co-operation and other methods of self-help, with

harmonies and discords between different industrial classes, with the problems of conciliation and arbitration in industrial conflicts, and so on."

Plan of the Examination

(2) In the same memorandum Marshall remarked that "a full three years' work is needed for a thorough study of the economic and social basis of the present phase of civilisation." This statement, as it stands, is scarcely open to dispute ; nevertheless, the best must not be allowed to become the enemy of the good, and it early became plain that not all those who would be attracted by the specialised study of Economics would desire to devote to it the whole of their undergraduate years. Many of those who took Part I, at the end of their second year, passed on to take Part II in some other subject, frequently law ; while an important proportion of the candidates for Part II, including some of those who have since attained most distinction, came to consist of those who had naturally sought to set the seal on a proved aptitude for classics, mathematics or history by taking Part I of the appropriate Tripos. It was largely with the idea of providing a still more attractive magnet for the latter class that an important change was made in the Economics Tripos in 1931. Part I was greatly lightened and simplified and became a one-year course, while Part II was enlarged and embellished in such wise as to make it a satisfactory two-year course both for those who had taken Part I and for those coming over from another subject. At the same time the needs of those who could only give the last one of their three, or four, years in Cambridge to Economics were not forgotten, a shortened form of Part II, as explained below, being provided for their benefit. This one-year Part II is necessarily rather a rushed affair, even if (as is absolutely essential) a considerable part of the previous Long Vacation is devoted to preparation for it ; but experience seems to show that even students of no exceptional ability can, if they are prepared to work hard, get a good deal out of it.

(3) The full Part II, as at present constituted, consists of seven papers, of which only the first five are taken by those third- and fourth-year students who, as explained above, are permitted to take the examination in one year. These five papers are : (1) English Essay ; (2) Economic Principles, dealing "with the scope and method of Economics, with fundamental ideas, and with the general analysis of demand and supply" ; (3) Industry ; (4) Labour ; (5) Money. The scope of these last three papers is set forth in three somewhat elaborate schedules. A change of quite recent years, which is perhaps best regarded as experimental, is that in connection with papers (3) and (4) certain industries (at present coal, the electrical trades, rubber and sugar) are designated for special study, which is facilitated by special lectures. It will be noticed that among these papers there is none on economic history as such ; but it is laid down that papers (3), (4) and (5) shall all

contain some questions requiring a knowledge of modern economic history. Of the two remaining papers taken by candidates for the normal course, one is a paper on the Principles of Politics ; the other is selected by the candidate from among four Special Subjects, namely : (1) Statistics ; (2) Public Finance ; (3) International Law ; (4) a subject in Economic History, changed from time to time, the present subject being the *Economic Development of the British East Indies*, 1869–1929. A special provision, designed to suit the needs of those with abilities specially developed on the mathematical side, permits those who choose Statistics to substitute one of the other Special Subjects (usually in practice Public Finance) for the (otherwise compulsory) paper on the Principles of Politics. The paper on Statistics requires a knowledge both of the general mathematical theory of statistics and of the technique of handling specifically economic data. The paper on International Law is concerned rather with the Law of Peace than with the Law of War, and tends to be less legalistic in character than a paper bearing the same name in a law examination.

For the benefit of those taking the full two-year course, a Preliminary Examination is provided at the end of their first year's study. This is not, so far as the University goes, a compulsory or qualifying examination ; but the College authorities normally require a candidate to take it, and are informed by the examiners of the marks obtained by their candidates in each paper. The examination consists of four papers, one on Principles, two on Industry, Labour and Money, and one of an historical character, requiring knowledge of economic development outside Great Britain and of the development of economic thought.

Conduct of the Examination

(4) The Part II Tripos Examination takes place about the beginning of June, and the class-list is published in less than three weeks from the first day of the examination. There is no oral examination of any kind. The examiners are appointed in the preceding Michaelmas Term by the General Board of the Faculties on the nomination of the Faculty Board of Economics and Politics. With the growing number of candidates the number of examiners has recently been increased from four to five. In practice one at least of the examiners is always external, though there is no regulation governing the matter. In practice, also, an examiner is usually reappointed for a second year, and an " overlap " has developed which helps to ensure continuity in the standard. The examiners elect their own chairman. They are, of course, bound by the schedules of the papers, and there is a regulation to the effect that they must collectively approve all questions set. Otherwise the allotment of work among themselves, and the methods of marking and of procedure, are completely within their own discretion.

In addition to the examiners, there may exist not more than four

assessors (the number is usually less) appointed by the General Board on the nomination of the Faculty Board, to deal with such of the more specialised papers as the particular team of examiners may feel themselves insufficiently qualified to tackle. An assessor has to present a written report to the examiners; he is entitled to attend the examiners' meetings, but not to vote.

The class list is divided into three classes, of which the second is divided into two divisions. From 1926 to 1936 the first class also was divided into two divisions; but this practice has now been discontinued, the examiners being empowered instead to affix a mark of distinction to the name of a candidate whose work is of special merit. The list usually concludes with the names of a few candidates who have not been adjudged worthy of honours, but are either declared to have deserved the Ordinary B.A. Degree or accorded some allowance towards the attainment of that goal. As in the case of other Cambridge examinations, the names of men and women still appear in separate lists.

How Far does the Examination fulfil its Purpose?

(5) The schedule for Part II of the Tripos has been revised several times since it was first drawn up, and it is not likely that it has reached finality. Those who are best acquainted with its working would be the last to claim perfection for it. The relegation of such an important subject as Public Finance to the position of an optional Special Subject is not easy to defend. It is doubtful whether the inclusion of historical questions in the papers on Industry, Labour and Money has been as effective as was intended in encouraging historical methods of approach. Two broader lines of criticism, to some extent mutually destructive, have made themselves heard from time to time. On the one hand, it has been argued that the basis of the examination is too narrow and specialised, that the "Associated Branches of Political Science" which figure in the official title have not received due prominence in the scheduling, and that the destiny of the present Economics Tripos is to be merged in a broader course devoted to the study of Man in Society, which should allow, no doubt, opportunities for specialisation, but in which the study of the economic aspects of social life should be embedded in a more general background. On the other hand, it has been urged that the stress of modern competition requires that the course should be given a more vocational flavour, and that those who are "looking forward to a career in the higher branches of business" should be afforded the opportunity of formal instruction in the principles of business administration. These suggestions, as already remarked, point in somewhat divergent directions; and those who defend the existing plan of the Tripos would reply that on the whole it seems to steer a successful middle course between nebulous generality on the one hand and narrow technicality on the other.

Whatever changes in its make-up the future may bring, it can, I think, be said that the course has gone a long way towards fulfilling the aspirations of its founders. The elaboration of this claim would demand much more than a discussion of Tripos schedules; the planning of the lecture-list, the informal contacts of teachers and students, the discussions in clubs and societies, the part played by the Marshall Library of Economics, the attempts to maintain touch with the worlds of business, of social endeavour and of public affairs, would all require to be passed in review. The embryo business man who enters for the Economics Tripos will not get from it a business training, the eager reformer will not get from it a ready-made answer to all the problems of the world. But both will not only be put in the way of acquiring much information which it is well that they should possess, but receive also, according to their several capacities, a training of the mind and an enlargement of the spirit. To quote once more from Marshall's Memorandum of 1906, " In such problems as this [the causation of unemployment] it is the purely intellectual, and sometimes even the critical faculties, which are most in demand. But economic studies call for and develop the faculty of sympathy and especially that rare sympathy which enables people to put themselves in the place, not only of their comrades, but also of other classes."

D. H. ROBERTSON.

CHAPTER TWENTY

The Examinations for Bachelor of Commerce Degree in the University of Birmingham

The Purpose of the Examination

THE purpose of the Faculty of Commerce of the University of Birmingham is to furnish a systematic training, extending over a period of three years, for students who look forward to business careers. Dating from 1900, the year of the foundation of the University, it owes its origin to the late Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, who was the University's first Chancellor and to whose influence is due the clause in the Charter prescribing its establishment alongside the Faculties of Science, Arts and Medicine, which were taken over from pre-existing institutions of higher learning in Birmingham. Its first Dean and organiser was the late Sir William Ashley, who returned to England from the chair of Economic History at Harvard University, and who spent his first session inspecting higher schools of business training in the United States of America and Germany. The lead he gave in Birmingham was widely copied, and similar faculties in other universities, both in England itself and in the British Dominions, owe much to his advice and guidance in their early days.

Plan of the Curriculum

(2) In planning the courses of instruction in the Faculty two objects have been kept in view—(i) the combination of liberal culture with utility ; and (ii) a due regard for the different requirements of different branches of industrial and commercial life. Certain parts of the curriculum are believed to be serviceable for all classes of business men, and are therefore prescribed for all students in the Faculty. In other parts a large freedom of choice is allowed, in accordance with the prospects, interests and aptitudes of the students.

(3) Two main alternatives are presented: (i) Students who expect to be engaged in the commercial or administrative conduct of manufacturing and similar businesses naturally desire to combine with the specifically commercial courses, and with a certain amount of linguistic study, some attention to the scientific and technical subjects which most nearly touch the businesses in which they are interested. Under the detailed arrangements possible, they can devote, if they so choose, about one-fourth of their time to work in applied science. Mechanical engineering and metallurgy are the branches most frequently selected ; and the opportunities offered in these subjects are adequate for the purposes of equipping those

students who seek to obtain employment in the research departments of industrial establishments where the problems of industrial administration are being investigated, and where the preparation of market surveys and the like is regularly undertaken. A similar choice is made by those who are likely to be concerned in commercial management of collieries and other mines, or of agricultural undertakings, as well as by those who propose to enter upon business life in the Dominions. The fact that the Faculty is in the Edgbaston buildings of the University along with the Faculty of Science makes co-operation easy and facilitates the arrangement of time-tables, the latter always a difficult problem for administrators in a university. (ii) Students, on the other hand, who expect to be engaged ultimately in the work of a *merchant*, in the narrower sense of the word, usually prefer (after due provision has been made for the strictly commercial courses) either to enlarge their knowledge of foreign languages and to gain access in this and other ways to a wider range of economic, financial and administrative studies or to enlarge their economic knowledge in some special direction or to study some branch of law. A similar freedom of choice is offered to those who are likely to be occupied in banking, railway or shipping management, in stockbroking or financial houses, in government departments, in the consular or municipal service, in the employment of Chambers of Commerce or trade associations, as accountants, or as masters on the "modern sides" of schools. Many students, however, enter the Faculty solely for the purposes of a *general* education, which, owing to the increasing specialisation in the Honour Schools of other Faculties, it is becoming ever more difficult to obtain in a modern university.

(4) In framing the curriculum every effort has been made to avoid giving undue prominence to subjects and topics of purely vocational importance, and care also has been taken not to fall into the temptation of offering advice to embryo business men on the handling by them of any detailed problems with which they will be confronted in actual trade and industry and in the solution of which mere academic knowledge cannot help. On one point—the place of accounting in the compulsory courses—the Faculty is probably unique; for it prescribes at least two, and in the case of the majority of students, three years of study in this subject. The reason for this is historical and curious. When Chamberlain was consulted by Ashley concerning the curriculum, he strongly pressed for a course in accounting during each of the three undergraduate years on the ground that when Tommy, the son of a Midland business man, went home and was asked by his parent what he was doing at the University, a reply setting out economics, history and modern languages would not impress, but that if accounting, about which the parent might know a little, were included, the latter would immediately conclude that Tommy, after all, was not wasting his time on subjects wholly irrelevant to his future career. To avoid possible trouble with professional accountancy bodies, Ashley deliberately chose the

word accounting rather than accountancy to describe the courses; but the distinction he sought to establish between these two terms has not been maintained. If the courses in accounting and in commercial and industrial law were omitted, the curriculum of the Faculty could well be fitted into those of many Faculties of Arts.

Conditions of Admission

(5) Admission to the Faculty after December 1st, 1937, will normally be based upon the performance of the candidate in the School Certificate and Higher School Certificate examinations conducted by the Joint Matriculation Board of the Universities of Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, Sheffield and Birmingham or by other recognised examining bodies. No special subject or combination of subjects is prescribed beyond the general requirements of the Northern Universities Joint Matriculation Board which are set out in detail in the pamphlet "Qualifications for entry upon a Degree Course," obtainable on application to the Secretary to the Board, at 315 Oxford Road, Manchester.

Scheme and Conduct of the Examination

(6) Examinations are held at the close of each academic year, and are conducted in accordance with the usual practice in the modern universities—papers of three hours' duration—five or six questions to be chosen from ten or twelve. In addition, there are practical examinations in the science subjects and *viva voce* examinations in modern languages. In the final year there is a general *viva voce* examination conducted by a board of all the examiners, internal and external, in the subjects special to the Faculty. This body has power to revise marks for the written papers, but as a rule it only raises, never lowers, assessments when there is cause shown.

As a general rule, the papers are set by the teachers with the assistance of external examiners nominated by the Faculty. Assessment is arranged by the examiners concerned, who mark to a pass percentage of 40. In the examinations at the end of the first and second years candidates who have passed in all the required subjects are placed in two divisions. The line of demarcation between Division I and Division II in these years is not settled precisely by a minimum percentage of marks, but is determined by the circumstances of each occasion, a desirable minimum being kept in view, but not adhered to strictly. The B.Com. class lists are published in three divisions, the first of which is called Honours and contains the names of those candidates who distinguish themselves in the specifically commercial and economic subjects. With the help of the *viva voce* examination already referred to, no difficulty is ever felt in selecting the candidates to be placed in Division I. They always stand out much above the rest. The line between Division II and Division III is a little more difficult to draw and, here, percentage averages are often used; but with the intimate know-

ledge of the candidates possessed by the internal members of the board of examiners it is felt that the decisions reached are fair and just. The average number of candidates who present themselves for the final examination each year is about twenty-five.

Significance of the Degree

(7) As the students, whether successful or not in the examinations, all seek to enter business life, other qualities than mere academic ones play a large part in determining the nature of the opening secured in any given case. The business world as a rule draws only one distinction—degree or no degree. It does not discriminate closely between a Division I, II or III. In this it acts wisely; for the chief benefit conferred by such courses as the Faculty provides consists in the general training in methods of thought and the broader outlook obtained by the embryo business man in his contact with students studying for the professions. Indeed, it has more than once happened that business has preferred our examination failures to our branded Honours men, and quite properly, too. In such cases we do not consider the time spent by these students in the University as wasted. On the contrary, they have in every way justified the trouble and money devoted to their training

For students who use the Faculty courses as an introduction to the higher study of economics special classes are provided leading to higher degrees. Admission to these is granted only to those who have graduated in Division I at the examination for the Degree of B.Com. Assessment of work at this stage is wholly by means of essays and theses.

J. G. SMITH.

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

Examinations for the Degrees of B.A. (Com.) and B.A. (Admin.) in the Faculty of Commerce and Administration in the University of Manchester

Introduction

THE Faculty of Commerce and Administration at Manchester came into being as long ago as 1904. Its inception was the outcome of a conviction that a university in a large industrial and commercial centre should not confine itself to the subjects normally taught in the older centres of learning, but should also offer courses with a more immediate bearing on the economic life of the community in which it was set. This conviction was of no recent growth. From the foundation of Owens College in 1851 Economics and kindred subjects had formed part of the curriculum ; and in the early years of the College some professors, including W. Stanley Jevons, had given lectures to business men as well as to students in the ordinary sense of the word. But by the time that the federal Victoria University (founded in 1880) had become the Victoria University of Manchester (1903) a demand had arisen for a more systematic training in what were termed higher commercial subjects. It was realised that the economic progress of other countries, some of which appeared to be developing more rapidly than Britain, had its roots, partly at least, in universities closely in touch with the needs of business. And it came to be recognised that, just as a university might properly equip men to become doctors, lawyers, teachers or clergymen, so it might also assist others to become leaders in industry, commerce or finance. A growing awareness of the increasing complexity of government and of the urgency of social problems also played a part : it was hoped that the new Faculty might make some contribution to the training of administrators, whether in the service of central or local authorities or in that of voluntary organisations.

(2) From the outset it was laid down that attendance at classes held in the evening, no less than in the daytime, should qualify for admission to examinations leading to degrees ; for the object was to help men and women already embarked on careers, as well as those who were preparing to enter on them. But it was firmly resolved that this should mean no weakening of academic standards, and that the conditions of graduation should be the same in all respects for both groups of students.

(3) For some years progress was relatively slow. From a total of 11 students reading for a degree in 1904 the numbers grew to 55 in 1914, but fell back to as few as 20 during the war years. Since the session 1919–20 growth has been rapid and almost continuous :

in 1936–7 there were 227 students attending courses leading to degrees; and by this time the total of those who had graduated, during the thirty-three years in which the Faculty had been in existence, had reached 755.

(4) In 1927, two innovations of major importance were made. The first of these was the alteration of the title of the bachelor's and master's degrees in commerce from B.Com. and M.Com. to B.A. (Com.) and M.A. (Com.), a change the object of which was to emphasise the liberal character of the courses and their intimate relation to those offered by the Faculty of Arts. The second was the institution of the new degrees of Bachelor of Arts in Administration, B.A. (Admin.), and the corresponding master's degree, M.A. (Admin.), intended primarily as qualifications for men and women whose working life was to be spent in the field of government and the social services. In the session 1927–8 about forty undergraduates registered as candidates for the degree of B.A. (Admin.) and at present rather more than half of the students in the Faculty are preparing for degrees in Administration. Mention must also be made of the setting up, in 1932, of the Economics Research Section of the Faculty, which is under the supervision of the Professor of Social Economics. This not only employs a full-time staff engaged in enquiries into current economic problems (especially those of Lancashire), but also offers facilities for the training of post-graduate students in realistic research.

(5) The Faculty of Commerce and Administration is thus the expression of a belief that the University has a contribution to make to the business and official life of the nation. Men and women whose discipline has been the Classics, History, Law or Science may, it is true, develop the breadth of outlook and elasticity of mind that are the fundamental requirements here. But it is held that an education such as is offered by the Faculty may be no less cultural for being concerned with affairs, and that the combination of a study of Economics, Finance and Administration with that of Languages, History and Political Philosophy may give a training specially appropriate to the needs of modern life. The province of the Faculty may, indeed, be defined as that of the Applied Humanities.

Admission to Courses and Conditions of Work

(6) Before admission, all candidates for degrees are required to have reached the age of 16 years (in the case of women students, 17 years) to have passed the School Certificate Examination and also the Higher School Certificate Examination in four subjects at or above the "subsidiary" standard, or to hold some equivalent qualification. Their subsequent course of study must extend over at least three university sessions, and, in the case of those who seek to complete the courses in this minimum period, attendance at lectures for at least six hours a week in each session is required. Students are encouraged to make full use of the facilities offered by

the University Union, the Athletic Union and such other bodies as the Jevons Society (formerly the Economics and Commerce Society), which arranges lectures, visits to factories and expeditions of various kinds. In the case of evening students there is some difficulty in ensuring that the attainment of a degree shall mean something more than mere attendance at lectures and the passing of prescribed examinations. But some of the meetings of the Jevons Society are held at times which make it possible for evening students to attend ; the tutor of the Faculty is available for advice and detailed help in the evenings, as in the daytime ; and the provision of seminars enables evening students, as well as day students, to have that more intimate association with their teachers which is often more valuable than instruction by formal lectures.

Candidates for degrees must satisfy the requirements of attendance and examination in each of a number of subjects specified in the regulations. Normally a student who wishes to complete all the courses in the minimum period of three years takes three, or at most, four separate subjects in each session. There is no division into Intermediate and Final examinations, such as exists in other Faculties : each subject is studied for one or two years up to a given stage, and when a candidate has satisfied the requirements in one set of subjects he passes on to another. To some extent students have free choice of the order in which they present the required subjects. But in arranging the programme of studies for each individual student, the tutor sees that subjects are taken in logical sequence—that the more elementary are taken before the more advanced, and that the study of principles precedes that of their application.

Courses for the Degree of B.A. (Com.)

(7) Candidates are required to attend and satisfy the examiners in nine subjects, as follows : (1) Political Economy, (2) Geography, (3) Modern History *or* Modern Economic History, (4) A Modern Foreign Language,[1] (5) The Organisation and Administration of Industry, (6) Accounting, (7) Commercial Law,[2] (8) History of Industrial Organisation, (9) One or more Special Subjects.

Of the first eight of these subjects, only a few words need be said here. Political Economy provides the theoretical background without which most of the other subjects would have little meaning : it offers an instrument of thought, which it is the business of those concerned with the teaching of the Organisation and Administration of Industry to apply to the more realistic content of their subject. The course in Geography pays special attention to the trade and commerce of the more important regions of the world and the dis-

[1] This course extends over two sessions, and no candidate is allowed to take a subject which is his mother-tongue.

[2] This course extends over two sessions. By permission of the Board of the Faculty a course in Company Law may be substituted for the second year of the course in Commercial Law.

tribution and activities of their peoples as affected by their environment. In Modern History the student is given a knowledge of the major political and social changes of the period 1815–1914, and is thus provided with a background against which current events become more intelligible. The courses in the History of Industrial Organisation and Modern Economic History exhibit the stages by which the existing system of industry, trade and finance has come into being. Knowledge of at least one modern foreign language is not only necessary to success in business, but essential to the equipment of any man or woman of education : the courses, which extend over two years, consist of Translation, Composition, Grammar, oral practice and a study of economic and social aspects of the nation to which the language belongs. All these courses may be taken by students reading for degrees in the Faculty of Arts : all are cultural in the best sense of the word : without some knowledge of each of them no one could take an intelligent interest in the social and civic problems of the day. Only Accounting (a tool necessary to every business man) and Commercial Law (a description of the legal framework in which business is carried on) are of a specialist character : their importance to those whose future is to be spent in commerce is too obvious to require further discussion.

(8) For their special subject or subjects candidates have a wide range of choice. They may take one subject from what is known as Group A, or one subject from Group B, or two subjects from Group C : which they select will depend on their interests or on the kind of career for which they are preparing themselves.

A Group A subject is a science such as Chemistry, Engineering, Geography, Mathematics, Metallurgy, Physics, Psychology or any Technological subject approved by the Board of the Faculty. Candidates are required to attend classes for at least four hours a week for two years, or make equivalent attendance, and the standard of attainment expected is broadly that of the Final Examination for the degree of B.Sc. Since the requirements are considered somewhat onerous, candidates who take a subject in Group A may be exempted from one of the subjects numbered (1) to (8) above.

Group B consists of the following subjects :

(1) A second modern foreign language, (2) Public Economics and Finance, (3) Modern History,[1] (4) Modern Economic History,[1] (5) Elements of English Law.

Group C offers a variety of subjects : among them the Cotton Industry, Industrial Psychology, Statistics, Outlines of Political Philosophy, Currency and Foreign Exchange, Banking, Social Economics, Industrial Law, International Law, Law and Practice of the British Constitution and Social Psychology. Students of special promise are encouraged to seek a degree with Distinction in some one subject, in which case they are required to make additional attendance (amounting to five or six hours a week) and to take additional examinations of an advanced character. It

[1] When not taken in the first Group of subjects.

should be added that day students for a degree in the Faculty who have satisfactorily completed one year of the course, may, on the recommendation of the professors concerned, be allowed to transfer to the Honours Schools of Economics, Politics and Modern History in the Faculty of Arts as second-year students. Here they have the choice of specialised work in one of the three subjects with which the School is concerned.

Course for the Degree of B.A. (Admin.)

(9) Candidates are required to attend and satisfy the examiners in nine subjects, as follows :

(1) Political Economy, (2) Political Philosophy, (3) Modern History *or* Modern Economic History, (4) A Modern Foreign Language, (5) Central Government, (6) Local Government, (7) Accounting *or* Statistics *or* Public Economics and Finance, (8) Law and Practice of the British Constitution, (9) One or more Special Subjects.

The courses in the subjects numbered (1), (3), (4) and (7) are identical with those for the degree of B.A. (Com.). The purpose of the remaining courses is to provide that knowledge of political theory and institutions without which the administrator cannot clearly see his own place in the scheme of things. A study of the general principles of administration will, it is believed, help to qualify men and women for the higher tasks of direction and control in a way in which no apprenticeship to a particular office, however long, can possibly do.

(10) As in the case of the B.A. (Com.), candidates for the B.A. (Admin.) have a range of choice for their special subject or subjects : here again, they may take one from Group A, one from Group B, or two from Group C. At the present time the only course recognised for Group A is in Social Administration, a composite course involving attendance for at least four hours a week for two sessions in :

(i) Social Economics.

(ii) Two of the following : Social Psychology, General Psychology, Industrial Psychology, The Organisation and Administration of Industry, Statistics, Accounting, Industrial Law.

(iii) Practical Work :

(*a*) Visits of observation to public and voluntary institutions and attendance at a seminar in connection with these.

(*b*) Experience of work with some approved public or voluntary organisation.

For Groups B and C the options are broadly the same as those for the degree of B.A. (Com.), with the addition of a number of subjects appropriate to specialist students of administration : among them International Law, the Administration of Public Utilities by Statutory Bodies, Elements of English Law, the History and Organisation of English Education and Social Psychology.

(11) The special subjects, it will be observed, are so arranged as to meet the educational needs of different types of students. Men and women who are already employed in the civil service or in local government, or who are preparing to take up such work, normally offer a subject (or subjects) in Group B or Group C. Those who look forward to careers as industrial managers, hospital almoners, probation officers and so on find that the training in Social Administration, with its stress on practical work, is more suited to their needs. Because the requirements for this subject involve considerable work, not only in term time, but also in the vacations, the Board of the Faculty has power to exempt those who take it under Group A from attendance and examination in either one or two of the subjects numbered (1) to (8).

Conduct of Examinations

(12) No student is admitted to the examinations in the Faculty unless he has satisfied the requirements of attendance. In most subjects the examinations consist of two papers, each of three hours' duration, and (though this is rarely exercised) examiners have the right to examine candidates orally. There are always, for each subject, at least two examiners, one internal and another external, the latter appointed by the University for a period of three years. Complete freedom is given to examiners as to the scheme of marking and the minimum mark required for a pass, and examiners report directly to the Board of the Faculty. The results are published by the University in three sections: (1) a list of those who have passed in the different subjects, showing whether they have passed in the First Class or the Second Class; (2) a pass-list for the degree, in which the names are arranged in alphabetical order, but without any kind of classification; and (3) a separate list of those who have obtained the degree with distinction in a particular subject.

Conclusion

(13) The possession of a degree in Commerce or Administration is not, in itself, a proof of competence in business or public service. What it does signify is some acquaintance with economic and administrative problems, some capacity to learn, think and write, and some power, not only to fill a post efficiently, but also to see the place of this in the social order. At present several hundreds of men and women, holding degrees of the Faculty, are in positions of responsibility in commercial or public life. There is evidence from employers that graduates learn more quickly and are fitted for promotion after a shorter practical training than those who have received no university education. Testimony to the worth of the degrees is paid by many business concerns which allow selected employees to attend the University in working hours; by local authorities, several of which pay the whole or part of the University fees for their officials and defray travelling expenses; and by the banks,

some of which give a bonus on graduation. Perhaps, however, the most telling evidence of the value of the work of the Faculty is that, throughout the recent trade depression, there was no unemployment among its graduates.

T. S. ASHTON.

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

Examinations for the B.Sc. (Agriculture) Degree in the University of Glasgow

History of the Scheme

REGULATIONS for the degree of Bachelor of Science in Agriculture at the University of Glasgow were framed by the Universities Commission of 1889, but arrangements for putting them into effect do not seem to have been completed until about ten years later. In 1899, the Agricultural Department of the Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College, now known as the Royal Technical College, was discontinued and its activities transferred to the West of Scotland Agricultural College, which was founded in that year. A scheme was then devised whereby some of the classes for the degree should be taken at the University and some at the College. This joint arrangement still holds and has worked admirably.

Joint Arrangements between the University of Glasgow and the West of Scotland Agricultural College

(2) The staff of the Agricultural College is largely composed of graduates of Glasgow University, many of them in Arts and Pure Science as well as in Agriculture; and other universities are well represented. There is a Joint Board of Studies in Agricultural Science, consisting of the Principal of the University, the Principal of the College, the professors and lecturers of the University who conduct qualifying courses for the degree, the Professor of Agriculture in the College, together with other professors and lecturers in the College who conduct qualifying courses. The University is represented on the governing body of the College and is partly responsible for the appointment of the Professor of Agriculture in the College. The examiners in the subjects of the curriculum for the degree consist of the professors in the University of these subjects and the Professor of Agriculture in the College, together with lecturers in the University and professors and lecturers in the College, who conduct courses qualifying for the degree, and such additional examiners as the University may appoint.

Regulations for the Degree

(3) The degree of B.Sc. in Agriculture at Glasgow was first conferred in 1902, when three men graduated. The original regulations remained in force until 1924, when they were superseded by new regulations. The degree under the old regulations was, strictly speaking, a pass degree, but it was hardly possible to attend all

the qualifying classes in three years, so that with very few exceptions, students spent four years on the course. From this fact, and also because a high standard was insisted on in some subjects in the degree examinations, especially in Economics, the degree was rightly considered an excellent qualification. It was awarded to 103 candidates, including two women.

(4) For various reasons, which cannot be entered into here, the 1889 regulations were superseded in 1924 by new regulations, which set up both an Ordinary Degree and an Honours Degree in Agriculture.

(5) Every candidate for a degree in Science in Agriculture must, before entering on the curriculum, pass a preliminary examination or produce other evidence of fitness to enter upon the said curriculum. This matter is dealt with by the Scottish Universities Entrance Board, from whom every candidate about to enter upon a course of study qualifying for graduation must obtain a " Certificate of Fitness." Probably the majority of candidates do not take the preliminary examination, but present certificates which exempt them from it, such as the Group Leaving Certificate of the Scottish Education Department, or the School Certificate examinations of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, or the Matriculation examination of the University of London, etc. Applicants of not less than 21 years of age may be granted exemption from the whole or from part of the foregoing regulations if they furnish to the Board a satisfactory reason for this concession. They are commonly asked to pass a preliminary examination modified by the Entrance Board according to the merits of the case, having regard to the candidate's qualifications and the degree which he or she wishes to take.

(6) Residence and practical work at a farm are required of each candidate for the degree of B.Sc. (Agriculture), under such conditions as the Senatus of the University appoints. Briefly, this consists of twelve consecutive months' residence and practical work, although in special cases the Senatus may recognise two shorter periods. The candidate must not be under 16 years of age when he commences the residence. He must keep a diary or calendar of the chief events and operations on the farm during the year's practical training, which must be submitted before he is enrolled in Agriculture Course II, that is, the Final Course in Agriculture. Generally, the candidate takes his year's residence on a farm either before he starts on his course at the University or after his first year of study.

(7) The subjects for the Ordinary Degree are the following: Chemistry, Agricultural Chemistry, Botany, Agricultural Botany, Zoology (including Agricultural Zoology) or Mathematics (this option is restricted to candidates for Honours in certain branches), Physics, Agriculture (including Accounting), Geology, Physiology of Farm Animals, Agricultural Economics, Farm and Estate Surveying and Engineering, Bacteriology.

For the Ordinary Degree there is a First Examination, a Second Examination and a Final Examination.

The subjects of the First Examination are Chemistry, Botany, Zoology and Physics. The subjects of the Second Examination are Agriculture I, Agricultural Chemistry, Agricultural Botany, Geology, Agricultural Zoology. The subjects of the Final Examination are Agriculture II (including Accounting), Agricultural Economics, Farm and Estate Surveying and Engineering, Physiology of Farm Animals, Bacteriology.

No candidate may present himself for examination in any of the subjects of the Second or of the Final Examination until he has passed in all the subjects of the First Examination.

(8) The subjects for the Degree with Honours include those prescribed for the First and for the Second Examination for the Ordinary Degree, and also one of the following Groups of subjects to be selected by the candidate :

Principal Subjects	*Subsidiary Subjects*
Group (*a*)	
Agricultural Chemistry with Pure Chemistry.	Agriculture II. Bacteriology. Agricultural Geology or Physiology of Farm Animals.
Group (*b*)	
Agricultural Botany with Pure Botany.	Agriculture II. Bacteriology. Physiology of Farm Animals.
Group (*c*)	
Agricultural Bacteriology and Biochemistry with special reference to Dairy Technology.	Agriculture II. Dairy Technology. Physiology of Farm Animals.
Group (*d*)	
Agriculture and Agricultural Economics.	Bacteriology. Farm and Estate Surveying and Engineering. Physiology of Farm Animals.
Group (*e*)	
Agricultural Zoology with Genetics and Economic Entomology.	Agriculture II. Bacteriology. Physiology of Farm Animals.

For the Degree with Honours there is a First Examination, a Second Examination, a Third Examination and a Final Honours Examination.

The subjects of the First Examination are the same as those of the

First Examination for the Ordinary Degree except that candidates for Honours Groups (*a*) or (*d*) may substitute Mathematics for Zoology.

The subjects of the Second Examination are the same as those of the Second Examination for the Ordinary Degree.

The subjects of the Third Examination are the Subsidiary subjects of one of the Honours Groups.

The subject of the Final Honours Examination is the principal subject of one of the Honours Groups.

No candidate may present himself for examination in any of the subjects of the Second Examination or of the Third Examination until he has passed in all the subjects of the First Examination.

No candidate may present himself for the Final Honours Examination in his Group until he has completed the curriculum prescribed for the Degree with Honours, nor until the end of the third Session after he has passed in all the subjects of the First Examination. The whole of the principal subject of a Group must be passed at one time.

In the Final Honours Examination the candidates entitled to Honours are classified in two grades, First Class and Second Class, the names of candidates in each class being arranged in alphabetical order.

In the case of a candidate for Honours who has failed to be placed in either group, the Senatus may award the Ordinary Degree.

Conduct of the Examinations

(9) The examinations in the various degree subjects consist of one or more written papers of usually three hours' duration. There may also be a practical examination occupying six hours, and also an oral examination, depending upon the subject and the examiners. For instance, in Economics there is only a written paper, whereas in Chemistry there is a written paper, a practical examination and an oral examination.

(10) Usually there are at least two examiners, an internal examiner, who is the professor or lecturer conducting the qualifying class, and an external examiner appointed by the Senatus. The internal examiner sets the paper and the external examiner approves of it with such alterations or additions as he thinks fit. The paper is printed by the University and the examination is held within the University. The internal examiner corrects the worked papers and the external examiner checks the marking. The question of a pass or of a grade is settled by the examiners in consultation. The procedure may, however, be varied at the discretion of the examiners. There is no fixed standard for marks. It is simply a matter of the candidate attaining what is in the opinion of the examiners a reasonable degree standard. As there is always an internal as well as an external examiner, the candidate's record in his class work is given every consideration.

Course Work for the Degree

(11) Time-tables of classes have been drawn up for the various curricula, and it is required that these should be adhered to. The normal period for the Ordinary Degree is three years—that is, three academic years—so that a candidate commencing in October should graduate in April of the third year following. There is ample time during vacations for recreation or for obtaining further instruction in practical Agriculture or in Dairying, etc., and many students combine the course for B.Sc. (Agriculture) with courses for the N.D.A. (National Diploma in Agriculture) and the N.D.D. (National Diploma in Dairying). Indeed, the student is strongly advised to do so, as the work for these supplementary courses naturally dovetails with and assists in the main course, and the additional qualifications are valuable.

The normal period for an Honours Degree is four years. The Honours Degree is naturally more difficult to obtain than the Ordinary Degree. Apart from attendance at classes, there is considerable reading and even research work to be done, for in some branches a thesis may form part of the Final Examination, an exceptional requirement for a bachelor's degree. The candidate for Honours should start his course endowed with more than average ability and, what is just as important, a large capacity for hard work. In status there is a great difference between an Honours Degree and an Ordinary Degree, and a clever student is well advised to read for Honours if at all possible.

Statistics

(12) Since the 1924 regulations came into force the Ordinary Degree has been awarded to 64 candidates, of whom 9 were women; and the Honours Degree has been awarded to 18 candidates, of whom 2 were women. Out of these 18 candidates 10 men and 2 women obtained First Class Honours, while the other 6 candidates obtained Second Class Honours.

Meaning of the Degree

(13) A degree of B.Sc. (Agriculture), Glasgow, whether Ordinary or Honours, certifies that the holder has had a thorough education in agriculture and allied sciences, and graduates go into the world well equipped for responsible posts. The total number of graduates in Agriculture up to the date of writing is 185. The writer has a personal knowledge of nearly all of them. They were recruited from all over the world. Seven lost their lives owing to war service; five have died from other causes. The 173 graduates remaining comprise landed proprietors, tenant farmers, estate-managers, professors, lecturers, teachers, inspectors, administrators, merchants, salesmen, etc., scattered all over the globe. Almost without exception they have done well.

JOHN MALCOLM.

CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

The Final Examinations for the Ordinary and Honours Degrees in Architecture in the University of Liverpool

General Purpose of the Examinations

IN the Liverpool School of Architecture the final examinations both for the ordinary and honours degrees come at the end of courses of study extending throughout five years. Within the limits of time and of the conditions imposed by the nature of school training, these courses share a common object: they aim at preparing students for the informed and effective practice of architecture to-day. They differ only in so far as the course leading to honours covers in the later years a wider field of study and demands a higher standard of performance. In either case the final examination seeks to ascertain (*a*) to what extent students have assimilated the basic technical knowledge required for the purposes of practice—that is, the knowledge relating to the planning, construction and equipment of buildings, to established methods of specification and estimating and to professional procedure; (*b*) the ability of students in design, their capacity to carry out research, to solve the problems presented by contemporary architectural programmes and to make explicit their solutions in adequate project and working drawings.

(2) Those candidates who satisfy the examiners in the whole range of the final tests, whether for the ordinary or for the honours degree, are automatically exempted from the final examination for Associate Membership of the Royal Institute of British Architects. On the completion of twelve months' certified office experience they are eligible for election as Associates of the R.I.B.A., and also for admission to the statutory Register of Architects. The examinations of the School are thus officially recognised for qualifying purposes. That they should be vocational in character and aim appears to be generally accepted as both inevitable and desirable. No difference of view on this issue would seem to exist.

Admission to the Examinations: Stages of the Course

(3) To be admitted to a degree course in the School a student must first have passed either the matriculation examination of the Northern Universities Joint Matriculation Board or an examination accepted as equivalent by the Board.[1] In the matriculation or

[1] A candidate who has passed the school certificate examination of the Joint Matriculation Board or an equivalent examination, but who has not secured the requisite number of credits for matriculation purposes, may be admitted to the five-year course, and may, on the results of the final examination at the end of the course, be awarded a diploma in architecture with or without distinction. The regulations relating to the curriculum of study and subjects

equivalent preliminary examination he[1] must have reached a "credit" standard in English, in mathematics, in a language other than English and in at least two more subjects.[2] Having fulfilled these requirements, he then enters upon a course of vocational study in architecture. Such a course can, it is believed, if rightly conceived and directed, afford in itself a liberal education.

(4) During the five years over which the course extends there are five examinations, one at the end of each session. Graduates of approved universities and other matriculated candidates who can produce evidence of previous work and training may be excused the first and second years' study and examinations. In the event of their being so excused, they are required to take, together with the examination at the end of their first session, one or more of the papers of the earlier years. They cannot, however, in any circumstances be admitted to a higher year than the third, as a statute of the University prescribes a minimum period of three years' study for all courses leading to a bachelor's degree. This provision ensures that a graduate of the School is not simply one who has secured a professional qualification by examination, but that he has studied in a certain environment sufficiently long for it to be possible for that environment to have had an effective influence.

(5) For some time now the total number of students in the School has been restricted to two hundred, though this session the experiment has been tried of permitting the maximum to be exceeded to the extent of 10 per cent. Recently the annual entry has varied between forty-five and fifty-five. Of these, three or four have usually been allowed to go directly into the third year of the course, and some five or six into the second year. The remainder have started in the first year. Thus the great majority of the students before they reach the stage of the final examination have spent five years in the School. In the fifth or final year of the course the total number of students rarely exceeds forty, and is more commonly about thirty-five. The difference between this figure, whatever it may be, and that of the average annual entry of examination for the ordinary degree apply to the ordinary diploma, whilst those governing the degree with honours apply to the diploma with distinction. As a professional qualification the diploma has the same validity as the degree. At the present time approximately 45 per cent. of the students taking the five-year course in the School are registered as candidates for the diploma. Some years ago the proportion was somewhat higher; but the tendency has been for the numbers of those taking the degree to increase, whilst the numbers of those taking the diploma have correspondingly declined.

[1] Both men and women students take the course in architecture, the proportion of women students being usually 10 per cent. of the total number in the School. The masculine personal pronoun should therefore in this and all subsequent references be taken to signify a student of either sex.

[2] As from December 1st, 1937, new provisions relating to matriculation come generally into force. Candidates for admission to degree courses in the Liverpool School of Architecture will be exempted from the new regulations until 1942, when the position will be reviewed.

is accounted for by failures at earlier stages of the course, principally in the first, second and third examinations, although some failures do occur in the fourth and fifth examinations. But it is sought, as far as possible, to ensure that the students who survive the third examination are those who are likely to satisfy the examiners in the subsequent tests, at least at a pass level.

(6) Up to and including the third examination, the curriculum followed and the tests imposed are the same for the ordinary as for the honours degrees. In every year of the course chief emphasis is laid upon and the greatest amount of time devoted to studio work—that is, to studies in architectural design, comprising planning and construction, carried out to prescribed programmes in the School studios. These programmes vary, both in kind and duration ; some, known as sketch design programmes, are intended simply to stimulate the imaginative faculty, and may be restricted in time to six hours ; others involve the solution of complex planning and constructional problems and may have to be developed over a period of six weeks or more. The work produced in accordance with the conditions of each programme must be submitted on a given date, when it is assessed and marked by a staff jury. After criticism the work is returned to the students, who may revise and develop it further at their discretion and as time permits. At the end of the autumn and Lent terms in the first, second and third years every student is required to re-submit the whole of the studio work carried out by him during the past term. The record of his marks is preserved, and the aggregate he has gained may be increased or diminished according to the evidence presented at this stage. At the end of the summer term the whole of the studio work produced by each student during the session is hung in a separate cubicle and the student is orally examined on the drawings displayed, his total aggregate being again liable to modification. It is his performance in studio work throughout the three terms of the session that primarily determines whether he passes or fails.

(7) In addition to the reviews of studio work in the first three examinations of the course there are test papers in such subjects as architectural construction, history, theory, descriptive geometry and sciagraphy, perspective, surveying, sanitation and hygiene, strength of materials and in furniture and decoration. Failure in one or two of these subjects does not necessarily involve failure in the whole examination concerned, whether first, second or third. The subject of a test paper may be carried forward to the next year, but a second failure in that subject debars a student from any further advance until he has satisfied the examiners in it. And under no circumstances can a student pass into a higher year if he has failed in studio work.

(8) For the ordinary degree the examination subjects of the fourth year comprise : (*i*) studio work in which the development of working drawings plays an important part ; (*ii*) architectural construction.

Students admitted to the course leading to the degree with honours must in the fourth examination take, in addition to the foregoing subjects, a paper on the theory of architectural design and two papers either in architectural construction (specific problems and reinforced concrete) or in architectural decoration (principles and specific problems).

Experience has shown that the phenomenon of late development occurs frequently amongst potential architects, perhaps more frequently than amongst students preparing to enter other professions. For this reason it is the practice of the School to admit to the honours course the great majority of those students who succeed in passing the third examination, and to continue to regard as candidates for honours most of those who pass the fourth examination. In the final examination a candidate who fails to reach the standard required for honours may be awarded an ordinary degree.

(9) The fourth session of the course extends over the autumn and Lent terms only. On passing the fourth examination, which is held in March, students must, in accordance with a regulation governing both the ordinary and honours courses, spend the summer term and summer vacation in practical work under approved conditions; that is, they must acquire experience either in an architectural office or with a firm of contractors. Only in the event of their having already at an earlier date spent at least six months in practical work of an acceptable kind may they be exempted. Actually the tendency is for students to seek every opportunity of gaining experience of practice, so that even when they are entitled to exemption, they rarely wish to take advantage of the fact.

Plan of the Final Examinations

(10) Having passed the fourth examination and fulfilled the condition regarding practical work, students may then enter upon their fifth year of study. The final examinations held at the end of the session in June comprise for candidates for the ordinary degree an oral test on a thesis design prepared during the year and also on general studio work, together with papers in specifications, estimates and contracts and in professional practice. For honours candidates an additional examination is obligatory in either civic architecture and landscape design or in the theory of architectural design or in quantity surveying. The last date for the submission of thesis designs and of the reports supplementing them is normally the middle of May. Written examinations generally begin at the end of the first week in June, and the oral examinations in studio and thesis design work occupy, as a rule, the last two or three days of the month.

As the degree may be conferred with honours on the results of the fourth and final examinations considered together, the studio work submitted at the conclusion of the previous session is presented

again and is exhibited with the drawings relating to the thesis design and other fifth-year studio work. The examiners are thus enabled to review comprehensively the whole range of the students' performance in the School studios during the last two sessions of the course.

(11) The final year is primarily devoted by the student to the preparation of his thesis design. Such other studio work as he carries out consists chiefly of short-term sketch designs and special studies intended to afford some relief and variation of interest whilst he is engaged upon the execution of his major task. As the proper development of a thesis design that is itself adequate in content presupposes the most exacting and protracted effort which a student is called upon to make throughout his whole course, it constitutes a unique test of his knowledge and capacity. Critical importance is therefore attached to it in the scheme of the final examination.

From the outset responsibility for the thesis design is placed upon the student. He must himself select the subject he proposes to take, and must also decide upon a suitable site for it, submitting his proposals to the School's Board of Studies for approval not later than the fourteenth day of October.[1] The Board, for its part, has to be satisfied that the student has valid reasons for his choice both of subject and of site, that his programme is intrinsically sound and that it shows a realistic appreciation of the issues involved.

The subjects presented by students vary widely in type and in actual size, though they must always be sufficiently large to justify a session being expended upon their development. Amongst those submitted recently have been housing schemes, community centres, schools, hospitals, factories, mills, power stations, railway and bus terminals, airports, hotels and commercial, recreational and administrative buildings. Differences in size of programmes are adjusted by the Board, which requires the less extensive or complex subjects to be worked out more fully in detail. Inevitably the kind of sites selected varies greatly. A large proportion of the students in the School come to it from the Dominions and from foreign countries, and many of them naturally select a site in their country of origin, generally in a district with the needs and conditions of which they are already acquainted. In all cases ordnance maps or their equivalents, explicitly illustrating the site proposed, must be submitted to the Board for its information.

(12) Those members of the staff of the School who serve as internal examiners in the final examination for the degree are intimately familiar with the general studio and thesis design work of every candidate. They have seen each scheme as it has progressed, they know the extent of the research undertaken by each

[1] In point of fact, the student normally chooses his subject some time towards the end of the Lent term of his fourth year. In the event of his passing the fourth examination he is then, provided that his project is approved, able, during the period in which he is occupied in practical work outside the School, to carry out a considerable amount of preparatory research in the field of study relevant to the subject he has selected.

student in connection with his thesis design, they are aware of the conclusions he has drawn from his investigations and have observed the influence which those conclusions have had on the working out of his design. When the latter is finally submitted, therefore, they are in a favourable position to assess its worth.

(13) The preliminary marking of the theses, which are presented in sets of project and working drawings, each set numbering anything from fifteen to twenty-five large sheets, accompanied by a report, and often also by a scale model, is then undertaken by the internal examiners between the middle of May and the end of June, when the oral examination is held. In the meantime the candidates' reports describing and explaining their designs and containing data not given on the drawings are, after scrutiny by the internal examiners, sent to the external examiners, who thus become informed about the thesis designs before they actually see them displayed on the walls of the cubicles in which the candidates are orally examined. The only oral tests with which the external examiners are directly concerned are those relating to thesis design and other studio work. *Viva voces* on the written papers are conducted (generally in the third week in June) entirely by internal examiners, except in the subject of professional practice, in which they are assisted by external examiners.

In the oral examination on the thesis design and other studio work the length of time devoted to any particular candidate is determined by his performance and record. If his position appears to be definite, his *viva voce* may be brief. If, on the other hand, there is uncertainty as to the category in which he should be placed, it is likely to be protracted.

(14) For the paper on specifications, estimates and contracts three hours are allowed, and for that on professional practice two hours. The ground covered by the former includes the general and special clauses of standard specifications for different kinds of material and labour, methods of estimating costs of labour and materials and the analysis of forms of contracts and their relation to building operations. The paper on professional practice is concerned principally with the position, duties and liabilities of client, architect and builder, with rights of light and air, dilapidations, preliminary cost computations, building by-laws and with professional ethics. All candidates are subject to an oral test in this subject.

(15) Each of the three extra papers, one or other of which must be taken by every candidate for honours, lasts three hours. Within the scope of the paper on civic architecture and landscape design are comprehended ancient, mediæval, renaissance and modern urban planning, the influence of site conditions and other factors, the analysis of regular planning, non-axial and axial, rectangular and web planning, garden and landscape treatment. The paper on the theory of architectural design is based on a course dealing with the nature, function and value of æsthetic theory in the arts in general, and in architecture in particular, with the relation of

programme and of constructional technique to formal expression, with the processes of design and with standards of criticism. In quantity surveying the paper set is devoted to the established methods and order of taking off quantities, to squaring, abstracting and billing.

Conduct of the Examinations

(16) The Board of Studies in Architecture and Civic Design is the body which considers in the first instance applications for exemption from the first and second years of the degree course. Such remissions in the length of the course as may be recommended by the Board are then submitted to the Faculty of Arts for confirmation. The Board is also responsible for the consideration and approval of all thesis design subjects. Finally the Board nominates the external and internal examiners for the School of Architecture, its recommendations being subject to ratification by the Faculty of Arts, Senate and Council of the University. The Board consists of the Vice-Chancellor, the Chairman and Dean of the Faculty of Arts, the Professor of Architecture, the Professor of Civic Design, the three Senior Lecturers and Studio Instructors in Architecture, the Research Fellow in Civic Design and nine other members of the staff of the School.

(17) Four external examiners assist the internal examiners in the final examination. Of these four, one is appointed as general examiner: he is concerned with the written papers and studio work, including final thesis designs, submitted by all candidates. Another serves as examiner in design, and deals specifically with fifth-year studio and thesis design work, participating with the general examiner and internal examiners in the *viva voce* examination of candidates in these subjects. The two remaining external examiners have an important but more restricted rôle. Their field is professional practice, in which subject, in association with one or more of the internal examiners, they undertake the oral examination of all fifth-year students. The papers throughout the final examination are drafted in the first place by the internal examiners responsible for the courses in those subjects. They are then submitted to the external examiners concerned for such alterations and additions as the latter may be disposed to make. Not less than seven internal examiners are called upon to serve in connection with the review of final studio and thesis design work and one or more in connection with each of the written papers.

(18) In view of the fact that the final examination is officially recognised for purposes of full professional qualification by the Royal Institute of British Architects, the Institute is informed by the University of the names of the external examiners appointed each year. The general examiner and the examiner in design are usually selected from amongst the past and present members of the Board of Architectural Education of the Royal Institute of

British Architects. By regulation no examiner may serve for more than four consecutive years. The examiner in design, after acting in that capacity for two years, is normally appointed to serve for a further period of two years as general examiner. A similar arrangement operates in the case of the examiners in professional practice. By this means the principle of change is observed whilst a desirable degree of continuity is at the same time secured.

Marking and Classification

(19) Numerical values are attached to each examination subject, these values indicating the relative importance of the subject at each stage of the course. For both the ordinary and honours degrees the following values are established: thesis design, 20; studio work, 5; specifications, estimates and contracts, 1; professional practice, 1. The subjects taken by candidates for honours only, civic architecture and landscape design, the theory of architectural design and quantity surveying have each the value 2. For examination purposes the value 1 is equivalent to 100 marks, and all papers having that value are marked to a maximum of 100. On the same basis the maximum mark for thesis designs becomes 2,000.

All thesis designs, studio work and written papers are marked in the first instance by the internal examiners. The minimum pass mark is 34 per cent. in each subject,[1] but no minima are fixed by the University for the award of special classes of honours except in the Faculty of Medicine. As in other schools of the Faculty of Arts, two classes of honours only are awarded in Architecture.[2]

The marks and classification of each candidate are provisionally determined by the votes of the external and internal examiners concerned immediately on the conclusion of his oral examination in thesis design and studio work. No examiner has a right of veto if the examinee be a candidate for honours, though an examiner individually responsible for a particular subject may in that subject interpose a veto if the examinee be a candidate for the ordinary degree.

On the completion of the oral tests of all candidates a meeting of the examiners is held over which the Professor of Architecture presides as chairman. At this meeting the marks and records of each candidate are again reviewed and the results, subject to confirmation by Senate, finally determined. In the event of an equal division of opinion on a particular case a casting vote is given by the chairman.

[1] To secure exemption from the final examination for Associateship of the Royal Institute of British Architects a candidate must in the subject of professional practice secure not less than 50 per cent. of the maximum —100 marks—given for this paper.

[2] The diploma may be awarded with distinction in one category only, comprehending the range covered by first and second-class honours in the degree examination.

Extent to which the Purpose of Examinations may be said at Present to be Achieved

(20) Whilst the system of examination outlined above may be imperfect in a number of ways, it does broadly fulfil its object. The nature of the tests imposed, the objective judgment of the external examiners and the intimate knowledge which the internal examiners possess of the work of students through every stage of the course, all tend to ensure that the results obtained in the final examination represent fairly accurately the actual capacity of the candidates. In the fundamental subjects of thesis design and general studio work students are not assessed on a short arbitrary test in which they might or might not do themselves justice. They are finally judged on their performance over two sessions, a performance which has been continually observed and checked by members of the staff of the School, who act as internal examiners and who, like the external examiners, bring to their task the experience of practising architects. It is true that instances could be cited of students whose final examination results indicated mediocre attainment and who subsequently did distinguished work in practice. The explanation of such cases is perhaps to be found in that tendency towards late development to which reference has already been made. As tests of the capacity and knowledge of candidates at the time when they present themselves, the examinations may be regarded as reasonably reliable.

(21) A candidate who has succeeded in passing the final examination for the ordinary degree is qualified to give useful assistance in an architectural office or department. He will already have spent the summer term and summer vacation at the end of his fourth year in such employment (unless, as occasionally happens, he has during this time been with a firm of contractors). Most probably he will have entered an architectural office during the summer vacation of his third and possibly also of his second year. He will, therefore, usually be familiar with office routine and the conditions of practice. His school training, which in the earlier years included periods of group study, will also have prepared him for systematic team-work. He will have achieved a certain measure of all-round competence in planning, in construction and in design generally, but he will normally need to acquire some years' further experience in a subordinate capacity before he will be ready to assume the responsibilities of independent practice.

(22) A successful honours candidate will, in virtue of his abilities and wider knowledge, be able from the outset to make a more important contribution to the work of the office or department which he enters after graduation. His period of service as a junior assistant will generally be shorter than that of an ordinary graduate, and he will be better equipped to participate in open architectural competitions. To distinguish between the potentialities of first- and second-class honours graduates in this connection would be

difficult. Broadly speaking, one may say that the professional record of the former supports the natural expectation of more rapid progress in practice. But as the office is the necessary complement of the school in architectural training, neither type of graduate can afford unduly to curtail the period of post-graduate service.

LIONEL B. BUDDEN.

PART V

Adult Education in England and Wales and the United States of America

CHAPTER ONE

The Changing Map of Adult Education

Introduction

MAKING the map of adult education to-day is as speculative a process as mapping the polar regions. Some of its features can be positively identified, and have been familiar ground for a generation or two. But there are others whose real shape and extent are still disputed : are they firm land or are they temporary formations which may melt away in a season or two ? In the last thirty years adult education has grown in diversity as well as volume ; the growth has, indeed, been so rapid and complex that there are some people who look with a moody and suspicious eye upon its newer manifestations. They see in them the risk of the erosion of " standards " in education ; they fear the application of some sort of Gresham's Law which will cause the cruder and more popular educational facilities to drive out such exacting methods of learning as the University Extension or University Tutorial Class.

Opposed to this gloomy view is the belief that diversity is not the same thing as dilution ; and that the wide range of mental interests and levels in a democracy is best served by a similar variety of educational provision, by a kind of mental " Means Test," rather than by a rigid adherence to one or two forms of provision, however historic they may be. The purpose of this chapter is, first, to sketch the complicated territory which now claims to be adult education, and, second, to indicate how the newer provinces have grown, by a sort of imperial-expansion process, from the small compact movement which adult education was thirty years ago.

The Traditional Motive of Adult Education

It can be said that the main traditional motive of adult education in this country has been the motive of compensation ; that is to say, the idea behind it has been that vast numbers of the educationally under-privileged ought to be given a second chance, however late, to make up for the opportunities of which they have been deprived by an educational system which has at no time been based upon equal opportunity. This was the motive—crossed by a fertilising evangelical element—of the Adult Schools, a movement which

anticipated those simpler needs of education which are recurring to us to-day as being the most urgent kind, and a movement which has consistently served that need for 125 years. This was the motive, again, behind the last great historic movement in adult education when, more than thirty years ago, Albert Mansbridge and his Workers' Educational Association persuaded the universities to provide educational opportunities for those working people who had been prematurely cut off from the chance of further systematised learning. The assumption was that there were great numbers of working people perfectly capable of profiting by more advanced education, even of the university standard; and it was from this conviction that the establishment of University Tutorial Classes arose.

Analysis of the Tutorial Class Movement

There were unquestionably many who expected too much from this innovation, and deluded themselves into the belief that in a single generation this new seed would bring forth a thousandfold. The growth of the Tutorial Class Movement has, in fact, been a comparatively small one. It is not suggested, however, that the University Tutorial Class is in any sense whatever an over-rated instrument; rather is it an instrument which, as we now see, can be used only on a small and selective scale. And if we recall what its standards are, we shall see how inevitably this use must be restricted. Its requirements are onerous even to the most enthusiastic working man. He is asked to pledge attendance at two-hour meetings for each of twenty-four weeks over a period of three years; he is required to read extensively in order to prepare himself for discussions, and to read not from a simplified textbook-without-tears, but from standard works in his particular subject; he is required also to write six or eight essays each year on some aspect of his subject. It is a decidedly strenuous undertaking for people who left school at 14 and are returning twenty years afterwards to take up the thread of learning; and the fact that the present maximum of tutorial class students, thirty years after the system was inaugurated, is only 14,000 a year is not surprising. Nor is it depressing. It is true that there are some who looked to adult education to create a brave new world in one generation, and are inclined to underrate any system which fails to enrol big battalions. But among the few things in this world which cannot be created by mass production is an educated community or a dependable political electorate. Nor is a short superficial educational clean-up in adult years going to put right the mischief already wrought by the imperfect and misdirected ideals which still prevail in our primary school system.

The Justification for Tutorial Classes

There is certainly no need to be disappointed with this spearhead of adult education—the three-year Tutorial Class. The grain-of-mustard-seed principle is more dependable than the bean-stalk

principle. Only a few thousand each year accept the exacting and intensive study of a tutorial class; yet this student aristocracy, impressing itself on those among whom it lives and works and plays, goes a long way to produce and lead an enlightened community. The extent to which we now find former tutorial class students active in public affairs, from town council to House of Commons, is one of its chief justifications. Not only are the administrators of trade unions and co-operative societies recruited largely from this source, but a growing number of English towns are governed by men and women who have graduated through this test of stamina and suitability. If the great rank and file of the army of democracy lacks the equipment and endurance for a systematic and intensive system of education, then the next best thing is to see that we create a keen and determined group of N.C.O.s. And that is precisely what the Tutorial Class system can claim to be doing. It is not a system that will ever appeal to the rank and file of the working class, or any other class for that matter; but it has already created the sergeants and corporals who can keep that army steady in the face of cross-fire either from the extreme right or the extreme left.

Need for Modification of Objective

The growth of this hard core of adult education, the University Tutorial Class, is certainly not as rapid as some of its first advocates expected, but its value—as a hard core—is not to be questioned. Its intention was, I repeat, to provide working men and women with a substitute for educational opportunity of an advanced kind—even, it is sometimes claimed, of a full university standard. In the light of later experience that objective needs modification in several ways. In the first place, the demands of a University Tutorial Class are excessive for the overwhelming majority of working people. This fact does *not* mean that these facilities should be withdrawn from the few thousands who are prepared to face the standards required; but it does mean that any impulsive effort to extend this constituency will certainly result in a decline of standards.

Effect of Rising Standard of Education

Another factor which restricts the growth of the University Tutorial Class is this: many of those who, if educational provision had remained where it was a generation ago, would to-day have welcomed this substitute for a university education, *have had the real thing*. Many thousands of working-class children who might otherwise have grown up to their fathers' trades, and followed their fathers' footsteps into a University Tutorial Class, have, in fact, had a secondary and university education. One of the characteristics of the married adult student is his determination to give his children a better chance than he had himself—to see his children,

indeed, as his own "second chance"[1]—and by the sacrifice of such parents, reinforced by the extension of scholarship and free-place facilities, thousands of those who were in the old days potential recruits for adult education have in this generation been given the real thing at the right age. The general rise of educational standards and the greater accessibility to further education are factors which of their nature reduce the demand for such "substitute" facilities as the University Tutorial Class.

Effect of Infiltration of Black-coated Classes

Another factor which, in the opinion of some observers, is slowing-down the growth of the University Tutorial Class is that it is now less "working-class" than it was designed to be; and the same is said to be true of one of the two partners in the movement, the Workers' Educational Association. A large proportion of members of these Tutorial Classes are instead black-coated nowadays—teachers, civil servants, suburban housewives and so on. And while there are those who deplore this infiltration of the bourgeoisie into what was originally a working-class organisation, there are others who see it as not only an inevitable but a desirable process. Inevitable because the word "working-class" relates to other considerations than daily occupation. It relates, for example, to a man or woman's upbringing, and there are many essentially working-class homes which produce a teacher or a black-coated worker. On what reasonable basis can these be denied access to such a working-class organisation as the W.E.A., and such of its facilities as the University Tutorial Class? Social demarcations are changing, and with them must develop interpretations of words which—like "working-class"—had a more rigid definition a generation ago. It is indeed this very process—called by its critics "the dilution of the movement by the petty bourgeoisie"—which may attain more education for citizenship than any more class-conscious variety of adult education. The petty bourgeoisie and the manual labourer are first cousins nowadays, and if we persist in educating them in groups divorced from and suspicious of each other, we may accentuate rather than dissolve whatever differences there are between them.

It is not this sort of fraternisation which is making the expansion of the Tutorial Class system slow. It has nothing to do with the slow growth. The only effective factors here are the two already discussed: First, that educational standards and opportunities lower down the age-line are reducing the effective demand for it later on. And second, that few people of any social class can attain, after the day's work, the rigorous standards of a University Tutorial Class—they have neither the time nor the energy to go as deep into a subject as the syllabus and method require. This circum-

[1] See the evidence for this in *Learn and Live*: "The Consumer's View of Adult Education" (Methuen, 1936), pages 172–95.

stance, we repeat, is neither surprising nor deplorable, nor should it be circumvented by relaxing of Tutorial Class standards.

Factors tending to restrict Tutorial Classes

This hard core of adult education must remain an inner circle of activity and capacity or it will become bogus—as indeed in some cases it has already become. By that we mean that there is in operation an automatic administrative factor which tends to keep Tutorial Classes up to a flattering maximum. The Board of Education notifies a Providing Body that its quota of such classes is, say, seventy for the coming year. It would be easy to cite cases where that figure is, in fact, attained simply that the Providing Body may not lose face. "Seventy classes is the permitted figure. Good, then seventy classes we shall raise, even if ten of them are so uncertain in quality as to become a travesty of university extra-mural work." We are not suggesting that this is anything but a reasonable percentage of adulteration. No machine, tended by men who have to make a living, is going to turn out a hundred per cent. purity in its product; but it is well to bear this "adulteration" issue in mind when blind partisans cry out that the Government should increase facilities for University Tutorial Classes. The facilities to-day are ample; indeed, a more stringent scrutiny of them might reasonably reduce their present number. This opinion, again, does not mean that we minimise the value of the University Tutorial Class. On the contrary, we maximise it. We simply take the W.E.A. at its word. Its declaration is that the University Tutorial Class represents a high standard of intensive study for a period of three years. And we say that such a standard is incompatible with large numbers of such courses. We do not believe that, even in Yorkshire, there is a case for an annual increase of 10 per cent. in the provision of University Tutorial Classes.

Increasing Demand for Further Education

Although this may be true, it is also true that the aggregate demand for *some kind of further education* is increasing in (at least) an arithmetical progression. The facilities described in later sections of this chapter are far more selective than anything that was available thirty years ago; and the consequence is that people seeking further education can find their natural level of interest and capacity. That level is undoubtedly lower than the University Tutorial Class. It must also be borne in mind that apart from the facilities presently to be catalogued here, there is another consideration which increases the demand for simpler and more informal adult education at the expense of the more formal and intensive kinds. By this we mean the usually under-rated volume and quality of periodicals and cheap books (like the Penguins and Pelicans), the wireless, the gramophone, the cinema. Even our penny-reading ancestors might admit, if they could come and see for themselves, how much fireside education goes on in a community

reputed to spend all its time at greyhound tracks and football matches. A good deal of adult education to-day is a private unregimented interest, unorganised in movements of any kind. And a good deal more of it is, so to speak, a process of absorption from what we read and see and hear in the ordinary routine of recreation. Education is becoming a natural feature of the social climate; it is ceasing to be an artificial process of oxygenisation.

Survey of the Workers' Educational Association

When Albert Mansbridge founded the W.E.A., and by his faith and his power of infecting others with it won the collaboration of the universities in providing Tutorial Classes, he made what we have called the hard core of adult education. It is with the movements and variations which have grown up round that core that we are concerned in the rest of this chapter. The major work in that development was begun by the W.E.A.; and indeed, even to-day, three-quarters of the work of that admirable pioneering body is devoted to needs less intensive and advanced than those of the Tutorial Class student. Its principal work is the ice-breaking course of twelve or twenty-four meetings; and with such additional methods as the Week End School and the One Day School it can justly claim to be doing the lion's share of defining, if not solving, the problems of citizenship for thousands of thoughtful citizens. Nor has it been slow to devise specially attractive approaches to elementary adult education for various special constituencies within its large field: it has won the confidence and support of large sections of the Trade Union movement through the work achieved by its subsidiary organisation, the Workers' Educational Trade Union Committee; it has nourished such imaginative auxiliaries as the Workers' Travel Association—an educational offshoot if ever there was one, in the fullest sense; it helped to inspire such later development of adult education as the Residential College and the Educational Settlement; it has blazed a trail in the *Darkest Africa* of the rural areas; and recently it has set up special schemes to attract young workers to other activities than those of the playing-field and the gymnasium.

If the emphasis in this catalogue of informal educational facilities should be more upon the work of newer collaborators, it is not from any lack of recognition of the long leadership which the W.E.A. has given to the movement as a whole. And if the W.E.A. is occasionally a little slow to recognise the arrival of potential collaborators younger, yet no less sincere, than itself, that hesitation may be set down to its not unreasonable reluctance to concede to movements which have not borne the heat of the day a place in the front of what to-day seems a popular army of deliverance from ignorance. Yet the W.E.A. has a tradition so unique, and an esteem so assured, that it may well resist the possessiveness which besets most pioneering bodies after the age of 30.

Increasing Interest of L.E.A.s in Adult Education

The W.E.A. can claim to have convinced other educational interests of the value of adult provision. It has been able, for example, to secure the sympathy and financial support of many local educational authorities; and so well has it succeeded in this task that local education authorities have become more and more disposed to provide adult education facilities of their own—not merely the technical and vocational educational facilities which have always been part of their provision, but also non-vocational cultural ones which are what we mean by this trade-name, "adult education." At first the L.E.A. was content to give alms to the W.E.A. To-day it is disposed to provide cultural amenities of its own; and what the W.E.A. may ultimately suffer in loss of alms can find some compensation in this flattery by imitation.

There are those who believe that the work in this field now done by some of the larger L.E.A.s will in time to come be enlarged to take in all adult education. It is true that some of the L.E.A.s have learnt this lesson of democratic control by the students which the W.E.A. has always stood for, and that they will not fall into the common error of statutory bodies which is to impose facilities on people rather than consult the consumer as to the kind of provision required. It may well be, too, that the new instrument of the Community Centre will give L.E.A.s an opportunity to expand their influence in this field to great dimensions. Whether this likelihood is assured or not there must always remain the need in such an imponderable thing as education for the dynamic of the voluntary body; and it is safe to say that whatever greater part the L.E.A.s may come to play in adult education, the W.E.A. may still remain an effective force in this dynamic way.

But in speaking of the changing map of adult education we are concerned not so much with new partners arriving in the field to collaborate in the established kinds of work, as with new and simpler interpretations of the phrase "adult education"—no matter by what societies the interpretations are made.

Classification of Adult Education Movements

In this section we shall enumerate and classify those movements which form, so to speak, a series of concentric circles around the hard core of adult education—the cross-section of the movement during its last thirty-year period of growth. Two of the most extensive and significant of these outer circles are those which provide (*a*) first lessons in the practice of democracy; and (*b*) first approaches to the practice of the arts.

Societies for Advancement of Civic Values

First, then, the societies that aim at the advancement of civic values. There are, for instance, the Women's Institute

movement and the Townswomen's Guilds, both of which have thousands of branches. Much of their work is frankly intended to make better housewives, but its most significant feature is that each branch is self-governing. Women who have hitherto had no social contacts besides those of family and friends are learning (at their weekly meetings) how to run a small community of varied temperaments and interests, learning in their own little environment the art of self-government, learning, above all, how to behave when they have to take front seats in some group-activity.

This process of practical education for democracy, exemplified in earlier times by such movements as the Co-operative Societies, is going on in other fields as well, and significantly enough in the domain of unemployment. In the Special Areas funds have been provided by the National Council of Social Service for men to make themselves Unemployed Clubs.[1]

Examples of this kind of education in citizenship could be multiplied. There are the Rural Community Councils building up in country districts clubs and institutes of leisure for a rural population cut off from any of the amenities of the town. By "building up" I mean that laborious yet essential process of reconciling rival interests, learning the art of give-and-take in social relationships; in short, once more, acquiring the A B C of democratic usage. In this practical education many scores of thousands of men and women are engaged to-day; and the understanding they get of social theory is, for them, unquestionably more digestible than the lore they might obtain from books and lectures.

Societies for stimulating Æsthetic Training

There is a second expanding group of adult activities, comprising those societies that set out to give the community some practical æsthetic training. The last few years have unquestionably produced among English people a new interest in the arts. It is an interest as many-sided as it is profound. One of its foster-parents has been the British Drama League, which has by now created a network of dramatic societies throughout the country. All these vigorous societies are learning, by the practice of staging, rehearsing, scene-making and so on, something of the nature of the parts that make up the synthesis of a piece of dramatic art. A similar process is actively proceeding in music. Here again the actual performance of the orchestras and choirs may not be of any particular artistic excellence; but, however modest and ephemeral the product, there can be no question of the value of the process for those who are undergoing it in the thousands of local groups.[2]

[1] For full account of Unemployed Clubs see Chapter Six.

[2] For a timely and convincing evaluation of this newer motive in adult education see the article on "Drama in Adult Education" by John Wood (*Adult Education*, March 1937).

Influence of the National Council of Social Service

In this particular field work of the most notable value is being sponsored by the National Council of Social Service, which, originally a kind of ambulance service for the casualties of unemployment, has now become one of the most assiduous and imaginative auxiliary forces of adult education. Some of the work which gets done in its clubs is formal adult education—classes established with the collaboration of such ready partners as the W.E.A., the Adult Schools and several L.E.A.s. But more important are two other features of its method. Not only does it provide members of Unemployed Clubs with those facilities for self-government mentioned earlier in this chapter, but it is providing on a most extensive scale facilities for the practice of play-acting, music and almost the whole range of the creative arts and handicrafts. Its constituency is a special one, of course; its educational provision is made for those who, by the irony of circumstance, must pay for this "creative leisure" by semi-starvation and all the other rigours and asperities of unemployment. Yet this work has elements of obvious permanence. If work returns to the Special Areas, this new tradition of adult education is not likely to wither, for once this access to new interests has been secured, it usually consolidates itself in the life of those who have found it. Moreover, this sort of new interest and tradition, although established in a special constituency, makes itself imponderably felt beyond that frontier. About any special educational movement there is always operating a kind of traffic in invisible imports and exports. In short, the new colony of adult education which the National Council of Social Service has pioneered can be reckoned not only a prosperous province in itself, but equally a valuable partner in all this imperial-expansion process which adult education is going through to-day.

Development of Facilities for Handicrafts

In England adult education has been until latterly a "literary" process. One reason for its being so in the beginning was that the artisans who came into it thirty years ago felt a need to use their minds rather than their hands—words which themselves involve a false distinction; but their meaning will be apparent. Since then the situation has changed, and we grow more and more to resemble those figures of H. G. Wells's fantasy who, by one-sided development, had acquired physical deformities: the "thinker," a gigantic head; the fisherman, one long prehensile arm; and so on. We are feeling in England the urgent need to "educate the whole man"; to include in our education that kind of learning that comes through the finger-tips. Handicrafts and horticulture are a particular need for a generation that is getting less and less vocational experience of using its hands intelligently. In the new quasi-educational

movements we have mentioned, facilities for this experience are developing yearly. Here, too, the local educational authorities are making provision for courses in the crafts : and the Unemployed Clubs are giving men who have never known anything except a fixed repetitive process the chance to develop some real manual dexterity.

These two examples can serve to illustrate an important new tendency in adult education—the first, experience in the practice of democracy, replacing the now dead-letter of such practice which the Trade Unions once provided, and carrying farther the tradition which is still virile in the Co-operative Movement. The second, a popular education in those arts whose vigour and authenticity are threatened by the growth of mass-produced entertainment. The " literary " tradition of adult education flourishes still, in its limited field. Outside that field a new process of popular cultivation is establishing itself ; and it is the recognition of this activity as a vital and timely kind of adult education which has still not been adequately offered by many of the Old Guard in the movement.

To describe the whole range of the other circles which have grown round the hard core of adult education would be too long an undertaking. In their general nature several of them may be sufficiently represented by the two examples we have specially mentioned, and this is true of such extensive movements of the Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A.,[1] the Mothers' Union, the Brotherhood Movement, the Rural Music Schools, and the Community Centre movement which is beginning to give a focus to the job of civilising the new estates. But many others are not in this same sense a form of " practical " training ; they are modifications of the " literary " method which adult education first adopted. In this category come some of the work of the B.B.C.—its Listening Groups ; the auxiliary work of some museums, public libraries and art galleries ; the work of the English Association and similar " subject " societies ; the work of such isolated but significant institutions as the Peckham Health Centre.

Characteristics of Newer Forms of Adult Education

Even from this cursory reference it may be clear that there is far more adult education than there was thirty years ago, although the rate of progress in its traditional forms has been slow. That progress, as we have said, will not, in our opinion, be accelerated. But in these outer territories the development is both rapid and reassuring. And a summary of the differences which characterise these newer forms may conclude this survey. One of the most striking, we believe, is the soft-pedalling of the political motive in this newer order. The first disciples of adult education, the

[1] These two bodies also collaborate in several areas with L.E.A.s and University Extra Mural Bodies to provide much formal adult education in their centres.

original members of the W.E.A., wanted education (in the last resort) in order to obtain a stronger working-class political movement. To-day the momentum of that motive is so assured that the political impetus to adult education is a waning one; what is left of it is frittering itself away in myopic little visions about a People's Front and all that. Political redemption for the masses is not won, but it is in process of arriving; and its dynamic is decreasingly to be found in adult education. Adult education is promoting other forms of revelation and revolution: it is showing miners and weavers that acting and painting are capacities within their power; it is giving thousands of men and women in clubs, guilds and institutes a "local habitation and a name" to the notion of the self-government; it is demonstrating, informally by group-listening to the wireless, that knowledge of all kinds is accessible to people of indifferent earlier education.

Adult Education no longer politically Inspired

Some politically minded diehards in our movement will seize upon this assertion as a confession that adult education no longer gives its members' minds that "cutting edge" which, we are told, created such things as the Labour Party and accelerated the growth of the trade-union movement. These informal developments of adult education are not directly sharpening a "political" sense, but they are sharpening those other senses which, in the long run, make the only reliable political sense. They are producing a more educated democracy, a mass of people more interested in things and more confident in their own powers to participate in or enjoy those things. They are, in a word, making a mark on those "masses" on whom political leadership must work. And if those "masses" can by these processes be made more alive, more diverse, more self-confident, the political leaders need not bother about any loss of "cutting edge." (And, anyhow, did that "cutting edge" often mean more than a man's disposition to agitate for what he imperfectly understood?) British democracy shows itself to-day to be a steady and well-ballasted affair. And this newer, wider process of adult education is the source of that dependability. Too often, and disproportionately, is there dinned into our ears that fairy tale of national decadence whose pedigree is represented as got by a greyhound out of a cinema.

New Process of Mental Enlargement

There is another set of facts to be confronted. A process of mental and imaginative enlargement is at work in this country which would have excited Carlyle into metaphors about the great tree Igdrasil stretching its roots and branches throughout the life of a nation. We find that enlargement in the type of new movement we have used as illustrations here—we find it no less in the cinema, the census of public library reading-interests, the phenom-

enal sale of the latest sixpenny books, the intelligent travel-interests aroused by the Workers' Travel Association, the Youth Hostels Association and so on. We are a people still afflicted with much mental malnutrition; yet a people quietly and perversely getting its mental vitamins in ways not altogether approved by the older educational pundits. The proportion of our citizenry which files past to gaze at the stool whereon a king was crowned is, in our view, encouragingly small. The proportion seeking new and civilised ways to enlarge and explore their lives is promisingly large. To multiply this proportion, one of the essential factors is this: that those who have what we call a vested interest in traditional adult education should recognise and accept this new diversity of needs and interests, and should show a greater readiness than they often do to satisfy each variety on its own level. The little aristocracy of our movement must learn the needs and the idiom of that elusive but ubiquitous creature, the man-in-the-street.

W. E. WILLIAMS.

CHAPTER TWO

The Universities' Contribution to Adult Education

University Extension

IT has been well said that in England there are many things that can be understood historically, even if they cannot be explained systematically. This may justify some reference to the development of what is generally known as the Adult Education Movement in England and Wales. Without belittling the earlier work of Adult Schools, Mechanics' Institutes and the like, it seems clear that this movement finds its origin in the institution of University Extension lectures by the University of Cambridge in 1873.

Previous to that year suggestions for the extension of university teaching had been made by members of both Oxford and Cambridge Universities. It was left to James Stuart, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, to conceive the idea of " a sort of peripatetic university, the professors of which would circulate among the big towns," and to translate his idea into practice. In 1867, he undertook courses of lectures in certain towns in the north of England, and his experiences in this and subsequent years indicated that a more regular basis could and should be established. Memorials addressed to the University of Cambridge by various towns in the North and Midlands, and by certain organisations, met with sympathetic response. The University decided to institute a system of Local (University Extension) Lectures, and the first courses were delivered in the autumn of 1873.

In 1876, the Society for the Extension of University Teaching was formed in London. The University of Oxford followed suit in 1878, although its main effort was reserved for a few years later. It is significant, however, that the principle of universities taking an active part in adult education throughout the country was so quickly recognised.

The technique of teaching was developed with similar rapidity. The method was evolved whereby the lecture was followed or preceded by a class for discussion and questions, a printed syllabus of the course was supplied, students were encouraged to write papers to be corrected by the lecturer, and (at a rather later stage) books were provided in a travelling library. This was the result of practice rather than of theory—mainly of the experience of James Stuart in his pioneer lectures between 1867 and 1873. But attention may be drawn again to what is significant, namely that, allowing for all modifications, this method remains the basis of all teaching in the Adult Education Movement to this day. So, too, out of the summer meetings for University Extension students at Oxford and Cambridge, which began in the 1880's, have grown many of the summer schools that we know to-day.

What was accomplished by University Extension lectures may perhaps be shown most conveniently and most briefly by the following statistics :

	UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD 1886–1911	UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE 1873–1911	UNIVERSITY OF LONDON 1876–1911
Number of centres in which courses were delivered	618	508	211
Number of courses given	4,414	3,786	1,871 Terminal 801 Sessional
Number of lectures given	36,873	39,422	39,827
Number of students	493,178	371,406	356,836
Number of students examined	26,353	36,989	39,030 Terminal 6,854 Sessional
Amount paid by local committees	£144,375	£147,527	£98,801

These figures may not be exactly comparable in every respect, but they give some idea of the field that was covered in those years. Two points may be noted. First, the expense of providing these facilities was borne by the centres, not by the universities : indeed, the gross cost to the centres was more than stated when it is remembered that local expenses (hire of halls, advertisement, etc.) had also to be met. Secondly, some work was conducted by other universities, although it would be fair to state that it was never on the same scale.[1]

The importance of the part played by University Extension in the educational developments of the last quarter of the nineteenth century ---including its influence, direct and indirect, on the foundation and growth of universities and university colleges—is generally acknowledged. What is sometimes overlooked is that it provided a basis for the expansion of the Adult Education Movement in the twentieth century and for the participation of all universities therein. It is also apt to be forgotten that the older University Extension activities have continued to flourish side by side with the later developments. The year 1937 saw the Norwich centre celebrating its sixtieth anniversary of University Extension courses under the University of Cambridge. Other centres up and down the country are in a comparable position.

The University Tutorial Class

The institution of University Extension lectures in 1873 was a first step. The establishment of the Workers' Educational Association in 1903 was a second step of no less—perhaps even of greater—importance. It provided a fresh stimulus for adult education and new opportunities for the universities to co-operate in this sphere.

[1] For example, in the years 1903–11, the University of Manchester arranged 171 courses in 67 centres, the University of Leeds 40 courses in 13 centres, etc.

The history of its rise does not fall within the scope of this survey. It came into existence to voice the needs of the working classes for education, and its immediate aim was to extend and improve the provision of University Extension courses. In both respects results came quickly and in some ways unexpectedly, which served to show that the movement was in tune with the times.

Within a few years it was realised that something more than University Extension lectures was required to meet the demands of keen working-class students, and there was evolved, as a consequence, the University Tutorial class. The courses arranged by the Association at Rochdale, for instance, revealed the need for a more intensive study of economic and historical subjects through small groups rather than through large lecture audiences. These first Tutorial Classes formed at Rochdale and Longton were aided by a grant from New College, Oxford. It is perhaps more than a coincidence that it was at Rochdale that James Stuart delivered some of his pioneer lectures and that one of the memorials to the University of Cambridge in 1873 came from the Rochdale Equitable Pioneers' Society.

The significance of this educational development was twofold. First, it enabled university teaching to be conducted outside on a higher and more intensive level than had hitherto been generally possible. Courses of study extending over three years with the active participation of all students in the class in discussion, reading, and written work rendered "the standard of university work in Honours a possible aim," as was borne out by reports on the early classes. The Three-year Tutorial Class deserves to be cherished by the universities and the Workers' Educational Association as the highest achievement of the Adult Education Movement, and it is a cause for pride that in this country there are men and women, busily engaged in the ordinary occupations of life, who are prepared to enter upon so strenuous and testing a course. Secondly, it was no longer possible to expect the students to bear the onus of financing this educational provision, as in the University Extension system. Thus subjects could be selected for study independently of the power to attract students' fees. Further, the universities were induced to bear a measure of the cost, and thus were led to a new attitude towards their educational responsibilities outside their walls and to a new relationship with the bodies engaged in it, especially the Workers' Educational Association.

Opportunities were not lacking for the Workers' Educational Association to voice the educational needs of the workers, not the least important being a well-attended conference during the Oxford Summer Meeting in 1907, when there was some frank speaking. From this arose the report on "Oxford and Working-class Education," prepared by members of the University and persons nominated by the W.E.A. This report recommended, amongst other things, that the University of Oxford should contribute a proportion of the cost of providing Tutorial Classes, and—perhaps even more

important—that this provision should be under the charge of a Standing Joint Committee consisting of an equal number of representatives nominated by the University and the Workers' Educational Association. The principle of joint control was emphasised on the ground that it would not only secure " the confidence and co-operation of large bodies of men who might otherwise distrust Oxford " but also would give " workmen a very valuable insight into the working of university institutions." The acceptance of these recommendations by Oxford and by other universities marked a definite stage. The regular organisation of Tutorial Classes could now be undertaken.[1]

In brief, the decade before the war proved to be of far-reaching importance. It saw the emergence of a more intensive form of study and of accompanying summer schools; it meant that all universities had entered the field of extra-mural work, thereby accepting financial as well as educational responsibilities and readily adopting the principle of close-co-operation with an Association representing the students. There was both an advance and also consolidation of the ground that was gained.

The Present Position

The war not unnaturally had an adverse effect on adult educational activities. During the first three years there was a marked reduction in the number both of University Extension courses and of Tutorial Classes, but by the end of the war the position was stabilised. Indeed, the activities of the Workers' Educational Association by then began to increase again, and it is a tribute to the solidity of the foundations laid in the pre-war years that this organisation was able to weather such a storm at so early a stage in its history. Meanwhile, the skill of those engaged in extra-mural teaching was found to be of value in a slightly different sphere, for in the closing years of the war experienced University Extension lecturers were selected to lecture to the Army in Great Britain, France and Italy, and to prisoners of war interned in Holland.

The war, therefore, proved to be only a temporary setback, and even while it was still raging it was realised that the restoration of peace should be accompanied by a growth in adult education. Consequently the Ministry of Reconstruction appointed an Adult Education Committee, whose final report was issued in 1919. This was a full and valuable document, although all its recommendations have not yet been adopted. One, however, may be quoted here: " The provision of a liberal education for adult students should be regarded by universities as a normal and necessary part of their functions." Three years later the Royal Commission on Oxford and Cambridge Universities similarly advocated " that

[1] In the session 1907–8 there were two Tutorial Classes and 78 students; in the session 1913–14 there were 145 Tutorial Classes, with 3,234 students, conducted by every university in England and Wales and the University Colleges of Nottingham and Reading.

extra-mural instruction be definitely accepted as an established and essential part of the *normal work* of a University."

It is not surprising, therefore, that with such encouragement and with a field ripe for growth there was a rapid expansion of extra-mural work in the years following the war. In this all universities had their share. There was a quick revival of University Extension lectures, and in 1923 the fiftieth anniversary of their foundation was celebrated. In the following year revised regulations of the Board of Education for the first time recognised University Extension courses for grant. Simultaneously the post-war period has seen a remarkable growth of University Tutorial Classes :

YEAR	NUMBER OF CLASSES
1919–20	226
1924–25	520
1929–30	681
1935–36	823

The developments of this period have been made possible, not only by the allocation of university funds and by grants from the Board of Education, but also by the steadily increasing support, financial and otherwise, of local education authorities.

To-day, every university in England and Wales is actively engaged in extra-mural teaching, and for most purposes each is responsible, by mutual agreement, in its own area. Theoretically, therefore, no part of the country is outside the range of such opportunities, although the degree and manner in which each university body undertakes its responsibilities vary according to historical circumstances.

Administrative uniformity is hardly to be expected, but it is customary for universities and university colleges to allocate some part of their funds to this purpose and to entrust their extra-mural work to one or more committees, generally with an academic officer as Director or Secretary. In every case, however, there is a Joint Committee, including representatives of the Workers' Educational Association, for supervising work conducted in co-operation with that body.

The provision of Tutorial Classes—arranged, with few exceptions, in conjunction with the Workers' Educational Association—is general. These represent the core of university extra-mural work and the apex of the educational facilities available for adults in this country. Summer schools, arranged by universities singly or jointly, form an invaluable supplement. In the provision of University Extension courses, however, differences are to be found. Lecture courses of the established type are for the most part organised by the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and London, and continue to flourish in various parts of the country in centres, some of which have been active for many years. Here, too, there is a supplementary activity in the University Extension Summer Meeting held in Oxford and Cambridge in alternate years. Since the

issue of the Regulations of the Board of Education in 1924 there has emerged a new type of University Extension course, which approximates to a class : some universities have provided numerous courses of this type, which clearly meets a need, but others have made little or no use of it. In this University Extension work contact is established with a variety of voluntary bodies, which are frequently represented, in the same way as the Workers' Educational Association, on the appropriate university committees.

To provide teaching outside the walls of a university is not in itself enough. There should be, and fortunately there are, opportunities for adult students who have proved their worth in extra-mural courses to enter the universities for whole-time or part-time study. Scholarships are now offered annually by universities and by other bodies, and in many cases requirements for matriculation have been modified to suit the conditions of adults. This development is comparatively new and inevitably raises some problems which have yet to be solved. But it is a welcome fact that there is such an avenue into the universities for extra-mural students.

Two other features of recent years deserve notice. The first is the increasing employment of full-time teaching officers. Thus adult education is becoming a profession. More important, however, is that such tutors, when resident in a given area, are in effect outposts of the university and the focus of intellectual activity in their respective spheres. The second, which has been rendered possible by resident tutorships, is the development of local schemes in which all bodies interested in adult education participate, and by these means extra-mural work, previously conducted mainly in urban districts, has been extended into rural areas.

Some Reflections

So far the purpose of this survey has been to show that the universities have been closely, indeed prominently, associated with adult education in this country. At times the lead may have come from outside, but part, at any rate, of the inspiration has come from within : the universities have been ready both to respond and to lead. This development is without parallel in any other country.

One result has been to give an academic bias to the Adult Education Movement, in the sense in which the phrase is used in England and Wales. For the most part interest has been confined to subjects which can properly be studied in a university : teaching has been on university lines, and stress has been laid on discussion, reading, and written work by individual students as a necessary adjunct to lectures. This in itself is all to the good, but it tends almost inevitably to restrict the appeal of the movement and to some extent to divorce it from other adult activities of an educational character. On the one hand, there are the Adult Education Regulations under which the universities, the Workers' Educational Association and

other bodies conduct their activities ; on the other hand, there is the diversified work for adults under the Regulations for Further Education organised by local education authorities, both independently and in co-operation with voluntary bodies. This may serve as one example of a tendency towards separation. Its importance should not be exaggerated, but the fact remains that there is frequently some such hiatus. In planning for the future, care must be taken to bridge the gap.

In general, however, there can only be satisfaction that the universities—the repositories of the highest learning in the country—have taken a live and practical interest in the education of the man in the street and have set their impress on the Adult Education Movement. In towns, large and small, and in villages throughout the country, intellectual life has been stimulated by the contact with the universities provided by W.E.A. branches and University Extension centres. There is abundant evidence that adult students, if sometimes shy and strange at first, appreciate what the universities can offer to them. The standard and freedom of teaching in adult education has been, and, it is to be hoped, will continue to be, inspired and guaranteed by the universities.

The universities for their part have benefited by this contact with the outside world—not least by contact with working-class organisations. Experience of extra-mural classes has been of value to many university teachers, not only in their intra-mural teaching, but also in their conception of their own subjects. Adult scholars from extra-mural classes are slowly filtering through to the universities, and the presence of this type of student, often with a background and outlook that are different from the normal, can hardly fail to be a source of added strength.

Adult education cannot be static, and it is necessary to look to the future as well as to the past. The participation of the universities has been due to two dynamic urges provided, first, by James Stuart, and, secondly, by Albert Mansbridge and his fellow-founders of the Workers' Educational Association. Whether some new stimulus of this kind lies ahead it is impossible to say. But it is clear that adult education has been passing into a new phase. Originally it served to a large extent as a remedy for the lack of a national system of education, and it can claim to have been responsible, directly and indirectly, for a large number of the developments which in the last sixty years have filled many—though not all—of the gaps in the educational ladder. It should now be able to concern itself less with these deficiencies and devote itself to something more positive in the constructive use of leisure and in helping to mould the intellectual interests of the nation. Surely in such a task the part of the universities should be even more important than that which they have played in the past. Each is equipped for the purpose and is willing to offer its services. The uses to which they could be put, if it were to be generally recognised that in any place and in any section of the community those who are interested in politics and

economics, in art, in science, in literature and drama, can look to the universities for help and guidance, are almost unlimited.

The lines of advance cannot be laid down here, even if space were to permit. But two considerations may be permitted, of which one may be termed strategical, the other tactical. First, the universities have always recognised the valuable function of voluntary bodies and have co-operated closely with them. In recent years there has emerged a third partner, the local education authority. Particularly promising results seem to follow when relations between the university, the voluntary bodies and the local education authority—each making its own peculiar contribution—have been most intimate and harmonious, and it is to be hoped that this example of threefold partnership may be more widely adopted. Secondly, there are the methods used by the universities, the Tutorial Class and the University Extension Course. These have stood the test of time, and their fundamental characteristics—in many ways so similar—may remain unchanged. This need not preclude new ventures. More use, for example, could with advantage be made of the Lecture Course to attract to a general audience those who fight shy of smaller groups: the first-rate lecture by a scholar of standing is an instrument which could be more fully employed. Perhaps new methods may be evolved. But it is to be hoped that free discussion will always remain an essential feature: the university seeks, not merely to teach a subject, but to aid the individual to read for himself, to speak for himself, and to think for himself.

G. F. HICKSON.

CHAPTER THREE

Adult Education and the Local Education Authorities

Main Groups of Courses and Classes

THE English educational system is a complicated business, and the task of the layman who attempts to unravel the various threads of which it is woven is often made more difficult by obscurities in nomenclature. It is therefore desirable to begin by pointing out that adult education, so far from covering, as might be supposed, all forms of instruction which are provided for persons who have passed the adolescent stage, is limited, in fact, to three main groups of courses and classes. These may be roughly summarised as :

(i) Those in subjects of a literary or academic type, such as are specifically contemplated by the Adult Education Regulations of the Board of Education.

(ii) Those of a practical as distinct from a vocational character, e.g. ambulance and first-aid work, cookery, laundrywork, carpentry, etc.

(iii) Those of an æsthetic or recreational type, like music, folk-dancing, art and physical exercises.

Redivision for Administrative Purposes

Since 1919, at any rate, all the above for administrative purposes may be redivided into two categories :

(*a*) Courses and classes provided by universities and voluntary bodies under the Adult Education Regulations of the Board of Education.

(*b*) Courses and classes provided by or under the responsibility of local education authorities under the Regulations for Further Education.

This delimitation of the field covered by adult education is admittedly a rough-and-ready one, but will, it is hoped, be sufficiently precise for the purpose of this survey.

Adult Education before the Education Act of 1902

Local education authorities were created by the Education Act of 1902, but it will not be possible to appreciate fully the atmosphere in which they started work without a brief reference to the tradition which they inherited in relation to the attitude of the State towards the provision of instruction for adults. From 1839 onwards efforts had been made with varying success to persuade successive Governments that they had a responsibility in this connection, but the opinion generally prevailed—and it was from time to time reinforced by judicial decisions—that the function of the State should be limited to supplementing where necessary the education provided in the elementary schools. Until 1890, grants were only available for continuation classes for persons up to 18, but although

the age was raised in that year to 21, and the Code of 1893 abolished restrictions on the sort of instruction which might be provided, the effect of the Cockerton Judgment was to put things where they were before 1890. The official movement therefore, such as it was, proceeded from the bottom upwards. The corollary of the State's reluctance to accept any responsibility for the liberal education of adults (the classes started under the Technical Instruction Acts hardly come into this category) was the stimulation of voluntary enterprise. This took three main forms: firstly, a movement from the top downwards, initiated (not too enthusiastically in some cases) by universities with the aim of spreading their influence beyond their own walls; secondly, a direct attempt by persons of good will to bring higher education within the reach of the working classes; and thirdly, the recognition by bodies primarily interested in social, religious or other objects that their success was bound up with the further education of their members. In addition to the University Extension Movement, many bodies active on the voluntary side of Adult Education to-day, like the W.E.A., Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., etc., derive their outlook from one or other of these sources of inspiration.

Effects of the Act of 1902

Since 1902, the story of the local education authorities' participation in the Adult Education Movement falls into two periods, divided in this case, as in so many others, by the war.

During the first period, the part they played, with certain notable exceptions, in the development of this branch of educational activity, whether judged statistically or by any other criterion, appears, and, in fact, was, meagre. The explanation, however, is not hard to find. Although the new Act had cleared the ground for progress by transferring evening schools once and for all from elementary to higher education, and by giving local education authorities power to aid the work of voluntary bodies, and although it brought within the purview of the former the closely related sphere of technical and commercial education which had previously been administered separately, the new bodies were largely composed of persons who had been brought up in the pre-1902 atmosphere of official inertia. Apart from this, however, they were face to face with demands in other branches of education which they had some excuse for regarding as more immediate and pressing. They were conscious that, so far as grown-ups were concerned, there was an increasing volume of voluntary activity in this field, whereas they alone were in a position to attack the urgent problem, not only of improving the primary schools, but also of providing more advanced instruction for those abler children who were capable of profiting by it. Even so far as adults were concerned, their first business was to absorb into the new system the many and various institutions dealing with vocational instruction.

Whatever their shortcomings in other directions, the creation of the great system of State-provided secondary schools, the foundations of which were laid in the years 1903–14, must always stand to their credit.

It would not, however, be fair to create the impression that, even so far as adult education is concerned, the period 1902 to 1918 was one of stagnation. Statistics show that there was a fairly substantial development in evening continuation classes and that in certain areas, notably London, reorganisation was carried out with a view to dealing specifically with the needs of adults as distinct from adolescents. In London the Women's Institutes and the non-Vocational Institutes, which have since developed into Men's and Literary Institutes, date from 1913. But whatever the possibilities of further progress may have been, the war put an effective check on it.

Influence of the War on Adult Education

Under war-time conditions the attendance of students at evening classes everywhere declined, and in many parts of the country adult education came practically to a standstill, but in its turn the war itself, as its lessons came to be appreciated, revolutionised popular opinion as to the State's function in relation to the social services. It is not without significance that the National Council of Social Service and the Federation of Women's Institutes, two bodies which directly or indirectly are destined to play an increasingly important part in adult education, were founded in 1915. More important still, the impulse towards the replanning of the nation's social and economic life carried the Education Act of 1918 on to the Statute Book and found a further expression in the report which was issued by the Ministry of Reconstruction in the following year. The way was thus paved for a more substantial and, it may be hoped, permanent advance.

Importance of the Fisher Act

Local education authorities were required by the Fisher Act for the first time to have regard to the progressive development and comprehensive organisation of all forms of education in their areas. In preparing their schemes they were therefore under the necessity of considering the whole field so far as adults as well as children were concerned, and in so doing were brought face to face with the many streams of voluntary effort, some of which they had no doubt previously regarded with indifference or suspicion.

The Adult Education Committee of the Board of Education

This survey among other things brought home three outstanding points. The first was the extremely limited character of the local education authorities' activities in regard to the provision of non-vocational courses for adults, particularly in rural areas. In

1922, it would seem that only one county outside London was providing regular courses of this kind. The second fact that emerged was that the activities of the voluntary bodies were intensive rather than extensive, so that large areas remained without any adequate provision. The third, and most important, was the obvious need for some method of co-ordinating the efforts of both parties with a view not only to eliminating overlapping but also to filling the numerous gaps which were found to exist. Recognition of this need led to the establishment within three years of the Armistice of the Adult Education Committee of the Board of Education, upon which voluntary bodies and local authorities were largely represented, and the establishment, due in a great measure to Lord Haldane, of the British Institute of Adult Education. During the last fifteen years the former body has prepared a number of reports, one of which, issued in 1933, was primarily concerned with the share which the local education authorities had taken and should take in adult education. The Institute, on the other hand, by its annual conferences as well as by its magazine and other publications, has done much to bring together members of authorities and voluntary bodies and to create a consciousness of essential unity of aim and of common interest in promoting it. It is on record that at the 1935 Conference 50 per cent. of the delegates present were representative of local education authorities.

The Importance of Voluntary Bodies

By 1926, nearly all the authorities for higher education, whether counties or county boroughs, were making some provision for the liberal education of adults, and the main lines of development were already being defined. It was becoming apparent that these lines could be roughly described as urban and rural, and that in urban areas the local authorities for many reasons were in a favourable position for promoting the desired development, whereas in rural areas they were more likely to promote progress by subsidising the activities of voluntary bodies like the Workers' Educational Association, the Women's Institutes and Rural Community Councils, which were already in the field. It was also clear that with the financial assistance which the authorities could afford, the scope of the University Extension Movement could be substantially enlarged.

As a corollary to this there have sprung up all over the country organisations, differing widely in constitution, but with the general aim of co-ordinating State and voluntary activities on a regional basis.

With regard to the future, Report No. 11 of the Adult Education Committee, which has already been referred to, deprecates strongly any subordination of the voluntary side of the movement. At the same time it recognises that from the point of view of effective organisation, and more particularly financial backing, local education

authorities must play an increasingly large part. It centres hopes for the future on an extension of every form of workable machinery for promoting co-operation among the many interests concerned.

The Functions of Voluntary Bodies

No one will dissent from the reasons given why one side cannot progress without the help of the other. So far forward as one can reasonably look, it will be the part of the voluntary associations to undertake the bulk of the pioneering work, to break new ground in cases where authorities may be reluctant to move, since interests other than educational are primarily concerned, and to perpetuate those personal contacts and enthusiasms which they have been so successful in creating in the past. The authorities on their side will concentrate on the work of consolidation, taking over the new tracts as they are opened up and fitting them into the system which already exists. In such prosaic matters as money and bricks and mortar, the authorities can supply much which has been wanting to make the desirable expansion of adult classes a feasible project. Accommodation has often presented real difficulties, particularly in rural areas, and though the number of village halls and institutes is increasing, the modern senior schools, with their gymnasia, stages, etc., and with furniture reasonably comfortable for grown-ups, will afford the long-sought centres in many rural areas.

In them will also be found those rather expensive, but nowadays essential, aids to learning, such as the cinema projector, the wireless set and the radio-gramophone. In some areas, notably Cambridgeshire, the idea of the village college has already been translated into practice. In two other branches also the local education authority can take the lead, namely in the provision of library facilities for adult students and of scholarships. Means whereby the serious student can be assisted to a university or residential college form an indispensable adjunct to a complete system of adult education.

Problems raised by New Housing Estates

It is impossible to conclude this brief review without some reference to certain factors which have arisen since 1933 and may exercise on the Adult Education Movement an influence which at the moment it is difficult to assess. One of these is the problem created by the rapid migration of population and the formation of large housing estates. As the inhabitants of these usually come from urban areas where social services have been highly developed, their natural instinct in their new quarters is to look to the statutory authorities for similar provision. On the other hand, these new centres of population are recognised by voluntary associations as an obvious field for their activities. The movement for establishing community centres, not only in them, but also in older places, if wisely guided, may lead to an almost ideal form of co-operation between the individual, the voluntary body interested in social

service and the State as represented by the local authority both in its housing and educational capacities.

The Relation of Technical Education to Adult Education

The second factor is not less interesting, and may become even more significant. For a long time the sort of education provided in technical, commercial and art institutions has been regarded as different in kind and alien in spirit from adult education in the accepted sense. With the growing interest in technical education, both for its own sake and for the possibilities it offers in the way of meeting the need for greater variety in further education, authorities are beginning to wonder whether vocational studies ought to be pursued *in vacuo* or whether a union of vocational and liberal instruction under the same roof, such as would be possible in a modern technical college, is not a highly desirable thing, particularly in an age when democratic institutions are on trial. To some extent this movement, which has already started—several technical colleges recently opened offer a wide choice of purely cultural subjects in addition to the ordinary curriculum—may run counter to current ideas as to the respective spheres of voluntary bodies and local authorities. However this may be, the local education authorities, who will necessarily be primarily responsible when undertakings on this scale are in hand, will be wise to lose no opportunity of strengthening their governing bodies by the appointment of persons who have a real interest in the adult education side.

Both in the community centre and in the new technical college, with its wider outlook and appeal, there is great promise for the future.

JOHN SARGENT.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Need for Planning in Adult Education

The Background

WE have, in this country, a healthy dislike of planning. Doctrinaire solutions of social and political problems are rejected, and we glory in our illogicality. This attitude is not, as some of our critics would have us believe, merely an expression of traditional muddle-headedness. It has its origin in that love of freedom which is unwilling to barter liberty of action for mere efficiency, and prefers vigorous growth to restricted design. It is this attitude which, especially in periods of rapid social adjustment, ensures freedom for experiment and avoids the danger of stereotyping immaturity. But it may be carried too far.

In no branch of social activity has this opposition to rigid planning been more in evidence than in the sphere of education, where voluntary effort and experiment have paved the way to every fresh advance. And if this is true of our educational system as a whole, it applies with particular force to the growth of adult education in this country. This movement, in its historical development, has been one expression of the passionate striving towards understanding and full citizenship. It has drawn its strength from the social aspirations of those who sought knowledge under difficulties, not merely for their own personal satisfaction, but also because they believed in knowledge as a means to a fuller and more satisfying social life. Freedom was of the very essence of a movement of this kind. Any attempt to impose a discipline from above, to prescribe the subjects to be studied and the detailed methods of study, or to appoint teachers without consultation with the students or their representatives, would have foredoomed the movement to failure. One freedom would have remained to be exercised by the students —the freedom to stay away.

The Early Machinery of Adult Education

There comes a time in the history of every such movement, however, when the problem of organisation becomes urgent. As the scope of its activities extends, it is no longer able to rely completely upon the voluntary service of enthusiasts. The problem then is to devise machinery which will give to it some guarantee of permanence, without, at the same time, destroying those personal elements upon which its original success depended. The case becomes more difficult if any call has to be made upon public funds, since rules have to be made for the control of public expenditure, and the atmosphere of bureaucracy may be stifling to voluntary enthusiasms. The modern adult education movement in this country

was particularly fortunate in its solution of these problems. The early machinery created by the Workers' Educational Association provided a framework of organisation within which voluntary effort and necessary full-time service were happily combined. Its later association with the universities supplied the incentive to high standards of achievement and provided for the recruitment of a growing body of teachers. A new element of permanence was ensured by the University Joint Committees for Tutorial Classes which everywhere came into existence after 1907. This connection with the universities also made possible a partial solution of the financial problem. Grants could be made on a generous scale for advanced studies, without undue supervision, so long as the universities provided the necessary guarantee of standards. For the more elementary classes organised by the Workers' Educational Association, grants at lower rates were paid direct to that body. This was perhaps an illogical return to an earlier dualism, which the Education Act of 1902 was designed to avoid; but it was the only possible solution in the circumstances.

Incompleteness of Early Organisation

This was the system of adult education which prevailed down to the outbreak of the Great War and was still in operation when the famous Report on Adult Education was presented to the Ministry of Reconstruction in 1919. It formed, with certain modifications, the basis of the Adult Education Regulations issued by the Board of Education for the first time in 1924. In many parts of the country still, the only special machinery which exists to supply the needs of adult students is the District and Branch Organisation of the Workers' Educational Association, and a perhaps distant University Joint Committee, half the members of which are appointed on the nomination of the Workers' Educational Association.

This whole machinery of adult education grew out of certain conditions, to which it was well adapted at the time. It implied first a conscious need on the part of well-defined sections of the community, corresponding roughly to the membership of the older skilled trade unions and the active membership of Co-operative Societies. It implied also the need for *national* stimulus, and presupposed an almost complete lack of interest and concern on the part of local education authorities. Further, it assumed that universities were interested only to the extent of responding to a known demand when it was brought to their notice, and also that the universities, as the preserves of a privileged class, had little contact with or knowledge of the outside world.

Under these circumstances, the adult education movement consisted of selected groups of students in selected centres. It flourished in the industrial towns and was non-existent in rural areas. It was incomplete even as a working-class movement, since whole sections, including agricultural labourers, miners very largely,

and unskilled labourers generally, were almost untouched by it. Other sections of the community were to some extent provided for, again on a national basis in selected centres, by the University Extension Courses of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

This glimpse into the past would be out of place in a survey which purports to deal with an urgent present problem, were it not that the organisation of adult education is still, in many parts of the country, based on these earlier conditions, which no longer obtain or ought not to obtain. Further, the older conception of adult education, as carried on in isolated and more or less self-contained centres, is still preserved in the Adult Education Regulations, which treat each group as a separate administrative unit ; and it is reflected also in the class basis of grants adopted by the great majority of local education authorities. Finally, the fact that, in most parts of the country, the Workers' Educational Association is still the only body which is competent to provide certain types of courses under the Adult Education Regulations is a further legacy of the earlier conditions.

Post-war Stimulus to Adult Education

Meanwhile, the situation has completely changed. Far-reaching improvements in school education have quickened and widened the demand for adult education. Improved facilities for reading, the stimulating discoveries of modern science, international chaos after the war and a variety of other influences have increased the range of adult studies. The effect of the war on those who left the villages and on those who stayed behind, the increased national interest in agriculture, the motor-bus and wireless, have combined to effect a remarkable awakening of rural life. Local education authorities are no longer content merely to administer the education rate; instead, they are coming more and more to administer an educational service with high ideals and a growing sense of responsibility. New universities are not remote places of learning, out of touch with the common problems of life. They, too, have developed a sense of responsibility and of service in relation to the areas from which they draw their support. Their students are the sons and daughters of the common people, who carry back the influence of the university to their own communities. Class divisions in education are slowly but surely breaking down. These changes are revolutionising the life and thought of the nation, and they could not but affect profoundly the whole problem of adult education.

Work under the Adult Education Regulations

In considering the adequacy or otherwise of existing arrangements, the first question to ask is : how far is the potential need met ? It is not possible to give a complete answer to this question, since no information exists to make possible an estimate of the

volume of adult as distinct from adolescent education carried on directly by local education authorities. This is, however, for the most part, different in character from the work conducted under the Adult Education Regulations by other bodies, although in London, Yorkshire and one or two other areas a good deal of work of the same type, but, on the average, less exacting in its requirements, is conducted directly by local education authorities. In the country as a whole, however, the bulk of this direct L.E.A. provision is concerned with craft and recreational activities. If, for the moment, we confine our attention to work carried on under the Adult Education Regulations, it will be found that the facts by no means justify the self-complacency which is sometimes characteristic of the adult education movement.

Statistics [1]

In 1935–6, the total number of students in classes under the Adult Education Regulations was approximately 50,000, out of a total adult population (between 20 and 65) numbering more than 24,000,000. It is necessary, however, to look, not merely at numbers, but also at the way in which students are divided between the different types of courses. Chapter II courses (provided by universities) accounted for 23,311 ; Chapter III courses (provided by approved associations, especially the W.E.A.), 26,903. This division does not, however, indicate sufficiently clearly the types of study. University Extension courses under Chapter II are in many ways less exacting than One-Year courses under Chapter III. Terminal courses are less exacting than either, since they involve no written work. University Tutorial classes represent, of course, the highest achievement in adult education. The following analysis is, in the light of these distinctions, perhaps more illuminating than the division between providing bodies :

Chapter II.	Preparatory Tutorial Three-Year Tutorial and Advanced Tutorial classes	14,646
	University Extension courses, including Short courses.	8,665 [2]
Chapter III.	One-Year courses	8,035
	Terminal courses	18,868

Thus less than half the total number of students are in classes demanding intensive study.

The way in which the work has grown during the past ten years is also significant from the point of view of this discussion. The total number of courses has nearly doubled, but the different types of courses have by no means increased in the same proportion, as the table on the next page shows :

[1] I am indebted for the figures in this section to the Board of Education.

[2] This total refers to "students," and does not include persons who attended the lectures only and were not registered.

Type	1926–7	1935–6	Percentage Increase
Preparatory Tutorial Three-Year Tutorial Advanced Tutorial	642	823	28
University Extension [1]	158	400 (including Short Courses)	153
One-Year	226	430	90
Terminal	344	950 (including Short Courses)	176
Total	1,370	2,603	90

Haphazard Character of Growth

It would be interesting to know how far this pattern of increase has corresponded to any real distribution of needs and abilities; that is to say, how far resources were applied over the period in question in such a way as to give the maximum satisfaction. It would probably be found that, apart from a few areas in which definite attempts at planning have been made, the growth has been largely haphazard, depending on the local resources available (determining whether cheaper or dearer courses could be provided), upon the willingness or otherwise of the particular university to expand its extra-mural services (determining whether Chapter II or Chapter III courses should be arranged), upon the supply of potential tutors and their qualifications, upon the nature of the subjects offered (some are not suitable for more intensive study), and so on.[2]

If the geographical distribution of adult classes over the country as a whole, and within each local area, were examined, a similar disparity in the rate and amount of development in different places would be shown. To suggest that this is due to differences of intellectual capacity, or of actual or potential interest in these different places or regions, is to offer an explanation which is against all probability. The difference is not in the need, but in the arrangements made to meet it. Wherever there has been willingness to make the necessary provision, and to make it in the right way, the demand has not lagged far behind.

Reasons for Unevenness of Development

The reasons for this inadequacy and unevenness of development can be summed up in a few words : lack of resources and the failure

[1] It should be observed that the increase in University Extension courses is not a net increase. Some part of the increase shown is due to the recognition, under the Adult Education Regulations, of courses previously run independently.

[2] It should be noted, of course, that even in the best-developed areas, the economy campaign discouraged the provision of the more intensive and more costly types of courses. But the relaxation of financial restrictions has not, as yet, made any appreciable difference in the tendencies indicated in the table.

of organisation to keep pace with changing needs. The two go together, and it is difficult to say which is more important. Without resources, it is, of course, impossible to provide any organisation ; but experience has shown that, where there has been imagination in the planning of adult education over a wide area, and an attempt has been made to enlist the interests of the largest possible cross-section of the community, the necessary resources have been forthcoming. It matters little from what source the original initiative comes, so long as the necessary degree of co-operation is achieved. The total effort cannot be left to any one organisation or to any single institution. Because adult education means something more than the mere spending of money, or the provision of buildings, or the appointment of teachers with certain recognised qualifications, it cannot be undertaken simply as part of the normal provision of a local education authority. All must combine in the task—voluntary agencies, local authorities, universities, and schools and colleges.

The Need for Thought and Planning

Any fear that co-operation in the advancement of adult education might mean the sacrifice of vested interests, or might be derogatory to the privileges or influence of particular bodies, whether official or voluntary, is merely ludicrous in view of what remains to be done. Variety of demand is a healthy feature ; and there is need for more specialist organisations to foster and advance the varied educational interests which correspond to a many-sided community life. On the other hand, competition in *supply* is likely to lead to waste and to the debasement of standards. Both in the stimulation and co-ordination of a varied demand, and in the organisation of all the available resources in such a way as to avoid overlapping and competition, thought and planning are needed ; and this involves the creation in each area of machinery adapted to the need and to local conditions. Various attempts have been made in different parts of the country to solve this problem, and a brief reference to these may at least indicate the possibilities.

Departments of Adult Education and Social Planning

The creation of Departments of Adult Education by several universities and university colleges has done something to meet the need for planning, since these departments have gathered together specialist workers in adult education under a responsible head. They have also usually led to the formation of a committee or committees more widely representative of voluntary and official bodies than the earlier joint committees. Most of all, they have led to the appointment of resident organising tutors in different parts of their areas, and these tutors, because of the close personal links which they have been able to establish with local groups, and the more intimate knowledge of local resources which they have gained, have been able to do a great deal in the effective planning of adult education in the areas for which they are responsible.

Usually, these local schemes are based on county areas. In the case of Bristol, for example, local advisory committees have been established in each county, containing, in addition to representatives of the University, representatives of the Local Education Authority, the Workers' Educational Association, the County Library, the B.B.C., the Y.M.C.A. and other local bodies. The resident tutors act as secretaries of these County Committees. The co-ordination of teaching as between Chapter II and Chapter III work is secured by the fact that the W.E.A. District Authority acts as the providing. body for all the organisations concerned. It is doubtful how far this would provide a general solution, since it can only work well, as it does in the Bristol area, when the W.E.A. is prepared not to stress its distinctive aims.

In the Nottingham area, where county schemes are also in operation, reliance is placed on less formal contacts between the resident organising tutors and the different bodies concerned, all of which are, however, represented on a central Delegacy for Extra-Mural Studies of the University College. The problem of the co-ordination of studies does not arise in this case, since the University College, acting through the Delegacy, is allowed exceptionally to exercise both Chapter II and Chapter III powers.

In one or two areas, the local education authority has set up an advisory committee ; but the fact that, in most of these cases, there has been no close contact with the teaching body, and that no one is primarily responsible for giving effect to the work of the committees, has made them less effective than they might have been.

The Requirements of Planning

The minimum requirement of any scheme for the planning of adult education over an area is a consultative committee to survey the need and to stimulate other bodies to make the demand effective. The same committee can advise the administrative and teaching bodies in the area as to the best allocation of resources over the area as a whole and in relation to the different types of work. Such committees should obviously contain representatives of the local education authority, the university, and the Workers' Educational Association (possibly in equal numbers) ; and representatives of other voluntary bodies, libraries and teaching institutions, in proportion to their actual or potential interest. This would make possible co-operation in pioneer activities for the awakening of new demand. So far, efforts in this direction have, in most cases, either been totally lacking or have been sporadic, haphazard and, too often, competitive.

Co-ordination in the Supply of Facilities

The problem does not, however, stop there. There will be a pressing need, as the demand increases, for co-ordination in the supply of facilities. This involves relating types of courses to the

capacities of different groups; relating subjects to ascertained interests; providing for the possibility of *progressive* studies, so that no student is debarred, by the accident of geographical location or group affiliation, from proceeding to more advanced studies. In this last connection, it is impossible to accept the view, whether it is explicitly stated or tacitly assumed, that attendance at particular courses should depend on membership of a particular body. In relation to this whole problem, it is difficult to avoid the conviction, because of the great growth and complexity of modern knowledge, that the planning of adult *teaching* at every stage, the relating of subjects and standards to needs and, above all, the maintenance of standards, should be in the hands of a teaching body, acting, of course, in full consultation with the voluntary and administrative bodies concerned.

Need for Suitably Qualified Teachers

There is one other problem of planning which is likely to become urgent in the very near future, that is, the problem of providing a sufficient supply of suitably qualified teachers. This is too large a problem to be dealt with fully here; but the whole future development of adult education in this country may depend upon the possibility of finding a satisfactory solution. There is need for more full-time tutors to devote themselves to adult teaching. This means that such work can no longer be regarded as offering transitory jobs to young men just leaving the university. More men and women of the highest gifts must be able to find in it a satisfying life-work. But the solution of the problem depends also on the possibility of finding an increasing supply of part-time tutors. And if these are to maintain the high traditions of the movement, they must not be selected casually on the basis of mere academic qualifications, or for reasons even less relevant, but after careful sifting and trial and, if necessary, training by some properly qualified body. The leaven of full-time tutors is, however, necessary to make the work of consultative committees effective and to advise and keep contact with the organisations concerned and with the general body of part-time teachers.

The Position of Local Education Authorities

A word must be said here about the position of the local education authority. L.E.A. provision for adults, in many areas, is neither widespread nor varied in character. Where adult education, in the sense generally understood, is provided by the authority, it usually has little relation to the work either of voluntary bodies or of the university. In one or two areas, for instance in Yorkshire, a progressive local education authority has made arrangements with voluntary bodies to provide adult education courses under the Regulations for Further Education. But the conditions under these Regulations are less exacting than they are under the Adult Educa-

tion Regulations. Written work is not an essential condition for grant; and the requirements as to attendance and length of courses are also less onerous. Less exacting demands are therefore made both on teachers and on students, and there is a real danger that lower standards, both in relation to the qualifications of teachers and to the achievement of the students, may become usual. In education, in order that people may want the best, they must first have it.

No attempt can be made in a short survey to provide the solution for this problem. But the mere consideration of it strengthens the plea for a combined effort to find the solution. The local authority is free to make its own regulations. It should do so in consultation with voluntary bodies, and with the advice of University Departments of Adult Education.

The Problem in Rural Areas

The geographical problem is a more difficult one. There are hundreds of villages in the country too small to support classes under the existing regulations. Even where one class is possible, there is rarely sufficient homogeneity of demand or capacities for all to be satisfied in the right way. The first of these difficulties can be met to some extent by grouping villages. The second will become easier of solution when the total provision is increased, so that, with the aid of modern transport, choice of subjects and standards becomes possible within accessible areas. Even in towns, the provision is too often completely unplanned, and much remains to be done everywhere in the grading and co-ordination of studies.

All this, again, means planning and co-operation among all the bodies concerned in this vitally important task of adult education. No cut-and-dried scheme has been suggested, since it is the result that matters, not the method of achieving it; and methods must vary according to differences of local conditions. Moreover, no scheme will work if the spirit of co-operation is lacking, and it is this that is needed above everything.

Conclusion

Finally, the planning of adult education needs money. So far, funds have been available for teaching through the system of class grants. It has been difficult to find resources for administration. The schemes which exist at present have been made possible by special grants from local education authorities, supplementing inclusive grants on the salaries of organising tutors under Article 11 of the Adult Education Regulations. A great increase in this type of provision is a necessary preliminary to any extension of planning over the country as a whole.

ROBERT PEERS.

CHAPTER FIVE

Book Supplies to Adult Classes

"Will you go and gossip with your housemaid or your stable boy when you may talk with Queens and Kings ?. . . . when all the while this eternal court is open to you, with its society wide as the world, multitudinous as its days, the chosen and the mighty of every place and time."—(*Ruskin—Sesame and Lilies*).

Introduction

RUSKIN was giving the lectures in *Sesame and Lilies* in 1864. That was only 16 years after the opening in Warrington of the first rate-aided public library, and 14 years after the passing of the first Public Library Act of 1850. The painfully slow progress of the public library system prior to the impetus given by the Carnegie grants would hardly seem to have justified Ruskin's optimism respecting universal access to the world of literature, especially when we consider that he was lecturing to working men twelve years before the Education Act of 1876 made possible a universal minimum of elementary education for children. How far the working men and women in whom Ruskin was interested could have used public libraries had they existed in any great number is a matter of doubt, for as late as 1842 about half the number of men and women in Lancashire could not sign their names to the register when married. The earliest experiment in adult education (initiated by the Adult Schools) was to "liquidate illiteracy"—an expressive term used to-day in modern Russia. Long after Ruskin died the Adult School found it necessary to continue the reading and writing instruction of adults ; and, to the writer's knowledge, the opportunity was provided in the Hartshead Adult School, Sheffield, up to 36 years ago.

The growth of the reading habit since 1900 has been due to the fact that illiteracy was not completely liquidated until we had produced our first adult generation of those who had passed through the stages of the compulsory elementary educational system.

Increased Interest in Reading

The even more remarkable post-war interest in reading can be briefly summarised as being due to (1) the greater distribution of leisure, especially the enforced leisure of the unemployed ; (2) the extended facilities for education (particularly adult education) ; (3) the growth of the low-priced book (especially of cheap editions of classics and standard works) ; (4) the modernisation of the Public Library and its gradual recognition as an important communal service rather than an unnecessary luxury or, alternatively, a dangerous impetus to sedition. In spite of recent developments

it would be dishonest to claim that the lending library is appreciated in proportion to its capacity for service, and one of the reasons why the public library is still straight-jacketed to an absurd extent in its income is because the public is not yet sufficiently book-conscious to recognise its relationship to the general plan of education. Indeed the public library which can claim twenty-five to thirty per cent. of the total population as borrowers must be an unique exception.

The Problem of Quantity or Quality

In considering any aspect of public education we are always faced with the problem as to whether our limited financial resources should be expended on quantity or quality, and when this test is applied to the public library we ask: Is it important that the "masses" should be persuaded to acquire the reading habit, whatever the general standard and taste, or should our main concern be to cater for the minority who can read with discrimination? If we rely on the assumption that standards of taste rise automatically once the reading habit is formed we should decide in favour of "meeting the public demand" wherever it led. If, on the other hand, we believe that it is scientifically beyond dispute that "the appetite grows on what it feeds upon" we might consider that public expenditure on books can only be justified if it shows unmistakably that it can raise the standard of taste. The modern librarian is now the guide, philosopher and friend of the reader, rather than a purveyor of books, automatically serving them out as though he were dispensing candles over the counter. He is generally disposed to admit that quality rather than quantity is the real sign of the civic usefulness of his library.

Most librarians are concerned about building up a balanced selection of books. Speaking in support of this at the 1937 Conference of the Library Association, Captain Wright, County Librarian for Middlesex, said, "I also like to feel that the man who has mastered a book or a subject is a benefactor to all those with whom he comes in contact. In this way we may say that the satisfied requirements of the individual become imperceptibly the needs of the community. Hence the place given to the cultural rather than to the vocational book; in the latter the individual only is likely to benefit."

It would be interesting to know what influence the Adult Educational movement, particularly the more formal type of class, has had upon creating "a balanced collection of books." Most librarians would agree that this influence has been considerable, and while the W.E.A. and University Joint Tutorial Classes Committees share a growing appreciation of the part which the public librarian is playing in the development of adult education, it is obvious that the service is mutual, and that the public libraries have been enormously enriched in the quality of their stocks by the demand created by the Adult Classes. While the Adult

Education movement has made its contribution to " the balanced collection of books " the librarians can extract some satisfaction from the knowledge that they have contributed towards the balanced mind which it is one of the main functions of Adult Education to inspire.

Need for Adequate Supply of Books

Books are the main tools of the Adult Class. In assessing the value of the educational work for grants from public funds the Adult Education Regulations of the Board of Education state :

> " The Board must be satisfied that the students have access to an adequate provision of books bearing on their studies and that proper arrangements are made for guiding their reading. . . ."

In the *Final Report* (1919) of the Adult Education Committee of the Board of Education, one of the " obvious defects of adult education " was stated to be " the failure to secure that the students attending each course of lectures or classes are adequately supplied with books. . . . All forms of adult education suffer from the difficulty of procuring books and from the failure to make full use of the possibilities of individual tuition though more has been done in that direction in the University Tutorial Class than elsewhere." How far the position has changed may be ascertained from a perusal of the Report of the Board of Education Adult Education Committee of 1933, on *Adult Education and the Local Authority*. Commenting on the supply of books to classes the Committee say :

> " We believe it will come as a surprise to most of those concerned in the work, to find how closely the public libraries in all types of areas are co-operating to ensure a regular supply."

Up to ten years ago, the main sources of supply were the University Joint Tutorial Class Committees and the National Central Library. In a few instances, county education authorities made special arrangements to supply books direct to classes, and application to the National Central Library was made only for such books as were not in the county library stock. Since 1927–8 this practice has become almost general. In cases where there is no public library, or where irksome restrictions are placed on the supply of books, application is made direct to the National Central Library. The National Central Library was established 21 years ago as the Central Library for Students. Its main purpose was to meet the needs of W.E.A. students. It still maintains a separate department for Adult Classes, and during the session 1936–7 it supplied 12,042 books to classes—5,981 direct and 6,161 on application from county and urban libraries. In addition, 8485 books were issued by the National Central Library for Wales, and 324 by the Scottish Central Library for Students. Books of fiction and books under the price of 6*s*. are not supplied by the National Central Library, the intention being that the Library should confine its collection

to the more inaccessible and expensive books. Thus the average cost of each book purchased for the Adult Class Department in the last nine years was 12*s.* 6*d.*

The Development of Regional Areas

Since 1928 a regional system of library co-operation has been inaugurated by the development of eight regional areas. Each area through its regional bureau acts as a clearing-house. The regional bureaux have prepared, or have in preparation, a union catalogue of the books in all the libraries operating in the area. Ultimately there will be a complete union catalogue of all the regional bureaux at the National Central Library, and before the stocks of the National Central Library are called upon, the urban or county library will apply to the regional bureau. During 1936 over 28,000 books were issued to libraries through their regional bureaux, and while only a small portion of these would be for Adult Classes, it is obvious, that with the perfecting of the regional system, the limited financial resources of library committees can be expended to much greater advantage, while the possibility of adult classes obtaining a fair number of copies of the same book—which is a very important matter—is increased.

Comparative Statistics

It is difficult to estimate the number of books supplied each year to adult classes. Seventeen out of the 22 University Joint Committees for Tutorial Classes have their own libraries and supply boxes of books to Tutorial Classes, but some of these libraries were only established about five years ago. In seven of the 22 Joint Committees, where libraries have existed for ten or more years the the stock of books ranges from 3,000 to 30,000, and the annual average expenditure on books from £50 to £224.

In the Annual Report of the National Central Library for 1936, the following estimate is given of the total number of books supplied from the following sources in that year:

From National Central Library	11,217
From National Library of Wales	8,446
From County Libraries . .	48,357
From Urban Libraries—approx.	7,500
Total	75,520

The county library figure of 48,357 represents books supplied to 1,870 classes which averages a fraction under 26 per class. If books were borrowed from other sources also, as is often the case, it would seem as though these classes were maintaining a fair standard of reading. How far is this true of classes generally? Excluding Tutorial Classes and Extension Courses there are between five and six thousand Adult Classes under the auspices of local

education authorities and the W.E.A., providing what the Board of Education terms "academic as distinct from vocational and commercial education"; and even if one counted the total figure of 75,520 as being used exclusively for this type of class, and assumed that Tutorial Classes and Extension Courses had made no claim upon these resources (which would be quite untrue), the total number of volumes supplied would indicate a very small average per class or, alternatively, that a proportion of the classes were not utilising the books at all.

To make a comparison with 1931, one finds that county libraries supplied 33,446 books to 1,268 classes. This averages a fraction over 26 per class. Is it safe to infer from this that, as there have been considerable additions to the sources of supply since 1931, students are probably reading more than was the case six years ago? We raise this query with some reserve because, arising from an enquiry on the supply of books to classes undertaken by a joint committee of the Central Joint Advisory Committee for Tutorial Classes, the National Central Library and the Workers' Educational Association during 1935–6, a questionnaire to public librarians elicited the information that, out of 279 urban and 56 county librarians who replied, 134 urban and 3 county librarians reported that they had received no demands for books from Adult Classes, although, with the exception of 16 urban librarians, all expressed their willingness to meet demands if made. There may be a multitude of reasons for this. Some of the classes in these areas may have been Tutorial Classes which did not need to supplement the books supplied by the University Joint Committee. Other classes may have drawn upon the private libraries of tutors, or upon district W.E.A. libraries. It may be possible that classes did not actually exist in some of the public library areas concerned, or that, if they did exist, some of them were short courses where the tutor mistakenly assumed that books were not material to the course of study. Making every allowance possible it seems evident that there were some classes without books; and in their report, published by the W.E.A. and reprinted in the W.E.A. Annual Report for 1935–6, the Joint Committee mentioned above expressed the opinion that this state of affairs was unsatisfactory, and suggested an enquiry by the organising bodies.

The Problem of Bulk Supplies

In spite of the improved service of public libraries the supplies of books to classes still remains unsatisfactory in some areas. The Joint Committee on Book Supplies received reports from class secretaries complaining that the system of application to local libraries was not so satisfactory as under the original arrangement where application was made direct to the National Central Library. These complaints came mainly from areas where the library committee has so far been unwilling to supply books in bulk to be re-

tained by the class for the whole session. In some cases the books required for the course are placed upon special shelves in the library, and students are allowed to take out an additional ticket, or the class secretary may collect the tickets of all the students and obtain the books required in exchange. While it may be argued that this, in effect, is a class library, it places a great strain on the student and particularly upon the secretary, especially as the books have to be renewed when their loan period expires; and it is not surprising that such classes express a preference for direct supplies from the National Central Library. The most satisfactory method is to supply books in bulk in a padlocked box for the whole of the session. A few library committees supply the type of book box which opens up with shelves so that the books are displayed as if in a book case. Even books do not suffer by being attractively displayed, and there is no trouble about the reading problem in the areas where this consideration is extended.

The Joint Committee discovered that in more than ninety cases the librarian issued a list of the books available in the library on the subject of the course or courses, and this, especially when it supplements the books loaned to the class in bulk, is an excellent service. The Joint Committee did not consider that placing the books on special shelves in the library or issuing additional tickets to students were methods likely to encourage students to fulfil their obligations in reading, though they would be valuable assets if they were supplementary to the bulk supply of books to classes for retainment during the period of the class.

The Tutorial Classes are reasonably supplied with books. It is in One Year Classes and Terminal Courses where difficulties mainly occur, and particularly where it is difficult to obtain more than one copy of essential books such as textbooks which cover the whole or a substantial part of the course of study and which it is desirable that each student should read. The duplication of books should present less difficulty now that the regional schemes have been established. It should be possible for tutors in making out lists of books to indicate where more than one book of the same title is essential, and for the library to refer the request to the regional bureau. This implies, of course, that there should be much closer co-operation between the tutor and the librarian. It is to their mutual advantage.

The Place of the National Central Library

The place of the National Central Library, since decentralisation, has altered completely, but it is vital that the National Central Library should retain contact with the Adult Education Movement for reasons both traditional and practical. It is needed not merely to "fill the gaps, but to become the central depository of the rare, expensive and specialist books needed for more advanced studies." A central pool is necessary in regard to compositions for musical

appreciation classes, Government reports and official documents, and the National Central Library is the natural clearing house for books difficult to obtain from other sources. It is of the utmost importance that groups of earnest students should have ready access to books, and that no narrow interpretation of "the requirements of the general public" should blind the public librarian to the fact that he has nothing to gain in the end by pandering to a popular taste which is often the result of mental malnutrition, especially if this is done at the expense of the discriminating reader actuated by a social purpose.

Conclusion

Finally, there is the question of the relationship of the Adult Education movement to the library as an institution. The Sub-Committee on the Supply of Books noted with great satisfaction that in some of the new libraries provision is being made of suitable rooms for class meetings, and that there are other libraries in which such provision is available if required. So far as the Committee could ascertain, classes already met in 30 libraries. This is a development of the utmost importance. The public library has been called the poor man's university. It is an institution which the adult considers to be a stage beyond school, and there is none of the prejudice associated with "going back to school" when the adult visits his library. In *Learn and Live* by W. E. Williams and A. E. Heath, great stress is laid upon the need for movements such as the W.E.A. finding an institutional background in which the students may feel at home. No environment is more suitable than the modern Public Library, and tutors and organisers of classes could, in co-operation with local librarians, obtain a wide extension of these facilities.

The one other point is the need for providing librarians with evidence that the books supplied have been extensively used while in the possession of the class. In some cases there is a system of registration by card-index, or a properly kept record book. In few cases is the information supplied to the librarian at the end of the session. This is a responsibility of the Adult Education movement itself, and we owe it to the librarians, the majority of whom are generous friends of the movement, to indicate to what extent the services they have rendered have been utilised.

ERNEST GREEN.

CHAPTER SIX

Education in the Unemployed Club: An Inside View

The Social Significance of Unemployed Clubs

IT is a common experience that the significance of a movement will be quite differently assessed by those who stand outside it and by those who are involved in it. Other chapters in this section present a very full and rich survey giving a contemporary cross-section of the movement in question, a survey conducted from the point of view of organised adult education, in the light of its own preconceived notions and standards.

Here is set up in contrast to this, but not necessarily in criticism of it, an argument which follows an entirely different method, a method which traces an organic evolution in time, which, it is suggested, has some very significant implications.

It will be noticed that the title of this chapter uses the phrase "unemployed club" rather than "unemployed centre." This is in itself a trivial detail, but it illustrates the difference between the inside and outside view. Our unemployed members and most of the organisers speak far more generally of their "clubs," while the general public refers to them as "centres."

The club, then, is the unit with which those in the movement have to deal. Without it there would be no movement, no recreation, no occupation, no education. If all the unemployed clubs were wiped out of existence to-morrow, something would disappear out of the social life of this country, which at the moment makes a very great difference to the happiness of a very depressed section of the community. Moreover, there would be in existence no other machinery for bringing to this section any of the activities which are worth writing about here, and it is extremely doubtful whether any substitute for an organic growth could be officially manufactured. Incidentally, it is noteworthy that statutory authority for work among the unemployed does not recognise officially the existence of clubs.

Our major preoccupation in the movement, then, is to keep the clubs alive. This requires and taxes all our resources, physical, intellectual and emotional, and the work is as fascinating as it is difficult. If we did nothing else but this, it might be claimed that this was a contribution to adult welfare.

Difficulties in running Unemployed Clubs

Why is the task so difficult? It is difficult when a club is born, it is difficult during the growing pains of its first year or two, and it is difficult particularly at the present time, when outside organisations are becoming interested in its possibilities.

It is difficult because its very foundation involves the voluntary co-operation of widely different social classes, not easy to attain during a crisis and not easy to sustain in easier times. Secondly, we have to administer Government money and show results to official bodies, while at the same time preserving the complete freedom of our members. Thirdly, there is the constant struggle against the feeling of helplessness, isolation, restlessness of the individual member whose anti-social tendencies are so strong and whose social tendencies so weak as to require careful nursing. Fourthly, there is the long struggle to achieve a system of club management which is moderately efficient and yet essentially democratic. Fifthly, there is the grim struggle against unsuitable premises, which are often dirty, damp or decaying, and, what is equally important, poverty. Lastly, and just now, there is the necessity to convince otherwise intelligent people that these clubs are really justified in a period of seeming prosperity.

Now, if these clubs had merely been established and then left to the unemployed with their meagre resources to run entirely on their own, no claim could, of course, be made for the movement which would have any interest to educationists. But before we go on to consider what activities are " strictly educational," it must be stated that this movement involves the constant devotion of all kinds of talents and intelligences to a common cause, co-operating all the time with the unemployed themselves.

Effect of the Clubs on the Individual

When a boy from the favoured classes joins one of our older-established scholastic institutions, it is claimed that his education begins the minute he joins, and does not cease until the minute he leaves. And this claim is made in all good faith and quite seriously. How many times have we not heard it on speech-days : " It is not what you learn in the classroom. . . ." No, it is the hardship of fagging, hard games in rough weather, bullying, team-work, and so forth, which mould the character, and which it is claimed have made England what she is. Well, if that is not clap-trap for one section of society, then neither is it clap-trap for any other section.

It is claimed, then, that the further education of the unemployed man begins the minute he joins the club and pays his penny a week. Even then he has done something. In spite of opposition, and almost certainly ridicule, he has joined ; he has laid himself open to be " got at " by people who want him to do this and take part in that. If he has any sensibility at all he cannot but be influenced by what he sees going on around him, and in most cases it is not long before he wants to take part in something. Even if he does not, even if he wants to play all day, he may be a cheery soul who yet contributes something to the common life, by wit, or gift of mimicry, or some other odd talent. At the lowest possible estimate, it must be repeated that there is simply no other organisation which

has the time or the patience or the devotion to bother with him at all.

The Value of Physical and Mental Recreation

Privileged education has always claimed recreation, physical and mental, to be an essential part of its system, and being a product of that system, the writer can see no sense at all in this separation of " recreational " and " occupational " and " educational " activities. We have tried to separate them, and every time the attempt has been seriously made, it has failed. For example, an attempt was made to introduce P.T. apart from games and athletics. It did not catch on. Now that these activities are being fused, they are becoming popular. It should, of course, have been seen that the very existence of a club implied social exercise. The solitary man can do exercises in his bedroom. The Greeks called him an idiot !

Again, without a club or society, you cannot do very much music or very much drama. With a club you can do a great deal, with a good club you can do a great deal more, and what happier blend of recreation with more serious activity could there be than is to be found in these two arts ? Yet official education, by its regulations, makes the *practice* of either of them by adults almost impossible. It is true that music in the clubs *can* mean only the harmonica band and the wireless on tap all day ; that drama *can* mean only the concert party or the lurid melodrama. It is hardly necessary to point out that there are talented and ingenious individuals constantly watching over these activities, not necessarily trained as official teachers of subjects, but learning an entirely new method of approach as they go along, learning from their pupils themselves.

Handicrafts as a Means to Liberal Education

In most of the clubs, the unemployed man is expected to engage in what were once called " occupations "—a vile phrase. (Sometimes one really is aghast at what the unemployed man is expected to do !) A most interesting evolution has taken place here, and is going on still. From very humble beginnings, cobbling and rude carpentry, our instructional staff has very gradually been able to build up an interest in the making of simply but well-designed furniture, with an accompanying interest in the craft of woodwork as a whole, including the use and care of tools. Why ? Because these latter interests make the work more truly educational and cultural. There is no attempt to compete with the technical excellence of official institutions, and there never can be, for several reasons. In the first place, as skill increases, the expense of tools and materials steadily rises. Secondly, adults trained to heavy manual work do not easily acquire the dexterity necessary for fine joinery. Thirdly, we are interested in something more than purely technological excellence. We are using the handicrafts as a medium of liberal education !

Weaving is another craft which is evolving from simple beginnings, such as the making of narrow scarves on a table loom, to the construction of a full-size treadle-loom on which lengths of tweed and other cloth are woven. The unemployed man who takes his first suit-length off such a loom has acquired a great sense of achievement, and incidentally has learned a great deal about colour and pattern designing.

The Development of Toy-making

Perhaps the most interesting development of craftwork has been on the side of toy-making. This meets a perennial demand from below, which reaches its height in the weeks before Christmas, and there is no doubt that many toys would be made in clubs quite spontaneously, without instruction. Under instruction, the possibilities are almost endless. It is a craft which does not require very expensive tools ; it can use a great deal of scrap material, and while not requiring the elaborate technical processes of first-class joinery, does repay attention given to ingenuity of design and careful finish, involving a study of form and colour which lead very naturally to painting and drawing.

Value of a Sense of Form and Colour

The study of colour and form has been approached from another angle also—that of interior decoration. Recently, club after club has taken advantage of the appointment of specialists, and have received instruction in the theory and practice of interior decoration, which they have applied to their own premises and their own homes. This again is an activity which is immeasurably more interesting when practised by a group co-operating.

It is being more and more realised that experience of both practice and appreciation in the fine arts lies behind all that is truly educational in craftwork. In so far as the arts of form and colour deal more directly with the source of all beauty, so they supply that necessary corrective to rule-of-thumb formula and unquestioned tradition which tends to beset established craftsmanship. So, both for their own sake, and for the sake of their indirect influence, we are endeavouring to establish little groups for painting and drawing, wood-carving, sculpture and modelling under organised instruction.

In this connection, a most interesting experiment has been tried out on Tyneside, where a young artist from Armstrong College has small groups in three clubs practising stone-carving. The stone is free for the carrying, the tools are almost unbreakable and the students are heavy manual workers ; and out of all this roughness they are already achieving works of beauty.

Facilities for Book-study

With regard to " strictly educational " activity, which presumably means book-study and written work, there is probably no subject

on which assessments will vary so much, following the standpoint of the assessor. This much can be said. In so far as the club membership is composed of all types, so we have the literary student type, and facilities are provided for him. But if it is difficult to induce the unemployed man to take up handicraft, in which there is an immediate appeal either utilitarian or æsthetic, how much more difficult is it to induce him to engage in the serious study of books, which he probably has not looked at since he left school at 14, and even then perhaps read with pain and difficulty !

Nevertheless, even here the club organisation helps rather than hinders. Book-study comes more to life by being social. The lecture with questions, the wireless discussion group, the debate, are all beginnings which come about spontaneously, and there is nothing to prevent the serious individual student from being caught in this way.

The Club in Relation to Orthodox Education

It may be at this point that the professional educationist is growing impatient. This, it will be said, is all very well ; you have described the growth of a spontaneous movement in which there is a great deal of play, in which utilitarian and æsthetic handicrafts are hopelessly mixed up, and in which serious educational activity is very little distinguishable from entertainment. It all seems so improvised, so amateurish. In spite of all this organisation, this rushing to and fro, the fact still remains that 75 per cent. of the members of many unemployed clubs regard the club as a place in which to be idle. It is very interesting, it will be said, but what has it all to do with us, with our standards and categories and classes and regulations ?

Before answering this attack specifically, it may not be out of place to question our established educational categories. One could argue that nine-tenths of book-study is analytical and uncreative ; that to label one set of activities " cultural " when they are confined to books and appreciation, and another " vocational " because a certain amount of practical work is involved, is surely unsound. There is probably no institution in existence more truly "vocational" than the average secondary school, and sometimes the university. But there is no space to argue this out fully here.

Let us meet the critics on their own ground first. In every area where there are unemployed clubs, there are already established some recognised L.E.A. classes held in the club premises themselves. In several areas there are many such classes. This in itself is no bad record for five years' work.

Now, these classes would have been impossible but for the preliminary work done by this apparently haphazard and amateurish organisation, which, as was said in the beginning, has had to do everything in relation to one preoccupation, keeping the club together as a club, and not allowing it to be stampeded by this movement or that into something quite different. Moreover, however

many official classes are established, this will always be a preoccupation. This is exactly what we mean when we say that lecturers and instructors must have the " right touch."

Varied Activities of the Clubs

As a matter of fact, the organisation which has been concerned with the activities described here is not quite so casual and haphazard as it may seem to an outsider. There is certainly no confusion of thought and aim, but methods and standards are rightly fluid and elastic. At the residential centres, members from clubs are constantly attending courses of from three to six weeks in duration, and their activities by no means cease when the workshops close. There are games, play-actings, play-readings, discussion groups, debates, classes in English and letter writing, lectures from distinguished visitors, visits to places of cultural interest. In fact, these places are electric with true education.

The Training of Instructors

At these centres, also, our instructors are trained, that is, the amateur instructors we have ourselves discovered. There, again, they return every year for refresher courses, and these are becoming increasingly concerned with the whole technique of informal education. Then there is a planned programme of non-residential courses and schools held for one or two weeks each, in premises to which club members can come easily every day. These short schools begin in the autumn and continue at intervals until March, and the instruction is given partly by the instructors who regularly visit the clubs, and partly by specialists inside and outside the movement.

Finally, the movements of the instructors visiting the club are carefully planned according to the club's needs, and an eye is always kept on numbers attending and the quality of work done. Sometimes the numbers dwindle so low, from one cause or another, that the instructor's visits become scarcely worth while, and the visits are abandoned; but only for a time. Later on, the demand will spring up again and the service will be provided. The teaching, of course, is most formalised in the residential centres and in local schools. The degree to which the individual instructor can put over formal teaching in the individual club depends on many things, the most important being how far the members will take it, and they will not take it easily.

An outside observer, seeing an instructor at work in a club, with three men working, three more looking on, and radio and billiards in full swing in the same room, with half the tools and much of the material not present, may be inclined to criticise; but, again, it must be remembered that this man has one of the most difficult pieces of teaching in the world to do. He has to keep his group together, to raise standards and get results, but above all to keep his group together.

Conclusion

It is not suggested for one moment that a conscious attempt is being made to set up an independent amateur educational service in competition with the official system. All that it is hoped to do here, by this inside picture, is to open the eyes of official educationists to what the difficulties are and what has been done. Several questions remain to be explored. Is it worth while to provide an evangelical educational service for so few, even if otherwise they should hear no gospel ? If it is worth while, can it be done by an official educational service alone, acting within the limits of statutory regulations already laid down ? If not, how, and along what lines, can officialdom co-operate more continuously with those who have opened the campaign and are still bearing the brunt of it ?

Such questions admit of no facile answer, and none can be attempted here. But, for what it is worth, this final reflection is put down. The results so far obtained, and the promise of even better results in the future, have been brought about by a movement organised to concern itself with a no-man's-land in our social life, a no-man's-land which inevitably seems to lie just outside the boundaries of statutory authority. In its progress that movement has achieved a certain identity. That identity can be easily dissipated. What has to be considered is whether such dissipation would be all gain.

G. A. STEVENS.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Community Centres

The Problem of New Housing Estates

ONE of the most interesting and most important developments in the period following the war has been the Housing Estate. From 1914 to 1919 the building of houses was practically at a standstill. In the sixteen years which followed, nearly two and a half million houses were built (almost half of them with State assistance), and as a result approximately a quarter of the population of England and Wales has been moved into houses which were not in existence when the war ended. Many of these houses were built to make up the normal arrears of the war years; but the development of the social conscience had brought about an increased demand for the clearance of slum dwellings, and the rehousing of the displaced occupants—often in some more congenial area—has been undertaken on a large scale. The shortage of houses was most acute in the large centres of population, which were the first to undertake the construction of housing estates. Usually a site in the country beyond the municipal boundary was selected, and the housing department of the local authority laid out an estate at a certain number of houses to the acre. The results varied considerably, and whilst many estates were well planned in the light of the experience of the time, serious mistakes were undoubtedly made in planning others. Some consisted entirely of houses with gardens and roads, without any open space for games or recreation. On some, the ecclesiastical authority and the education authority were unable to obtain sites conveniently situated and properly planned, so that churches and schools were inconveniently placed. Shops, places of amusement, libraries and clinics were often overlooked, and the real significance of the provision of public and essential services was not generally realised until local authorities had some years' experience of these new housing arrangements.

"The new estate," said Professor Ernest Barker, "is a new settlement of people, newly brought together, with no ties one with another; a bleak life at first for its members, a solitary life, without the intimacy of the slum life from which they have been taken." The population of the housing estate was drawn largely from within the heart of the towns where both adults and juveniles were often members of parish activities, youth organisations, political clubs and so on, living within comparatively easy reach of public libraries, health clinics, amusements and shops. When they were moved to these outlying housing estates, the distance to their former amenities was generally too great to travel without transport, and the cost of that was often prohibitive; so that dis-

tance deprived many people of their former leisure-time activities and left them with gardens and conversation only to occupy them.

The expression of their needs came not only through the representation of their ward councillors but spontaneously through the formation of estate committees, community councils and tenants' associations or similarly named voluntary bodies. They expressed their needs by resolutions and correspondence in the press; and by one means or another established premises for use as club rooms, for dances and whist drives, lectures, meetings and recreation generally. They were often helped by voluntary organisations, such as the local council for social service or a university settlement; or by a national body, such as the City Parochial Foundation, the Pilgrim Trust or the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust. The Carnegie Trust provided £10,000 over a period of five years for salaries or honoraria to secretaries of community associations. The Pilgrim Trust gave the major portion of the cost of a community centre in London, assisted two centres in Liverpool at a total cost of £4,000 and gave other grants. In one or two areas the local authority took action and erected a building, or aided the erection of a building, for use as a Community Centre. But, generally speaking, nothing was done by authorities to exercise their powers under the Housing Act of 1925, Section 107 (1), which authorised them, with the consent of the Minister of Health, to provide "buildings or land, which, in the opinion of the Minister, will serve a beneficial purpose in connection with the requirements of the persons for whom the housing accommodation is provided." Where schools had been provided for senior children, some education authorities had opened evening classes, mainly for junior grades of evening work. Where provision was made for adults, many were attracted, but, generally speaking, it was not until after the reorganisation of schools had begun, and there was a change in the general attitude towards leisure-time occupation by local authorities, that these evening classes developed into institutes and became an important part of the community's life.

Board of Education Report on Youth Community Centres

The organisations which provide especially for juveniles, such as the Scouts, Guides, Brigades, etc., were seriously exercised by the loss in membership which followed the removal of population and by the impossibility of starting new branches in the areas to which the people had moved, owing mainly to lack of premises, but also to lack of local leaders. The Juvenile Organisations Committee of the Board of Education carried out a review of the situation in England and Wales, and published a report in 1936, entitled *Report on the Need for Youth Community Centres on New Housing Estates.* This report showed that the position as a whole was most unsatisfactory, and especially grave so far as juveniles were concerned. It is interesting to know that as a result of that report,

some forty-four proposals for new Community Centres were put up to Whitehall within a year. The report said :

" For the want of suitable buildings work among juveniles is gravely hampered, and on some of the estates is hardly in evidence. While, therefore, new houses have been built in very large numbers, there is a danger that the policy of providing a satisfactory environment for those hitherto living in slums will not be completely fulfilled unless provision is made for the social welfare of dwellers on the new estates. Such provision is a corollary of the housing policy, since these estates have themselves come into being as a means of rehousing those who have hitherto lived in unsatisfactory conditions. Little imagination is required to realise that it is not enough merely to rebuild slum houses elsewhere, but that there must be adequate means whereby life can be made enjoyable, co-operative and progressive. This ideal can never be realised if the only rooms larger than working-class parlours are to be found in churches, cinemas, schools and public-houses. It would be a dangerous form of economy, in order to save a few thousand pounds, to deprive so many of the adolescent population of the cultural and civilising influences that organisations working among juveniles are so well qualified to give."

After discussing the financial position of the average estate dweller, the report continued :

" It is this need for premises which presents the first difficulty of our problem. In ordinary urban areas juvenile organisations can at least find some premises, however inadequate, capable of housing a large number of their members. In the new housing estates, excluding elementary schools, such premises scarcely ever exist. It is natural, therefore, to look to the schools as a possible solution of the problem, particularly as this would be a much cheaper course than the provision of a separate building. At the same time the disadvantages of this solution must be faced. The schools naturally were not built with a view to being used as Community Centres ; in particular there is little or no storage accommodation, and rarely would it be possible for a club to have a room it could call its own in which to keep its equipment. Moreover, many members of youth organisations would much prefer to meet in some premises other than their old school buildings, however far removed the activities of the organisation were from those of an ordinary school. Further, there are many other calls on the buildings of the school, and to use them for young persons would often deprive the children actually attending the school of the use of the buildings as play centres ; it would also interfere with their use for evening classes and for other purposes. In short, schools are frequently not available, and are never entirely suitable, to meet the need of premises for voluntary organisations.

" While, therefore, in some areas (especially if the school is still to be built and could accordingly be planned to some extent for its dual purpose) the use of the school premises may, with the co-operation of the local education authority and the approval of the Board of Education, go a little way towards solving the problem we are considering, we are convinced that in most estates nothing short of new buildings, specially built as Community Centres, will prove a lasting solution."

The report went on to outline a scheme for a model Community Centre, containing hall, gymnasium, recreative rooms, workshop, craft rooms, library, offices and canteen or kitchen. It was suggested that such a building might be erected by the County or County Borough Council under powers provided by various Acts

of Parliament, and be placed in the hands of a warden appointed and paid by the local education authority. He would be responsible for the letting, care and maintenance of the rooms used by the youth and other organisations, and would foster and co-ordinate the social, recreational and educational activities of his Centre. Alternatively, the building might be left in the hands of the local Juvenile Organisations Committee, aided by the local education authority under Section 86 of the Education Act, 1921. In conclusion, the report stated :

> " On every estate so far built there is evidence of a desire to develop fellowship and to build up a good social life, and a latent power to help. There is fine material in the people and a notably strong determination to make their estates places of which to be proud. But there is one outstanding need that holds up all their efforts to give practical expression of this determination through corporate activities, viz., a Community Centre in which they can be focused. We are convinced that if these estates are to develop healthily and to contribute something new and valuable to our city life, this need must be met."

Examples of Centres of Activity

It will probably be worth while to examine, in the light of local conditions, which vary so much all over the country, a selection of examples of the centres of activity, which may be classed as Community Centres, now in existence. The Juvenile Organisations Committee Report contained an Appendix giving some details of the position on housing estates of over 2,000 houses in a few big cities. Whilst this report shows how disappointingly little has been achieved and how much must yet remain to be attempted, it shows that some vigorous and sound experiments are being conducted. At Allen's Cross, Birmingham (2,250 houses) there is a Community Centre consisting of a small hall and two committee rooms. It was paid for by private donors and is let to the community associations (federating adult and juvenile organisations) at a nominal rent. A Youth Section meets weekly. A similar centre exists at Weoley Castle (2,600 houses) with twelve affiliated bodies in the association, including boys' and girls' clubs, Scouts and Cubs, Guides and Brownies, sports section, handicrafts club, Band of Hope, and Youth Group of the League of Nations Union. At Liverpool, on the Dovecot Estate (3,000 houses), the Liverpool Committee of Social Service, with help from the Pilgrim Trust, acquired a suburban house on the edge of the estate which has been used as a centre by various organisations, and boys' and girls' clubs have been started. On the Larkhill Estate (4,000 houses), accommodation is provided in an old mansion which is the property of the City Corporation. It is let to the Tenants' Association. On the Downham Estate, London (6,100 houses) a Community Association links over forty adult and juvenile organisations, which use the Centre and a sports ground leased at a nominal rental from the London County Council. There is also on the same site

a boys' club which has been erected by the Oxford and Bermondsey Club with the help of a grant from the City Parochial Foundation, and the Y.W.C.A. has built and equipped a club centre. At Manchester, on the Newton Heath Estate, the " Guild of Neighbours " has erected a one-room hut with a small kitchen with the financial help of the University Settlement; and this is used for children's play hour, boys' and girls' clubs, a junior library ; and the Wilbraham Estate Association has erected a semi-permanent building with hall, stage and ante-rooms, with the help of a contribution from the Public Health Committee of the City Council on account of its use as a Mothers' and Children's Welfare Clinic. At Sheffield, on the Manor Estate, there is a Community Association, and a Centre erected by the local authority. It consists of a hall (for concerts, dances, drama and music), common room, committee room, lounge and kitchen. Adjacent are bowling greens and tennis courts run and controlled by the Corporation. There is club work for children and a girls' club.

The Archbishop of York, at the formal opening in 1933 of the William Crane School at Nottingham (on the Apsley Estate, 3 700 houses), said : " As a rule, housing estates reveal a total lack of social cohesion. In this school is contained the idea of building the communal life around its natural centre, the school. Here we have a really beautiful building, laid out in a way which conduces to the utmost possible degree to the healthy development of those educated there, so that the mind and the spirit, along with the body, might go forward to effective service for the common good."

This school is the centre of an unusual experiment. It was at the outset planned for the dual purpose of providing for the educational needs of children, adolescents and adults, and of acting as a social centre for the inhabitants of the Apsley Housing Estate. A circular site, approximately half a mile in circumference, was allocated for school purposes in the centre of the estate. The school, built on this site around a central playing-field of two and a half acres, provides accommodation for 3,000 children in six departments in well-planned modern buildings. Full advantage has been taken of the special facilities offered by these buildings for educational and social meetings of adolescent and adult residents on the estate. Meetings take place every day in the week throughout the year in some of the fifty-three classrooms, in the two large halls, in the canteen or in the gymnasia. Each of the two large halls has sufficient chairs to seat 900, while the gymnasia can each accommodate 600 persons. The greatest use of the buildings is made by two Evening Institutes, one for women and girls, the other for men and boys, conducted by the education authority, and by the self-governing Social Centre, which is composed of residents on the estate. Many other organisations use the buildings each week, the Church of England and the Methodist Church hold their Sunday Schools in the school on Sundays, the Co-operative Society and its Guilds meet on two weekdays ; the Y.W.C.A., the Scouts,

the Guides and the Old Boys' and Old Girls' Associations hold frequent meetings, while occasional lectures are given by the W.E.A., and the Extra-mural Department of the University College. Political organisations constantly make use of the rooms and halls for their meetings.

One of the largest and most important Community Centres has been erected at Slough. The Chairman of the Slough Estates, Ltd., in conjunction with other employers of labour at Slough, formed the Slough Social Fund, Ltd., the members of which contributed over £30,000 towards a project estimated to cost about £48,000. The buildings, now erected, consist of two blocks, each containing club rooms, gymnasia, games rooms, libraries, lounges, canteen, etc., one for adults and one for juveniles. There is a detached concert hall to seat 1,000 people fitted for film and stage performances, and there is a covered swimming-bath of Olympic size. The ground round the buildings is laid out with tennis courts, bowling greens and gardens. Playing-fields are to be added—possibly some 20 to 30 acres. The promoters presented the Education Authority of Buckinghamshire with a site for a Nursery School, and this has been erected and will accommodate 80 or more children. The Education Authority has also made a grant of £2,500 to capital cost of the Community Centre, and will make an annual grant of £1,500 towards maintenance. The Centre is to be to a large extent self-supporting, members paying a small subscription, and revenue being earned on entertainments, canteen and so on. The advisory committee represents youth organisations, adult organisations, social service, education, playing-fields and physical training.

Another remarkable experiment in community work is the Pioneer Health Centre at Peckham. This began in 1926 primarily as a means " to achieve continuous observation of the ordinary individual in his ordinary surroundings," and to direct the parents in the field covered by the range of their activity and inter-activity in reference to infant welfare and the nurture of a family. After preliminary experiments, a fine modern building was opened in 1932 containing medical equipment, nursery, swimming-bath, gymnasium, theatre, library, music room, dance floor, and space for games of skill as well as for social gatherings, and a cafeteria. Membership is by families, and includes a periodic health overhaul and the use of all the amenities of the centre. The members obtain not only all the benefit and enjoyment of a strong community life in which the whole family takes part, but the inestimable advantage of the discovery in its earliest stages of any disease which may be affecting them, or of any state of the body which may predispose them to disease. But the mere prevention of disease will not give health, and health is here regarded as something to be developed, demanding technique and equipment. The Peckham experiment aims to discover something of this technique.

In the space of a short survey it is not possible to give particulars

of any but the most significant of the experiments now being conducted. But mention may be made of two others with unusual characteristics. The Clydebank Mutual Service Association is preparing to found a Community Centre with the usual provision for communal activity, but with emphasis on the health side by the inclusion of rheumatism, orthopædic and child-guidance clinics. The Carnegie Community Centre at Wigan (originally called the Institute of Leisure) aims at an unusual combination of activities for juveniles and young adults of both sexes, joining statutory provision of the Ministry of Labour, the Unemployment Assistance Board and the Board of Education, with voluntary efforts through all the branches of the Juvenile Organisations Committee. The building is to receive a special grant from the Carnegie Trustees for the inclusion of rooms for headquarters of each of the youth organisations of the town, provision which is very badly needed in almost every area. This Centre will not cater for new housing areas only, but for the whole of the town.

Principles and Lines of Development

The total number of Community Centres is still small, but in the examples selected, some common principles and lines of development can be seen. The Centres have been shaped and moulded to fit local circumstances, with natural variety of form and function according to the ideas and needs of the communities they serve. Their growth has undoubtedly been retarded by the limits of voluntary effort and finance, but slow growth has been sure growth. As usual, the aims of the pioneers are now receiving a wider recognition. Some local authorities have agreed to aid existing schemes by paying in part or in full the salaries of secretaries, a burden previously borne in large part by the Carnegie Trustees. Education authorities have undertaken in many cases to provide instruction in physical training, craft work and other activities at the centres by supplying teachers under the Further Education Regulations and developing the Centres' work in conjunction with evening institutes. The evening institutes themselves have taken upon them a new orientation in the last ten years, partly as a result of the Hadow Report and its consequent reorganisation of schools and new prospect in education, and partly as a result of the new attitude towards leisure activity which crystallised out of the anxiety for the unemployed and part-time workers during the years of depression. All over the country now, in town and in village, new or remodelled and attractive school buildings are the centres of extraordinary activity in the winter evenings—activities of a practical, educational, social and recreative nature.

The Value of Community Centres

The value of Community Centres lies primarily in the provision which they make for the leisure time of those who use them. But

they are also important experiments in self-expression and self-government. Excepting where they are conducted wholly by local authorities, they are self-governing, and in many cases self-supporting. Where financial assistance is needed, it is important that the spontaneity and variety of the Centres should not be curtailed. Some local education authorities realise this, and they do regard the centres as experiments in self-education, valuable adjuncts to the existing system of further education and another means to the maintenance of culture. The Government has promoted a Physical Training and Recreation Act, primarily for the development of the physical side of the work of voluntary bodies, but also for the concomitant functions, and has set up central and area committees for the disbursement of grants for approved schemes of development. By this means gymnasia, swimming-pools, playing-fields, club rooms and other amenities will become available, not only for those who live upon new housing estates, but for those also who live in the older parts of built-up areas, and in the larger villages. "Houses," said Sir Kingsley Wood, "whether they be new or old, do not alone make homes. Our ultimate aim . . . is the establishment of a healthy and happy life." This can most likely be achieved through the joint activity of those voluntary workers, elected and endowed with statutory powers, who compose the local authorities and represent the State; and those other voluntary workers, dependent upon voluntary efforts and funds, who compose those organisations which represent society and which have done so much for the social development of this country.

LESLIE R. MISSEN.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

The Public Library and Adult Education

MOST public libraries since the war have been so fully occupied in an attempt to overtake enormously increased demands upon their services, and to extend and remould facilities and organisation to cope with them, that they have had little time to study, and less to assist and encourage, those activities in the body social which influence and stimulate the flow of ideas and consequent book demand. Year after year statistics recorded amazing increases in public use, until librarians themselves began to wonder where this flood tide was heading, and whether it was not carrying the service away from its fundamental purpose to the disadvantage and obscuring of that purpose. There are now indications that the onrush has reached high-water mark, and the time has arrived when it is necessary to make a re-examination and restatement of the function and policy of the service in the light of modern conditions.

Primarily, the claim of the public library to the support of the community has always rested on the quality rather than the quantity of its contribution to the life of the community, and if the standard is to be maintained and spread over an increasing area, the educational and cultural purpose of the service must be reaffirmed, and every non-essential and unfruitful activity pruned. This in no way suggests a limitation of the recreational side of library service, but rather that cognisance must be taken of the modern facilities for the cheap supply of many of the lighter forms of purely recreational literature, and a higher standard of book provision in this particular insisted upon.

Comparison with Pre-war Conditions

Though the pre-war emphasis was on the accumulation of stocks and the establishment of libraries, the public library has never been unmindful of the variety of the public's demands upon its particular service, and one recalls the establishment of children's libraries long before libraries in most elementary and secondary schools were anything more than a name and a hope ; the formation of collections of illustrations, commercial and technical departments, popular lecture series and information bureaux. These excursions into extended service were, unfortunately, for the few and favoured, and most were severely handicapped in the efficient prosecution of their purpose, whilst for the majority of the libraries it was a case of hoping some day to meet in adequate fashion these ever-growing demands. In the light of to-day's experience, the problems of yesterday seem comparatively simple : a quickly growing but still comparatively small reading public and a body of literature within reasonable

compass: after-school education, both vocational and cultural, limited in scope and appeal; business, industry and commerce not visualising the need for any considerable use of books, and few attempts at organising facilities for the encouragement of an interest in ideas and personal culture in that vast majority whose formal education ceased at 14 years of age or under. A simple pattern compared with to-day's complicated problem, when everyone reads and apparently must read, and the passing of eyes along lines of print seems to hold a fascination, an almost fatal fascination to those many who use it as an escape from thought and action rather than as incentive and inspiration; when almost every phase of human endeavour has its bibliography, and the output of books of all kinds climbs annually to totals beyond sense or reason. It is a different world the public library faces to-day, and one in which even the greatly increased financial support given to libraries, and the remarkable development of service facilities, does not permit the old general and indeterminate approach.

Need for a Re-evaluation of Purpose

For the first time in the history of the movement a position has developed in which a re-evaluation of demand on a different basis becomes imperative if quality of service is not to be swamped in quantity. This evaluation requires a careful investigation of local conditions and factors outside the scope of this survey,[1] but it necessarily includes a study of all those influences, mostly of post-war growth, which are motivating and activating the further and continued education of the adult, in the widest possible sense. The main aim of all libraries is to acquire and maintain an efficient stock of books, but that is a means, not an end. Librarianship to-day must go farther and must interest itself in any movement which promotes the development of thought and study, the circulation of ideas and the creation of intellectual needs. It must see these movements clearly, co-operate with them closely, and never allow any mass demand for less desirable purposes to hinder or retard the assistance which these movements so urgently require from the library. Their needs are the very backbone of the quality demand on library service, and upon their healthy and speedy growth depend the increasing value, importance and necessity of the public library.

In asking for a wider policy from public libraries in their co-operation with the new world of adult education one is conscious of the many limitations under which most services are working, and also of the advances already made along the lines suggested below, by the more fortunate and enlightened administrations, but despite and because of these one does plead earnestly and urgently for a more active outlook by librarians and their authorities on their responsibility to the forces of adult education. The age-old tradition of librarianship of accumulating and storing books, and of

[1] See McColvin's *Libraries and the Public*.

defending the book and learning against the barbarian, is moribund, but it lingers on and dies hard. To-day, the book is a common thing, a common tool and a general need, and the librarian and his authority have only begun when books have been secured and made accessible. They *must* concern themselves with the world outside the library, and know and thoroughly understand the forces at work encouraging, stimulating and vitalising the flow and interchange of ideas. They are the administrators of a public need, and not a superior type of store-house keeper.

Relation of Libraries to Adult Education

A recognition of the growth of adult education in this country, and an understanding of its many manifestations, national and local, formal and informal, is the first essential, to be followed by the closest possible co-operation. The extent and form of this co-operation depend on a number of factors, particularly financial resources, staff and premises, but it ought to be realised that adult education to-day is the brightest promise of a realisation of that hope of the pioneers and founders of public libraries, a great community demand for cultural service, and whatever is necessary to its successful achievement must be striven for unceasingly. All individuals interested in the furtherance of adult education enterprises should feel assured that their efforts will receive the practical sympathy and encouragement of the local public librarian and his authority. After all, public libraries were for many years almost the only form of personal cultural development available to the general mass of adults, and now that other organisations and influences are at work close association is a reasonable and logical procedure.

The library's major responsibility is books, and the Adult Education Committee's Report, No. 11, *Adult Education and the Local Authority*, lays down a sound policy for co-operation in this respect, which requires no elaboration here. The wise librarian will do his utmost to implement that policy to the fullest extent in his own area. But there is another angle to the question of book provision which is not so obvious. Stanley Jast, ex-chief librarian of Manchester, insisted continually throughout the post-war deluge of demand that it was an axiom of public librarianship that the *best* books should be bought and readers found for them. Adult education is finding and creating these readers, is canalising and stimulating demand, and a clear understanding of their actual and potential wants is fundamental to successful book selection. Anything which will transform that blind faith and hope in which so many good books are purchased into a reasonable certainty of use should be welcomed.

Need for Library Relations Officer

Allied to supply must be an adequate information service to adult education of the books that are available, and no activity should be

permitted to remain in ignorance of the literary resources of the library on the subjects of its interest. As the relationship between the two services grows, the library will probably find it necessary to detail one officer to concern himself solely with the maintenance and increase of the connections, a " library relations officer."

The Library as Meeting-place for Societies

There are, in most towns, many small societies devoted to formal and informal education, and to matters civic, social and cultural, meeting here and there, in surroundings not conducive to expansion, with little money and a very limited sphere of influence. To get these societies together under one roof, meeting under conditions which would enable them to do their best work, alongside other groups of enlightened, courageous and endeavouring individuals, in the one place in the town—the public library—which has the greatest potentialities for the recruitment of fresh adherents, would do much to increase and strengthen the valuable and very necessary contribution they have to make to the body social. Lack of funds and accommodation has handicapped the average library in its co-operation in this desirable feature, but signs are not wanting that the necessity is realised. The provision of fully-equipped lecture halls with stage fittings, cloak and ante-rooms, and rooms for the accommodation of small groups is gaining ground. In a number of towns, classes organised by the Workers' Educational Association and other classes meet at the library ; B.B.C. discussion groups are organised ; debating and antiquarian societies ; the Dickens Fellowship ; camera and music societies make it their headquarters, and art and other exhibitions are arranged. The library should be the headquarters of all local cultural activities, and it is not asking too much for funds to provide the necessary facilities. If the current national drive for physical fitness means anything ultimately valuable, it must be accompanied by as sincere an effort towards mental development. A small proportion of the funds to be expended on gymnasia, baths and open spaces would equip every public library with all the facilities required for adult education.

Conclusion

To what extent librarians and their staffs should actively engage in the work and organisation of adult education is still debatable. There is a considerable body of opinion which would confine the librarian to purely bibliothecal purposes, and indeed in most districts the shortage of staffs permits no other course. It is unwise, therefore, to suggest any hard-and-fast rule. To initiate, encourage and assist such new activities as B.B.C. discussion groups, cinema societies, music clubs, play-reading circles, etc., as opportunity arises is surely a reasonable proceeding, for their potentiality of book use of sound standard is as great as the old popular lecture series and the local history and antiquarian society. The association of

the librarian and members of his staff with such activities would assist the service to a better understanding of their requirements, would facilitate book use, and as much as anything would promote that feeling of confidence in the library's real and lively concern in the human handling of interests and ideas as distinct from a secluded preoccupation with books purely as books. Where the library has the necessary accommodation and equipment—and all should have it—it is surely sound sense to make an effort to secure the fullest use. That the authority should be responsible for their permanent maintenance is not advocated, but the assistance of valuable cultural movements in their early stages to a position where public appreciation and support will enable them to develop their contribution from their own strength and initiative is surely a desirable and wise proceeding.

Finally, the responsibility for a wider policy of co-operation does not rest solely with the library. The service of the library is largely a personal one, and the satisfaction it gives is individual, dispersed throughout the public, and difficult to mobilise and make vocal. It is one of the few local services which has neither Government department nor commercial interest seriously concerned with its development, nor any social welfare society supporting its aims. It should not be left to fight a lone battle, but should be assisted vigorously by the personnel of adult education nationally and locally. The progress of the library to date is due, more than is realised, to the product of adult education in the past, and the possibility of its future evolution and increased contribution to the success of that movement will be helped immeasurably if interested individuals and societies will use all the power that lies in their hands to influence local authorities in the desired direction of improved and extended services and premises.

EDWARD SYDNEY.

CHAPTER NINE

Adult Religious Education in the Church of England

THE spread of materialistic conceptions of life in recent years has caused men to place too much reliance on physical and intellectual resources, and to become less susceptible to the influence of the spiritual values of life. Thoughtful Christians are therefore beginning to realise the urgent need for a more intelligent and deeper knowledge of God and His purpose for the world. Further, there is an increasing appreciation of the importance of viewing education in all its aspects as a life-long process, and this applies in a special degree to religious education with its objective, the development of the whole personality for fullness of life in the service of God and man.

Within the Church of England, there has been a growing concern, both in unofficial enterprises and in more official pronouncements and movements, about the teaching office of the Church. This apprehension was intensified by the experiences of the War and the National Mission ; it was keenly realised that the Church was failing to provide for grown men and women an education in the faith at least equal to that being provided in secular subjects by the University Extension Movement, adult schools and the Workers' Educational Association. To meet this demand the Church Tutorial Classes Association was founded in 1918, " to build up a large body of men and women able to give a reason for the hope that is in them." In 1925, a Teaching Church Group was formed to stimulate and promote adult religious education. In a book, *The Teaching Church*, issued by this Group in 1928, the writers pointed out that Christianity insists, no less than Plato, that the only real knowledge is " the knowledge that interprets what it knows " ; hence the value, first, of religion to education for the sake of the standards of judgment which religion suggests ; and secondly, of education to religion for the sake of the emphasis which true education will always lay on the importance of intellectual thoroughness. Adult religious education on the right lines must immensely stimulate the conviction that human life is purposeful, that its true end is co-operation with the purposes of God. The Church is God's university.

The Archbishops' Pastoral Letter, 1929

In the meanwhile, the Church Assembly had taken up the question, and, in 1924, had requested the Archbishops to appoint a Commission to enquire into the position of religious education in all grades and to formulate suggestions. Before the Commission so appointed reported, the Archbishops, in the spring of

1929, issued a Pastoral Letter exhorting clergy and laity to systematic study. In the course of this Letter they wrote : " Our aim is very definite. It is to ask all members of the Church, clergy and laity alike, to make some continuous study of the Gospel of God's revelation of Himself in Christ, of the Bible and the Creeds wherein that Gospel is set forth, part of the corporate life of every parish throughout the land." The Archbishops urged that every parish should become a " school of sacred learning."

A response to the Archbishops' Pastoral Letter took the form of what is known as " The Way of Renewal," schemes for study and prayer, primarily for groups of clergy, being issued from time to time by an Advisory Committee.

The Archbishops' message was endorsed at the Lambeth Conference of 1930, both by the Committee on the Christian Doctrine of God and by the Conference as a whole. " If, however, our vision of God's glory is thus to be renewed, it will involve for most of us, clergy and laity alike, a new readiness to read and ponder afresh, with some of the many aids which modern research gives us, the Bible and, in particular, the New Testament. It will also involve a new readiness to acquaint ourselves, according to our capacity, with some of the best thinking of our time about the meaning of life, and to identify ourselves, as best we may, in thought and conduct, with some of life's more serious endeavours. Not many men are called to be students, but all can do something to learn and to think intelligently about the religion which they profess and about its bearing on the life around them " (Encyclical Letter). To this end the Conference resolved that there was need for the Church to renew and redirect its teaching office by a fresh insistence on the duty of thinking and learning, by recalling the clergy to a fuller sense of their duty in the exercise of the teaching office, by the provision of opportunities for prayer and study for the laity, by a new emphasis upon the appeal to the mind, and by providing for both clergy and laity opportunities for deepening of the spiritual life.

In October 1929, the Commission already referred to, of which Sir Henry Hadow was Chairman, had presented its Report—a most valuable survey of the whole field. The Commission emphasised the essential unity of the problems of such education : they were the constituent members of one large and complex question, and the solution of each depended in great measure on its correlation with the rest.

Foundation of the Central Educational Council

For this and other reasons the Commission recommended that the Church Assembly should call into being a central authority which would be able to deal with every branch of religious education. Such a Central Council should focus educational opinion in the Church, consolidate its policy, and watch and co-ordinate

its practice. It would be closely related to the Church Assembly, and would be the body through which the Church as a whole would review, systematise and administer her educational work. In the region of adult religious education, the Commission stated, there appeared to be an emphatic desire on the part of those engaged for an Education Council of the Church ; and for the purpose of publicity, advice and co-ordination a central bureau of information was needed.

For this object the Commission recommended that the National Society (which, established by Royal Charter in 1817, has been the principal organisation of the Church for dealing with elementary education) should be asked to obtain a fresh Charter enabling it to become the Central Educational Council of the Church, comprehending all branches of religious education within its scope. This proposal was approved by the Church Assembly, and by a supplemental Charter, dated April 14th, 1934, the National Society was charged with " the promotion, encouragement, and support of religious education in accordance with the principles of the Church of England among all Our subjects living in England and Wales, irrespective of age or degree."

The Central Council thus instituted is, therefore, charged, *inter alia*, with the duty of fostering the religious education of adults " irrespective of age or degree." Towards this end the Council has established a Higher Education Committee and appointed a Director of Religious Education. One of his functions is to relate the education of adults to the earlier stages of education amongst children and young people, and in the secondary schools and universities.

The Church Tutorial Classes Association

In fulfilling this task the Council have to utilise and unite the experience and activities of bodies already engaged in this field, and one important step in this direction is the affiliation to the Council of the Church Tutorial Classes Association, whose headquarters were transferred, in September 1937, to the office of the Council. The work of the Association deserves fuller notice here.

The Association's classes are conducted generally on the lines of the University Tutorial Classes system, and include three-year, one-year and terminal classes. A class consists normally of ten to thirty members. The tutor must be a member of the Church of England, except in certain special cases, and qualified to teach adults. In the winter of 1936–7, 173 classes were at work—a net increase of 35 over the figures of the previous year. The Association issues textbooks and other literature and arranges conferences for tutors and members of classes. Co-operation with universities is under discussion.

Educational work forms part of the functions of the Missionary

Council of the Church, and must form a fundamental element in evangelism. The Central Education Council is therefore taking counsel with recognised bodies concerned with missionary, evangelistic and sociological aspects of religion.

Scheme for training Clergy and Laity

But an advance in adult education is dependent on an adequate standard of leadership and teaching by the clergy and by laymen required to serve as lecturers, group-leaders and the like. A memorandum on the training of ordinands and younger clergy in the principles and methods of teaching has been submitted by the Central Council to the Commission on Training for the Ministry : and the more effectual supply of qualified laymen is one of the urgent problems to which the Council will devote itself.

Elasticity and variety of method, the use of the most modern media (including the film and wireless), the relation of religious to secular education (a fallacious but convenient distinction)—these and other problems have to be studied and applied in consultation with those best able to advise. It is in view to organise research and to make the office of the Council a centre of information. A regular liaison has been established with the Institute of Christian Education, and also a system of joint consultation with the National Council of the Free Churches.

Progress of Work in the Dioceses

So far we have referred almost entirely to central organisation. But it is clearly recognised that it is in the dioceses and the parishes that the actual development of religious education has to be evolved, and is, in fact, in progress. But, even if space allowed, it would be impracticable to describe the various operations and systems at work. It is hoped that the more effective interchange of knowledge and experience both among the dioceses and between the dioceses and the Central Council, and among the bodies within each diocese, will promote the purpose in view. If it should be found possible for adult education in every diocese to be the special concern of an appointed person or a representative committee, and in every parish is made the acknowledged duty of priest and parochial church council, an immense advance will result.

Further, outside the normal framework of the Church are groups of adults whose special circumstances are to be met ; and perhaps most important of these are the young men and women in universities and colleges. Their case was the subject of a chapter in the Commission's report, and will be one of the concerns of the new Central Council.

The Need for Financial Assistance

If progress is not at present more marked in the great undertaking which the Church Assembly has blessed, one cause is the

breadth and intricacy of the whole problem, and another is the lack of necessary funds for active development. The Assembly has not hitherto subsidised the work (though future aid from their budget is expected), and the contributions of the supporters of the National Society are at present in the main directed to the cause of the Church elementary schools. No great expense is required ; but even thought and counsel can have no effective result without financial resources. In an Appeal issued by the Archbishops in 1936 specific reference is made to adult education, and the following quotations are relevant :

> " The opportunities in the fields of higher education generally, including adolescent and adult education and the secondary schools, in which now lies the centre of gravity of the whole system of national education, are very great. They have too long been comparatively neglected ; and, in view of the changed and rapidly changing economic and social conditions of the present time, it is essential that they be adequately made use of without delay ; otherwise they may pass and never return. . . .
>
> " It is obvious that, if the reconstituted National Society is to carry out effectively the work thus briefly outlined—work the absolute necessity of which is quite beyond the question—the Society must be provided with adequate funds. Its present resources are inadequate for its existing work, and it would not be easy to set a limit to what it could usefully administer in the efficient discharge of its enlarged responsibilities if the funds were forthcoming. . . .
>
> " We trust that our appeal will meet with a really generous response. . . ."

Conclusion

One concluding thought. Religious education is not simply a matter of fuller and more accurate knowledge, or even more assured belief. Throughout the earnest consideration given to the whole question has run the constant theme of the weaving together of learning and worship—the deeper understanding of the nature and purpose of God ever combined with adoration and communion. " All the teaching should have as its ultimate aim to worship God " (Archbishops' Commission). " Worship, study, service, individual or corporate, is a unity. Education cannot be broken up into separate parts, having no relation to one another, because education is concerned with all that we may know of God " (*Way of Renewal*, Paper No. 19).

" We are further convinced that the true presentation is to be tested by the impulse it creates to worship. Religious thought and study cannot be divorced from the devotional life. And the quality of a man's worship and prayers must always depend on his conception of God " (Lambeth Conference, 1930).

R. E. PARSONS.

CHAPTER TEN

Adult Religious Education in the Free Churches

IT is true in all spheres of adult education that formal and organised courses of study constitute but a small part of any picture that is meant to be complete. That is not necessarily an indication of poor quality or unformed purpose. The kind of discussion reflected in Plato's Dialogues could scarcely be called casual or uneducative, yet the suggestion that there was, or ought to [illegible]e been, an organisation for promoting and regulating such [illegible]onversations is laughable. Listening to classical music or acting in a privately produced play of the finer type is obviously a means of culture, though the one may be a purely individual pursuit and the other may involve no conscious aim save that of recreation. What is difficult to the point of impossibility is to draw a clear line between unsystematised activities which are educative in their effect and those which merely afford amusement or prevent leisure time from being empty and boring. A similar Gordian knot presents itself when a hard-and-fast distinction is sought between adult education and political or religious propaganda: perhaps all that can be said is that while the living motive in study or discussion may be a special interest, this becomes pure propaganda, and destructive of genuine education, only when relevant facts are left out or preconceived opinions made into standards of judgment.

Free Church men and women as individuals have for a century past been no less vigorous than other citizens as pioneers, leaders or rank and file members of the adult education movement in many of its more general forms, as the records of Adult Schools, People's Colleges, Social and Educational Settlements, University Extension and the Workers' Educational Association show. Little of their experience has been taken back into the churches themselves, however, and utilised in the shaping of educational activities there. The proportion of specific and clearly formulated adult educational effort to diffused and unco-ordinated activities with a certain degree of cultural value is smaller in the case of the Free Churches than in that of the Church of England or the Roman Catholic Church. With two exceptions, the Free Churches appear to have no central committees which take cognisance of adult religious education, nor have they developed any joint policy or programme in this field. "Young people's work" has been greatly emphasised, and the societies thus described have included members of all ages between 15 or 16 and 25 or 30, but direct education has generally been only one among several very diversified undertakings in a typical guild of fellowship. The great missionary societies have done much through study circles, summer schools and other recognised

forms of educational organisation, not only to enlighten members of their constituencies and evoke enthusiastic support for their work, but also to stimulate fruitful study and discussion of the history, literature, religion and contemporary life and problems of Asiatic, African and Polynesian peoples. The local and central training of Sunday school teachers, particularly through the residential and extra-mural courses provided by Westhill College, has proved for many young adults the gateway to something far wider and richer than the art of teaching as such. In some parts of England, as of course in Wales, adult Sunday school classes and adult Bible classes continue, but there are no means of assessing the educational, as apart from the religious, importance of these. While the old literary societies, which usually indulged in a very miscellaneous fare of lectures and debates, have almost died out, it is notable that dramatic societies of serious purpose, and no mean capacity, are increasing among the churches.[1]

Policy of the Society of Friends

The Society of Friends has at many, if not quite all, stages of its development consistently encouraged its members to exercise their thought upon the social and international applications, as well as the essential truths, of Christianity. Since ministry in the Society is carried on by the members themselves, and not by an order of persons specially set apart, the desirability of facilities for quiet retreat and study become evident. The establishment of Woodbrooke Settlement at Selly Oak thirty years ago as a residential centre for this purpose resulted in the fostering of extension work in all parts of the country. Woodbrooke itself is now a college which provides one and two-year courses in Biblical, social and international studies, as also in education: it was the nucleus round which has gathered the group of independent colleges, including Fircroft and Avoncroft, very variously affiliated but federated together as the Selly Oak Colleges, with a common Council and Senatus controlling all co-operative work. In addition to those who take full courses, Woodbrooke receives students who wish to spend only a term or so, either in attending whatever lectures and classes attract them, or in reading and research under the guidance of tutors. During summer term in particular men and women from all over the world go in this way to Woodbrooke, so that at any one time a score of nationalities may be represented.

Woodbrooke Extension Committee is a strong body which in effect is a section of the Woodbrooke Council. It organises summer schools at Woodbrooke and Jordans, a three weeks' course at Woodbrooke alongside the ordinary college courses during the last three weeks of summer term, and lecture courses (generally of

[1] Adult Schools and Brotherhoods are as a rule independent of the churches in whose buildings they meet, and are in any case dealt with in another chapter.

the week-end type) in connection with Friends' meetings in various districts. A special staff of extension lecturers is maintained which in the year 1935–6 visited some 140 meetings or groups. In that year also a party was organised to attend the Geneva Institute of International Relations during the summer. The annual Swarthmore Lecture is arranged by the Extension Committee, and its lending library is widely used. Leaflets containing outlines for brief study and discussion courses are published by the Committee, which issues also book lists as an aid to systematic reading and annotated lists of new books. The Bible and Quaker history and doctrine naturally come first among the topics dealt with by these methods, but the range of interests is wide. "Some Leaders of Thought in the Christian Church," "The Individual Christian and the State," "International Justice," "Economic Justice," "Racial Justice," "Authority and Freedom," "Psychology and Religion," "Friends' Contribution to Education" and "Pioneers of Peace" are among the subjects of lecture courses and study.

Though some years ago the Adult School movement, which had for a long period been under the care of the Friends' First Day School Association, became independent and interdenominational, certain Friends' meetings and individual Friends are still very closely associated with Adult School work and with the preparation of the Adult School Lesson Handbook. The same holds good of many Educational Settlements and of the two residential colleges for adults already mentioned—Fircroft and Avoncroft.

The Methodist Study Centre

A distinctive and valuable enterprise is that of the Methodist Study Centre, which works in co-operation with the departmental committees (social, temperance, Sunday school and so forth) of the Methodist Church. It provides correspondence courses of differing grades, each course consisting of twelve fortnightly lessons. Students are dealt with in small groups of about six or eight, so that tutors are able to do concentrated and practically individual work with each student. The latest statistics available record the number of tutors as 176, and there is a Board of Studies representing the Church, the Methodist Theological Colleges and the tutors. The figures show 784 active students on the books at the end of the year and 795 courses of study arranged during the year. The categories of subjects include Bible study, the Christian Faith, psychology, child study, and English mission study, temperance study and social questions. Special courses are provided for Sunday school teachers, deaconesses, and other Church workers. In the advanced grade there are courses leading to the London University Certificate in Religious Knowledge, the London University Diploma in Theology, and Intermediate B.D. Many men who ultimately enter the theological colleges take their preliminary training as students through the Study Centre, but the type of student enrolled varies very widely and the purposes fulfilled are

very diverse. There is no restriction of membership to Methodists.

"Young Methodism," the body which correlates the work of the various kinds of youth organisation within the Church, has a Reading Union for Study Circles which suggests to "ordinary young people" five books, easily accessible but of sound quality, which they should read during the winter, and which deal with five branches of knowledge—for the session 1936–7, Biblical, missionary, philosophical, social and literary. Pursuit of such reading from year to year lays a good foundation for adult education of a more thorough kind.

Work of the Presbyterian Church of England

In so far as the work of the Youth Departments covers activities among the younger adults, the Presbyterian Church of England may be taken as representative. It reports 1,909 members of Bible classes, other than Sunday school Bible classes, providing for people over 15 years of age, and 7,371 members of fellowships and guilds, but these groups are not primarily and characteristically educational in the sense with which this survey is concerned. Young People's Easter Conferences in connection with the respective Presbyteries deal chiefly with questions of religious belief and conduct, while the Fellowship Summer Conference of between 100 and 130 people (ranging from 18 to 50 years of age) is also devoted to questions of Christian thought and practice, personal and social.

Work of the Baptists and Congregationalists

The Baptist and Congregational Churches, being less centralised than the Methodist and Presbyterian, are less able to present a concise statement of what is being done within their constituencies, but in type it is much the same, and in volume it is proportionate to their totals of Church membership. The Baptist Church issues a model programme for Young People's Fellowships in which more than half the weekly meetings are given to discussion of Biblical, social, international and industrial problems on the basis of four or five textbooks recommended for the session.

Conclusion

Much, of course, depends upon the nature and leadership of individual Free Church congregations. Here and there interesting examples of serious effort in adult education on one line or another may be found. In the main, however, it is true to say that whatever encouragement to read and think for themselves is given in a general way to members of the Churches, there is little attempt to organise and guide their studies. It would not be easy to say why this is so. Perhaps the next decade or two may see considerable advance in a field the importance of which has been recognised, and indeed emphasised, by Free Church leaders.

BASIL A. YEAXLEE.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Adult Religious Education in the Roman Catholic Church

IN a true sense the ordinary work of the Church is concerned with adult education. Sermons may often be hortatory in nature, but are also instructional, touching matters of theology, church history and the elements of a traditional philosophy. This is still more the case with instructions given regularly to confraternities and other groups of men and women which form part of normal parish organisation, not without value from the purely pedagogical point of view.

Of recent years theological education has taken a more systematic form in the Catholic Evidence Guilds, now widely spread throughout the country. Though the practical aim in this is to prepare lay men and women for outdoor speaking on religious matters, perhaps the most fruitful result has been to equip a large number of enthusiasts, trained very efficiently in its classes, with an intelligent knowledge of their religion.

Founding of the Catholic Social Guild

Organised adult education, however, in its nearest approach to other movements in that field, came with the origin of the Catholic Social Guild in 1909. The Catholic Social Guild promotes training for citizenship and education in social matters in a wide sense of the term. It endeavours to attend to the needs of young people, but its main work is concerned with adults. It aims at promoting social interest and knowledge and a sense of responsibility among Catholics of all types ; it has no party connections, but it appeals chiefly to the working classes of the industrial areas.

Pioneers of the New School of Thought

During the past hundred years, since the growth of modern industry in the continental countries, a body of social doctrine grew up at the hands of a number of great leaders, clergy and lay, in Germany, France, Belgium, Austria, Italy and elsewhere. They were concerned both with the oppression of the working classes under a régime of *laisser-faire* and the loss to Christianity of large masses of the people due to the political upheavals of Europe and other causes. Classic names of a few of these leaders are Bishop Ketteler, of Mainz (1811–77), Count Albert de Mun (1841–1914), French soldier and democratic deputy, Gaspard Decurtins, a Swiss statesman (1855–1918) and Pope Leo XIII (1810–1903), the leader to whom all rallied and who confirmed officially the aims and doctrines of this school by his Letter of 1891, " Rerum Novarum—On the Condition of the Working Classes," and in other documents

and public acts. The school of thought stood for State intervention and social legislation, for a rehabilitation of the worker by access to means of ownership and by professional status, for trade-union organisation, for what we should now call joint industrial councils, and for international collaboration for the protection of labour. They drew their doctrine from the traditional social philosophy of the Church and attempted to formulate it in reference to modern problems. The school of thought developed its conclusions by international intercourse, by congresses, meetings and writing, and was popularised by the organisation of study circles for working men.

The Problem which had to be Met

It was these ideas and achievements which, in the hands of Charles Plater (1875–1921), a young Jesuit, and others in Great Britain, inspired the origin of the Catholic Social Guild in 1909. Previously, despite the pioneer work of Manning and a few others, this social doctrine, which had not always an easy passage in other countries, was, for various reasons, all but entirely unknown in our own.

Plater's first endeavour was to correlate the work of several who at that time were endeavouring to stimulate interest and to popularise social doctrine—to form a group of scholars. But almost immediately the claims of working people were heard and study circles were developed, inspired by the methods of de Mun and others abroad and also by the success of the newly established W.E.A. The problem had to be met of providing study plans and textbooks for a field of study in which little had already appeared in English and where experts were few and hard to find. The need and the demand have led to the development of a technique for small elementary study circles where often no teacher is available and the class must be led by one of the students chosen by the rest. Popular booklets were produced, aided by correspondence tuition and adult examinations, and a loose regional grouping of the circles when possible in order to remove the discouragements of isolation. The work is further helped by rallies, conferences and, since 1920, an annual summer school week in Oxford.

The number of circles has varied—109 in 1926–7, 300 in 1936–7. Many are formed, by co-operation with the Guild, under the auspices of other church societies. Some, where qualified teachers are available, are grant-earning through local affiliation to the W.E.A. The Guild is yet almost too hampered in material means to feel justified in applying for recognition under Chapter III of the Board of Education's Adult Education Regulations. The majority of the circles are elementary groups working with simple textbooks in social science, economics, industrial history, international relations, moral philosophy, etc. Propaganda is made and contacts are sustained by a travelling secretary, and most valuable voluntary help comes from the clergy and from past students of the Catholic Workers' College.

The Catholic Workers' College, Oxford

The Catholic Workers' College was set up in Oxford in 1921, shortly after Plater's death and in his memory, and in direct response to the demands of our working men in the study circles for something that would give, at least for a few picked leaders, a fuller training more worthy of the cause. The demand was made in all sincerity, for the people of Tyneside and Co. Durham, despite hard times, have for the past sixteen years themselves provided the annual fees, £100, and a personal allowance of £30, to train a man of their own choice. The example has been followed elsewhere, and, out of ten students in residence in 1936–7, half were provided for by popular efforts, half by individual benefactors. The College is recognised under Chapter IV of the Board's Regulations, and the Board's grant, with the fees, just enables the College to meet its average expenses. Personality, character, suitability for studies, future opportunities for leadership in any sphere of working-class life, are considered when selecting from among those who have felt able to offer themselves for scholarships available. The students are adult wage-earners whose elementary education has been supplemented by some training in the study circles or in other ways, and the aim is to train working-class students for opportunities which those of other classes cannot meet so well. Miners, for instance, will follow none but a miner.

The residential course at Oxford lasts, as a rule, for two years, and at its close the student normally returns to regain his former means of livelihood. Admission as members of the University is impossible through lack of knowledge of the subjects for Responsions, but the College is approved by the University for the purposes of Diplomas, and the University's Diploma in Economics and Political Science provides a most useful course of training on the technical side. Our students are taught by University tutors and on the usual lines, and the College owes an immeasurable debt of gratitude to lecturers, tutors and others who have assisted the work. On the side of social theory and philosophy, help is given, in special classes, by priests resident in Oxford.

Many past students have held office in local government: one, an engine driver, has been Mayor of a large borough, another, a miner, Chairman of the largest rural district council in the country. Others have found useful work in the trade-union field. Most have been busy helping with the study circles. All acknowledge that their work could not have been done at all, or not so well, if they had not been trained.

Conclusion

It would be difficult to appraise the actual results achieved by the Guild and College, a mass of small detail, impressive only as a whole, but a few general conclusions may tentatively be given. In regard to a new study circle, inevitably the first enthusiasm does not

always endure ; people may be induced to come together for social study more by a sense of duty than a sense of the need. None the less, the majority of the groups persevere, and many can show a record of work extending over several years.

It is astonishing how many young men have forgotten the art of reading since they left school. If anyone should doubt this, let him get together a group of intelligent wage-earners and set them to read aloud in turn from a simple textbook and then, if indeed this has been done satisfactorily, to ask each to express in his own words the sense of what has been read. Provided one is forewarned as to this condition of affairs, the remedy is speedily found, and it is a merit of the pioneer work of an elementary circle that it does begin to teach men to think for themselves and to express their minds intelligently. A single season at such work may make all the difference to a man's outlook and capacity.

Should circles be formed of students all of one type, in age, sex, occupation ? There is much to be said for either view ; material must be taken as it is found, and circumstances will often decide the answer. Probably, however, groups more or less homogeneous are best, provided that some loose organisation establishes contacts and intercourse with others, for mutual benefit. Albert de Mun's " cercles d'ouvriers " led to his own enlightenment and consequently gave a line and direction to his endeavours in public life and statesmanship. If the circle helps to educate the working man, it should also help to make him vocal and to give expression to the value of his own experience.

This leads to an assessment of the general value of such adult social education, both to the work of the Church and to good citizenship. Our clergy in Great Britain know their people—in many a large parish every man, woman and child is personally known in relation to the home, the school, church attendance and practice, and their generous co-operation in maintaining church and school. But we do not always know so well the week-day working life, what men are thinking and saying and troubled with in the outer world. We may know the man and his household intimately, and yet not know that he is a power for influence in his trade union or " co-op," or that he is a likely candidate for public office. Conversely, the layman may think that such workaday affairs are of no interest to us, and he may grasp little of the bearing of the principles of his religion upon things of daily life. • This gap in understanding, either way, if it exists, is bridged by a study circle properly functioning.

The dangers to religious life, the obstacles in the way of " the one thing necessary," may seem obvious enough. But they cannot be met by counter-attack as from outside. There is need for active and intelligent leadership from within the ordinary social institutions of the country. " Working-men apostles for working men, and men of business for the world of business," is the precept of Pope Pius XI (Encyclical " Quadragesimo Anno—On the Social Order ").

The Church does not try to run politics, local, national or international, or to run industry or trade unions—that is not her business—but to train her children to act and, according to opportunity, to lead, in all spheres of life according to the will of God and the precepts of the Gospels.

L. O'HEA, S.J.

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CHAPTER TWELVE

Adult Education in the United States

Introduction

ADULT education in the United States of America is somewhat more difficult to describe than movements in other countries called by the same name. We use the term generally in America to cover various activities which have not much more in common than that they all undertake to stimulate the cultural life of the people. It is not " class " education, and although it comprises a good many activities of a remedial sort for the benefit of those who have lacked early opportunity, this phase of the movement becomes of less importance as time goes on.

It might be better, for all good reasons except historical habit, to call what is done in the United States " continuing education." That would at least describe the ideal which most of those engaged in the work are attempting to attain. This is not, of course, because common school education has been generally achieved for the American people and that the only thing needed is to carry on work well begun. Immigration from the more educationally backward of European countries, and the meagre provision for elementary training in some of the poorer states, have given us a problem of adult illiteracy which it may take years to solve. The reason for using " continuing education " as the name of such a diversity—the learned conferences of professional men, the reading of college graduates, the cultural pursuits of all sorts of clubs and institutions—is rather that " education " has come to be a common name for most kinds of voluntary social betterment. And that goes on for life. It is in accord with American folk-ways that a widespread impulse towards progress should become a movement with a name, with programme, agencies and professional leaders. This helps to explain its multifarious elements, when compared with things called " adult education " in other countries, and accounts also for its popularity and vitality.

Until recently, " adult education " meant only " Americanisation " and the cure of illiteracy. But the first important indigenous educational activity in the United States that reached more than the favoured minority was for adult students. The Lyceum Movement began in New England in 1826 and flourished widely over the eastern half of the country until destroyed by the Civil War. It was a kind of university of the people. The lecturers who travelled from one to another of the Lyceum platforms were among the most distinguished Americans of their day. Our appetite for being lectured to had venerable beginnings. At the same time, we were following the European, or more especially the British, pattern in

education, as we were following it in industrial development. For example, industrial towns set up Mechanics' Institutes. Some of these still exist, although they never were as important here as in the country of their origin.

Summer Schools and Women's Clubs

In the second half of the nineteenth century came other pioneers. Chautauqua, a summer school originally for Sunday-school teachers, was founded on a lovely lake shore in western New York, and became the prototype of informal summer schools the country over. Travelling tent-shows, half entertainment, half education, were also called " chautauquas." They flourished in smaller towns and rural areas until the coming of the cinema and the radio.

It was also in the second half of the nineteenth century that the women's clubs movement got under way. It was the result of two social changes. Women in small towns and country districts were released from the heavy labour of pioneer life and the same development that brought railroads and industries brought also higher educational and cultural standards to communities that had only recently been on the edges of the wilderness. The women's clubs, although they reached the cities also, were the institutional expression of a new freedom and of the impulses to civilise the pioneer towns.

The Influence of the Great War

Out of these beginnings, as well as from the first attempts by public libraries to take a more aggressive interest in the intellectual lives of their readers, out of educational work by churches, settlements and such partly religious institutions as the Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., etc., the present adult educational movement was made. The first great change came when the impact of the great European War upon the thinking of Americans led to an increased interest in the social attitudes of millions of aliens and immigrants who were thought to be not sufficiently patriotic. Making aliens into naturalised citizens and teaching men and women to read and write were considered suitable activities for the public schools (tax-supported local schools), and there has never been much question as to public responsibility for this work. The war efforts were hasty, but they brought a wider understanding of the social and psychological problems of the partly assimilated immigrants, the difficulties of second-generation children, and above all an appreciation of the gifts which many of these strangers can make to America if they are given a chance to do their part.

The American Association for Adult Education

Except for two major enterprises of the Federal (National) Government launched earlier, the movement began to take its present shape about 1925, with the investigations and conferences of the Carnegie Corporation that preceded the founding of the American

Association for Adult Education. This association has exerted great influence and has advised the Carnegie Corporation in the granting of considerable sums of money (three million dollars in ten years) for demonstration and research. More recently, the teachers of adults, now numerous and professionally powerful, have organised a department of the National Education Association. Progress towards better methods in the teaching of adults has been made. In many leading schools of education and teacher training colleges courses have been instituted for specialists.

It does not seem likely, however, that this field will ever be occupied exclusively by professionals. The *Handbook of Adult Education in the United States*, in its edition of 1936, lists more than 175 national organisations which consider adult education as one of their principal reasons for existence. And, indeed, many of those who can properly be called leaders do not believe that it should ever be dominated by professionals, since adult study is voluntary study, and is undertaken for reasons determined by the student rather than by educational authorities.

In a decade of leadership, the American Association for Adult Education has more clearly defined our ideas of what can be done and by what standards achievements should be measured. There are now about seventy councils or associations for cities, for states or for regions, which intend to do for their own local clientele something of what the American association undertook to do for the country as a whole. They are struggling with the problems of searching out and satisfying needs, while bringing public and private agencies into some kind of co-operation for the good of students without the complete sacrifice of institutional ambitions.

Agricultural Extension

An account of the present situation may begin with the programmes of the Federal Government, permanent and temporary. The largest single enterprise is "Agricultural Extension," the educational work of the Federal Department of Agriculture, which was set up in its present form by the Smith-Lever law of 1914. Farmers' institutes and demonstrations of better farming methods had been common for a good many years. Acute difficulties with the cotton pest of the South led the Federal Government to establish a system of country agents and "home demonstration" agents. These men and women work partly at the expense, and under the direction, of the Federal Department of Agriculture, partly in collaboration with state departments of agriculture and state agricultural colleges, and partly under the control of their own counties. There are now in service with the rural population of America about 7,500 of these salaried workers. The annual budget is about $25,000,000. Of this, the Department of Agriculture provides half, the states about one quarter and the counties the remaining quarter.

Agricultural Extension was established to help the farmer raise

bigger crops. Now, however, without neglecting this vocational purpose, it carries on work in music, drama, political discussion, art and any subject that may be expected to raise the standard of life, economically or culturally, for the farms and rural villages. Possibly the most important achievement of this agency has been the training of volunteer unpaid leaders to act as demonstrators, teachers, discussion leaders and organisers. There are now 300,000 volunteers.

Vocational Education for the Public Schools

Three years later, in 1917, the Smith-Hughes law set up a Federal fund for the support of vocational education in the public schools. Originally intended to provide training on the apprentice level, this work has expanded by including large numbers of men and women. " Home-making " is one of the vocations, and among those enrolled are many women not employed in industry. The intervention of the Federal Government with funds to be matched proportionally by the state governments, has aroused more interest in general vocational needs. It has stimulated occupational training on all levels in the public schools and in the night high schools that are primarily for adults. Industrial corporations are setting up their own training courses, not only in the specific skills which they require, but also for the general improvement of the lives of their workmen.

Civilian Conservation Corps Camps

Many of the enterprises which the depression and the New Deal have brought to the United States have been concerned somewhat with education. Two are of more importance than the others, because they have affected the expectations of the people for the future, and they will probably leave some residue in the public school systems. One is the so-called " C.C.C."—the Civilian Conservation Corps Camps. Work camps for out-of-work young men were invented as a relief measure. Their educational possibilities dawned rather slowly on the administrative authorities and on the Army, which was given the responsibility for housing and feeding the boys while they were working. After the camps were opened, the United States Office of Education was asked to appoint " Educational Advisers." The advisers have been inventive and devoted teachers, but they have suffered from lack of equipment and support. Their rôle has been to inveigle the men in the camps into learning rather than to meet their primary needs. However, the " C.C.C." is growing in importance. Outdoor work in road building, soil conservation and forestry, under the direction of technicians, is valuable educational experience. And the camp corps members have also been learning arts and crafts and high school subjects. The illiterate have been taught to read; those who knew but little English have been taught American ways. If, as seems likely, the " C.C.C." camps are made permanent, they will offer a chance for

young men to get experience and skill at times when it is hard to find places in the industrial world. They will become outdoor colleges, accommodating 300,000 students for terms of from six months to a year.

The Works Progress Administration

The second major emergency enterprise of the Federal Government is the teaching programme of the " W.P.A." (Works Progress Administration). This is not very likely to become a permanent part of the public system, but it is having an effect on the attitude of the public towards adult education. It was invented as part of the " made work " for the white collar unemployed. In the spring of 1937 there were more than 35,000 " W.P.A." teachers holding free classes for adults, not counting added thousands of actors, musicians, artists and other intellectuals who were engaged in their own tasks for the diversion and betterment of the people. The teachers were carrying on classes for adults in a large range of subjects, occupational, liberal and even political, such as public forums for the discussion of public questions. It is estimated by the Government that 1,300,000 people were regularly taking advantage of the free classes and other activities which this programme provided, not counting the audiences for free concerts, plays and exhibitions.

The " W.P.A." programme has been carried on largely through the public school system. It has served to acquaint thousands with the possibilities of continuing education, and was paralleled by a growing recognition by public school officials that they had a responsibility for the continuing education of all the people in their communities. We can predict with some confidence that within the next decade most well-developed city school systems will include free classes for adults in anything they wish to study. It will be easiest to get public funds for remedial work such as teaching the illiterates. Local school authorities are sometimes persuaded also that occupational training at public expense is for the public good. One influential group of educators believes, however, that any kind of adult education at public expense can be justified quite as readily as the education of the young. The general age level of the population is constantly rising, so fast indeed that the number of children in elementary schools is diminishing. Many towns and cities even now have educational equipment which they cannot use to full capacity except by opening their buildings to the whole community.

Development of Public Forums

The Federal Office of Education has been using Federal relief funds in an active campaign for public forums. Local school boards are given subventions to aid them in opening forums for the discussion of public questions. The range of adult education in public schools is thus extended from the simpler and more obvious kinds to political training, the most difficult.

It should be noted that the forums in public schools are a revival, not something new. They are the modern form of the old lyceum. They have livelier discussions (the intellectual proletariat is bolder than it was a century ago), and possibly they face more dangerous issues. But they are natural descendants of the meetings to which Holbrook and Lowell and Emerson once offered their eloquence. Forums have been supported for several generations by private foundations, by churches, by men's and women's clubs, by citizens' committees, and many of them have been private enterprises. They vary greatly in the genuineness of their educational motives. Many programmes of old-fashioned lectures have recently been streamlined to look like forums. But the newer ones, and many venerable foundations, like Ford Hall in Boston and Cooper Union in New York, are devoted to honest struggles with great problems. They are supported earnestly by all kinds of men and women who want to learn and to think together.

Increased Value of Public Libraries and Museums

With this rapid growth of public responsibility the public libraries have kept pace. They have taken on a more conscious rôle in adult education. They have ceased to be mere store-houses full of books and tried to be centres from which public enlightenment goes outward. Discussion groups, lectures, art shows and other extension work have made the library, not merely a source of materials for other purveyors of adult education, but an active agency on its own account. In this the " reader's advisers " in many of the larger systems (there are now about fifty of these scattered across the country) have served as contact points between books and people. Reader's advisers are friendly consultants, ready to talk informally with anyone about his interests and the possible use that he may make of books.

Demand for " Readable Books "

Librarians have helped also in the agitation for " readable books." This movement has been much misunderstood. It has not escaped some caustic and innocently ignorant comment in Great Britain. But the American Library Association and the American Association for Adult Education are interested in a problem that concerned Lord Brougham a century ago, a problem not yet fully solved anywhere. They have committees of writers, psychologists, publishers and teachers studying the reading habits and opportunities of the people who read very little. They hope to find ways of " diffusing knowledge " among such people by means of books that are cheap, handy, simple and trustworthy.

This is nothing new. The new idea is that there must be some reason for the failure of nearly all " popularisation " and that the reason is probably a lack of seriousness in those who attempt it. The communication of every man's share of modern knowledge is

a task now seen to be highly technical in nature, beyond the reach of any educator who will not use what scientists and critics can tell him about the teaching and learning processes. This is not the problem of literature; the literary value of "books that teach" can only be hoped for. But it is believed that some kinds of useful learning are denied to millions because no books are written for them. If such books can be produced they are more likely to raise rather than lower the reading powers of those who use them. Readers will be created, and literature will not be jeopardised but supported. No one can say what practical results will come out of the study. The fact that it is being undertaken is a sign of life and of realistic ambition in the purposes of the adult education movement.

Fresh Stimulus to Museums

The museums also, most of which are supported by public funds, have ceased to be merely passive receptacles of the detritus of civilisations. They are learning to exploit their treasures to catch the public interest and enlighten the public mind. Not all libraries or museums have been equally active, but the new idea is taking hold, and it is confidently expected that those now being trained for professional careers in libraries and museums will think of this more imaginative service to the public as an opportunity.

Parent Education

Another well-organised kind of adult study, carried on partly by private and partly by public agencies, is what is known as parent education. It has much the character of a folk movement. Conferences and classes are given to consideration of the psychological relations that make for the health and welfare of children and for family happiness. A national association stimulates the parent-teacher associations organised under the auspices of the schools, and some city and state systems have specialists in the field.

University Extension Work

University extension includes a group of enterprises partly public and partly private. Universities and colleges of the United States can be classified in at least two groups. Some are still shut off from the people in mediæval aloofness. Others, especially the newer state universities of the West, are willing to risk their stores of scholarship more generously. Some actually seek to find a place in the cultural lives of the greatest possible number of people. They may have fallen somewhat from the highly intellectual and selective pattern of university life. But that is still to be proved. At the same time, they have gained by making ideas and scientific discoveries available to immense groups of people. They have enriched the soil from which they draw support. These more open-handed universities have led in making university extension some-

thing more than extra-mural college routine. If a close similarity to British practices were to be searched for among adult educational activities in America, it would probably be found in those university extension courses which are much like the tutorial classes of Great Britain.

Work of the Churches

Churches of nearly all denominations, including the Protestant, the Roman Catholic and the Hebrew congregations, have continued and enlarged their programmes in the last ten years. Sometimes they achieve nothing more than missionary centres to advance their creeds ; sometimes they do work of considerable scope and importance. The Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A. and Y.M.H.A. (Young Men's Hebrew Association) have been especially active. Occupational training and liberal studies have been offered by these associations to people who might otherwise have missed a chance.

Workers' Education

Workers' education in America has been of two kinds. The American Federation of Labour, the largest group of organised working people, has its own programme. It has in the past given most time to training in labour economics and trade union practices. Some unions have their own schools. The "W.P.A." has also supported workers' classes with praiseworthy liberality. Since there is no direct party action by labour in American politics, workers' education has lacked a natural use in training leaders for statesmanship. It has been noticeable in the last few years, especially during the depression, that workers' education has done more for self-expression and those amenities which make life somewhat more agreeable while society is being remade more nearly to the workers' desires.

Conclusions

It might be supposed from what has been said that adult education in the United States is all desperately serious. This is scarcely a true picture. Recreation, and a good deal of spontaneous and free enjoyment of the arts and crafts, have been nurtured by nearly all the agencies that have been mentioned. There are powerful recreation associations, but the line between recreation and education is not rigorously drawn. There is general co-operation in helping every willing adult, not only for the good of his mind and his advancement in society, but also in those aspects of his personality that complete him and give him satisfaction as he goes. It is impossible to say that adult education in America is any one thing. It is many things. What they all have in common is a conscious purpose to be of use to those who come of their own accord to better themselves in all the ways and by the use of all the resources which modern civilisation can offer them.

Hope must take the place of prophecy for the future. The intervention of the Federal Government, with millions of dollars and a determination to employ teachers rather than to educate students, has endangered standards and created a political bloc. But it has also aroused an interest in the possibility of continuing learning; much good work has been done, and the more apt of the new teachers have acquired skill. When Federal emergency grants are ended many local authorities will take over the best of the programmes. It is possible that something like agricultural extension may be set up for other sorts of adult learning.

All the other great depressions in American history have been followed by advances in the socialising of wealth by public aid to new forms of education. Provision for adult study is the most likely to result from the present crisis. Public bodies will do the obvious and standard work; private agencies will experiment more freely and shelter the minorities. This will be not the luxury of a rich industrial order but the necessity of a self-governing nation.

LYMAN BRYSON.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

The Maturity of Adult Education

A Survey of Achievements, Limitations and Prospects

THE term " adult education " has in Great Britain a peculiar connotation, derived from its historical and sociological associations. The movement to which it gives its name originated in the backwardness and deficiency of school education in England during the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century. It began as a voluntary social movement, seeking to provide grown men and women with opportunities for acquiring knowledge and culture that had been denied to them during their adolescence. This movement produced Mechanics' Institutes, Adult Schools, University Extension Courses, University Tutorial Classes, and the wealth of educational facilities organised by the Workers' Education Association. As these succeeding waves of educational enthusiasm broke, they carried the educational process each time a little further into the educationally unprovided sections of the adult community. But in doing so they revealed a fact which keeps reappearing in the history of British Adult Education—namely, that an extension of knowledge and book-learning is only possible for those adults whose tastes and capacities have already been aroused to such a level as makes them receptive, or educable.

Adult Education during the Nineteenth Century

At the outset of each adult educational crusade, the pioneers have gone forth believing that their particular cultural formula was applicable to the educationally dispossessed mass as a whole. Their early success confirms this belief ; but in every case the passage of years shows that the constituency capable of receiving the appeal is more limited than the pioneers first believed. There were, for instance, during the forties and fifties of the last century, mechanics' institutes, societies for mutual self-improvement, and literary, scientific and philosophical societies established everywhere in our towns and villages. The common impetus that brought these to birth was a desire among artisans and shopkeepers to become better acquainted with the technical and scientific changes which lay at the base of the industrial revolution which was moulding their lives. Yet after a generation, this impetus expended itself. It was found that not all, or even the majority of workmen could be interested in mastering the scientific and technical aspects of their trade : and what enduring interest in the subject remained was gradually canalised off by the State into support for technical education in technical institutes. Since that time popular science and technology have had less than their due share of adult educational activity.

This wave of the movement, in fine, spent itself because it took too narrow a conception of adult education, and one which did not hold good as social conditions changed.

The University Extension movement, with its more strongly literary appeal, launched itself on a new wave of hope. Work-people, or at least the upper strata of the working-classes, were becoming more prosperous and socially secure by the eighties of the nineteenth century ; they could spare some leisure-time for indulgence in book-reading, and in the study of literary and philosophical subjects. But again, the tendency to universalise this excellent motive for self-education proved too strong. Before long it became apparent that literary self-culture appealed rather to the middle and lower middle classes of the day, than to the manual worker.

Emergence of a New Motive for Adult Education

By the beginning of the twentieth century then, the University Extension movement seemed to have reached its limits, and not to have achieved a widely popular appeal. The fresh experiment which was launched with the founding of the Workers' Educational Association in 1903, and developed by the subsequent establishment of the University Tutorial Class movement, was based on the exploitation of an even more fundamental motive for self-education. It was an era of industrial unrest and social discontent, when the study of economics, history and social philosophy seemed to offer itself as a means of equipping the discontented and ambitious wage-earner for the realisation of his aspirations towards a larger share of the wealth and culture of the community in which he lived. There were, of course, conflicting strains within this movement ; some saw in the study of the social subjects a means of appeasing, others a means of arming, the worker in his mood of discontent. The University Tutorial Class was in fact an instrument specially suited —and more thoroughly and skilfully used than any other of its kind —for picking out the most mentally alert among the educationally dispossessed masses, and giving them a systematic and expensive intellectual training, such as would enable them to become responsible leaders in the various social movements in which they were interested. The members of these classes were taught to think of themselves as a leaven which would permeate the mass of their less well-endowed fellow-workers, kindling in them a desire for similar, though humbler, facilities for intellectual self-improvement. The success of the idea can be measured by the subsequent growth of more elementary facilities for class-work and short-term studies developed since the war by the Workers' Educational Association, other voluntary societies and many local Education Authorities. As a result, there now exist innumerable ways of catering for the needs of every kind of grown-up person who shows a serious taste for any kind of book-learning. Indeed, the supply so far exceeds the demand that continuous organising effort has to be applied towards evoking and maintaining that demand.

It cannot be denied that this effort has sometimes summoned into the intellectual arena candidates who are anything but well-equipped for the effort which they may there be called upon to display. The chief criticism which can be levelled against this form of adult education is that, by over-insistence upon the intellectual and literary aspects of education, it narrows the lines of approach so much as to discourage and therefore mishandle many who, through a mistaken apprehension of their own wants, offer to enrol themselves in its ranks.

Analysis of Students' Views

In a recent publication, *Learn and Live : The Consumer's View of Adult Education*,[1] Mr. W. E. Williams and Professor A. E. Heath have collected and analysed a large number of testimonies on the part of adult students to the value of their educational experiences. These show that the enrichment of individual personality and the development of a sense of social responsibility are the main motives for joining classes, subsidiary motives being vocational ambition and a desire for companionship. Most of these former students claim that the educational process has made them " happier, but less satisfied." In some cases they have been led into creative work of a literary, sociological or artistic kind, or to advances in the technique of their craft or occupation. But it is noticeable that this body of appreciation of the results of adult education is drawn entirely from those who have survived the educational process, as represented by the tutorial class, the W.E.A. class, Ruskin College, etc. It necessarily omits the (probably inarticulate) view which would certainly be expressed by the student who had, to paraphrase the words of the Indian candidate for an appointment, " failed tutorial class." Such failures represent a wastage or loss in the educational process of sufficient bulk and seriousness to justify the criticism that adult education has not yet developed a range or a technique which can appeal to the needs of more than a small minority of the adult community. Those who fall out of classes through disillusionment, or some other reason, during the early stages have at least some intellectual aspirations or pretensions which brought them first of all into the circle of the class formation : but even if the failures be added to the successes—those who fall by the way to those who complete the course—even so the total enrolled, and therefore even superficially attracted by class-work, is tiny. It is true that since the War W.E.A. intellectualism has been diluted by the emergence of many new less ambitious, less literary and less purely intellectual forms of adult education under the auspices of the other voluntary societies with financial backing from local Education Authorities. The Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., Women's Institutes, Townswomen's Guilds and other associations have adapted the original W.E.A. method to meet the needs of much more elementary minds than the W.E.A. is ever likely to cater for. Drama, dancing, music, art,

[1] Methuen, 1936.

crafts, domestic work and other recreational activities have been given with success an educational colouring. The rise of these less formal kinds of adult education has clearly enriched and broadened the original movement, which has now come to suffer not so much from narrowness as from formless incoherence and overlapping of aims and organisations.

Problem of Multiplicity of Voluntary Bodies

Whoever now undertakes to survey the British adult educational movement finds a bewildering and complicated picture unfold before him. In one corner of the field, politics; in another, religion; in another, sociability or mere amusement, provide the motives. Each section of the mass has been charted out separately by a different organisation, which has tended almost without knowing it to develop a kind of vested interest in the maintenance of its own privileges in its own sphere. Unseen but considerable jealousies meet on the surface, and hinder attempts at co-ordinated effort, and even, in some cases, at co-operation. Curious differences, based on class feeling, economic conditions or opinions of various sorts, keep the body of students in more or less water-tight compartments. Through the whole run threads of propaganda of various kinds—social, religious or political—which help to whip up enthusiasm among students and yet create awkwardness with grant-distributing authorities. The greater educational trusts move warily through this crowded scene, distributing largesse in deserving cases, mainly with the object of stimulating new ideas and experiments, but without willingness to take permanent responsibility for those experiments and without much knowledge of, or sympathy with, the general tendencies of the movement as a whole.

Influence of the Problem of Unemployment

When the post-war enthusiasm for widened educational facilities for adults—still using the term in its intellectual connotation—had spent itself, new developments began to make their appearance. The impact of unemployment consequent upon the economic depression which set in in 1929 was felt severely by bodies such as the W.E.A., bringing to the surface that comparatively submerged portion of its constituency which could not find satisfaction in the more advanced types of class-work. This applied particularly to the younger adult wage-earners, and drew attention to the ominous height of the age-level of the membership of grant-aided classes. All bodies concerned with working-class adult education were forced to give some attention to the needs of adolescent and young adult students, as well as considering the special disabilities which prevent unemployed adults from availing themselves of facilities for intellectual study. Unfortunately, such bodies as the W.E.A. and the Trade Union Congress were not quick to meet the need which

thus presented itself, and opportunity was thus given to the rise of new organisations, which, working with the backing of charitable trusts and Government Departments, stimulated and co-ordinated local experiment and effort designed to meet the needs of the unemployed. In particular, there grew up the National Council of Social Service, which eschewed any specifically educational aim, but none-the-less included the broader kinds of educational activity in the sphere of its " social services." By holding itself aloof from the kind of party politics which tinged the W.E.A. and the T.U.C., and by skilfully irrigating with its financial resources the efforts of volunteers moved by charitable and philanthropic motives, the National Council for Social Service speedily built up a network of recreational (which included educational) facilities for the unemployed. This has since been followed by a fresh campaign conceived under the ægis of the movement for rearmament, for encouraging National Physical Fitness. Once again, the combination of voluntary effort, Government approval and grants from charitable trusts has evolved a movement which in pre-war years would surely have been sponsored by the working-class movement itself.

Increase in Voluntary Organisations

Not that the older forms of adult education have been, by any means, stagnant whilst these great changes were going on. University extra-mural departments have become established, especially in the provinces, as an integral part of the university structure, and have succeeded in effectively co-ordinating much of the class-work carried on in their area, e.g. at Nottingham, Bristol and Hull. At the same time new voluntary bodies have appeared to meet new educational needs, such as the Association for Education in Citizenship, which takes upon itself the duty of contesting anti-democratic tendencies, by concentrating educational interest upon a better understanding and appreciation of democratic institutions. Parallel with the huge and successful federation of Women's Institutes has come into being the Townswomen's Guilds, seeking to do for the town housewife what the Institutes have done for the country-woman, only in a less paternal manner and with equal emphasis upon variety of leisure-time activity. Meanwhile the older University Extension movement has taken on a new lease of life with a revision of the Board of Education regulations and a reorganisation of the administration of the extra-mural work at universities, which in many places gives co-equal importance to the extension and the tutorial sides of that work. It has been discovered that the revised University Extension Class makes an appeal to students who are unable to live up to the high academic standard preached in University Tutorial Classes. It offers more flexible facility for a wider student constituency, and at the same time is not so closely bound up on its administrative side with a single, rather self-satisfied and stationary voluntary educational society.

Institutional Development of Adult Education

Parallel with this multiplication of voluntary bodies has gone a large extension of the institutional forms of adult education. The disorderly appearance which the variety of classes, study groups, summer and week-end schools and conferences run by voluntary associations presents to the outside observer has suggested to Presidents of the Board of Education and other educational administrators the desirability of directing adult educational activity more and more into institutional channels. Attempts have been made, for instance, to liberalise the curriculum of technical institutes so as to bridge the gulf (traditional, but illogical) between vocational and non-vocational forms of adult education. In a recent article, Mr. J. Wickham Murray [1] has propounded the theory that technical education " can be made perhaps even more cultural than other forms of education." He condemns the " vague conviction that a liberal education is inherent only in what is called the ' humanities.' " Over the next seven years, millions more public money are to be spent on the development of technical education ; local education authorities, which have the spending of this money and the direction of this expansion, have, since the days when technical education was in its infancy, acquired responsibility for non-vocational adult education on a scale which must alter their attitude towards technical education itself. As the Junior Technical Schools become a real alternative to the present Secondary School, and as closer co-operation between education and industry springs up, the bridge between technical education and non-vocational adult education will inevitably be broken down.

Problem of Unemployed Centres

Again, the unemployment problem has had a striking effect upon institutionalised adult education. In the first place, a network of Unemployed Centres has sprung up all over the country, to provide for physical and recreational needs of the unemployed. Much has been discovered through the experience of workers in these centres about the reasons for the failure of the older and more academic forms of adult education to appeal to rank and file wage-earners. After a number of years of experience of educational work in unemployed clubs, Mr. Philpotts [2] of the Croydon centre concludes that " there is an immense body of men who can never be drawn into formal educational groups ; these men read little, write nothing, and so have retentive memories. They can be interested in a great variety of subjects, if suitably presented, and this interest has a lasting value. . . . As might be expected, men who have maintained an interest in, or an urge for, anything are the most ready to pay attention to new subjects, and one must reluctantly confess that

[1] " Can Technical Education be ' Liberal ' ? " *Adult Education*, September 1936.

[2] " The Inert Mass," *Adult Education*, June 1937.

it does not seem much to matter whether their prevailing interests are good, bad or indifferent. Football pools, horse-racing and even more harmful things seem to keep the mind alive, in the same way as do politics, religion and other more reputable interests." In this last sentence is to be found the core of the truth, which is being unfolded through the more " diluted " channels of adult education. It represents a long step from the ideals of the original W.E.A. Tutorial Class ideal—a course of study equivalent in standard to an university honours degree course for every intelligent working man. The unemployed man has none of that thirst for self-education and willingness to make sacrifices for it which used to be supposed to be the basis of the voluntary movement in adult education. Their " dulled mentality combined with an ever-present hope of obtaining work keeps men from attempting anything that calls for continuity. . . . Lecturers must go to the men, as the men will not go to the lecturers." Hence the Unemployed Centre has been successful only in so far as it represents a resort for recreation ; it is only by an infiltration of intellectual interests into recreational diversions that they have achieved any real educational success. In some ways, the experience of the Community Centres, which have sprung up on some of the new housing estates of local authorities, parallels that of the Unemployed Centres. Here again, the need was for an institution with a building of its own, not to serve as a centre for book-learning so much as a centre for recreation, including physical, as well as mental. The Slough Social Centre is perhaps the outstanding example of this kind of institution. Local education authorities now possess powers to provide community centres on their housing estates, and it would be possible to link their extension with the furtherance of the campaign for national fitness which has now been outlined in the Board of Education's memorandum on physical training and recreation.

The Educational Settlement Movement

If the Community Centre has suffered from a certain amorphousness which has so far prevented its taking any positive educational rank, the same cannot be said of the Educational Settlement movement, which has grown rapidly in the past fifteen years. The purpose which inspired this movement was to give adult education a " local habitation and a name," and to give people a chance of developing their leisure-time interests in pleasant club-like surroundings instead of in uncomfortable lecture-rooms. The Educational Settlement attempts to combine two distinct kinds of activity : first, the provision of formal classes and lectures ; secondly, the development of informal activities in music, drama and art and the organisation of debating societies, language circles, rambling and camping clubs, etc. Each Settlement is an autonomous unit governed by a Council representing the social interests of the district, and including a substantial element of rank and file representation. Since 1920 the number of Educational Settlements has grown from

three to twenty-six, the most considerable recent growth having taken place in the special areas. A good example is the Maes-yr-haf Settlement in the Rhondda Valley,[1] which began as a kind of casualty clearing station for the unemployed—a centre for the alleviation of physical distress—and has now become a centre for leisure-time activities of all kinds. In theory the Educational Settlement seems to offer an ideal method of organising every man's leisure on several planes simultaneously; but the movement is hampered by lack of finance; members' contributions do not cover expenses, and the movement is bound therefore to depend upon the precarious assistance of philanthropic persons and grants from trusts. A more stable and dignified method of developing this valuable embryonic form of leisure-time organisation is much to be desired, inasmuch as the Settlement movement has a real educational tradition behind it, and is not vaguely concerned with recreation, but recognises the need for classifying leisure needs and satisfying every kind on its own level.

Institutional Centres for Leisure-time Activities

The provision of institutional centres for leisure-time activities has been carried to its furthest development in the L.C.C. Men's and Women's Institutes and in certain similar institutions which have been established by a few local authorities in county boroughs, such as Birmingham. The L.C.C. Women's Institutes commenced in 1913 on the eve of the War; the Men's Institutes in 1920, after the conclusion of the War. In 1934–5 the former numbered forty-one and enrolled nearly 32,000 members; whilst the latter numbered twenty-six (both Senior and Junior) and enrolled 23,000 members. The Institutes are housed in school buildings used for other educational purposes by day, and " in essence these Institutes represent an attempt to foster, in a democracy freeing itself from ancient trammels, a spirit of free and orderly citizenship, expressing itself in a simple, independent and yet neighbourly way of life." Women's Institutes are distinguished from the Men's by a lower age level (45 per cent. of the students at Women's Institutes are under eighteen) and by differences in regard to payment of fees. In both cases less stress is laid upon standards of educational attainment and more upon provision of purposeful occupation for hand and mind than in the older and more formal types of adult educational activity. The Men's Institutes, for instance, advertise themselves as helping to make good the lack of opportunities in earlier life; giving a chance of discovering and developing unsuspected talent; affording an opportunity of keeping in touch with social and scientific developments; offering guidance in the selection and pursuit of useful and absorbing hobbies; and bringing men together in healthy and friendly competition. About one-third of all enrolments are for classes in practical hobbies and handicrafts, and about a quarter for some form of physical education.

[1] See YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION, 1935, pages 684–93.

Influence of Broadcasting and the Cinema

To complete the picture of the modern institutional development of adult education, we need also to take account of the extent to which various institutions of educational character have begun to extend their work outside their walls ; for instance, it is no longer an axiom that museums and public art galleries should expect the public to come to them, and to complain of apathy because the facilities they provide are not utilised without their sending forth publicity and propaganda on their own behalf. Museums and libraries are now no longer appalled at the notion of circulating their treasures through other similar institutions and even to responsible student groups. A network of lectures and guides springs up around their doors to attract and inform the public ; their publications become better illustrated and cheaper. In all this we may notice, as a loosening and humanising influence, the part played by broadcasting in its educational aspect. Since 1927, the British Broadcasting Corporation has carried on certain experiments in formal " broadcast adult education " with the co-operation of representatives of existing adult educational organisations. A varying number of periods have been set aside in the evening programme to meet the needs of adult student listeners, and a considerable activity in the formation of listening-end discussion groups has gone on. But though these experiments were sufficiently successful to gain the approval of the Board of Education and to encourage the B.B.C. to maintain a modified service of talks to suit the needs of this particular type of listener, their secondary effect has been to emphasise the value of the indirect educational influence of the broadcast programme as a whole. The educational influence of broadcasting, apart from the transmissions to schools, has been best reflected in the stimulus it has given to musical appreciation, interest in foreign affairs and current news, discussion of social questions in an impartial manner, certain kinds of book-reading, interest in popular science and a broadening of religious views. In short, broadcasting performs in the home something of the same kind of function as the L.C.C. Institutes in the schools—that is, the provision of " purposeful recreation."

In a minor degree the cinema has also had a popular educative influence. It has proved an almost complete failure in regard to formal education, but has exerted a powerful, if indefinable, influence upon manners, taste, general knowledge, fashions and habits of thought. The establishment of the British Film Institute in 1933 for the purpose of promoting the development of the film as a means of entertainment and instruction marked the beginning of a consciousness of the importance of the cinema as a factor in community education.

Deficiencies in the Class Study Method of Adult Education

During the last decade adult education has extended its range and diversity not only in the forms of its organisation, but in the scope of the interests which it embraces. If we take the older and more

formal kinds of adult education we find a distinct failure to meet certain large and important cultural interests of sections of the community. By and large, class study has failed to be the right method of approach in drama, music, dancing, popular science and fine arts. A good example of this is afforded by the treatment of drama in adult education, where the adult student has been encouraged to enrol himself in grant-earning classes for the study of the drama as literature : but those classes are not recognised for grant purposes if they spend their time in acting the plays which they set out to study. This divorce of intellectual exercise from practical activity is what makes the ordinary man in the street distrust adult education as something high-brow and meat for cranks. A similar failure has to be recorded in the case of science, despite the continued popular interest in science, as shown in the press, on the wireless and elsewhere. Classes in scientific subjects are in a great minority among those recognised by the Board of Education for grant. The reason is undoubtedly that most academic scientific teachers are not able to develop a technique sufficiently popular to attract lay students.

These interests, neglected in formal adult education, have come to be catered for by new movements which have sprung up outside its ægis. Thus, the country has been covered with a network of amateur dramatic societies, which have their own competitions and make little contact with formal adult education except through the settlements and classes to which a few of them are attached. The interest in music has been developed by the Rural Music School, which began in Hertfordshire and has now spread to other counties. Choral-society activity has been fostered by the British Federation of Musical Competitions Festivals. Folk dancing falls similarly to the care of the English Folk Dance and Song Society. And experiments are being conducted in various parts of the country by small groups of scientists who are at last discovering that the secret of interesting adults in science lies in enrolling bodies of enthusiasts and lay observers to watch birds or participate in anthropological or archæological experiments, or to compile meteorological records, under the guidance of a nucleus of trained experts, in the knowledge that thereby they will be performing a useful social service. All these movements have a common keynote—preference for *doing* rather than *studying*. Similar in character is the interest which has grown up in various societies which aim at developing within the community a respect for social amenities and a care for their provision and improvement. Bodies such as the Youth Hostels Association, the Design and Industries Association and the Council for the Preservation of Rural England are all undertaking propaganda work for social amenities and combining with it the function of educating public opinion ; they are indeed discovering new ways of " adult education." But what stock is being taken of them and their methods by the W.E.A., Extra-Mural Departments of Universities, and some other class-providing bodies ?

The National "Keep Fit" Campaign

Last to appear upon the scene is the movement for revised and extended physical education—a bye-product of the re-armament campaign. The Government has become interested in making the Nation "keep fit," and money is being spent through the Board of Education and through charitable trusts and voluntary associations on fostering physical recreation. It has not yet apparently occurred to the enthusiasts for this scheme that mind and body cannot be educated separately and that a great opportunity is being missed of uniting the physical and intellectual sides of adult education at least.

Conclusion

But in some continental countries the truth of this has been comprehended for some years. Arriving later in the field of adult education than ourselves, they have been building on a wider and more modern basis. In Czecho-Slovakia physical education was from the start the mainspring of inspiration where adult education was concerned. Since that time the totalitarian states, Germany and Italy, have understood that the right occupation of leisure is a matter of prime concern to the community and can be dealt with upon an orderly plan directed and financed by the State. Smaller and democratic countries like Sweden and Holland are coming to look at the matter from the same angle, though without authoritarian forms of organisation. In the countries of Western Europe—above all, England and France—there has, during the last few years, been a substantial increase of leisure-time for the masses, due to the shortening of hours as well as to unemployment. But there has not been a parallel increase in the provision of guidance in the expenditure of that leisure. A sharply defined line has been drawn between intellectual activity of an academic kind and the higher forms of amusement. The former has been expensively fostered by State grants; the latter has been left largely to voluntary effort or commercial enterprise. The time is now coming, however, when the term "adult education" will have to be merged into a larger conception of "leisure-time activity" and recognised as only one section—even if the highest and most valuable section—of that wider sphere. Once this change of perspective has been recognised, a proper relation between the different kinds of human interests could be arrived at. The misfits of the past, whereby so many thousands of persons not ready for it were pushed into intensive intellectual culture, would be avoided, and there would come to be some relation between the needs of the individual and the methods of catering for those needs. The term "adult education" would indeed cease to exist; but in ceasing it would have transformed itself into something wider and more worth while to the rank and file of our citizens.

R. S. LAMBERT.

PART VI

School Broadcasting in Great Britain

I. Introduction

IN the modern world of rapid change we tend to take progress for granted. We too rarely sit back and reflect on either the direction or magnitude of the changes taking place around us. In no sphere of modern life has progress been more dramatic than in broadcasting. In a short span of years we have developed from those experimental days when the reception of any signal, however faint or distorted, was a cause of satisfaction and even excitement, until now broadcasting has assumed a vital place in our national life. Most readers of this survey will no doubt be able to remember the days before broadcasting, and form some picture of the changes which it has brought about. But perhaps we do not sufficiently appreciate that a generation is growing up for whom broadcasting has been an established part of their lives for as long as they can remember. In addition to the fact that the majority of children now hear broadcasting in their homes, an increasingly large proportion of them have, through the development of School Broadcasting, come to regard it as an essential part of their school life.[1] That School Broadcasting should so rapidly have assumed this position of importance is no less significant than the general progress made by Radio, and when the full history of the first years of broadcasting is written, the chapter on School Broadcasting will not be the least interesting.

The Beginnings of School Broadcasting

A regular broadcasting service in the United Kingdom, operated by the British Broadcasting Company, began in November 1923, and before many months had passed it was decided to explore the possibilities of broadcasting as a medium of education. The B.B.C. appointed a Committee including representatives of local education authorities, directors of education and organisations of teachers, to advise upon, and watch the progress of, educational broadcasting. It was found that a number of schools were anxious to experiment

[1] The Register for England, Wales and Northern Ireland shows the following numbers of schools listening at the end of the Summer Term :

1935	1936	1937
3,708	5,126	6,890

Thus about one school in four is now on the register as listening.
The figures for Scotland are :

1935	1936	1937
377	726	871
	514	

with broadcast talks specially planned to meet their needs, and in the Summer Term of 1924 the first experimental series was given, to be followed in September of that year by the introduction of a regular service. One of His Majesty's Inspectors of Schools, Mr. J. C. Stobart, was seconded from the Board of Education to advise the B.B.C., and was subsequently transferred to their service as Education Director. By June 1926 the broadcasts had already so established themselves that it was felt possible to conduct a definite experiment into the use of School Broadcasting, and with the aid of a grant from the Carnegie United Kingdom Trustees a year's experiment was conducted in Kent schools, by the Kent Education Committee and the B.B.C. in co-operation.

The Central Council for School Broadcasting

In 1927 the British Broadcasting Company was replaced by the British Broadcasting Corporation. The next year marked the end of the first stage in the development of School Broadcasting, for in the Kent Report [1] published in that year forty teachers indicated that after a year's experiment they were not willing to be deprived of wireless as an aid to teaching. This view that School Broadcasting was growing out of the purely experimental stage was shared by the original Advisory Committee appointed by the B.B.C. which voluntarily resigned in order to facilitate the establishment of a Central Council for School Broadcasting.

In 1929 the B.B.C. set up the Central Council for School Broadcasting to guide the development of the School Broadcasting service. Its function is to advise the B.B.C. both on contemporary educational policy and on the detail of educational practice, and to secure the recognition of School Broadcasting by teachers as an activity sponsored and recommended by a qualified educational body.

In 1935, when the Central Council had been in existence for six years, the B.B.C. decided that the time had come when the Council should be granted a greater degree of independence. The essential purpose of the Central Council remains unchanged, but the greater independence granted in 1935 resulted in a division of functions between the B.B.C. and the Council, which will become evident as we describe the operations of the School Broadcasting service.

The School Broadcasting Service

From the small beginnings in 1924 the School Broadcasting service has made steady progress. In the present school year, 1937–8, the B.B.C. is transmitting in the National programme broadcasts specially designed for schools in England and Wales during 10 hours each week for 30 weeks. The schools programme is divided into 27 separate series graded from programmes suitable for infants to those designed for pupils in the sixth forms of

[1] *Educational Broadcasting—Report of a special investigation in the County of Kent during the year* 1927. Published by the Carnegie United Kingdom Trustees.

secondary schools. This programme requires the publication of 44 separate pamphlets for use in conjunction with the broadcasts. School broadcasts take many different forms: straight talks, dramatic readings, dramatic interludes, songs and readings in foreign languages, musical exercises designed to evoke a direct rhythmic response in the children, stories to encourage the children to make plays, short plays suitable for puppets; in short, every method of presentation which is likely to engage the interest of the children is used. More than 7,000 schools take advantage of the facilities offered by this service.

The Service in Scotland and Wales

In addition to these facilities which are available for schools in England and Wales, there are three further series of broadcasts in the Welsh Regional Programme designed especially to meet the needs of Welsh schools. In Scotland, 24 series of broadcasts are radiated from Scottish Regional, Aberdeen and Burghead transmitters. Certain of the broadcasts to Scottish schools are the same as those radiated in England and Wales, but the majority are specially planned by the Scottish Council for School Broadcasting to meet the particular needs of Scottish schools. About 1,000 schools in Scotland are now listening to school broadcasts, and as in the case of England and Wales, special pamphlets are issued for use in connection with these broadcasts.

The Need for Close Co-operation

Numerous problems have, of course, arisen during the development of School Broadcasting to its present position; some have been solved but others are permanent problems requiring the constant attention of all concerned. For example, the usefulness of the service is seriously reduced unless the conditions of reception in schools are satisfactory, and it is clearly essential that the needs of the schools be made the main consideration and be kept constantly in mind both in planning and producing the broadcasts. But above all, unless there is close understanding and unity of purpose between those responsible for School Broadcasting on the one hand, and the teaching profession and education authorities on the other, the service cannot achieve the desired results. These problems are discussed at length below, but we may perhaps first refer briefly to the constitution and functions of the Central Council for School Broadcasting in view of its importance in relation to them.

Constitution of the Central Council for School Broadcasting

The Central Council for School Broadcasting consists of forty-three members representing the major educational bodies both of administration and teachers, and persons nominated by the B.B.C. The Chairman is Dr. W. W. Vaughan, M.V.O., late Headmaster of

Rugby, and the Vice-Chairman is Sir Henry Richards, C.B., late Senior Chief Inspector of the Board of Education.

The Scottish Council for School Broadcasting, which was set up in 1929, is a body operating for Scotland, responsible to the Central Council for supervising and developing School Broadcasting in Scotland. The composition of the Scottish Council is similar to that of the Central Council. The Chairman is Sir Charles Cleland, K.B.E., M.V.O., LL.D., and the Vice-Chairman is Mr. George A. Burnett, M.A., Principal of Jordanhill Training College, Glasgow.

In Wales certain responsibilities have been entrusted to the Welsh Joint Sub-Committee of the Central Council, the Chairman of which is Professor W. J. Gruffydd, M.A., Professor of Celtic at University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire.

The Council exercises its powers of supervision of programme and pamphlet arrangements through a series of Programme Sub-Committees co-ordinated by the Executive Committee of the Council, which determines the main lines of policy. Each Programme Sub-Committee consists of a member of the Council, one or more specialists, one of H.M. Inspectors, and a number of teachers from different types of school, who form the majority of each committee. The work of these Sub-Committees is described below in greater detail. The design of the broadcast course is, therefore, in the control of persons who are in close touch with the schools.

The B.B.C. still retain an overriding power in respect of Corporation policy, finance and programme production, but subject thereto the Council have direct responsibility for certain stated activities with an annual block grant adapted to its reasonable requirements, and its own secretariat free from B.B.C. control. These stated activities are as follows: the supervision through committees of programme and pamphlet arrangements and engineering facilities, the control and appointment of the Council staff, the organisation of research, and the control of the listening end, including contact with training colleges, associations of teachers and outside bodies; the production of programmes remains the responsibility of the Corporation's Director of School Broadcasts.

It is difficult to define more clearly in a short note the powers of the Council, but from what has been said it will be evident that the planning of School Broadcasts and the investigation into the results necessitate close co-operation between the Council and the Corporation. That this co-operation is willingly afforded and effectively maintained may be seen from the success of the School Broadcasting service since the formation of the Council.

II. Technical Problems

From the very earliest days of school broadcasting, the B.B.C. realised that the success of their efforts to provide programmes acceptable to schools would depend to a very great extent upon a

satisfactory standard of reception being obtained. There were very many problems to contend with, not the least being the fact that school broadcasting was not then recognised by education authorities to the extent of providing grants for the purchase of sets. Schools had to raise money for themselves in the best way they could by holding concerts, whist drives, etc. Commercially made receiving apparatus at that time was not only expensive but it was seldom suitable for use in any but a very small room. Further, the requirements of schools are very different from those of the private listener, since school classrooms and halls are much larger than rooms in private houses, and the acoustics are often none too good. It was very clear, therefore, that some means would have to be found for providing sound technical advice so that schools might be helped to install apparatus which would at least give reasonably good quality reception, and be prevented from wasting their money on quite unsuitable apparatus. The B.B.C. therefore set up in the Autumn of 1926 a small section of engineers to provide a free advisory service for schools and education authorities. Since the formation of the Central Council in 1929, their activities have been directed by the Council, though they are still looked upon as B.B.C. engineers and have to act in accordance with both Council and B.B.C. policy.

During the past ten years there have, of course, been very great improvements in the types of apparatus available. In the early days most schools constructed their own battery-operated sets and these were seldom capable of satisfactory reception under the somewhat difficult conditions prevailing in schools. As time went on more and more sets became available for operation from the electric-light mains, and improvements were made in the standard of quality of which both sets and loud-speakers were capable until, at the present time, many ordinary commercial sets are obtainable which can provide a sufficient volume of sound for school classrooms and halls, together with the high standard of quality which is necessary. At the same time, a steadily increasing number of authorities are taking responsibility for the whole or part of the cost of installing sets. Apart from mains-operated sets, battery sets have also improved very considerably, and schools not fitted with electric light can obtain quite good results for classroom purposes with modern equipment of this type.

Problem of Maintaining Sets

One of the early difficulties was that of the maintenance of sets, and few schools seemed to make any regular arrangements with wireless dealers for the inspection of their apparatus and the replacement of expended batteries. A proper system of maintenance is still necessary, but the difficulties are not so great now that more mains-operated sets are in use, since these usually require less frequent attention. In the early days the education engineers were

concerned more often with giving advice for the improvement of sets already in use, help usually being sought after difficulties had arisen. Now, however, the existence of this service is more widely known and the engineers are very largely engaged upon advising education authorities and schools prior to the installation of apparatus.

Work of the Reception Sub-Committee

One of the sub-committees of the Central Council, the Reception Sub-Committee, is also concerned with the technical problems at the listening end and much of its work deals with the provision of advice for schools. During recent months, for instance, it has been considering—in conjunction with the Technical Committee of the Radio Manufacturers' Association—the methods of installation which will best meet school requirements. In 1932, a further sub-committee was set up, responsible to the Reception Sub-Committee, to examine commercially made sets and to publish a list of apparatus suitable for use in schools. The Approval (Apparatus) Sub-Committee, as it is called, holds a series of meetings in the Autumn of each year and a further series in the Spring, when receiving sets, radiogramophones and loud-speakers submitted to them for approval by the various radio manufacturers are carefully tested under actual school classroom conditions. The scheme is open to all radio manufacturers, but their apparatus has to comply with certain technical requirements before it can be submitted to the Committee. Such apparatus as receives approval is described in *A List of Broadcast Receiving Apparatus Suitable for Use in Schools*, published by the Council in the Spring and Autumn of each year. At the Autumn series of meetings the list is completely revised, that is to say, no apparatus is carried forward to the new list unless it is again submitted for the approval of the Committee. In this way a high standard of quality is maintained and schools are assured that no apparatus is included in the list which does not conform to the present-day standards of the Committee. The Central Council cannot, of course, insist that schools shall install apparatus chosen from this list, but many education authorities have realised that the Council and its committees go to a good deal of trouble and expense every year in examining large quantities of apparatus and eliminating a certain amount which is unsuitable, and they for their part have insisted that their schools shall only install approved equipment.

To assist schools in using the list, it is divided into sections describing receiving sets, radiogramophones, loud-speakers and certain " special installations." The sections describing receiving sets and radiogramophones are further subdivided with an indication as to the suitability of the instruments for use in small, average or large classrooms. The " special installations " include apparatus giving a large output of sound capable of providing broadcast reception in large halls or in several classrooms simultaneously.

The Use of Gramophone Record Reproduction

Gramophone record reproduction has been recognised for a long time as being useful in schools, and many education authorities have made provision for the purchase of gramophones. It seems generally recognised that electrical reproduction, such as is obtainable with a radiogramophone, gives better quality than can be had from the majority of the older acoustic types of gramophones. For this reason the combined instrument, giving both radio reception and gramophone reproduction, is often installed. Up to the present it has not been possible for the Approval (Apparatus) Sub-Committee to test any of these instruments in respect of gramophone reproduction, so that schools are strongly advised to test this for themselves before deciding finally on a specific model from the Central Council's List.

Relay and Re-diffusion Services

There is an alternative method of securing broadcast reception in schools available in certain localities, where relay services, or re-diffusion services as they are also called, have been set up by private companies. Such services include a centrally-situated receiving station which redistributes the broadcast programmes to subscribers in the surrounding area, usually by means of overhead wires. The relay company erects the receiving station in a part of the district where good reception, free from electrical interference, is obtainable, and many schools which happen to be close to sources of electrical interference have found it advantageous to become subscribers to such a relay service rather than to install a receiving set. The Central Council expresses no preference as between the installation of ordinary receiving sets and the fitting of relay services in schools, but is concerned to ensure as far as it can that reception in schools is satisfactory. Each method has its own particular advantages in the light of local conditions, whilst the question of comparative cost is one which the intending listener is advised to investigate for himself. Under the relay system a school is wired with one or more loud-speaker points and it usually has to purchase one or more loud-speakers, according to its needs, from the relay company. For the payment usually of a weekly rental, the company then distributes the broadcast programmes to the school. Advice on the use of relay services is provided by the Central Council, since, as in the case of receiving sets, there are sometimes problems which it is wise to consider fully before making final arrangements for an installation.

Effects of Wavelength Changes

Before passing from technical problems, mention must be made of certain wavelength changes which the B.B.C. has been compelled to introduce recently, since they affect a certain number of schools which may have been in the habit in the past of listening on 261·1 metres, either to the London, the North or the West National

transmitter of the B.B.C. In order to provide separate Regional services for Wales and the West of England recommended in the report of the Broadcasting Committee, 1935, a rearrangement of wavelengths has had to be made, necessitating the cessation of the West National transmitter altogether and the closing down, during the hours of the school broadcasts, of the London and North National transmitters. This means that all schools wishing to receive the school broadcasts in the National programme now have to listen to the Droitwich transmitter, operating on a wavelength of 1,500 metres. In a few cases this may mean a little greater difficulty in reception, mainly because local electrical interference is more prevalent on the long waves than on medium waves, but so far as it has been possible to investigate the matter, the difficulties are not usually so serious that they cannot be overcome by fairly simple means.

Conclusion

There can be no doubt about the general improvement in the quality of reception in schools during the last few years. As will have been seen from these comments, many factors have contributed to this improvement and by no means the least important of these has been the technical advisory service for schools, so generously provided by the B.B.C. But there are still important technical problems to be faced, past progress has to be maintained and efforts have to be directed to those schools where reception is still unsatisfactory ; in short, in the future as in the past, constant care and attention will be required to see that poor reception does not deprive schools of the benefits that they should be getting from School Broadcasting.

III. Aims of School Broadcasting in Great Britain

At the beginning of the Chairman's Preface to the Annual Programme of the Central Council for School Broadcasting, the following quotation is made from the section of the report of the Broadcasting Committee, 1935, which refers to school broadcasting : " These broadcasts are intended to supplement, not to take the place of, the work of teacher and pupil, and to provide a mental stimulus beyond the ordinary resources of the school." And the Preface continues, " This may stand very well as a statement of the Council's aims." This statement is later amplified as follows :

" It is important that school broadcasting should not be viewed in isolation. On the one hand it is a section of general broadcasting : on the other it must be seen in its proper perspective as one of the elements in modern education. Education is passing through a stage of rapid development ; the boundaries of the school are receding, and as they recede the responsibilities of the teacher are increasing. It is the avowed object of the educator to-day to prepare children for life, both in work and play : in fact the school is or should be part of life. The teacher has no longer to be content

with instructing his pupils in classroom subjects : he is all the time seeking ways in which he can link up classroom teaching with life outside the school. Broadcasting is an important outside influence on the development of the child : the teacher who brings it into the school is drawing into his service something which is part of the normal experience of home life to-day. And, furthermore, apart from what the child learns in the process, he has his first experience of listening under guidance. He is likely to spend many hours of his adolescent and adult life listening to the radio. The teacher has a chance of doing something to train his power of selection and incidentally his power to concentrate on what is being spoken.

" Broadcasting is therefore something very much more than a convenient classroom aid to teaching ; it is something which for social considerations it is impossible for a modern educator to ignore. But if he is to use it in his school he must use it through, or mainly through, the special Broadcasts for Schools. We have long been accustomed to accept the printed word as the teacher's principal aid in education. Broadcasting brings in the spoken word in a new form ; but though it uses a mechanical device, it is something more than a mechanical aid. In order to give its full service, it must be vitalised at both ends, at the microphone and in the classroom, by a human personality. No broadcast talk can replace the interplay of personality between teacher and pupil, but at the microphone men and women give their experiences in some form not available to the school through the usual medium of lesson or textbook ; and the success of the broadcast will depend a good deal on how far the broadcaster can " get across " a sense of personality. At the other end the teacher uses the material of the broadcast as one element in a scheme of work he has designed for his own purpose. The broadcast by itself is not a lesson : it gives the teacher, who has skill to develop it, new and invigorating material to use with his class.

" The essential demand, therefore, which a teacher makes of a broadcast is, that it should provide something he himself cannot give, and supplement the work of the school on the imaginative side. It may bring history to life in the form of dramatisations. It may bring the traveller with first-hand experience to tell his tales in the classroom. And it may record commentaries on actual happenings in the world such as the launching of a great liner. Even without the aid of sight, sound can often suggest a vivid picture, as when a recent speaker took the listeners into a spinning-mill in Lancashire, and recorded what was going on. At the least, the broadcast can help the teacher who lacks special knowledge of, say, music or gardening, to get fuller value from those subjects. Throughout, the broadcast, if it is successful, will enrich the curriculum and bring into the school a breath from the world outside. It is for the teacher to choose which particular broadcast, or combination of broadcasts, can make the best contribution to his particular needs. The choice is wide."

Although we rightly regard School Broadcasting mainly as a

classroom aid, we must not lose sight of a point previously mentioned, namely, that School Broadcasting is a section of general broadcasting, and that rightly used it will give children an interest in serious and selective listening when they leave school. In particular it is likely to give rise to a desire on the part of those who have enjoyed School Broadcasting while at school to form Groups for the purpose of discussing broadcast talks. It is interesting to note that there is now a close link between the Central Council for School Broadcasting and the Central Committee for Group Listening, which co-ordinates the work of organising Discussion Groups among adults, Mr. Cameron being the Secretary of both bodies.

IV. The Broadcasts

Planning the Programme

The actual programmes broadcast to schools are the result of the co-operative work of the Council and the B.B.C. The Executive Committee of the Council allots sections of the programme time made available to the Council by the B.B.C. to programme sub-committees which deal respectively with English, history, science, geography, modern languages, music, special broadcasts for secondary schools and special broadcasts for rural schools. The planning of the programme is handled by these sub-committees; its production is the responsibility of the B.B.C. There is constant reference between the two bodies in both activities, and there appears to be no danger of the division of function developing into a tiresome departmentalism.

At each of its three meetings in the year a Programme Sub-Committee receives from the Council's Senior Education Assistant a résumé of the reports from schools and from the Council's Education Officers on the broadcasts transmitted since the last meeting of the committee. This résumé is discussed in the light of reports from members of the committee themselves, most of whom being teachers will have been able to see for themselves how the broadcasts were received in the classroom.

Either before or during the meeting the committee hears the transmission of one of the broadcasts for which it is responsible, and will criticise it in detail from the point of view of speed, vocabulary, suitability for age-range, amount of material, and so on.

The committee then proceeds to examine the pamphlet published for use by individual children during the course of the broadcasts, and to comment on the comparative popularity of the pictures, their suitability, their size and usefulness, and the follow-up work suggestions and synopses.

Finally the committee works out plans for the series to be broadcast the following year, drawing on the experience of its own members, and on reports received from various educational sources. The advice of the officials of both bodies is also available. There is present at each meeting the Senior Education Assistant of the

Council and the B.B.C. programme official responsible for the production of the series which the committee plans. The committee can call upon the former for information regarding listening schools and school practice, and upon the latter for advice on the possibility of converting into suitable broadcasting form the proposals they are considering. It is unusual for a committee to plan details for a series itself. More often it recommends that an outside expert should be invited to prepare a series on the general lines which it has laid down. At the next meeting this more detailed outline will be discussed with the expert himself probably present for part of the time. These outside experts, and anyone who later on is invited to broadcast, are strictly speaking the employees of the B.B.C., not of the Council, but the advice of the committees in both matters is sought continually, and, especially in the matter of broadcasters, is invaluable.

Producing the Programme

It is thus the duty of the Schools Department of the B.B.C. to provide programmes on the lines so decided by the various programme sub-committees of the Council. The Department consists of Miss Mary Somerville, O.B.E., Director of School Broadcasts, and a staff of programme officials, each of whom attends the meetings of the programme sub-committee responsible for planning the series which he produces. He has to seek suitable broadcasters, prepare material for illustrated pamphlets for use with the broadcasts, and arrange for the writing of scripts. He has to edit the scripts when they arrive, rehearse the broadcasts, see that transmissions go off smoothly, and afterwards take to heart the reports he receives from his colleagues, from officials of the Central Council, from schools (through the Council) and from the summing up at the meeting of the Programme Sub-Committee concerned. He is more fortunate than his colleagues in other departments of the B.B.C. in that the elaborate organisation of the Central Council exists in order to render articulate the demands of a known public, and prepares in detail the plans of the programmes and brings informed criticism to bear upon all the work he does.

The actual labour in which he is involved differs with each series. In " The Practice and Science of Gardening," " Round the Countryside," Biology and Music, the broadcasts are likely to be in the hands of some one person, or of two persons, throughout the entire year. For Travel Talks and Regional Geography there may be a different broadcaster every week, each broadcaster needing a certain amount of training. In addition, there may be unexpected difficulties in finding people who have spent some considerable time in the particular parts of the world, and in touch with the particular activities of which the committee has decided the series must treat.

Possible broadcasters are tracked down through the files of the B.B.C. and through the recommendations of the Council's Programme Sub-Committees, of learned societies, Government depart-

ments, universities and training colleges, and the innumerable contacts of the B.B.C. and the Council with the educational public and the public at large. There is very frequent consultation regarding the choice of broadcasters with the Council, where officials as well as specialist members of committees are often present at auditions.

The B.B.C. programme official must train himself to draw people out and to sum them up very rapidly. He must decide quickly whether or not the proposed broadcaster has the knowledge required, the ability to talk to children in a natural straightforward way, a voice and personality which will come sweeping out of the loud-speaker to take up the attention of every child sitting in the classroom, and a mind of such resource and activity that teachers will be stimulated. Clearly a broadcaster must know and like children of the age he is addressing, but there is no necessity for him to be a teacher. School experience is of great help to the broadcaster, but it is often possible for that lack to be made up by skilful guidance on the part of the B.B.C. programme official who himself has the experience. It is most happily rare for the Council to have to recommend the rejection of a broadcaster through inability to adapt himself to school conditions.

Training a School Broadcaster

Before the broadcaster is engaged he must pass satisfactorily an audition at the microphone. He will read from script and speak extempore in a studio at Broadcasting House, while the responsible B.B.C. official and a number of his colleagues listen at a loud-speaker in another studio. Is he clear ? Has his voice some quality of vigour or charm which would make one listen to him ? Has his voice some annoying idiosyncrasy which would become Chinese torture to the listener after five or ten minutes—a weak R, a bad S, a smacking of the lips ? Has his voice character, or is it what unkind persons call " a B.B.C. voice " ?

The broadcaster has been asked to bring a script of a few hundred words to the audition. When he reads it at the microphone he sounds as if he were reading, not as if he were talking. He does not hold his audience in the other studio. Then he talks extempore, and everyone becomes interested. He is shown how his extempore speaking was done in short, simple sentences, with few relative clauses, with sentences sometimes ending in prepositions, with few " howevers " and " neverthelesses," with nothing " literary." He is shown how the script he has brought can be made just as vivid by cutting in half a sentence here, and turning that sentence round ; by changing long words into short words—in fact, by being straightforward and simple. He is enticed into banishing modesty and into centring all his statements around himself and his own experiences. At this audition perhaps his voice has been recorded, and a few minutes later he hears it. He notices that he has been dropping his voice at the end of every sentence. He tries reading the new script. It is better, but he is too fast. He still sounds as if he were reading.

It is all flat and stale. There is no variety ; there are no pauses, none of the hesitations of natural speech. The words ought to sound fresh, newly minted. He has another try. There is discussion of the shape of his talk, what musical or dramatic illustrations might be used, how he is to use pictures in the pamphlets. Finally he goes away to write a script like his real everyday speech.

The first draft of his script arrives. The programme official—with the help of the expert supervisor if he is not an expert himself on the subject dealt with—edits the script. He sees that it should be reshaped ; that there a reference might be made to a picture in the pamphlet ; that there a gramophone record, a sound picture, an interview with some other person might be introduced ; he examines the phrasing ; he sees that the beginning is not sufficiently friendly, and that a recapitulation is needed at suitable intervals through the talk. He marks possible cuts if the script is too long : for seniors about 2,200 words (including announcements, etc.) is the right length for twenty minutes ; for juniors about 2,000 words. He asks himself if the selection of material given by the broadcaster offers a fair picture or is it likely to give a false impression ? Is his information really up-to-date ? And so on. The programme official has then to convince the broadcaster that the alterations he suggests would improve the talk. He must make the broadcaster realise that he is not just interfering ; that if he suggests that 500 words ought to be cut and that such and such a phrase will not be understood, he is not trying to prevent the broadcaster from expressing himself ; he is trying to make communication between the broadcaster and the audience more effective. There is a rehearsal, perhaps two rehearsals, and then the transmission.

Assessing Results of a Broadcast

The day after the broadcast the programme official will receive, through the Central Council, between a dozen and twenty reports from a panel of selected schools. One or more of his colleagues probably heard the broadcast in a school, and comes back with his impressions. The officials and education officers of the Central Council possibly heard it, too, and there may be a few spontaneous letters in the post. All these reports are weighed and digested. If the official, as a result of these reports, is doubtful on certain points he will discuss them with the Director of School Broadcasts and the Senior Education Assistant of the Council, who will suggest what interim measures might be taken until the Programme Sub-Committee has given a decision.

The Preparation of Feature Programmes

Dramatic interludes and illustrated talks and feature programmes are all prepared in much the same way as straight talks. Usually, though, they are produced by one or other of the department's dramatic producers instead of the programme official who handled the preparation of the script. As a rule dramatic productions are

simpler than those broadcast in the general evening programmes : the rate of speech must be slower ; effects must be handled with greater restraint ; if possible, there must be no speaking against a background of music or effects ; " character " and dialect actors must contrive not to be unintelligible to children who have never known such characters or heard such dialects. Most of the best radio actors regularly broadcast to schools, and the resources of the B.B.C. Effects Department, gramophone and music libraries, recording facilities, etc., are of course available to the full.

The Preparation of Pamphlets

Illustrated pamphlets are prepared by the Schools Department and Publications Department of the B.B.C. in collaboration. Extensive research is carried out in museums and libraries in order to find suitable illustrations, and maps and diagrams are specially drawn. The material is approved before publication by the Chairman of the appropriate committee of the Council, and in certain cases by other members as well. After publication the pamphlet is appraised in detail by the entire Programme Committee. Bibliographies for publication in certain of the pamphlets are prepared by members of the Committee, the programme official, the Senior Education Assistant, and the broadcaster or supervisor in consultation.

It is perhaps only possible for those closely connected with School Broadcasting to realise to the full the volume of detailed work which is behind the planning and production of each School Broadcast. On the surface it may appear that the mechanism of consultation is complicated, but it has been built up to ensure that at each stage in the production of the broadcasts the needs of the schools are made articulate.

It must be appreciated, however, that good reception and good programmes are not enough to ensure successful School Broadcasting. The attitude of those at the listening-end is one of the greatest factors contributing to success, and this, of course, is primarily a matter for the schools themselves : it cannot be controlled by the Central Council or by the B.B.C. Through the listening-end work of the Council, however, guidance and information are offered to teachers which may influence their attitude to School Broadcasting.

V. Growth of Public Interest

Interest in School Broadcasting is widespread and has grown rapidly in the last few years. At the beginning conservatism was natural and scepticism was healthy. The new invention had to prove itself. Its value was not to be taken for granted. Gradually, with better broadcasts, better sets, and more knowledge of the possibilities and limitations of the new medium, interest grew, especially among the teachers themselves. Some, perhaps, were chiefly attracted at first by the very novelty of broadcasting, but novelty does not last, and it cannot have played a large part in the continued

increase of interest. More probably the reason is to be found in the solid advantages of School Broadcasting and the help which it can give to the schools. A second reason may be that there is less suspicion now. In early days there were rumours of extravagant claims that the wireless would soon do away with the need for class-teachers, and some were afraid that, like other new inventions, it would cause unemployment. Others with professional pride looked on it as an usurper; there were scoffers at "mechanised education" and "potted pedagogy"; and there was a genuine and reasonable anxiety lest the school broadcasts might lead to standardisation and be the thin end of the wedge of an educational dictatorship.

Happily these fears have not been realised. Experience and clear thinking have shown that no mechanical aid can ever replace the teacher and that the functions of teachers and broadcasts are not rival but complementary. Professional pride is directed into the more positive channel of co-operation, and experiments are being made to discover how the broadcasts may be most helpful.

The last danger is one of which the Central Council is well aware, and no one is more anxious to avert it. As long as the present organisation continues there will be no danger of dictatorship, and, as to standardisation, British teachers may be trusted to preserve their own traditional independence. Further, as has already been explained, through the Programme Sub-Committees the control of development is actually in the hands of the teachers who are using the service.

A third reason for the increase of interest is probably that reception has improved, sets are cheaper and more reliable, and local education authorities are beginning to consider the equipment of their schools less as a new-fangled theory and more as practical policy. Thus the problems of School Broadcasting have become real to a great number of teachers who concern themselves little with educational theory in the abstract. Teachers who have now the opportunity of using this new and potentially valuable mechanical aid are asking everywhere how they may use it best. Many are making experiments, which involve a revision of their own earlier ideas; and this in itself is part of the contribution of wireless to Education.

Equally notable is the interest shown by the Board of Education. From the earliest days of the Central Council the two have been in close touch, with official representatives of the Board sitting on the Council, and there are now many inspectors who take part in School Broadcasting, either as members of the Council itself or of its Sub-Committees; and the constructive criticisms of these and other inspectors have been of great help to the Council. In addition to this, there is growing co-operation by means of reports, conferences and courses of lectures or demonstrations. A sign of interest taken by the Board is the inclusion for the first time of references to wireless in the new *Handbook of Suggestions to Teachers*.

Finally, there is the growing tendency of local education authorities to meet the whole or part of the cost of installing and maintaining apparatus. What was at first almost always the product of a progressive teacher's enterprise is now increasingly becoming a part of the public provision of Education. Local education authorities have, from the beginning, been actively represented on the Council and its Committees.

Influence of School Broadcasting in the Schools

It is early yet to give a full account of the influence of School Broadcasting in the schools and in Education generally. Naturally the influence varies in different schools according to the use which they make of wireless, and this use varies from an occasional broadcast turned on as an extra, to regular listening as a normal part of the curriculum ; but the commonest reasons why schools listen may be summarised as follows :

Because broadcasts

1. Provide help for teachers in subjects on which they are not specialists,
2. Give variety, new voices and new points of view,
3. Give more reality by bringing the outside world into the classroom,
4. Illustrate class lessons by means of dramatic interludes,
5. Provide up-to-date information on a large number of subjects,
6. Set an example by maintaining a high standard of performance.

Not all schools listen for all these reasons, but there must be few who do not listen for one or some of them, though individual schools no doubt have also other reasons of their own. The influence exercised by the broadcasts depends, therefore, on their success in fulfilling these purposes. The Central Council for School Broadcasting invites and receives comments from a large number of teachers on both the broadcasts and on broadcasting in general. These comments are by no means confined to uncritical expressions of appreciation—in fact they constitute a steady stream of constructive criticism whereby the policy and ideas of both Central Council and B.B.C. have been developed and modified. But taken as a whole the outstanding feature of them has been the encouragement given to School Broadcasting by teachers of all kinds all over the country. From this, and from the rapidly increasing number of teachers using the broadcasts, it may be inferred that there is a strong general feeling that this influence is good, and therefore presumably that the purposes outlined above are being fulfilled.

Educational Effects of Broadcasting

The effects of this would normally be :

1. That the small schools feel themselves less handicapped by lack of specialist teachers,

2. That education in these schools is less associated in the children's minds with the voices of one or two teachers,

3. That remote schools feel themselves less remote and that all schools may feel that their work is more closely in touch with the world outside,

4. That textbook facts are clothed with new meaning, impossible with ordinary classroom resources,

5. That teachers are continually provided with new material and the services of a constant " refresher course,"

6. That in everything which concerns the spoken word or can be judged by the ear, schools are provided with examples by which they may criticise their own performances, and with added opportunities for appreciation.

These are the chief of the broad educational effects. It is less easy to generalise about the effects on the curriculum. It is the intention of most broadcasts, and it is widely felt to be desirable, that they should not stand alone. When it is said that a broadcast is not a substitute for but a supplement to a class lesson, it is implied that its effectiveness depends to a great extent on the use which the class-teacher makes of it. This implies again that, in drawing up a time-table to include broadcasts, a teacher must allow for considerably more time than the twenty minutes actually spent in listening. Preparation and follow-up are both involved, and the broadcasts stimulate the children to a host of new interests and activities. In fact the place occupied by a broadcast in the time-table may be anything from one school-period to several weeks, during which it may form the centre of a " project."

Relation of Broadcasts to School Syllabus

If taken seriously at all, the broadcast must be fitted into the school syllabus. Ways of doing this are the concern of the individual teacher and depend on the purpose for which he wants his class to listen. Though broadcasts are planned in series, they are not planned to form a syllabus, and it is not likely that a broadcast series as a whole will fit a school syllabus exactly without modification. The alternatives thus open to the teacher are either to modify his syllabus or to choose those broadcasts which fit into it and leave the others. The broadcasts are so planned that either alternative is practicable, for though there are connecting links and continuous ideas running through a whole series each broadcast is planned as a separate whole which can be perfectly understood without reference to any of the others. The time-table may determine which of these methods is adopted, or some teachers may feel that their independence is threatened if they alter their own syllabus to suit the broadcast series. On the other hand, others may feel that though their own syllabus must be the first consideration, a good series of broadcasts is no more to be ignored than a good new textbook and may even sometimes form the foundation of their teaching.

Certain difficulties are inevitable. For instance, the broadcasts and pamphlets have to be planned some time in advance, and the programme once fixed could not be altered without long notice being given. Thus many secondary schools are prevented by their time-tables from making full use of the broadcasts, many of which (especially in boarding schools which play games in the afternoons) cannot be taken at all. Secondly, the broadcast terms have to be arranged for the greatest convenience of the greatest number and are consequently often felt to be rather short, especially in the summer. The reason is not, as is sometimes supposed, that the terms are arranged to suit secondary rather than elementary schools ; they are not ; but that schools in different parts of the country take their summer holidays at such diverse times that longer terms would make many would-be listeners feel that they were excluded from important broadcasts. Thirdly, the material broadcast has to be of general interest rather than particular and may sometimes be found not exactly to fit individual needs.

Nevertheless, in spite of these difficulties, the remarkable growth of interest in School Broadcasting and of the use made of it is a sign that the difficulties are small in comparison with the advantages. Schools are brought more into touch with each other and with the outside world, teachers are helped to keep themselves up to date ; parents often listen at home to the broadcasts and discuss them with their children when they come back to tea—a development which has received too little notice but which must be creating in many homes a new attitude towards education and a closer link between parents and schools ; most important of all perhaps the wireless has founded a new university to which everyone can belong, and it is not too much to say that for the majority of children wireless provides after they leave school the chief opportunity of continuing their education. In this sense the school broadcasts, as is realised more and more by teachers, are a training for life.

Contact of the Council with Schools

It has already been stressed that it is one of the maxims of School Broadcasting that the broadcasts must meet the needs of the schools and that they must be presented in the most effective way. This was one of the chief reasons why the Central Council came into being, as the official link between the schools and the B.B.C.

The powers and constitution of the Central Council have been outlined above. It maintains contact with the schools, first, through its own members, and secondly, through its sub-committees, among which is a special Listening-end Sub-Committee, which meets four times a year to consider reports and problems of research. Thirdly, there are the permanent officials of the Council under the Secretary. These, in co-operation with the officials of the B.B.C., keep in touch with schools in various ways by means of reports, visits, conferences, demonstrations and formal experiments, these activities being carried out both from the centre and also regionally

by seven education officers whose duty it is to understand local needs and feeling in their districts. As already explained, technical problems are dealt with by an expert staff of education engineers. Thus any given school can have expert advice on problems of installation and reception from the engineer and help on all educational problems connected with Broadcasting from the education officer. It can send up criticisms and suggestions to the Central Council which will be fully considered and answered by its officials to the best of their ability. Its teachers have the opportunity at demonstrations of hearing about the latest ideas and developments of School Broadcasting, and of discussing them both with the lecturers and with other teachers ; and it seems probable that in the near future there will be an increasing number of short courses for teachers on the use of broadcasts.

Training in the use of broadcasts is now generally admitted to be an important need, and it may soon become an urgent one. In the past teachers have had to learn by experience and have relied on their own imagination ; and when the number of listening schools was comparatively small this worked fairly well, because few teachers then used the wireless who were not specially interested in it and anxious to experiment. In a few years' time, however, at the present rate of development, half the schools of England seem likely to be equipped, and the proportion of teachers who have made a special study of wireless may be much smaller. Action now may prevent disappointment later on, and the Council show by their demonstrations and courses the importance which they attach to this. Most important of all perhaps is the co-operation of the training colleges, where interest in wireless is steadily growing and between many of which and the Council there have been close links for some time.

With more schools listening the tendency is for contact to become closer. This, which might at first seem unlikely, is mainly due to the greater interest taken in Broadcasting and its increased importance in the curriculum. The Central Council, anxious for contact with the schools, finds that the schools meet it half-way. This is a good augury for the future, for School Broadcasting would not be what it is without the co-operation of many schools and teachers ; it is to a great extent their own offspring, and their continued support and criticism are needed for its further development. Moreover, the growing interest of local education authorities means that in such matters as the organisation of demonstrations and discussions, and the circulation of material of all kinds, the Council can deal in many matters collectively with the schools of an area.

Wireless compared with other Classroom Aids

In the widest sense a blackboard is a mechanical aid ; as is the piece of chalk with which the teacher writes on it ; so, of course, are books, pictures, and in fact everything which the teacher uses to

help him. In thinking of wireless it is well to remember this, because " mechanical aids " are sometimes mentioned in a slightly contemptuous way as if they were simply a new-fangled idea that had nothing to do with real teaching. But in the narrower and more commonly accepted sense " mechanical aids " mean wireless, cinema, epidiascope, episcope and gramophone—in other words, scientific inventions of the last thirty years. These differ from blackboards and chalk (though not from books and pictures) in that they are not merely dumb instruments of the teacher, but have a message of their own to the children as well that is quite independent of him. And wireless is perhaps the most independent of all in that it gives the most direct contact between the children and another personality. The teacher knows beforehand what is contained in pictures, books, gramophone records and possibly in films ; he chooses those which he thinks suitable and he is secure that they cannot let him down. But he has no such security with a broadcaster, who is actually speaking to the class and giving his talk for the first time. And because the children know that when the wireless is turned on there is a real person actually speaking to them, and because this real person may even say things which the teacher does not agree with, some teachers have felt that the wireless is a rival to them in a sense true of no other mechanical aid ; in fact, that the wireless is not so purely mechanical.

This difficulty is not so great in practice as in theory. Not only are the broadcasts carefully prepared and all efforts made to give the schools what they want, but the teacher soon comes to rely on his own experience. If the series of broadcasts which he takes has given satisfaction in the past, he can be reasonably confident about the future. If it has not, he can always cease to take it. Broadcasters are not irresponsible, and in most cases the teachers have a good general idea of what is likely to be said and of the use which they will be able to make of it. The more direct personal contact of the wireless has therefore come to be recognised as an asset, for which the occasional slight uncertainty is a small price to pay.

The value of films lies in the visual reality which nothing else but actual sight (and sometimes not even that) can give ; the value of the gramophone is its utility and the convenience with which records can be stopped at any point and played over again to illustrate or drive home some special point. The distinctive value of wireless is the contact with people and events actually speaking and happening at the moment they are heard.

VI. Comparison between School Broadcasting in Britain and Elsewhere

Great Britain has been fortunate in that all broadcasts are under the control of a single authority. Thus there has been possible a continuity and unity in educational policy that some other nations lack. There are, too, no time-differences such as hamper organisa-

tion in large countries like Canada and the U.S.A. Moreover, since the B.B.C. is the only broadcasting corporation, the system has escaped the commercialism with which broadcasting elsewhere is often strongly tinged, and from the other great evil, political propaganda, the school broadcasts are equally free.

More detailed comparison of British and Foreign school broadcasting might be premature, since everywhere the service is still developing, and therefore still in the experimental stage. Apart from the points mentioned above, there are two divergent tendencies in School Broadcasting : one to use the wireless for direct teaching —a centralising policy which leaves the class teacher a subordinate rôle and tends to standardisation ; the other to treat the wireless as a useful aid to the teacher while leaving him the first place, and, instead of competing with him on his own ground, to explore new methods whereby the peculiar advantages of wireless may be most fully used. Compromises, of course, are often made between these two extremes and different countries and systems vary considerably, but Great Britain for a long time now has been whole-heartedly in favour of the second.

The Central Council for School Broadcasting keeps in touch with the help of the B.B.C. with as many systems of School Broadcasting as possible, both in foreign countries and in the Dominions. Programmes and pamphlets from abroad are constantly being received and studied, and note is taken wherever possible of new developments. Moreover, both in Great Britain and in other countries, every facility is given to visitors genuinely interested to gain all the information that can be supplied.

VII. Conclusion

This century has seen a flood of new ideas, inventions and developments in Education comparable to nothing in history since the Renaissance. Wireless is not the least of these inventions, and further ideas and developments are certain to come from it, of which perhaps we can see at present only the beginnings. The fundamentals of education have long been given in thousands of separate schools up and down the country and in separate classes within those schools ; the fundamentals must always continue to be so given ; but in addition to this the outside world has begun to have access to every classroom in a way that could hardly be imagined twenty years ago, and though classes and schools are still separate it is not with the same sense of separation. It would take a bold prophet to say what the future is going to be, but one thing seems certain, that the new discoveries, though they do not alter the fundamental human problems of teaching, have infinitely widened the possibilities of what may be taught.

R. C. Steele.

APPENDIX

Publications on School Broadcasting

Comparatively little has yet been published in book form on the subject of School Broadcasting. As a general introduction the best works of reference are the subject pamphlets and the Annual Programme arranged by the Central Council and published by the B.B.C. This Programme was first published in the Autumn of 1932. The 1937–8 edition gives in 63 pages comprehensive information on most important points, with special regard to the needs of teachers who use the broadcasts. Among its contents are chapters on " The Contribution of School Broadcasting," " Classroom Use," " Problems of Installation and Reception," " The Programme," in general and details of each separate series. The subject Pamphlets, which were first introduced about ten years ago, are published (with one or two exceptions) every term. They are small handbooks of about 30 pages, some more, some less, containing fuller information about the separate broadcasts than can be given in the Annual Programme, and profusely illustrated. There is generally one pamphlet to each subject broadcast (e.g. one for " British History," one for " World History," one for " Travel Talks " and so on), and they are an important link between the broadcaster and his audience. They are published at 2*d*. each (1½*d*. for schools), and it is recommended that every child who listens should have one of his own. They have had great popularity and the sale last year exceeded one and a half million.

These are the only regular publications on the subject of School Broadcasting, apart from the information and criticism contained every week in several educational papers. Other publications for the Central Council have included the following Inquiry Pamphlets :

Inquiry Pamphlet No. 1.—The Evidence Regarding Broadcast History Lessons collected by the History Sub-Committee.

Inquiry Pamphlet No. 2.—The Evidence Regarding Broadcast Geography Lessons collected by the Geography Sub-Committee.

Inquiry Pamphlet No. 3.—The Evidence Regarding Broadcast Speech Training collected by the English Speech Investigation Sub-Committee.

Inquiry Pamphlet No. 4.—Broadcasting in the Senior School by Dr. F. J. Schonell (Reprinted from the *British Journal of Educational Psychology* by kind permission of the Editor).

Inquiry Pamphlet No. 5.—Broadcasting and the Classroom by W. A. F. Hepburn (Director of Education to Ayr County Council).

Of these, only Inquiry Pamphlets Nos. 4 and 5 are still in print.

There is also a pamphlet called *Some Problems of School Broadcasting*, which appeared in 1932 as a review of the first three

years of the Central Council, and as well as being out of print is in many respects out of date. It is hoped before long to produce a new review in an extended form, which may deal with the position of School Broadcasting to-day as well as with questions of controversy and research.

Published reports in addition to these are *Educational Broadcasting—Report of a Special Investigation in the County of Kent*, published by the Carnegie United Kingdom Trustees in 1928, and the *Report of an Enquiry into School Broadcasting*, by the Staffordshire Teachers' County Association in 1936.

The above are all in pamphlet form, and there are also numerous articles in periodicals extending over the last dozen years. But there is at present no book on School Broadcasting which has the official sanction of the Central Council.

PART VII

Voluntary Physical Recreation in England

Its Need, Aim and Recent Development

1. Introduction

" Let it not be imagined that the preachers of this new and nation-wide physical education have any desire to turn out a nation of pure athletes, strong men and star performers. We must seek rather to turn out the greatest possible number of men and women who may be called ' whole,' because they have developed all their powers to their natural capacity and are physically and mentally in harmony."

DR. CYRIL NORWOOD thus crystallises the comprehensive aim of scientific physical education in Britain, where the universal enthusiasm now apparent makes wise direction of the utmost importance. This age is pregnant with potentialities in physical education, not only in Britain, but the whole world over, and amongst many remedies for the preservation of our civilisation perhaps the soundest is the achievement of healthy minds in healthy bodies.

The Essential Indivisibility of Man

It is axiomatic that man's mind and body are one—inextricably knit and interdependent, the one governing the other ; yet so often by environment and training a sharp line is drawn between the two, and mind and body are treated as watertight compartments. Education of the mind and recreation of the body diverge, instead of blending together and working in concert ; complementary, they are impaired without each other, like the blades of a pair of scissors. Education must include the spirit of play, and recreation must be educational ; they are reciprocal and indivisible. Work and play are only different aspects of life. They should be happily married, together giving that training for complete living which is the very essence of development, not two separated parties that eschew each other with exactitude and caution.

Variations in work and play depend naturally on the national character and on the individual's conception of life. That it should be necessary to emphasise the importance of the individual, who does the work and enjoys the play, is surprising, considering the constant reiteration in this country ; but no one who has heard the lamentations about the lack of county champions or Olympic record breakers, who has noted the tendency towards over-special-

isation and professionalism, will feel that the defence of the ordinary man's importance is redundant. The individual who excels pre-eminently is in reality an " exception," a consideration apart. It is the many who matter—the many who make up the nation and whose common weal would be enhanced by efficient correlation of mind and body. As G. K. Chesterton insisted : " Private lives are more important than public reputations." Physical education should concern itself with the active, responsible man or woman with obligations towards a family and neighbours—in short, the normal citizen—quite literally, for once, the man in the street.

The Need for Recreation

One may recognise the urgent need for recreation, yet not understand why it exists. The substitution of machinery for manual work in industry, the uninterrupted rush of life in a modern city and the universal availability of mechanical transport, to mention but a few factors, result in a loss of the rhythm of natural movement, a diminution of muscular power and a lack of that co-ordination between mind and body which is essential for health. The factory worker, pressing the same lever to achieve the same result thousands of times a day, and possibly repeating the action for months and years with unrelieved monotony, enjoys none of the relaxation afforded by change, and no variety ; he may become increasingly disinterested and lacking in vitality, though remaining satisfactory in performance. Moreover, the noise of the machinery and the necessity for speed allow little intercourse with fellow-workers, with the too frequent results of isolation, strain, nervous tension and exhaustion.

Value of Physical Recreation in Rural Areas

" Bear thy body more seemly," said Touchstone to Audrey in the Forest. Rural conditions have evidently not changed, for it is not only in the congested urban districts that recreation, and physical recreation in particular, is needed. In occupations such as field and farm work, arm and leg muscles are often strongly developed, but the chest is apt to be contracted, allowing the lungs and heart poor chance of carrying on their full functions. The body tends to be awkward and the brain slow ; the traditional caricature of the country bumpkin has, even in these days, a foundation of truth. Well-balanced physical recreation will correct these defects and will add much to general ease and grace of movement. Moreover, in country districts, opportunities for social intercourse are still comparatively few, and in a recreative gymnastic class or a games club the members derive keen enjoyment from the communal effort : shyness of manner is apt to vanish when a common purpose is shared and attempted, and sportsmanship is learnt in the best possible school. Where rural groups meet together to practise the dances peculiar to the district, a natural pride in local tradition is

fostered, and this, in turn, helps to produce that intelligent understanding and reasoning loyalty which are ingredients of good citizenship.

Although the essence of leisure activities is that they are freely chosen, they must be well chosen and worth while. There should be no chance—indeed no desire—to fritter away the leisure hours on occupations that give no pleasure and confer no benefit. The early introduction of young people in particular to pursuits that awaken their creative faculties needs no stressing here. It is a proven fact that leisure can have significance as an indispensable pause in work, that the physical, mental and spiritual experiences during the " creative interval " ultimately influence the working period as much as, if not more than, theoretical instruction.

The Aim of Physical Recreation

If the aim of true physical education is to develop " whole " men and women, the aim of physical recreation is no less. This wholeness can only be achieved through practical experience of the co-operative activity of body, mind and spirit. By reason of its wide, comprehensive aim, physical training *can* influence all spheres of life and *can* produce a body which serves as a perfect instrument for the mind, ready for any action which may be asked of it.

The assertion is still frequently made that physical recreation develops " brawn " at the expense of " brain." This is freely conceded—*of physical work of the wrong type*. If abused, physical recreation can lead to strain or mal-development, and it can be devoid of mental effort and character training, resulting in further deadening of the creative faculties. This occurs, for instance, in the training of only one factor, such as memory, by the continual repetition of the same series of exercises. (The unsuitability of the latter for human beings should be obvious in view of its age-long successful application to circus animals with their mechanical response.) In extreme cases of wrongful physical work play becomes too highly competitive, or a mistaken type of emotional response is aroused, leading to sentimentality, and the whole result on these misguided lines is to increase, rather than relieve, the strain of modern environment.

To persist with reference to *physical work of the right type* that " brawn " develops at the expense of " brain " is the result of foolish, culpable ignorance. It would be as manifestly absurd to contend that, since teeth *can* be extracted by the Victorian method of a piece of cotton and a slammed door, dentists should be suppressed. Analyses of the effects of sound physical education show that not one part of the human organism remains unaffected and unbraced. The development of mental capacity and character is undeniably aided, and creative activity can be released, so that it may then be guided to constructive ends in various branches of work or play.

Early Developments of Physical Training

Physical training is frequently regarded as a new-fangled craze, a fetish of modern times, but this is a niggardly view, without any historical justification whatever. In the world of art, literature and music one is familiar with glorious eras of rich attainment, followed by utterly fallow times. It is none the less so with physical fitness, which has waxed and waned, dependent to a certain extent on the nation's state of cohesion and prosperity, and its needs.

In the Greek age bodily fitness was elevated to the plane of æsthetics, and harmonious development of mind and body was eloquently propounded and understood. The Greek conception of physical education was too idealistic to be appreciated by the Romans, who needed soldiers fit for endurance and conquest, so that physical education degenerated from its association with militarism. With the asceticism of the early Christians all interest in physical education was suppressed, for it was widely taught that the body should be mortified and everything physical subordinated to the spirit.

The most that seems to have been demanded in the Middle Ages is a certain toughness to survive the hardships of the mediæval wars and crusades, and the assaults of pestilence ; but with the Renaissance and the revival of culture, physical education began again to take its rightful place in men's minds and in the educational programme. One has only to recall the high standard of accomplishment required of the Elizabethan courtier in horsemanship, fencing, dancing and deportment to realise the importance then attached to physical prowess.

Scotland, to take a particular instance, has retained her national games and vigorous national dances throughout the ages as a means of keeping fit in a country famed for the gallantry of its soldiers and the sturdiness of the common people. So far as Britain is concerned, the phrase " Merrie England " inevitably conjures up the hearty games and sports which have always been generally popular.

Recent Development in Great Britain

Britain has been slow to realise the value of physical training as a voluntary activity which should have a place in the leisure hours of all ; even in the school curriculum it has not always been given its rightful place, particularly in the case of boys' schools. Too long has fluency in the conjugation of Greek verbs been rated far higher than physical fitness. A certain vague connection between the following premises and conclusions has, it is true, been appreciated ; that if a child " does not seem well " he conjugates his verbs very badly (if at all), and that if his body is not fit and alert, he usually only flounders along mentally. But, on the whole, the state of the child's physical health has been philosophically accepted as predestined and unalterable in this world. If the body was fit, heaven be praised ; if unfit, it was very annoying. The weight of

the responsibility for making and keeping the child fit is only just being felt by some school authorities, and even parents are backward in regarding physical training as an essential part of the curriculum, and not an extra.

So far as some adults are concerned, it would seem that they are overtaken too early in life by the habit of a " little gardening " for exercise, followed by a snooze in a deck-chair.

However, the future is full of hopeful signs, and the intense enthusiasm and keenness everywhere displayed should rapidly compensate for the time that Britain seems to have lost in raising the standard of national fitness.

It is important that physical training should not be pigeon-holed and treated as a separate entity. It must be linked up with other pursuits which are connected with the problem of attaining and maintaining health. Only in this way can physical training take its true place as an integral part of the general scheme of school education, and of that education which continues throughout life.

Four important events marked the development of physical training, including voluntary physical training, in Britain during the two years 1935–7. In chronological order these were :

(i) The formation of a co-ordinating voluntary body, the Central Council of Recreative Physical Training.
(ii) The issue of a circular (No. 1445) by the Board of Education.
(iii) The publication of a report by the Physical Education Committee of the British Medical Association.
(iv) The formation of a National Advisory Council of Physical Training and Recreation by H.M. Government.

2. The Central Council of Recreative Physical Training

This voluntary organisation was initiated in 1935 by two of the main physical training bodies of the country, the Ling Physical Education Association and the National Association of Organisers of Physical Education. These, conscious that for some years Britain had been criticised for her failure to provide adequate facilities for voluntary physical activity, realised the need for a central organisation which, through a policy of co-ordinated effort, could establish and carry out a programme leading to improvement in the physical and mental health of the community. The organisation—the only voluntary, co-ordinating body in the sphere of physical recreation—whose *raisons d'être* are the strengthening of the efforts of other organisations and the awakening of the entire population to the improvement of health through physical recreation, has undeniably justified its formation, as is shown from its two Annual Reports.

Practically every national organisation concerned with physical recreation is a constituent member of the Council, and notes on the activities of many of these will be found in the following pages. At the same time, the Council works closely with local education

authorities, its constant endeavour being to reinforce the fine work of the physical training organisers in the employ of authorities and to avoid, at all costs, any action which would overlap or detract from it.

On the publication of the Government's White Paper, *Physical Training and Recreation*, mentioned later, the Central Council was gratified to learn that it had been officially recognised and had been entrusted with work of wide scope. Its concern is, of course, the development of *all* types of recreative physical activity; e.g. gymnastics, dancing, games, sports, swimming, camping, walking, etc.

The Council has suffered from perpetual shortage of staff, the incoming work continually outpacing the efforts of the personnel; but despite this handicap, a considerable degree of practical work has been carried out in many districts. The training and provision of leaders in all branches of recreative activity, the staging of demonstrations and lecture-demonstrations (approximately 155 were arranged in 1936–7), the encouragement of "keep-fit" and recreative gymnastic classes, the development of play and games leadership and the stimulation of interest amongst all branches of the community, is the type of practical work carried out by the Council's headquarters and travelling staff; while the headquarters office co-ordinates information on all pertinent matters in order to be in a position to give advice, publishes books on different aspects of physical recreation, etc. The Central Council is concerned with all sections of the community, and has lately set up a sub-committee to consider the matter of physical recreation in industry.

3. Arrangements made by Local Education Authorities

Although facilities arranged by local authorities vary very considerably in different parts of the country, due recognition must be given to the large part local authorities have played in the steady extension of physical training. In many towns evening classes, grant-aided by local authorities, are available, but the serious drawback to the majority is that students are compelled to attend a "grouped course," i.e. if he, or she, wishes to take gymnastics, other subjects must be studied as well two or three nights a week. In other cases, where gymnastics is not part of a "grouped course" the position is worse still, for the student must take the "grouped course" and gymnastics as an extra, thus necessitating another night to be spent at the Institute.

Until recently the regulations were strictly adhered to, and, moreover, the work done in gymnastic classes in evening institutes was too nearly allied to that given in schools; lately, however, there has been a certain relaxation of the rules, and it is now possible in a number of institutes to take gymnastics only. The form of the classes, too, has become more markedly recreative—many now being termed "Keep-fit" classes. This progress is largely due to the action of the Board of Education in stressing, in Circular

1445, the necessity for physical training for those of post-school age as well as for school children.

There is, however, still much opportunity for extension in this sphere, and the existing provision for physical education for those of post-school age could be materially increased if local authorities took greater advantage of the legal powers vested in them. Different Acts of Parliament empower them to provide gymnasia, appoint suitable instructors, make adequate provision for outdoor recreation, supplement and reinforce the training provided through the public system of education, using such media as holiday camps and centres for outdoor and indoor physical training.

In many parts of the country there is, however, an unjustifiable prejudice against officialdom, which has first to be overcome. As stressed in the Report of the Physical Education Committee of the British Medical Association, it is here that the Central Council of Recreative Physical Training can do valuable work, for, although a recognised body, it introduces the less severe, less antagonising, elements of a voluntary organisation.

4. Report of the Physical Education Committee of the British Medical Association

In the autumn of 1935, as a result of Lord Kennet (then the Rt. Hon. Sir Hilton Young, Minister of Health) asking the Council of the British Medical Association whether the benefits of physical culture, as a culture of mind as well as of muscle, could not be brought home more vividly to the general public, a Physical Education Committee was set up for the express purpose of examining " the present position of physical education from the point of view of the improvement of national health and physique."

The constitution of this Committee was such that evidence was readily given both by professional and technical persons engaged in health work from varied angles.

Besides considering physical education in schools and universities, the Committee investigated the matter of voluntary physical recreation, and later devoted one chapter of their comprehensive report to this subject. The facilities provided for different groups were revised and highly valuable recommendations made.

In dealing with the matter of physical education for those of post-school age, the report strongly emphasised the need for co-operation amongst the voluntary organisations themselves, and between voluntary organisations and statutory bodies. The Committee laid a deep responsibility on the Central Council of Recreative Physical Training by recommending that improvement in the nation's physique " can best be achieved on a national scale by co-ordinated action, planned, administered and carried out by some central authority, which draws together existing experience and knowledge into a common pool in the national interest. . . . The recently formed Central Council of Recreative Physical Train-

ing may be able to shoulder this responsibility and unite in a common policy of progress the endeavours of the Board of Education and the many voluntary organisations . . . and so expedite the provision of facilities for recreative physical training throughout the nation."

The value of the conclusions reached by the Physical Education Committee is inestimable ; it will be a deplorable loss if its recommendations in connection with all sections of the community are not adopted.

5. The Government's Action

An important announcement made at the Annual Conservative Party Conference in October 1936 by Mr. Neville Chamberlain, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, aroused a sense of eager anticipation in those interested in the development of physical training, while the publication by H.M. Stationery Office of the White Paper, *Physical Training and Recreation*, in January 1937, certainly marked a definite stage in twentieth-century national life.

Two National Advisory Councils, one for England and Wales, and one for Scotland, were set up shortly after the publication of the White Paper, about thirty men and women being invited to serve on each. Their terms of reference were " to survey the field and to advise as to the needs of development and as to the way in which they can best be met."

Two Grants Committees were also set up, each consisting of three members, to receive and examine applications for grants, and to make allocations, subject to the approval of the responsible Minister. It was, naturally, considered impossible to make a reliable forecast of the expenditure involved in the proposed schemes, but mention was made of the sum of two million pounds spread over three years, in connection with capital expenditure and, possibly, £150,000 for continuing annual charges.

During the autumn of 1937, twenty-two Area Committees were also to be established to stimulate local interest and co-ordinate local effort.

Although it was deemed necessary to set up these new bodies, H.M. Government emphasised in the comprehensive White Paper that it was intended to organise development by means of the existing organisations. Official approval was also given to the much-cherished project of instituting a National College for Physical Training ; this College is to be primarily for the training of men instructors.

The intricate State machinery, through which all plans have now to pass, naturally appears to retard the swift development of any Government scheme, which irks those who are impatient to see the immediate accomplishment of widespread practical work. Future success must, however, depend on the soundness of the foundations, which, it is certain, the Government Committee are labouring to assure.

6. National Organisations concerned with Physical Recreation

Voluntary organisations have always played a large part in British national life ; their activities are of the most varied character and cover a wide field. In the account of the work of the Central Council of Recreative Physical Training reference has already been made to the laudable efforts of the youth and adult organisations to provide opportunities for physical recreation for their members. It would be impossible to attempt to classify, to mention all, or to place in order of value the various voluntary organisations or the governing bodies of sport which have always held an important place in the country, but in the following pages mention is made of a few of the many.

Organisations dealing solely with Physical Activity

(i) *Athletics*

Amateur Athletic Association.—The governing body of track and field athletics, this Association has about 1,000 affiliated clubs, each with an average membership of 200. The members are generally over school age. The Association is responsible for the national championships in athletics (through the British Amateur Athletic Board) and for the promotion of international competitions in England. To meet the demand for coaches and trainers a summer school is held annually, and lectures and demonstrations are held in various centres throughout the year.

Women's Amateur Athletic Association.—Athletics grow in popularity amongst girls and women, and many girls' clubs and also clubs connected with business houses have lately begun athletic branches. The Women's Amateur Athletic Association has 170 clubs affiliated to it, each having a membership ranging between 20 and 200. The primary aims of the Association are to provide athletic facilities for women, to promote championship and international meetings and to give assistance regarding all matters concerning athletics for women and girls.

(ii) *Boxing*

Amateur Boxing Association.—The appeal of boxing to boys and men in all walks of life is undoubted, and the body controlling boxing throughout the country is the Amateur Boxing Association, which has approximately 400 clubs and associations, with over 50,000 members affiliated to it, but these figures do not give a full account of the wide interest that there is in the activity.

(iii) *Camping and Walking*

Camping Club of Great Britain and Ireland.—The Club's aims are to make mobile camping possible and simple, and to maintain a high standard of self-discipline among its members. The return to simplicity is claimed to give valuable physical training and to

discourage softness of body and spirit. A large proportion of the membership is under the age of 25, though ranging from 7 to 70. The Club runs a Canoe Section and a Mountaineering Section.

Youth Hostels Association. The aim of the Association is to establish chains of hostels throughout the country at which walkers and cyclists may obtain simple and inexpensive accommodation for the night. At the hostels young men and women meet others from different walks of life, different parts of the country, and different lands.

(iv) *Cricket*

Club Cricket Conference.—Approximately 1,350 clubs, representing more than 150,000 active cricketers, are affiliated to the Conference, which is the largest cricket organisation in the world.

It is also estimated that in the whole of English amateur cricket the number of players is approximately half a million, not counting those who are responsible for the club administration, most of whom have retired from active cricket. The interest in the game also extends to attendances at Test, County, University and Club matches.

Women's Cricket Association.—This includes about 500 individual members and 230 clubs, colleges and schools. Each year the Association holds a " Cricket Week," and in 1937 an Australian women's team had a most successful tour in this country and invited England again to visit Australia, a touring team having last been sent over in 1934–5.

(v) *Cycling*

National Cyclists' Union.—This is the governing body for all track-cycle sport. The popularity of cycling grows week by week, and it is estimated that over ten million persons, chiefly of the wage-earning class, cycle regularly in Great Britain. These cyclists are particularly active during week-ends, and it is certain that their activity is doing much to raise the standard of health in the country. The National Cyclists Union has a membership of 1,750 clubs, which are distributed in all parts of the country.

Cyclists' Touring Club.—The increase in the popularity of cycling as a recreation and a hobby has been one of the most noteworthy of the developments in physical recreation during the past decade. The Cyclists' Touring Club exists to protect the rights of cyclists, and to help those who pursue this sport by endeavouring to secure safer and better roads and more facilities for touring. Hotels, farm-houses, etc., which are approved by the Club may be recognised as official calling-places and special terms are usually available to club members.

(vi) *Dancing and Music and Movement*

Dalcroze Society.—This is closely connected with the London School of Dalcroze Eurythmics, which has a three-year course for

training teachers and a one-year course for teachers in elementary schools. Daily classes for movement and music are held for adults and children, and special short courses for teachers in elementary schools, which are held in various centres, serve as a means of stimulating interest in the elementary certificate course.

English Folk Dance and Song Society.—Folk dancing may certainly be classified as a recreative physical activity, and its health value has been much studied by the English Folk Dance and Song Society. As in the case of all physical training, so in the teaching of folk dancing, there has been a gradual evolution towards greater freedom and more natural movement, entailing a rhythmical action of the whole body. This has improved both the dance quality and the health-giving effects of the dance.

Two difficulties stand in the way of development of spontaneous dancing of this type—the shortage of leaders combining the power of leadership with the necessary knowledge ; and the provision of inspiring sources of music, since the music from gramophones is apt to have a peculiar mechanical and stultifying effect on teacher and class alike.

Throughout the country there are English Folk Dance Society centres, and in many towns and villages, weekly classes, occasional classes and social gatherings featuring folk dancing are common activities.

Country dancing to stimulating music has a distinctly heartening effect on the unemployed, particularly English Morris and Sword Dances performed with full action ; and since these do not lend themselves readily to class instruction a small number of men's dance clubs have been recently formed for practice on team lines. The exercise of such skill, and the pleasure derived, conduce, of course, to improved fitness.

There are 48 branches of the English Folk Dance Society, 780 centres, and the aggregate number of members is just under 20,000. These are only subscribing members ; naturally many more people enjoy folk dancing outside the Society.

Greek Dance Association.—This body was formed in 1923 by Ruby Ginner, the aim being to ensure an official standard of technique for the Greek Dance. The Association exists primarily as a teaching and examining body, though its activities are far-reaching and diverse in character. Full membership is only possible for those who have gained the teachers' diploma, but examinations are held for students in training as a preliminary to the teachers' examinations.

The method is taught in many schools, and the Association has representatives in the principal towns of the British Isles and in the Dominions, and is prepared to supply fully qualified teachers where required.

International Institute of Margaret Morris Movement.—The Movement, which has four departments, Normal, Medical, Athletic and Æsthetic, dates from 1910. It is claimed that it combines the

medical and æsthetic values of movement, Margaret Morris having first evolved a new technique for dancers, and later having trained as a masseuse at St. Thomas's Hospital. All the exercises are healthful and interesting to do. The method includes Dance Composition and Movement Improvisation.

A "Basic Physical Training" has been evolved, including breathing, postural, abdominal and foot exercises in a recreative form. The system is taught in many boys' schools, and it is claimed to form a training for athletics and games. Training schools have been established in London, Edinburgh, Glasgow and Paris, about a hundred students being in training.

(vii) *Fencing*

Amateur Fencing Association.—Apart from numerous private clubs, fencing is practised to a large extent in the Services and in Public Schools. Of late there has been a spread in the practice of this sport, and now, for example, fencing classes are being held in numerous evening institutes, boys' clubs and social clubs. The various competitions and championships which are promoted are held under the laws of the Amateur Fencing Association, who are also responsible for the choosing of teams for international competition. It is estimated that, apart from the schools and Service clubs, there are between 4,000 and 5,000 active fencers associated with the governing body of the sport.

Ladies' Amateur Fencing Union.—Fencing for girls and women is steadily growing in popularity. This Union is associated with the Amateur Fencing Association and has twenty-three affiliated clubs.

(viii) *Football*

Football Association.—This is, perhaps, the most influential governing body of sport in the country; it is estimated that there are approximately 40,000 clubs and over three-quarters of a million regular players. The Minor Football Scheme of the Association aims at providing football for boys between 14 and 18 years through the County Associations; an instructional film and three instructional books have also been issued. Energetic steps have also been taken to provide coaches in secondary, public and technical schools, and courses for the training of further coaches are held annually.

Rugby Football Union.—Approximately 1,000 clubs are affiliated to the Union, representing more than 80,000 to 100,000 persons, but even these figures are a slender indication of the active interest which is shown in the game throughout the country.

(ix) *Gymnastics, Recreative and Educational*

Amateur Gymnastic Association.—The Amateur Gymnastic Association exists for the promotion of Gymnastics and Physical Training in all branches, as an exercise and recreation, and for its government as a sport. It frames the rules for competitive work, promotes the Amateur Gymnastic and Physical Training Champion-

ships of England, selects the teams for international contests, provides competent judges and issues diplomas to instructors who have passed its examinations.

Its affiliated clubs mainly comprise those existing wholly, or partly, for the practice of all kinds of Gymnastic and Recreative Physical Training.

English Gymnastic Society.—This Society was formed in 1934 with the object of encouraging enthusiasm for physical fitness in all members of the community through recreational gymnastics. Classes are held in this subject for both younger and older men and women. A successful summer course is held every year with the object of bringing together the educationist and the specialist teacher of Physical Training. It is attended by teachers of many nationalities, and this furthers a wider interchange of ideas and methods in physical education.

Incorporated British Association of Physical Training.—This Association consists of teachers, both men and women, who are actively engaged as teachers of Physical Training. Examinations are held in the theory and practice of the various branches of Physical Education and, according to the examination taken, the successful candidates may become Associate Members or Fellows of the Association. Vacation courses are held both in the summer and at Christmas, and these are open to persons who are not members of the Association.

Health and Strength League.—Some 150,000 men and women, enthusiasts in Physical Training, are members of clubs which they have formed amongst themselves for the purpose of bettering their physique and standard of health, and these clubs are joined together in the Health and Strength League. They practise all forms of physical recreation, including free-standing exercises, vaulting and agility work, and exercises on the parallel and horizontal bars. Very popular activities are weight-lifting, wrestling and the use of apparatus designed for body-building.

The Ling Physical Education Association.—This Association, formed in 1899, differs from other organisations concerned with physical training, in that it is composed of fully qualified professional teachers who have had a thorough training in all branches of physical education—gymnastics with the required anatomical and physiological basis, dancing, games, swimming and remedial gymnastics. Nearly all its 1,700 members have passed through a three-year course at one of the five recognised Physical Training Colleges for women, and many have, in addition, gained the Conjoint Certificate of the Chartered Society of Massage and Medical Gymnastics and the London University Diploma in the Theory and Practice of Physical Education. The majority of posts in schools and colleges are held by Ling Association members, while others are in positions of responsibility as interpreters under the Board of Education and as organisers under local education authorities.

The recreative aspect of physical education is now being incor-

porated into the curriculum of the Colleges, and many Ling Association members are taking an active part in the teaching and organisation of voluntary physical recreation, particularly in the training of leaders. Certain national organisations have been enabled, by Government grants, to appoint full-time physical training organisers, and one of the requirements of the Central Council of Recreative Physical Training, which has been asked to approve the technical qualifications of candidates, is the comprehensive training mentioned above, it being realised that expert knowledge is essential for the guidance of the lesser-trained, accessory leaders who, for practical reasons, it is necessary to use in the recreational movement at the present time.

Through its primary object of linking together fully trained teachers, the Ling Association has the opportunity of contributing a very large quota to the sound extension of the present National Fitness schemes.

Women's League of Health and Beauty.—This League was founded in 1930 by Mrs. Bagot Stack, Fellow of the Conn Institute of Physical Training, in the belief that pride of body is an essential foundation on which to build life and character, that the quickest and most effective way to further this idea is to teach women the laws of health ; that to ensure the physical well-being of future generations, women should be induced to interest themselves in their own physical education. The ideal of the organisation is racial health, leading to peace. The method used is the holding of sixpenny health-exercises and dancing classes for girls and women after working hours, all classes being taken to music and taught by teachers trained in the Bagot Stack Health School. The Stretch and Swing systems taught throughout the League incorporate the precepts of the late Mrs. Joseph Conn, it being held that the system is the one specially suited to the needs of women.

Massed demonstrations are held in Hyde Park, Olympia and Provincial centres. The League has now 300 centres and holds 2,000 weekly classes.

(x) *Hockey*

All-England Women's Hockey Association.—Besides 1,363 clubs, 636 schools are affiliated, and there is an appreciable increase in the number of senior elementary and central schools affiliating, since a reduction was made in the membership fee. Lately, the game has been increasingly played by girls' clubs as well as by clubs open to the general public, and its popularity continues and expands in spite of the lack of grounds. The Association has on many occasions sent teams to other countries.

(xi) *Lacrosse*

English Lacrosse Union.—This Union is the governing body and is responsible for the laws of the game for boys and men. Lacrosse is centuries old, having originated, it is believed, with

the North American Indians. It is an excellent field game which is in need of greater support. A number of public and grammar schools include it in their activities, and old boys' clubs play a prominent part in the competitions. Flag and League Competitions are held annually in the north and south of England, the English championship being decided by the top clubs from the respective ends of the country. International games are arranged with the U.S.A. and Canada when facilities offer.

All-England Ladies' Lacrosse Association.—Lacrosse is very keenly played in a number of girls' schools, but up to the present it has not been so universally taken up by adults, since a certain amount of practice and training is necessary before an enjoyable game can be played. The game is, therefore, in a fairly restricted position, but is steadily growing in popularity, those leaving schools where it is in practice being keen to continue to play.

(xii) *Net-ball*

All-England Women's Association for Net-ball and other Hand-ball Games.—This Association, which is only ten years old, embraces approximately 2,000 clubs and 70,000 playing members, which reflects the remarkable development of net-ball of recent years. It is a game ideally suited to modern school conditions, and provides the maximum amount of exhilarating, satisfying effort for every member of the team in the minimum space and with the minimum of expense. The County Associations have recently been very ambitious in their schemes for providing facilities, particularly for the thousands of girls who leave school every year and wish to continue net-ball. Net-ball has come to demand a hard court, and in view of ground shortage, the All-England Association has been experimenting with field hand-ball—a Continental game. It might be described as the field counterpart of net-ball, and as such would be an excellent game for new playing fields.

(xiii) *Rambling*

The Ramblers' Association.—Walking and rambling are activities which are open to all—to both sexes and to all classes. The work of this Association is therefore very important. It is interested in keeping the country open and in retaining public rights with regard to access to various beauty spots. The Association is divided into Federations, each being made up of the Rambling Clubs of the district.

(xiv) *Rowing*

National Amateur Rowing Association.—This Association was formed in 1890, chiefly to provide organised rowing for manual workers and others not able to qualify under the amateur definition of the Amateur Rowing Association, and is itself affiliated to the British Olympic Association. It organises regattas and other

fixtures throughout the country, and does all it can to develop interest in rowing.

(xv) *Swimming*

Amateur Swimming Association.—Besides fostering and controlling the competitive side of swimming, diving and water polo, this Association is concerned with securing facilities, popularising and improving the standard of swimming and encouraging the teaching of swimming. Much of its work lies in giving advice to local authorities, instruction films are loaned and an examination is held for a teacher's proficiency certificate. Already there are nearly 4,500 holders of this certificate.

Royal Life Saving Society.—The aims and objects of this Society are to promote technical education in Life Saving and Resuscitation of the apparently drowned and to stimulate public opinion in favour of the general adoption of swimming and life saving as a branch of instruction in schools, colleges, etc.

Life Guard Corps have been established to minimise mortality amongst bathers, and it is hoped eventually to have teams of life savers at every beach and bathing place.

(xvi) *Tennis*

Lawn Tennis Association.—The numbers belonging to this Association are again not really indicative of the hundreds of thousands of players, for many thousands of these make use of private courts and local clubs. The Association itself represents 2,500 clubs, with an approximate membership of 250,000 players. The Lawn Tennis Association sanctions about 160 open tournaments each year, which attract very large audiences.

(xvii) *Wrestling*

National Amateur Wrestling Association.—Wrestling is one of the oldest forms of self-defence and therefore of physical exercise. It is a sport which has continued in this country when others, such as archery and quarter-staff practice, have almost died out. There are several forms of wrestling originally peculiar to definite localities, the most popular being the Catch-as-Catch-Can style. Nowadays all amateur wrestling competitions are held under the auspices and rules of the National Amateur Wrestling Association.

Voluntary Organisations concerned with Physical Recreation

Association for Jewish Youth.—The Jewish Youth Movement aims at providing for Jewish young people a training to fit them for their responsibilities as citizens, and feels it impossible to exaggerate the value of outdoor sports. In addition to indoor classes and the usual team games, camping takes place at a permanent site at Stapleford Abbotts in Essex. Further, some thirty-eight acres have been acquired near-by for playing fields, in view of the difficulty

of hiring for Sundays, and it is hoped to obtain sufficient funds in the near future to develop the site.

Boys' Brigade.—There are 2,700 companies, and in addition to drill and other activities for direct physical training, the normal company sets aside at least one evening a week to gymnastic work, with or without apparatus. The Boys' Brigade Physical Training Textbook is the basis of the training, and in addition, two training tables and series of exercises, one for the younger and one for the older boys, are published each year. Charts in which the exercises are photographically shown have proved of great value in ensuring accuracy of movement and uniformity of method. Swimming, football, cricket, running and camping are also kept to the fore.

Boy Scouts Association.—Emphasis has always been laid on out-of-door games and practices, particularly camping and hiking, in pursuit of that physical health which, according to the tenets of the Association, is the basis of character training. Lord Baden-Powell's *Scouting for Boys* has been the handbook for Scout exercises since 1908. It is strongly felt that physical education should be made attractive to boys, i.e. adventurous and progressive and complementary to school activities, that it should be suited to the requirements of the average boy, particularly the working boy, and simple enough to be administered by an intelligent Scoutmaster.

British Camp-fire Girls.—For the members of this organisation health charts are prepared with the aim of encouraging the formation of daily habits, one hour's exercise out of doors every day being advocated—the form being immaterial. At meetings a certain amount of time is set apart for games, and hikes or swimming excursions are well supported in the summer. " Keep-fit " classes, country dancing and camps are also arranged.

Church Lads' Brigade.—A new syllabus of training has been introduced into this organisation of recent months. Physical activities of all kinds, both indoor and outdoor, are being developed within a comprehensive scheme, in all the units of the Brigade which are situated throughout the country. The gymnastic training is now based upon a series of progressive exercises.

Girls' Friendly Society.—This is one of the largest organisations for girls in the country, and of late years the value and importance of physical training, from the points of view of health and character-building, have been increasingly realised. A competition syllabus is drawn up every year. Various forms of dancing are popular in about 1,000 classes, while recreative physical exercises are taken in about half that number. Indoor team games are a great feature amongst the younger girls, and outdoor games, notably tennis, are organised wherever possible. The Society has its own permanent camp sites at West Wittering and Shap, and hiking parties in all districts are well supported.

Girl Guides Association.—In all training in physical work, the greatest emphasis is laid upon the importance of getting Guides

into the open air and, as far as possible, living outdoors. It is for this reason that such stress is laid on camping and hiking. Once in camp, everything is done to encourage the girls to put into practice the health rules they have learnt, and they engage in physical exercises, team games, cricket, swimming and hiking.

Under a grant from the Carnegie Trust the number of the physical training organisers already working for the National Council of Girls' Clubs was increased by one, on condition that they all divided their time equally between the Girls' Clubs and the Girl Guide Movement, and thus a marked development has recently been shown in "keep-fit" work. Folk-dancing is very popular, and companies enter for local festivals or Morris and country dancing.

Girls' Guildry.—A modicum of company drill is put in the fore-front of the syllabus of training, because it is believed that 10–20 minutes of squad drill teaches alertness of mind and quick responses to orders, also self-control and a subconscious knowledge that each unit is part of the whole. The inclinations of the members towards games, dancing and free exercises are similar to those reported by other organisations of a like purpose. This organisation's chief strength is in Scotland.

Girls' Life Brigade.—The Girls' Life Brigade works on a four-square programme—spiritual, physical, educational and social—in which physical training always plays a very important part. Every company, which is a unit of the brigade, devotes part of its evening meeting to physical work of one type or another. Recreative gymnastics, skipping, country dancing, swimming, rambling and cycling are included amongst the subjects for which efficiency certificates and badges are awarded in the brigade. The brigade has a membership of over 40,000 covering practically the whole of the British Isles.

Jewish Lads' Brigade.—The Brigade is organised into forty-two units in London and the chief provincial cities, the officers of the various battalions holding commissions from the Cadet Association. Physical training, which is an important part of the work, is under the direction of Warrant Officers and non-commissioned officers who have in general reached a high standard of efficiency through attendance at part-time and evening courses. In the case of the London Regiment, the majority have been trained at the Lucas-Tooth Institute, and all have passed through the ranks as boys.

National Association of Boys' Clubs.—Approximately 1,400 boys' clubs are affiliated to this body ; of these, between 70 and 80 per cent. hold classes in physical training and practically all consider out-door games and sports an essential part of their activities. Attendance at physical-training classes is voluntary ; the difficulties experienced are primarily the shortage of gymnasia and the fact that many club boys are, after a long day of hard work, tired ; some, too, are in a state of under-nourishment. In spite of these facts,

the Association can show a remarkably high standard in many sports. Fencing is rapidly becoming very popular, and of late years there has been a remarkable development in camping.

The leaders of the Boys' Club Movement aim at the development of fitness : fitness for citizenship, for manhood, for work in physical, mental and moral aspects alike. Games, sports and physical training are used very properly, not as an end in themselves, but as a means to an end, the development of perfect balance and symmetry between mind, body and spirit.

National Council of Girls' Clubs.—This was the first voluntary organisation to tackle systematically the question of recreative physical training for girls and women employed in industry. Four physical-training organisers are now working from headquarters, their sphere being the whole of the British Isles ; they also work in co-operation with the Girl Guides Association.

Activities advocated include recreational gymnastics ("keep-fit" work), folk-dancing of different nationalities, skipping and indoor games ; work with apparatus is only advised where the teacher is fully qualified. Swimming and all outdoor activities are encouraged where facilities are available.

Four permanent camp sites are owned by the National Council of Girls' Clubs and enable large groups of girls to spend a happy holiday during the summer months. Apart from these, many of the large towns and individual clubs have their own camping arrangements.

Here again the paramount difficulty is the shortage of qualified leaders ; in consequence, training courses of varying lengths are arranged throughout Great Britain. A most successful Summer School is held for a fortnight every year.

An offshoot of the work of the National Council of Girls' Clubs is the Lancashire Keep-Fit Movement, which was initiated with the help of a grant from the National Council of Social Service, and is run primarily for unemployed women and girls. Five organisers attached to the staff of the National Council of Girls' Clubs are now working in Lancashire, and up to date over 5,000 women and girls are attending classes weekly. There are 102 centres in the county and over 60 towns now have their "keep-fit" classes.

National Council of Social Service.—This organisation has, in collaboration with Government departments, local authorities and voluntary agencies, done much to further various aspects of social work, including recreational and physical training in its widest aspects. This it does by means of grants entrusted to it by various bodies.

Occupational clubs have been opened in the distressed areas for the unemployed, where recreative and physical training and games form part of the recognised activities ; thus enabling men and women, boys and girls attending to keep themselves mentally and physically in good condition and able to undertake any jobs which they are offered.

" Keep-fit " classes are very popular, and grants made to the National Council of Girls' Clubs have enabled that organisation greatly to extend its activities.

A Chief Advisory Officer for Recreative and Physical Training has been appointed to the National Council of Social Service, also additional advisers and instructors.

Camping is much encouraged, and the benefits derived from a week or two in camp, with change of food, fresh air and opportunity for exercise, have proved invaluable. For the same reason school camps by the sea are also assisted.

National Federation of Women's Institutes.—Physical-training classes are in many cases a feature of the Women's Institutes, but folk and country dancing is also a popular form of recreative physical activity. Lawn tennis, badminton, cricket, stoolball, etc., are quite generally played.

A stimulus to physical-training activities has been provided by lectures and displays.

National Union of Townswomen's Guilds.—Interest in physical activities amongst the members of the Townswomen's Guilds is similar in direction to that shown by the Women's Institute members. " Keep-fit " classes and dancing are again the most popular. They have difficulties in common also, finding that members are chiefly over 30 and that classes are small with resulting financial strain. Halls are difficult to get, and the acute problem is the shortage of qualified leaders, although lately this has been met to a certain extent by the action of local authorities and the Central Council of Recreative Physical Training. To both the National Federation of Women's Institutes and the National Union of Townswomen's Guilds an investigation lately carried out by the Central Council of Recreative Physical Training, into the type of recreative gymnastic exercises most suitable for older women, should be of particular value.

The Shaftesbury Society and Ragged School Union.—Founded in 1844, this Society, which has a deeply religious basis to its work, operates among children and youth through 190 associated Missions in the poorer and more crowded parts of London. There are some seventy gymnastic classes (both sexes) regularly at work, and a competition is held annually, in which many of these classes participate. Holiday Camps are promoted and much is done for physically defective children and youth.

Urdd Gobaith Cymru (Welsh League of Youth).—It is estimated that 20,000 boys and girls under 18 receive some instruction in physical education under the auspices of the Urdd, the majority being in South Wales, though stimulation is being given to the North.

Mass displays have been given annually since 1932, and now two such displays are given each summer, the one in the South, and the other in the North. The movement has two permanent camps and some two thousand boys and girls attend each summer.

Young Men's Christian Association.—This organisation, based on religious principles, promotes within its associate clubs every possible type of physical activity. In practically every big town the Y.M.C.A.s are furnished with large, fully equipped gymnasia in which are practised all types of gymnastics, games such as basket-ball and hand-ball and a variety of other indoor activities. To these, too, are attached sports clubs which reach a high standard of endeavour. The remarkably good facilities, the ample apparatus and the well-trained instructors possessed by the Y.M.C.A. have for years past made this Association a potent force in physical recreation, not only in this country, but throughout the whole of the civilised world. Apart from the work done in their own clubs the Y.M.C.A. do much to foster the cause of physical training through the training courses which they hold for leaders of other voluntary organisations.

Young Women's Christian Association.—Physical work of many kinds play an important part in the programme of the Y.W.C.A. The scope of the work is only hindered by the lack of gymnasia, playing fields and swimming baths, and the shortage in supply of trained teachers. Nevertheless, several hundred keep fit, gymnastic and dancing classes are held at the various centres, and numerous games and sports, such as tennis, net-ball, swimming, badminton are popular, also camping, hiking and bicycling. Health talks are included in the programme and the Association is doing its best to further the expansion of national physical fitness.

Other Organisations interested in Physical Recreation

Central Council for Health Education.—This body is one of great importance, as it is concerned with every aspect of health education. On the Council are representatives of the Ministry of Health, Board of Education, Associations of Local Authorities, National Insurance Committees and voluntary organisations.

At the present time it is particularly interested in physical training as one factor amongst others influencing the health of the country. It has also a poster, film and exhibition service and edits a monthly journal.

Civil Service Sports Council.—Members of the various branches and departments of the Civil Service have long had well-organised teams and associations in practically all branches of physical recreation. The object of the Civil Service Sports Council is to co-ordinate and bring together the various activities, to ensure that sufficient facilities and opportunities are provided for all who wish to take part in any particular sport or game.

Industrial Welfare Society.—Founded in 1918, the Society is concerned, as its name implies, with the welfare of those employed in industry. The Advisory Medical Committee, and the health services offered by the Society, have had a considerable influence on the physical development of many firms' employees. The

organisation of physical training cannot be an easy matter, for less than 250 persons are employed in 97 per cent. of the factories in this country, and physical training has to be specially adapted to the workers, to the situation of the factory, to local conditions and the nature of the work.

In the larger firms, i.e. those normally employing 1,000 or more persons, it is estimated that of a total of 367,000 employees, about 25 per cent. participate in some form of voluntary physical training organised within the firm. " Keep-fit " classes, swimming and dancing are the most common indoor activities. A large number of firms provide well-equipped playing fields, and many have some form of pavilion with adjoining club rooms, swimming bath or gymnasium. Team games and athletics appear to be the most popular form of outdoor physical recreation. These sports clubs are nearly always subsidised by the firm, which usually provides the initial capital equipment and contributes towards the maintenance, while the workers pay on an average a subscription of *2d.* a week.

National Playing Fields Association.—The National Playing Fields Association is concerned with the provision of playing fields and children's play centres throughout the country. Its work has been greatly extended during the past few years, primarily through funds raised by the Association or given to it by various charitable Trusts, for use by way of grants in aid of approved playing-fields schemes. Altogether 900 grants have been allotted. The National Playing Fields Association considers that six acres of playing fields should be provided for each 1,000 of the population ; needless to say, this ideal is only satisfied to a very small degree. During the past few years approximately 1,750 recreation grounds and play centres have been provided, and when fully developed and used it will be realised that far-reaching results will be attained.

Miners' Welfare Committee.—In the administration of the Miners' Welfare Fund much thought has been given to the provision of facilities in mining districts for physical recreation, especially for outdoor games. During the year 1936 alone, nearly £90,000 was spent on the provision of sports fields and children's playgrounds, including pavilions and shelters.

National Federation of Young Farmers' Clubs.—The objects of the Federation are, briefly, to advance the education and knowledge of country life of boys and girls under the age of 21 years, by means of instruction in all branches of agriculture, the management of affairs and the practice of thrift. Special attention is paid to the social and recreational side of education, and in its work the Federation co-operates closely with the Ministry of Agriculture, the local authorities and with many voluntary organisations. Great interest has been shown in the development of physical recreation, and in order to extend still further development in this direction, the National Federation of Young Farmers' Clubs has lately become a constituent member of the Central Council of Recreative Physical Training.

7. The Problem of Leadership

Leadership is the keystone on which rests the development of physical recreation. It is not enough for a leader or teacher of voluntary physical activity to be a brilliant athlete or star performer. The success and, indeed, the existence of a recreative class depend almost entirely on the degree of contact between leader and class members, so that personality is of paramount importance. The good leader must have sound technical training, some knowledge of psychology (gained practically rather than theoretically), understanding, the power of adaptability, a sense of value, a sense of humour (applied to him- or herself as well as to others), a power of arousing enthusiasm, and last, but not least, tact.

During the past decade the demand for paid leaders of recreative physical activities has steadily increased ; in many cases, however, clubs and institutes have had no funds to employ such leaders, and a great part of the work has had, therefore, to be undertaken voluntarily. On the whole there have been very few full-time posts in connection with recreative work, the chief ones being created by the National Council of Girls' Clubs, the National Council of Social Service, the Y.M.C.A., the Women's League of Health and Beauty, various industrial concerns, and latterly the Central Council of Recreative Physical Training.

Now that the National Advisory Council has offered grants to authorities and voluntary organisations wishing to make appointments, a number of new posts will, presumably, be created, but for some years it will probably be necessary for many recreative classes to be conducted by part-time leaders who have only had a comparatively short training. It is for this reason that it becomes a matter of vital importance that the training of leaders be in the hands of those who themselves have wide experience, superimposed on a really comprehensive training. Further, the supervision of those leaders is also a point of extreme importance and should be undertaken by fully trained experts only.

Many of the organisations mentioned in the preceding pages, and many local authorities have, for several years, done much to meet the need for voluntary leaders by running short courses ; while several organisations have had their own independent training schools. One such centre, which has not been previously mentioned in this article and which has for many years done such admirable work, is the Lucas-Tooth Gymnasium (Bermondsey, London), which holds evening courses for men leaders.

Responsibility of training, however, except in those schools organised by independent organisations, will, probably, rightly continue to fall on teachers who have passed through the full three-year course at one of the recognised women's Physical Training Colleges, or through the courses arranged for men at colleges, such as those at Leeds (Carnegie Hall), Glasgow and Loughborough.

Notwithstanding every effort already made to meet the need for

leaders, the dearth still exists to a discouraging degree, and sterner measures must be taken to grapple with the difficulty. It is hoped that any such steps will only be carried out in full consultation with those who, through their training and experience over a number of years, can speak with authority.

8. Conclusion

The year 1937 can undoubtedly be identified as the year in which the nation as a whole awoke to the urgency of universal physical recreation, but " few men drinking at a rivulet stop to consider its source." The strength of the present " drive " lies in that it is not sudden, but the flower of thirty or more years' cultivation and work by local authorities, voluntary organisations and individuals. Moreover, it has roots in technical conclusions, slowly and surely arrived at, by many who have scientifically studied physical education in its varied aspects.

Diversity of aim and method has given place for the first time to a national unity and desire for joint action, which bodes fair for the satisfaction of a need which no one denies.

Scaremongers assert that the promoters of physical training have ulterior motives, that militarism and the evils of the Totalitarian State taint the proposals, or that food or rest, or whatever increase the critic most favours, is the greatest need. They claim complete justification for their fears by the simultaneous production of the Physical Training Bill and the rearmament programme.

The absurdity of such contentions tempts one to ignore them, but they are vociferously expressed, and finally a loud noise, even though it signifies nothing, must be quelled. As has been pointed out, the physical-training schemes had been in preparation quite thirty years ; all sorts of other Bills coincided with the issue of the rearmament programme, but escaped marriage with it (to physical-training enthusiasts it appears obstinately monogamous) ; and, furthermore, the Central Council of Recreative Physical Training began its work of co-ordination three years ago.

In Great Britain, if the full aim of re-creation is to be effected, one danger in particular must be sternly avoided. Many, in their eagerness to induce the people to spend their leisure advantageously, as they conceive it, speak of the " organisation " of leisure. The British view, however, is that if leisure is organised, it ceases to be leisure. It is the *opportunities* for the use of leisure which can and should be organised. Facilities should be adequate for every boy, girl, man and woman ; they should be accessible and attractive ; the needs and wishes of the people should be understood and anticipated, but *choice* is a matter of personal concern.

P. C. Colson.

PART VIII

Survey of Educational Endowments

(*See also* YEAR BOOK, 1937, *pages* 265–325)

CHAPTER ONE

THE LAW OF EDUCATIONAL ENDOWMENTS IN SCOTLAND

Introduction

SINCE the 1937 YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION was published the Commissioners appointed under the *Educational Endowments (Scotland) Act*, 1928, have published, after about eight years' work, their eighth and final report to the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland. Their work was the latest of the long series of attempts to improve the administration of educational endowments in Scotland.

The Commissioners estimated that the gross amount of annual revenue which will fall to be administered under the schemes which they have drawn up will be about £354,808, which gives an indication of the great generosity of the pious founders of the endowments, and of the important place which endowments play in the finance of Scottish education.

In this survey a brief account is given of the development of the law affecting Educational Endowments in Scotland: Firstly, the development of the endowments themselves, and of the legal conditions (constitutional or otherwise) under which they were administered; and secondly, the necessity in process of time of enquiry into the administration of such endowments, with attempts to render them more beneficial.

It has been found generally that, as time goes on, many conditions imposed by founders tend to become inapplicable owing to changes which inevitably take place in the state of society, and it is desirable that conditions should be modified from time to time, so that foundations may be truly adapted to an altered state of things, and that full scope be given to their beneficial influences. The right of the Legislature to regulate endowments for the purpose of furthering such ends has developed, and is now generally recognised. As regards educational endowments in Scotland, this revision has been specially necessary during the last sixty years, owing to the successive Education Acts from 1872 to 1936 which have step by step made almost universal statutory provision for many of the objects originally provided by endowments for some few individuals only. In order to carry out the purpose of the founders, *that the recipients*

should have some educational benefit which they would not otherwise have obtained, fresh schemes for the administration of such endowments have become essential, and the Legislature has provided at various times means for effective revision.

Early Monastic Foundations

In the early periods of the history of Scotland, conditions in the South of Scotland were similar to those of the North of England. There were analogous laws and customs. The pioneers of Christianity travelled from the land of one friendly chief to that of another, irrespective of what we might now call an international boundary, founding religious stations which frequently developed into monasteries with schools (e.g. as mentioned below, monks from Iona, the great religious centre of South-west Scotland, founded a monastery at Lindisfarne. Bede says: "Churches were erected all over the country. Possessions and territories were bestowed by the grants of Kings for founding monasteries"). Because the monasteries dealt with education as part of their ordinary work, this is impliedly one of the earliest references to educational endowments in Scotland. This view is corroborated by Bede, who described Aidan as "*following the traditions of Iona and educating youths*" at Lindisfarne.

By the ninth century, such monasteries had been founded throughout the greater part of Scotland. Columban *monasteries with schools* existed at Tiree, Benbecula, Larges and Wigton in the west; also in the Orkneys and in the North of Scotland.

Land or other endowment was given for the support of the inhabitants of the monasteries, in some cases the inmates working the land themselves and utilising the produce thereof, while in other cases the land might be in the occupation of others, who paid over to the monastery a definitely fixed food-rent, or brought in some of the produce or its equivalent, as might be arranged by the head of the monastery, definite customs developing in connection therewith. There endowments were made for the general purposes of the institutions, and to the extent that these were educational purposes, to that extent the endowments were educational.

At this early period the grants were made direct to the beneficiaries themselves and their successors, without the intervention of a "trust," although the main purpose underlying the gifts was analogous to the later evolved doctrine of trusts. There were no "educational trusts" at first, as we now understand the term. The distinction between trustees and beneficiaries had not been developed at that time. Educational endowment law at that period would consist merely of general ecclesiastical customs, rules or canons.

Later Monastic Institutions

From the beginning of the eleventh century the history of Scotland might be described as that of the first great Anglian (or English) Colony: we may describe how Lothian in the south-east

corner, to a great extent Anglian in blood, language and customs, became the predominant partner in a loosely compacted group of peoples chiefly of Celtic speech and polity.

The Anglians spread northwards and westwards, and their influence among the Britons of Strathclyde, and the Picts and Scots farther north, spread faster and farther.

In the twelfth century we find the recently founded orders of monks (e.g. the Augustinian) taking the place of the older monks and their decaying monasteries, both Queen Margaret and David I founding and endowing monasteries. When, about 1150, David I transferred to Kelso the Abbey he had founded at Selkirk, he "granted to the Abbot and conventual body, all the churches and schools of Roxburgh with the pertinets."

In some of these institutions we find the office of the *Scholasticus* developed with control of the educational work of the monastery.

Other Early Schools

At this time, a few schools other than monastic began to develop, for there grew up round the churches an increasing number of masters to whom the Chancellor or the *Scholasticus* granted permission to open schools for their own profit near the church or abbey.

When a town developed near an abbey frequently a grammar school was also founded there, in which secular masters taught, and later we find the burghers of the towns disputing with the abbeys the right of nominating the master of a school supported to some extent by the town.[1]

Some Mediæval Conditions

Scotland did not achieve national unity so soon as England: she had no Henry II to assist in the development of a native common law strong enough to resist the inroads of "Roman Law," and the victory of the Roman Law is the real foundation of the divergence between the present English and Scottish legal systems.

Education did not flourish in Scotland during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The weakness of the Crown; the usurpation

[1] The grammar school or "Hie Schule" of Edinburgh was dependent on the Abbey of Holyrood, as also a Grammar School in the Canongate. The burgh of Edinburgh provided a school-house and paid a salary, but the nomination of the master was in the hands of the Abbot.

In Glasgow, the school was under the control of the Chancellor of the diocese, who claimed power to prohibit teaching within the burgh without his sanction, and this was enforced by the bishop in a process before him by the Chancellor.

In Aberdeen, the masters of the schools of the burgh, presented by the provost and magistrates, were collated to their office by the Chancellor of the diocese.

The schools of Perth and Stirling were connected with the monks of Dunfermline. Those of Roxburgh were under the monks of Kelso (under the grant of David I mentioned above).

of power by the barons, who had neither the leisure nor the taste for learning, and their utter lawlessness ; the feuds between the Highlanders and the Lowlanders, all retarded education.

In the fifteenth century, however, a slight change took place, and some of the Scottish universities were founded.

There were no powerful " King's Courts " developed, as in England, to deal with administrative difficulties which might arise in connection with the endowment property ; these were dealt with by ecclesiastical dignitaries.[1]

Some Differences between English and Scottish Procedure at this Period

In contradistinction to the course of development of law in England at this period, the greater part of the legal business in Scotland, both civil and ecclesiastical, was, before the establishment of the Court of Session in 1532, done in the courts of the episcopal judges or "officials" of St. Andrews, Edinburgh and Glasgow. The Court of the " Official of St. Andrews principal," besides transacting the business of its own archdeaconry, exercised a jurisdiction of review over the other courts. The Bishop's " Official " was the only judge in matters of *status*, and of questions arising from covenants sanctioned by oaths, wills executory and movable succession, including endowments. The management of notaries public fell to the official, and of all cases brought to his court by consent of parties. As the notaries were churchmen, they preferred to bring their cases to the ecclesiastical courts, whose business was thus more important than that of the Sheriff's courts, the King's Council or even the Judicial Committee of Parliament. This was due to the fact that the " Officials," as a rule, had made a study of both civil and canon law in foreign universities, and apparently litigants preferred the jurisdiction of accomplished lawyers to the hurried decisions of Committees of Parliament.

This lack of common law and of national unity was inimical to Parliamentary development, and for some time Parliament in Scotland was only a system of Estates, similar to those which sank into impotence on the Continent. Legislation at that time was frequently enacted by the Privy Council rather than by the Estates.

First Statute of Education

James IV was a far-sighted ruler who had strength to govern his kingdom and the wisdom to recognise the benefits which would be derived from a good education. He was assisted by Elphinstone, Bishop of Aberdeen, who was the prime mover in the foundation

[1] In 1434, we have records of a dispute between a priest (Sir Gilbert Knycht) and the bishop, whom apparently the priest had disobeyed, by appealing in some matter concerning the school of Dundee to the abbot, who had collated him. This the bishop resented, and Sir Gilbert the priest had, not only to withdraw his appeal, but to resign his position, and the bishop collated another man to his post.

of Aberdeen University, and the power of Parliament began to develop.

In 1496, we have the first Statute of Education which ordained that "*all Barronnes and Freeholders that are of substance, put their eldest sonnes and aires to the Schules.*" This Act was compulsory with a penalty of £40.

The reign of Mary (Queen of Scots) saw the end of feudalism in Scotland and the appearance of a middle class which was thenceforward to determine the development of the country. The most important event of this reign was not so much the spectacular happenings of which we read so much, as the transference of moral and political force from the nobles to the people. Scotland was achieving national consciousness with the progress of its people in wealth and education.

The Reformation and After

The Reformation was a little later in Scotland than in England. In 1560, the Scottish Parliament abolished the authority of the Pope in Scotland. The same year, John Knox, with some of the leading reformers, prepared a scheme of Church organisation which was set forth in the *First Book of Discipline*, and proposals were made for the disposal of ecclesiastical property which impliedly included some educational endowments. Recognising the value of education, the "Book" provided for the continuance and extension of the schools and colleges on Protestant lines.

Unfortunately, the greed of the nobles caused the rejection of this part of the scheme. The greater part of the endowments went to the nobles and the Crown.

The Dean of Edinburgh stated recently: "The story of the Scottish Reformation is a maze of political and religious cross purposes, compared with which the English Reformation is simplicity itself" (*Guardian*, May 14th, 1937).

In this time of change, the desires and wishes of the founders were entirely disregarded. Neither Canon Law nor Custom of the Courts prevailed. The Parliament (which by now had acquired almost supreme control) claimed the right to deal with endowments as the members thereof thought fit, and the scheme of the Reformers was rejected.

The struggle by the Reformed Church for the control of educational matters continued. Their claims were repeatedly and insistently pressed upon Parliament, and *the maintenance of schools and of poor scholars out of the ecclesiastical endowments was urged again and again.*

In addition, the Church claimed the right of supervision over educational matters. An Act was passed in 1567:

"That all Schules to Burgh and land and all Universities and Colledges be reformed, and that none be permitted nor admitted to have charge and cure thereof in time cumming, nor to instruct

the youth privatlie or openlie, *but sick as sall be well tryed by the superintendentes or visitours of the Kirk.*"

This strengthened the hands of the Church representatives, although in the towns, the town councils still claimed rights of patronage.

The Act of 1567 was confirmed by Parliament in 1581, and again in 1592 when Presbyterianism was established, so that at the end of the sixteenth century the Church had complete control of the parish schools, but shared the control of the burgh or grammar schools with the town councils.

The net result was, therefore, that at this time the law of educational endowments in Scotland was much more intimately connected with Canon Law than was the case in England where Civil Law was predominant. Ecclesiastical canons rather than decisions of national courts were the guiding principles.

From various causes, however, educational endowments had been diminishing in value, or had been misapplied, and an Act was passed in 1594 with a view to remedying matters, and of endeavouring to recover the lost rents for schools, that they might be applied to their rightful purpose. Statute law was here introduced to redress grievances which ecclesiastical rules or canons had failed to prevent.

At the Union of Scotland with England, Scotland retained her own Common Law and her old Statutes, and Scottish Law still differs considerably from English Law. In particular, as regards private law, the Scots attribute an authority to Roman Law which it does not enjoy on this side of the Border, and in addition the Scots retain to the present day a system of courts different from the English ones.

The English *Charitable Trusts Act* of 1601 was passed before the Union, and consequently had no reference to Scotland, nor, after the Union, was anything analogous to the machinery of this Act for the revision of endowments under the Court of Chancery applied to Scotland or to the courts of Scotland. Similarly, in 1732, the *Mortmain Act* of George II (although it applied not only to England but to Wales) states in Sect. 6: "Nothing in this Act contained shall extend to the disposition grant or settlement of any estate lying or being within that part of Great Britain called Scotland."

Education and the Church

During this period, however, educational matters were progressing more favourably than in England. Recognising that endowments only provided education with an irregular geographical spread, definite attempts were made to found a national system of education, financed to a great extent locally, and not so much by endowments. The Privy Council in 1616 gave directions that a school should be established "whair convenient meanes may be had for interteyning a scoole." This was confirmed by Parliament in 1633 and the bishops were to act as visitors. Apparently this

direction was not carried out, and thirty years later, in 1646, an Act (subsequently repealed) was passed to found a school in every parish. Fifty years later still, in 1696, a more successful arrangement was made under the Act *Will. III*, *c.* 26, by which a school was to be provided in every parish, where one did not exist, and a school house was to be provided and a definite salary paid by the heritors. Thus Scotland obtained a national system of education nearly two centuries before England.

Opposition to Ecclesiastical Control

The Church retained control to a great extent over the parish schools, but a spirit of opposition to ecclesiastical control was developing, especially in connection with burgh schools. A test case arose in 1792 in connection with the appointment of a master in Bothwell school, which illustrates the legal position at this time concerning educational matters.

> The heritors had made the appointment but the minister objected on the grounds of ignorance of Latin. The Presbytery found him competent after trial. The minister appealed to the Synod and the appeal was allowed. The schoolmaster carried the case to the Court of Session. An appeal was made from the decision of the Court of Session to the House of Lords.

The broad question at issue was—whether the jurisdiction of the Presbyteries in regard to schoolmasters was a proper *ecclesiastical jurisdiction*, so that their judgments were subject to review by the superior Church judicatories—or whether it was a matter of *civil jurisdiction*, committed to the Presbyteries, in the same way as that regarding manses or glebes, so that their judgments were subject to the review and control of the supreme civil courts alone.

The Court of Session found that the decision of the Presbytery was subject to review by the Civil Court. The House of Lords reversed the decision and found that the power of review belonged to the Superior Church judicatories.

Act to improve Parish Schools

This question of control by the Church which implicitly included the application of some endowments was dealt with a few years later by Parliament. In 1803, an Act was passed improving the conditions of work in the parish schools, but although definite duties were assigned to the Presbyteries, these were under strict supervision by the Civil Courts. The *Parochial and Burgh Schoolmasters Act*, 1861, took the matter further still, and Sect. 22 freed the *Burgh* schoolmasters from Church control.

Nineteenth-century Reform

During the nineteenth century, in addition to the question of appointing and controlling schoolmasters (and impliedly therein the question of controlling the use to be made of educational

endowments), there was the question of the endowments themselves.

Commissioners were appointed at various times, as in England, commencing in 1818 to enquire concerning the use or abuse of endowments.

Taking the endowments of Scotland as a whole, there was not so much evidence of excessive abuse thereof as in England, yet the trusts in many cases had become unsuited to the ideas or needs of modern days, and even when reform was most desired by the trustees themselves it was not always easy to effect it. E.g. :

> Heriot's Hospital (founded for the maintenance and teaching of fatherless sons of freemen by George Heriot—the " Jingling Geordie " of Scott's *Fortunes of Nigel*—the goldsmith and banker of James VI) had gradually come to educate all foundationers within its own walls instead of sending them to the grammar schools. Wishing to make a further change, a private Act of Parliament, with its attendant legal expenses, was necessary.
>
> In 1836, the Governors obtained an Act which enabled them to devote surplus funds to the establishing of elementary free schools in the most crowded parts of Edinburgh.

Hospital Foundations

An Enquiry Commission was appointed for Scotland in 1864, and the Commissioners, among other matters, drew attention to the hospitals and recommended that arrangements should be made for the amendment of the statutes of these various institutions.

Among the hospital foundations were those of the *Merchant Company* of Edinburgh. This Company was founded in 1681, and had a Royal Charter from Charles II, which was confirmed by the Scottish Parliament in 1693. The powers of the Company were enlarged in 1777 by Royal Charter from George III, and again in 1798, in 1827 and in 1865 by Acts of Parliament. In 1898, the Company obtained a new Act (61 Vict., c. 22) amending and enlarging its powers.

> Among the hospitals, under the Company, were the :
>
> *Merchant Maiden Hospital*, founded in 1605 with an original endowment of £2,100, principally for the board and education of female children and grandchildren of merchant burgesses of Edinburgh.
>
> *George Watson's Hospital* was founded in 1738 by a bequest of £12,000 to endow a hospital for the maintenance and education of male children and grandchildren of decayed merchants of Edinburgh.
>
> *Daniel Stewart's Hospital* was founded in 1814 with an endowment of £13,000 with some house and shop property for the maintenance and education of poor boys in Edinburgh.
>
> *George Grindley's Endowment* was for the Merchant Maiden Hospital and George Watson's Hospital equally. The value of the real and personal property left was £25,000 (of which nearly £10,000, however, was for annuities for certain people).

This wealthy Merchant Company of Edinburgh instituted an enquiry into the administration of their own hospitals themselves, and as a result, they joined with the recommendations of the public commission and advocated reforms.

The Endowed Institutions (Scotland) Act, 1869

Soon afterwards, to a great extent through the efforts of the Merchant Company, the *Endowed Institutions (Scotland) Act*, 1869, was passed, but it was found that the terms of the Act were not wide enough to authorise the sweeping changes desired, and the Act failed in its purpose.

A further result of the School Enquiry Commissioners' Report was the passing of the *Education (Scotland) Act*, 1872, which provided for school boards to supply means of education where a deficiency existed. (Their powers were not limited to supplying elementary education only, as was the case of the English school boards under the *Education Act*, 1870.)

Incidentally, the placing of schools under public bodies finally removed education entirely from ecclesiastical control, terminating the struggle referred to earlier, which had lasted for some centuries.

The *Endowed Institutions Act*, 1869, having failed in its purpose, a Royal Commission was appointed in 1872 to enquire into endowed schools and hospitals, especially as to the nature and amount of all educational endowments in Scotland, and the administration and management of any hospitals or schools supported by such endowments, and of reporting whether any, and what, changes in the administration and use of such endowments were expedient by which their usefulness and efficiency might be increased.

Endowed Institutions (Scotland) Act, 1878

Following their reports, the *Endowed Institutions (Scotland) Act*, 1878, was passed. This Act tried to avoid some of the faults as regards procedure of the 1869 Act, but unfortunately this Act also failed to accomplish the necessary reforms, because the Commissioners had no power to take action except at the request of the trustees or governing body, and few applied for schemes. In these circumstances, resort was had to compulsion by means of the *Educational Endowments (Scotland) Act*, 1882.

Educational Endowments (Scotland) Act, 1882

This Act provided for much more comprehensive action being taken for the reform of the administration of trusts. The Commissioners were "to carry out more fully than is done at present the spirit of the founder's intention, and so far as may be to make an adequate portion of such endowments available for affording to boys and girls of promise opportunities for obtaining *higher* education of the kind best suitable to aid their advancement in life."

Educational conditions in Scotland had changed since many of the existing educational endowments were made. The *Education (Scotland) Act*, 1872, had caused elementary education to be available for all, so that endowment funds were not needed to

provide this, hence the above reference in the 1882 Act to the provision of *higher* education by means of the older endowments, higher education such as would not be available when the endowments were founded.

Owing to the extensive powers of revision of schemes possessed by the Commissioners appointed under the Act, this Act had a far-reaching and beneficial effect on the educational endowments of Scotland, more comparable with the *Endowed School Act*, 1869, than with any previous Acts of this kind. The 1882 Act provided also for a systematic revision of the Educational Trusts of Scotland and under Sect. 19, " every scheme must provide for the periodical audit of the accounts of the endowment in such manner as the Scottish Education Department may prescribe."

The annual income of the trusts for which the 1882 Commissioners prepared schemes was £199,500.

Twentieth-century Reform

The history of Scottish educational legislation during the last fifty years is one of gradual advance, and the gaps which the Commissioners tried to bridge by the use of endowments have now been filled by public provision. Bursaries for the payment of fees at elementary schools became unnecessary when such fees were abolished in 1889; bursaries to enable children entitled to exemption from school attendance to remain at school were affected when the general privilege of exemption was withdrawn in 1901.

Education (Scotland) Act, 1908

By the *Education (Scotland) Act*, 1908, Secondary Education Committees were established with power to frame district bursary schemes to enable duly qualified pupils in each and every part of the district to obtain education at an intermediate or secondary school, at a supplementary course, or where deemed expedient at an agricultural college, technical college, central institution, a university, a training centre or training college.

Under this Act an attempt was made to co-ordinate the award of bursaries in each area. Endowment bursaries administered under schemes of the 1882 Commissioners, and bursaries awarded from public funds were awarded under precisely the same conditions, in addition to grants from public funds. As regards revenue available for bursaries or payment of fees under any " 1882 Commissioners " schemes, endowment funds of less than £50 per annum were to be handed to the Secondary Education Committees; if over £50 but less than £1,000 per annum, the governors themselves would administer the funds, in accordance with the Committee's bursary scheme. When the amount exceeded £1,000 per annum, the governors continued to administer this under their " Commissioners " scheme.

Education (Scotland) Act, 1918

By the *Education (Scotland) Act*, 1918, the powers and duties of Secondary Education Committees were transferred to Education Authorities (elected *ad hoc*), and in order that no child or young person might be debarred from higher forms of education if capable of profiting thereby, Sect. 4 (1) of the Act gave the Education Authorities power to grant assistance in the case of suitably qualified children or young persons by payment of travelling expenses, of fees, of the cost of residence in a hostel, of a bursary or maintenance allowance, or any combination of these. Further, the Authorities had power to assist any duly qualified person in their area to attend university or training college, or other educational institution approved by the Scottish Education Department.

The bursary provisions of the Acts of 1908 and 1918 had the same object in view, but the 1918 Education Act differed somewhat from the 1908 Act.

> (*a*) Under the 1908 Act, endowment funds and money from the residue of the Education (Scotland) Fund were available for the purpose of bursaries, etc., but under the 1918 Act the Authorities were given power to rate for this purpose, and (*b*) Sect. 27 of the 1918 Act gave the Scottish Education Department powers designed to ensure that schemes submitted to them are adequate to secure the purposes contemplated by the Act.
>
> Under this Act the title of the *Scotch* Education Department was changed to the *Scottish* Education Department.

By the *Local Government Act*, 1929, the powers and duties of the Education Authorities were transferred to County (and Burgh) Councils.

The 1927 *Departmental Committee*

But with each new piece of educational legislation, anomalies and difficulties were created in the application and administration of educational endowments. Accordingly, in 1927 the Vice-President of the Scottish Education Department appointed a Departmental Committee to consider and advise regarding the matter.

This Department Committee came to the conclusion that, as mentioned previously :

> " The purpose of an educational endowment is to confer on its recipients an educational benefit which they would not otherwise obtain. Unless an endowment puts the beneficiaries in a more favourable position than they would otherwise enjoy it cannot be said to be fulfilling its end adequately."

They stated :

> " The *law* of Scotland is that a charity devoted to recipients of education is misapplied if devoted to givers of education, whether voluntary or compulsory ; the money of a charitable trust cannot be taken to pay a statutory debt. But conditions in 1927 are different from those when the 1882 Commissioners were at work.

> "At that time (1882), the Commissioners were chiefly concerned in devising means of preventing educational endowments from being applied in relief of the general rates. In framing schemes the Commissioners adopted the principle that relief to the poor through an educational endowment must be given in the form of educational opportunities for the poor, and not in the form of payment in aid of general rates, in which many beside the poor might participate.
>
> "At the present time educational purposes for which the rates may *not* be applied are almost non-existent."

This change has been a gradual one, and as each successive part of the field has been occupied by educational reformers with the rates to support their proposals, the necessity was forced on those responsible for the administration of educational endowments to seek fresh outlets for their funds, and the Departmental Committee recommended that Commissioners should be appointed with wide powers (similar to those of the 1882 Act Commissioners) for dealing with schemes for the administration of educational endowments.

The Educational Endowments (Scotland) Act, 1928

The *Educational Endowments (Scotland) Act*, 1928, was passed by Parliament as a result of the above recommendation, and Commissioners were appointed with the necessary powers for drafting schemes.

Under Sect. 2 they had powers :

> (*a*) For altering the purposes to which such endowments are applicable and the conditions relating thereto ;
>
> (*b*) For the application of the capital or income of such endowments to such educational purposes as the Commissioners think fit ;
>
> (*c*) For grouping, amalgamating, combining or dividing such endowments ;
>
> (*d*) For dealing with the constitution of governing bodies ;
>
> (*e*) For altering the powers as to the investment of the funds of the endowments.

Under Sect. 3 of the Act the Commissioners in drafting schemes were to have regard :

> (*a*) To the intention of the founders as expressed in the original deed or in schemes under the 1882 or other Act ;
>
> (*b*) To the interest of the locality to which the endowment belongs ;
>
> (*c*) To the possibility of effecting economies in administration.

Under Sect. 4 the powers of the Commissioners were excluded from :

> (*a*) Any endowment made later than December 31st, 1920.
>
> (*b*) University endowments ;
>
> (*c*) Theological endowments ;
>
> (*d*) Carnegie University Trustee property.

The Commissioners, under Sect. 32, had the same powers as a judge of the Court of Session with regard to the citation and examination of witnesses and inspection of documents.

The powers of the Commissioners were to expire on December 31st, 1931, and these powers would then be transferred to the Scottish Education Department.

Also, after that date the Scottish Universities' Committee of the Privy Council was to have similar powers to deal with university endowments or Carnegie Trust endowments.

Educational Endowments (Scotland) Acts, 1931–1935

The powers of the Commissioners were extended for three years by the *Educational Endowments (Scotland) Act*, 1931, and again for a further two years to December 31st, 1936, by the *Educational Endowments (Scotland) Act*, 1935.

By this last Act, Sect. 4 (*a*) was changed, and in order to provide for regular subsequent supervision of new endowments, educational endowments are only exempt for twenty years after the deed creating the endowment comes into force.

Also the 1935 Act added to Sect. 2 of the 1928 Act, that special regard should be had *to the need for continuing* the provision from endowments of competitive bursaries at universities, etc.

Work of the 1928 Commissioners

As no public register of educational endowments existed, and no general survey had been made for over fifty years, the Commissioners caused a general survey to be made with a view to ascertaining the number of endowments falling under their purview, their distribution throughout Scotland, their purposes and funds. This survey brought to light 1,230 endowments, but many endowments were subsequently discovered.

It was a weakness in the 1928 Act that it placed no duty upon the governing bodies of educational endowments to notify the Commissioners of the existence of the endowments administered by them. They were required to make reports and returns only when asked to do so by the Commissioners.

The Commissioners reviewed 1,540 endowments and submitted 129 schemes dealing with 1,296 of them to the Scottish Education Department in accordance with the 1928 Act: thirty-one schemes were remitted to the Commissioners for reconsideration and were re-submitted later. No cases were finally disapproved by the Department. Six schemes were submitted to the Court of Session (under Sect. 25) to settle some legal question, and five of these cases were decided in favour of the views of the Commissioners.

The schemes made by the Commissioners are grouped under the following categories (with the annual value of each group): schemes for education areas, £111,912; schemes for special bursaries, £32,335; schemes for central institutions, £27,121; schemes for schools, £115,465; schemes for homes and orphanages, £27,166; miscellaneous schemes, £19,714; schemes for university endowments (Edinburgh), £21,095; a total annual value of £354,808 (as compared with £199,500, the value of the 821 endowments

dealt with by the 1882 Commissioners under 379 schemes). It may be noted that university endowments were excluded from their purview unless the university authorities applied to them. Only the Edinburgh University Court made such application for a scheme.

Amalgamation in Areas following the Acts

In dealing with the schemes for endowments in an education area, a considerable amount of amalgamation took place of educational endowments applicable in each area (excepting from such amalgamation endowments which for some special reason would not take their place naturally and conveniently in such amalgamation). This amalgamation practically created an education trust for the area of each education authority, with a governing body representing the authority and other local interests. Such a course was especially valuable when dealing with a number of small endowments which were apt to become lost, and in addition such a course reduced the cost of administration.

In considering the question of bursaries, it was recognised that statutory provisions had secured by other and more adequate means the fulfilment of the spirit of the founders whose endowments were applicable to the award of school bursaries to persons *requiring financial aid* in obtaining secondary education. To continue this application of these particular endowments would be to benefit those whose statutory duty it is to provide this education, and not the recipients, and thus would be frustrating the spirit of the founder's intentions.

Revised Schemes for Bursaries

The position of *post-school* bursaries for persons in need of financial aid was considered to be rather different, for although the authorities have power to award post-school *bursaries*, they have no duty to provide post-school *education*. Schemes were made in these cases, empowering the governing body to appropriate and apply the income to post-school bursaries without restriction to those in need of financial assistance, making these a reward for merit. These bursaries were freed from what has recently been described as a " means test."

Experience had shown that one weakness of schemes framed by the previous Commission (1882) was that the rigid terms in which they were expressed (as also some of the deeds of the original founders) severely handicapped the governing bodies in their administration. To prevent this, and to provide for future changes, the schemes were made more flexible, and the governing bodies may at any time submit " plans " to the Scottish Education Department for their approval to the appropriation of specified amounts of the funds available for the purpose they may suggest in their plans. Control will be exercised by the Department in that no such plan can become operative until the Department has given its

approval, and, further, the Department may at any time require the submission of a new plan.

The schemes for bursaries may provide for bursaries tenable at a university, at a central institution or at a training college; or travelling grants or travelling scholarships (including apprentice allowances for travelling, etc.). Other purposes which some of the schemes for areas authorise are: special equipment for school; midday meals for schoolchildren; sports facilities; support of clubs; school excursions, etc.

Grants in some cases may be made to promote the teaching of rural and domestic arts and crafts, the promotion of education in art and music, etc. Where objections were raised to schemes, they were, as a rule, not directed against the proposed purposes to which the endowments were to be applied in future, but more often from a fear lest the particular locality from which the objectors came might lose some value. To meet this objection, in many of the schemes the sum which represented the interest of the locality has been inserted in schedules to the scheme, and the governing bodies "shall, if they are satisfied that the whole or part of these sums can usefully be expended under the provisions of the approved plans for the benefit of these localities, apply not less than the said sums or the said parts thereof accordingly."

Schemes for Special Bursaries

In *Schemes for Special Bursaries* the conditions of award and tenure of the bursaries have, so far as possible, been brought into line with modern requirements; these include Catherine McCaig's Trust Scheme, 1932; Clergy Societies Scheme, 1934, and the Highlands and Islands Education Trust Scheme, 1936.

Schemes for Central Institutions and Schools

The *Schemes for Central Institutions* include the Dundee Institute of Art and Technology Scheme, 1933; and the Royal Technical College Scheme, 1935 (Glasgow). The important *Schemes for Schools* deal with twenty-one schools, including a scheme for Spier's School, Beith; the Logan and Johnson School Scheme, 1936; and the Donaldson Trust Scheme, 1936.

This last was the most controversial scheme the Commissioners had to deal with. Although they began to deal with a scheme for Donaldson's Hospital matters in 1929, it was not until February 19th, 1937, that the scheme was approved by the Department. During the course of the proceedings, the Court of Session upheld the validity of their scheme by 5 votes to 2 in a court of seven judges.

One of the points at issue was: shall normal children continue to be taught with the deaf children, or shall the deaf children be taught in a separate institution? Another point was: what should be done with the existing Hospital which did not provide the amenities for residence which modern conditions require?

The scheme provides for the amalgamation of several endowments for the establishment of a residential school for the deaf in Edinburgh

(a new school building is to be erected behind Donaldson's Hospital and the Hospital itself reconditioned and modernised for residential purposes) and a sum not exceeding £4,000 is to be set aside for the benefit of " hearing " children.

Miscellaneous Schemes

Among the *miscellaneous schemes* were the Innerpeffray Mortification Scheme, 1936, dealing with the Innerpeffray Library, probably the oldest free library in Scotland ; the Patrick Allen-Fraser Trust Scheme, 1935, firstly for the assistance and encouragement of young men not having sufficient means of their own who shall be desirous of following one or more of the professions of painting, sculpture, architecture and engraving, and secondly aid for aged and infirm painters, sculptors or literary men ; also the Dick Bequest Scheme, 1934. The case of the *Dick Bequest* illustrates well the necessity for varying the conditions of a bequest as times and circumstances change.

James Dick, who died in 1828, left money to " add to the very trifling salaries of the Parish Schoolmasters in his native county of Moray (or Elgin) : and the neighbouring counties of Banff and Aberdeen." The Dick Bequest, which amounted in 1833 to £113,147, was afterwards increased to £118,787. (Schoolmasters in the Royal Burghs were excluded from benefits.) One of the conditions of the bequest was that the income is " not to be applied in any manner which would relieve the heritors or other persons from their legal obligations to support *Parochial* Schoolmasters, or to diminish the extent of this support."

The Revised Code of 1864 proposed to reduce all Government grants to schools by the amount of any endowment which they enjoyed.

The Dick Trustees saw that this would virtually convert their payments to schoolmasters into a substitute for grants instead of benefiting the recipients, and fortunately were able to have this provision removed from the Code.

Again, when the 1872 Act threw the schools of Scotland on the ratepayers for pecuniary support in so far as fees and Parliamentary grants failed to provide adequate funds, the trustees had to consider their relation to the school boards. In accordance with the conditions of the bequest, the funds should not be taken into account when fixing the salary of the masters or the grants would become virtually gifts to the heritors.

The Trustees met this difficulty by insisting that the school board should provide a minimum salary for the masters (£80 per annum and school fees with a house) before the trustees would make a grant.

In the 1904 report of the Trust, Professor Laurie stated :

" Those who take a large national view of education have recognised in the Dick Bequest an important instrument for promoting contentment among the rural population of a county. Every parent feels that he has the opportunity of securing a good education for his children, which may also mean industrial or professional advancement."

The trustees raised the standard of schoolmasters in the three counties by insisting on a high literary qualification (including Latin

and Greek) before a master could receive a grant-in-aid of his salary, and this was reflected in the type of education given. The majority of these masters were able to teach Latin, Greek and mathematics, and many boys were able to go direct from the parish school to the university. Dr. Kerr, one of H.M. Inspectors of Schools, said in a report: "I do not think any fund has done so much good, I know of no fund which has produced a shilling's worth for a shilling so fully as the Dick Bequest. Out of the 150 teachers in Aberdeen, Banff and Moray at least 130 are Masters of Arts. You will find that nowhere else in Scotland . . . elsewhere in Scotland you will not find one in fifty."

The intentions of the founder were considered by the 1928 Commissioners, and the new scheme purposes to foster education in *central* schools in the counties originally benefiting.

Two points, however, had to be considered:

(1) Should the trustees make grants to individual masters, or to the Education Authority? If paid direct to masters, how far did this remove them from the control of the authority to that of the trustees?

And

(2) How can such grants be made without relieving the authorities from expenditure which they must lawfully incur?

These points were met by making the grants, not to individual teachers, but to the Authorities, to supplement the salaries of teaching staffs *in order to secure staffs of more than the average quality*. The grants from the trustees to establish, maintain and improve central schools are to be made under agreements so drafted that the grant shall not be applied in relief of expenditure which the Education Authority may reasonably be expected to defray from public funds.

Other Endowments

The Commissioners reviewed the conditions of 244 endowments for the future government and management of which no schemes have been issued. The free income available for educational purposes from these endowments is approximately £68,000. The endowments include such important endowments as the Fettes Trust, Edinburgh; the Heriot-Watt College, Edinburgh; Baillie's Institution, Glasgow; the Bellahouston Bequest Fund, Glasgow; the James Clark (Mile-End) Bursary Fund, Glasgow; the Muirhead Trust, Glasgow; and the Ferguson Bequest Fund.

Fettes College was founded on the model of English public schools; *Heriot-Watt College* is referred to earlier in this survey; *Baillie's Institution* is a free library in West Regent Street, Glasgow, founded with the object of aiding the self-culture of the operative classes from youth to manhood and old age; the area of benefit of the *Bellahouston Bequest Fund* is the City of Glasgow and an area of five miles beyond. The income is about £19,000 per annum. The purposes of the trust include aid to students, grants to fourteen institutions in Glasgow, etc. The income

of the *James Clark* (*Mile-End*) *Bursary Fund* is about £2,000 per annum. The purpose of the fund is to promote the higher education of deserving youths, founding fellowships, etc. The *Muirhead Trust*, with an income of about £2,000 per annum, was founded in the interests of women. The trustees grant bursaries and post-graduate scholarships, etc., to women preparing for medical work, etc. The *Ferguson Bequest Fund* was intended for aiding the maintenance and promotion of religious ordinances and education and missionary operations in specified areas in South-west Scotland. A scheme of the 1882 Commissioners was upheld by the Court of Session and approved by the Department, but was not approved by the Crown.

Particulars of the following trusts are given in the YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION, 1937: *Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland*, page 270; *Carnegie Dunfermline Trust*, page 271; *Carnegie United Kingdom Trust*, page 271; *The C. K. Marr Trust*, page 275.

Scottish Universities

During the nineteenth century the spirit of reform extended to the Scottish universities as to other educational institutions. The first Scottish University Commission was appointed a quarter of a century before the English University Commissions. The preamble to the Commission issued in 1826 stated that it was "His Majesty's undoubted right and prerogative to name visitors and commissioners to enquire into irregularities and disputes in the universities and to remedy the same." Apparently no objection as to jurisdiction was raised by the universities, an event totally different from the attitude adopted by the authorities of Oxford and Cambridge later. The Scottish universities had not such a long period of semi-independence behind them as Oxford and Cambridge, and were probably looking more to the Government for possible financial aid.

The Universities (*Scotland*) *Act*, 1858

A Bill of 1837, following the Commissioners' report of 1830, fell through, and later other Commissioners were appointed, but it was not until after both the Oxford and Cambridge Acts had been passed that the *Universities* (*Scotland*) *Act*, 1858, became law.

Provision was made by this Act for the amalgamation of the two Aberdeen foundations, and the constitutions of the four Scottish universities were revised and assimilated, an Executive Commission being appointed to make the necessary ordinances (subject to the approval of the Crown in Council).

The Universities (*Scotland*) *Act*, 1889

Further university reforms were made by the *Universities* (*Scotland*) *Act*, 1889, under which a "Permanent Committee of the Privy Council on Scottish Universities" was erected to which petitions from the universities, or from persons directly affected, might be referred, and a temporary Executive Commission was appointed to issue ordinances for the administration of the endowments and funds of the universities and colleges, which administration was transferred from the Senate to the University Court.

After the expiration of the work of this Executive Commission in 1897, each University Court was empowered to make ordinances, subject to the approval of the Crown in Council, with, if necessary, a reference to the Universities Committee of the Privy Council.

Review of University Endowments

As mentioned above, the Endowments Commissioners of 1928 were asked by the University Court of the University of Edinburgh to review the university endowments, under Sect. 4 (1) (*b*) of the 1928 Acts.

The *Edinburgh University* (*Fellowships, Scholarships and Bursaries*) *Scheme*, 1931, was drawn up in consequence.

The following cases settled certain legal points in connection with university endowments :

In *University of Aberdeen* v. *Irvine* (1869) (L.R.H.L. Sc. 289) it was held that an estate in fee simple which had been dedicated for over two centuries for the support of bursaries was still subject to the trusts of the original gift or bequest. The fiduciary relationships prevented the trusts being barred by prescription and the respondent had to answer for profits.

In *Greig v. Edinburgh University* (1868) (L.R.H.L. Sc. 348), it was decided that the property of the University, not being held by the Crown or for the Crown, was rateable for the relief of the poor.

In *Glasgow University v. Kirkwood* (1872) (10 Court of Session Cases (3rd Series 1,000)) it was stated that Papal and Royal grants to the University of immunity from taxation, ratified by Acts of the Scottish Parliament, are to be explained by usage. This usage has been confined to exemption from local taxation in respect of heritable property acquired by the university for university purposes, and that this exemption is confined to the original site and does not extend to new buildings on a new site.

Present Administrative Position

The Scottish Education Department has powers under Sect. 41 of the 1928 Act to review the administration and use of educational endowments (except a university endowment, a theological trust, or a Carnegie Trust), and may prepare and publish schemes for the future administration or use of the endowment funds, exactly on the same lines, and with the same wide powers for any necessary revision, as the 1928 Commissioners possessed until December 31st, 1936, when their powers lapsed and were transferred to the Department.

Similarly under Sect. 41 (2) of the 1928 Act, the Scottish Universities Committee of the Privy Council has similar powers for dealing with the university endowments or Carnegie Trusts, which were excluded from the supervision of the Commissioners.

Their powers extend to all educational endowments which came into operation before December 1st, 1920, and to each endowment which comes into operation after that date on the expiry of twenty years from the date it came into operation (Sect. 3 (1) (*a*) 1935 Act).

The Department, with regard to trusts under their supervision where they consider it necessary, may frame a scheme for dealing with an endowment :

(*a*) The scheme must be published :
(i) Objections to the scheme may be sent to the Department.
(ii) Within one month from such publication, the Governing body or persons interested may submit a special case to the Court of Session on questions of law.

(*b*) If the Court of Session rule that the scheme or any part of it is contrary to law, the Department may prepare and publish an amended scheme, if they think it advisable to proceed ;

If after considering objections raised to them the Department decide that amendments are desirable to the scheme, an amended scheme may be published.

(*c*) When the Department in due course approve a scheme, original or amended, notice of such approval must be given, and also notice that unless a petition that the scheme may be laid before Parliament is received by the Department, within two months of such approval, the scheme at the expiry of the two months will be approved by the Privy Council without being laid before Parliament.

Conclusion

The above supervisory procedure is one of the best in existence and one worthy of imitation by others. If the work is carried out regularly and as thoroughly by the Department as it was by the 1928 Commissioners, there will be far less danger of loss or misuse of educational endowments than was possible in years gone by, and the administration of any endowment may be revised if circumstances arise which tend to restrict the purpose of the endowment being carried out.

There are, however, one or two points which still need consideration :

(1) There is no Official Register of existing endowments ;
(2) There is no duty laid on any trustee to notify the supervisory body of the existence of their endowments.

Further, if the Department were to obtain a short Act, making it the *duty* (with a penalty for neglect) of every trustee, or person acting in a similar capacity, to notify the Department of the existence of the trust with which they are connected, whether present or future trusts ;

Also if the Department would at once take in hand the compilation of an Official Register of Educational Endowments (the longer this is delayed the more difficult will it become) ;

Also if (as every scheme should contain a clause for compulsory audit of the trust accounts) the Department's accounting department were to carry out systematically and regularly (not occasionally, as in England) an annual audit of *every* set of endowment accounts—then the present admirable schemes for supervision would be rendered more praiseworthy still.

A. E. IKIN.

CHAPTER TWO

The Law of Educational Endowments in Wales

Introduction

THE law of educational endowments in Wales has developed on different lines from the law in Scotland as given in the preceding chapter. In Scotland successive changes during the last fifty or sixty years have been in the direction of altering the use of endowments to accord with the founder's intentions as successive statutes made compulsory the provision by public bodies of the purposes for which the endowments were originally given. In accordance with the recent schemes of the 1928 Scottish Commissioners, there has been a grouping in many cases of endowments within the area of an education authority. In Wales, a similar grouping took place under the *Welsh Intermediate Education Act*, 1889, but whereas the Scottish schemes endeavour to prevent the endowments being used as a substitute for public funds (whether exchequer grants or local rates), in Wales the 1889 Act allowed certain Treasury grants and county funds to be used as though they were endowments, while Sect. 13 of the *Education Act*, 1902 (now Sect. 41 of the *Education Act*, 1921) actually authorised some endowments connected with public elementary schools *to be used in relief of the education rate*, exactly contrary to the Scottish practice.

Early Educational Establishments

The earliest educational endowments in Wales were included, as in England and in Scotland, as part of general ecclesiastical endowments. The few authentic records we have of the earliest periods show that education was an essential part of the work of the Church.[1]

The school founded at Llantwit-Major near the coast of Glamorgan was a notable place for education in the fifth and sixth centuries. An earlier seminary had been burnt by the Irish in A.D. 446. It was rebuilt in the days of St. Dyfrig, and Illtyd was appointed as head. Under the rule of this "*excellent master of the Britons*" youths of various nations attended this "Fifth Century University" as it has been styled, among whom were British nobles and foreign princes. Missionaries who were spreading the work of the Church were trained here—St. Leonore, St. Paul of Leon, St. Maglerius and many other famous men received an education at Llantwit. Gildas the historian was a student there (contemporary with St. Paul of Leon), and last but not least, St. David the patron saint of Wales.

[1] On the disestablishment of the Church of Wales (1914) some of the Church property was assigned to educational purposes.

Giraldus Cambrensis in the twelfth century, writing of David, says: "In his time . . . monasteries were built everywhere." Educational institutions appeared to spread at the same time, for schools were formed at St. David's, St. Asaph, Llanthony and other places; Giraldus Cambrensis (or Girald of Wales) having himself been educated at St. David's in the time of Henry II.

Early Endowments

The endowments at this period consisted of donations of land by tribal chieftains, made with the consent of other members of the family in accordance with custom, the ecclesiastics on their part requiring the written charter with its witnesses. The latter introduced the custom of placing the writing on the altar or on a copy of the gospels; so we have tribal customs and Roman law as the basis of early endowment law.

In the records of St. Cadoc, and in the book of Llan Dav, we have various examples of such gifts.

> E.g. "Then King Mouric *confirmed this donation upon the altar of St. Cadoc before his own elders.*"
>
> "In another case, moreover, Guorcium himself gave this villa to the Church of St. Cadoc in everlasting possession until the day of judgment and *he held* the writing of the charter of donations upon the hand of Jacob, the Abbot of Carban valley, *before fit witnesses.*"

The transfer of property in this way meant the transfer to the donee of the right to receive the food-rent which had hitherto been paid to the chief, and this was used for the sustenance of the inhabitants of the institution.

> E.g. "I will give land called Llan Heitlan to St. Caradoc, the *Pensio* whereof is two vessels each of six modii of beer with bread and flesh and honey according to the due and accustomed measure."

The Laws of Howell Dda

When the Saxon invaders began to press the Britons in Wales, we have those less happy conditions developed which were portrayed by Gildas. The decay of the Roman peace, followed later by the breaking up of the united action of the British chieftains against the invaders, had led to civil wars, which Gildas greatly lamented, especially, as he said, they were quarrels between (supposedly) Christian rulers.

Out of this condition of anarchy we find better order appearing under Howell the Good, who was chief ruler about A.D. 940. Caradoc of Caernarvon states that "Howell Dda constituted and gave laws to be kept through his dominions," which were used in Wales until such time as the inhabitants received the laws of England in the time of Edward I and in some places long after.

N.B.—Howell Dda put together the laws of Britannia (i.e. Wales). He did not frame new laws.

The long use of this collection of laws shows that the Welsh people (especially in the north) held most tenaciously to their own laws and customs and to their national independence.

At this time the educational endowments still formed part of the general ecclesiastical endowments which were administered by the holders in accordance with their own customs. There was no definite endowment law concerning the use of the endowments imposed by a superior or external authority, no supervisory authority. The Church dealt alone with these matters by developing ecclesiastical courts, as in England, co-ordinate with the courts of the chieftains. The relative jurisdiction of these courts is illustrated in a manner which would probably be understood at the time by the following:

> " If a man of the court sue a man of the church let him sue him in the church. If a man of the church sue a man of the court, let him sue him in the court. Hence a man of the court is not to carry his suit to the church more than a man of the church to the court; because the sword enforces the right of the crozier."

Pre-Tudor Conditions

After the Norman acquisition of England, a system of legalised pillage and authorised plunder developed. A good deal of Wales became divided up into districts called Marches, some having been surrendered by the Welsh, others having been obtained by conquest with the sanction of the King.

In the reign of William II (Rufus), Robert Fitzharris, and a body of Norman soldiers, with the consent of the King, conquered a portion of South Wales. Each of these Lords Marchers had greater power in the Marches of Wales than the feudal lords possessed in England, for the control of the English monarch was less easily enforced. Each Lord Marcher dealt with his land and tenants in his own way, and the custom of the March developed. Fitzharris, mentioned above, gave part of the endowments of Llantwit to the Abbey of Tewkesbury. The maxim developed that " the King's writ runneth not into Wales."

Land not under the Lords Marchers was under Welsh princes and the laws of Howell Dda.

During this period the ecclesiastics adhered, so far as possible, to their older custom of having endowment land secured by charter.

The Bishop of St. Asaph claimed a church *with its endowments* which was situated on the borders of the diocese of St. David's. He produced an *ancient book* under which he claimed the county between the Wye and the Severn as part of his diocese. Girald (Girald Cambrensis) resisted the claim on behalf of St. David's See and replied that the Bishop of St. Asaph might write what he pleased in his book, but *if he had a charter with an authentic seal at the end of it* now was the time to show it.

Girald Cambrensis was educated in the Cathedral School of St. David's in the reign of Henry II, as already mentioned, while at

the same time we read of the grammar school of St. Asaph and four vicars there (who had been vicars choral), showing an intimate connection between the schools and cathedral establishments at this period.

After the death of Llewellyn, the leader of the Welsh in their struggle for independence, Edward I annexed the country. The *Statutum Walliæ* of 1284 declared that Wales was not merely a feudal dependence of the English throne but was annexed to England "*tanquam pars corporis ejusdam.*" This statute was a King's Charter, and formed a comprehensive code of law which settled the civil and legal administration of North Wales for 300 years.

In the Marches various adjustments and settlements were made, while private wars were carried on, but in 1291 Edward I suppressed the lawlessness and imprisoned two contumacious earls.

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries conditions were unsettled at times and measures of coercion were adopted, and owing to forfeitures at various times, the lands of many of the Lords Marchers passed into the hands of the Sovereign.

During the century which elapsed between the conquest of Wales by Edward I and the rebellion of Owen Glendower, a considerable number of Welshmen appear to have gone to Oxford. That they were able to go to Oxford shows the practical educational effect of some of the Welsh endowments. But in the period which followed the suppression of the rebellion, this influx of students appears to have ceased during the coercion Acts.

Welsh Law assimilated to English Law

In the reign of Henry VIII, the Marches were abolished and Acts of Parliament were passed dealing with the legislative and executive government of Wales. The Act 27 *Hen. VIII*, *c.* 26 was "An Act for Laws and Justice to be administered in like form as it is in this Realm." The Act 34 *Hen. VIII*, *c.* 26 was "An Act for certain Ordinances in the King's Dominion and Principality of Wales." This latter Act created a system of courts (separate from the English courts) to administer the law. This separate system of courts lasted until 1830.

One result of the introduction of English law was that the control of trust property was (by analogy with the procedure in the English courts) exercisable by the new Courts of Great Session, English laws superseding the customary or canon law (or the *absence* of settled laws), which had prevailed so long, and appeals from these courts on trust matters were heard in the English Court of Chancery.

By this time a change in the method of endowing persons or institutions had developed by which it had become customary that the estate which was to be given should be conveyed to a friend (i.e. a Trustee) on the understanding that the actual profit or enjoyment of the estate (the "*Use*" as it was called) should enure to the benefit of the persons or institutions for whose *use* it was intended.

In time this process became abused, for if the estate were granted

to the use of the original owner, it was possible to defeat creditors as the original owner no longer had legal possession ; similarly attainder could be avoided ; or the estate might be freed from incidents of feudal tenure.

In 1535, the *Statute of Uses* was passed to prevent the right of *beneficial* ownership being substituted for seisin or *legal* ownership. This statute also made lands non-devisable by will. This latter point proved so detrimental to the interests of the large number of small landowners which came into existence after the failure of so many baronial houses through the Wars of the Roses, that the *Statute of Wills* was passed in 1540 to remedy the matter of making grants by will. But Sĕct. 16 of the *Statute of Uses* provided that the Act should " not be prejudicial to any person born in Wales or the Marches thereof, and such persons by virtue of this Act might lawfully retain and keep lands to which they were seised to the use of persons born in Wales or the Marches." (In this way Uses or Trusts might be made in Wales when not legal in England.)

Education after the Reformation

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries several grammar schools were founded in the towns of Wales which gradually attracted to them a comparatively large number of people.

In 1649, " Church and School " Commissioners were appointed and a number of free schools established. Cardigan Free Grammar School is apparently the only one which remains. This school was endowed by the Commissioners in 1653. Most of the other schools thus founded were closed after the Restoration of Charles II on account of the nonconformity of the masters, and even Cardigan Free Grammar School had its endowments returned to the original owners.

Some grammar schools founded after the Reformation in accordance with the policy of the Reformed Church were in the main carried on under its auspices, but the country districts were almost entirely neglected so far as educational facilities were concerned until comparatively recent times (as was shown in the report of the 1846 commission).

By the eighteenth century, Wales had become so incorporated with England that the laws of Wales were practically coincident with the laws of England ; in fact, a statute of 1747 laid it down that in Acts of Parliament the name England should be taken to include Wales. This is the reason for the differences between Welsh law and Scottish law.

Attempts to prevent Misuse of Endowments

It has apparently been a difficult matter in all periods of history to ensure the right application of endowments after the founder's death. The reason given ostensibly for the dissolution of the monasteries was that their endowments were abused or

misused, although more recent research appears to show that the monasteries were not morally so bad as they have been represented to be.

We have, however, evidence of misuse of educational endowments soon after the Reformation. Harrison writing in 1586 stated : " In some grammar schools which sent scholars to the universities it is lamentable to see what bribery is used ; for ere the scholar can be preferred, such bribery is made that poor men's children are shut out and the richer sort received."

In 1598–9, an Act was passed (31 Eliz., c. 6), a statute which apparently is still in force, which imposed penalties on him " who taketh rewards or other profyt directly or indirectly for his voice in such elections " (i.e. election to scholarships).

In 1601, the *Statute of Charitable Uses* (43 Eliz., c. 4) created a body called the Commissioners of Charitable Uses which had power to inquire into abuses of charitable bequests or donations, and to rectify the same by decree ; but the most lasting result following this Act was the development of the jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery in endowment matters. After the statute of 1601 there appears to have been a constant reference to this Court in charity cases. The Law of Educational Endowments came (especially in the earlier part of the period following 1601) to depend more upon the decisions of the Court of Chancery than upon statutory changes. Endowment law was to a great extent case law ; the interpretation of what was just and right and in accordance with good conscience depended to a great extent on the personality of the Chancellor.

In time, however, abuses and misuses and losses of charter funds increased, procedure under the Act of 1601 proved cumbrous, Chancery actions became circumlocutory, dilatory and ruinously expensive.

This affected actions from Wales as well as from England. In 1779, Mrs. Bevan bequeathed her large estate for carrying out the work of Charity Schools which had been commenced about fifty years before. Her relations disputed the will, and the estate was thrown into Chancery. It was not until 1804 that the case was decided and the will upheld, and not until 1809 that the Chancery scheme for the administration of the Charity came into operation, but during this quarter of a century of delay most of the schools which should have benefited had been closed for lack of funds.

Nineteenth-century Legislation

The latter part of the eighteenth and the first three or four decades of the nineteenth century was a period of special inquiries concerning charities and their administration. A committee of the House of Commons in 1788, after an examination of returns obtained from nearly 13,000 parishes in England *and Wales*, reported that many of the donations comprised in the returns appear to have been lost and others were in danger of being lost by neglect, and that the matter seemed to be of such magnitude as

to call for the serious and speedy attention of Parliament. It was not until a quarter of a century later that any action was taken, when in 1812 an Act was passed for Clerks of the Peace to send in returns of endowments in their areas. This Act did not produce really effective action, and on the motion of Mr. (afterwards Lord) Brougham in 1818, the First Commission of Inquiry was appointed to inquire into the "Educational Charities in England and Wales." Charity commissioners were appointed, or reappointed, by a series of Acts of Parliament, and by 1837 four successive (and almost continuous) commissions had issued thirty-two reports in thirty-eight folio volumes. These referred to Wales as well as to England. For sixteen years numerous attempts were made by successive Governments, as well as by individuals, to pass Bills through Parliament providing a summary and expeditious jurisdiction for dealing with the property of endowments and with their administration.

Meanwhile the *Grammar Schools Act*, 1840, was passed giving the Court of Chancery power to make changes in connection with the curriculum, etc., of grammar schools, e.g. allowing modern subjects to be taught instead of being restricted to the classics. This Act applied to Welsh grammar schools, except St. David's.

Ultimately a permanent Board of Commissioners was appointed by the *Charitable Trusts Act*, 1853, not merely for purposes of inquiry but with remedial and protective powers. The scheme-making powers of the Charity Commissioners as amended in 1855, 1860, 1862 and 1869 were much simpler and less costly than the former Chancery procedure, while to obviate the cost of renewed conveyance of trust property on changes of trustees an "Official Trustee of Charity Lands" was created (at first styled "Official Treasurer of Public Charities"). At first all commissioners' schemes required the approval of the Chancery Court or of Parliament, but the later Acts gave them increased powers.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, reform of the administration of endowments proceeded apace, one Act after another was passed by Parliament, either to deal with endowments statutorily exempted from the jurisdiction of the Charity Commissioners, e.g. Universities Acts, 1856 and 1877, or to deal with special groups of charities where powers beyond those possessed by the Commissioners were necessary, e.g. the *Public Schools Act*, 1868, and the *Endowed Schools Act*, 1869.

The Endowed Schools Act, 1869

The *Endowed Schools Act*, 1869, superseded the *Grammar Schools Act* and "endowed school commissioners" were temporarily appointed with very extensive powers, which enabled them to make drastic changes in the administration of educational endowments, in Wales as well as in England.

There was at this period a steady growth of interest in secondary

and higher education in Wales, and in 1848 Sir Thomas Phillips founded the Collegiate School at Llandovery; and in 1853 the schools for girls at Llandaff and Denbigh were founded by means of the Howell Charity. Endeavours, too, were made to put new life into some of the old grammar school foundations, and between 1853 and the passing of the 1869 *Endowed Schools Act* seven schemes were approved by the Court of Chancery and a similar number were made by the Charity Commissioners.

The *Endowed Schools Act* of 1869, or rather the schemes made under it, raised the standard of education by encouraging a wider curriculum with more attention to modern subjects.

In 1867 there were 24 classical and semi-classical schools in Wales and Monmouth, educating 961 boys, while in 1881 there were 27 schools with 1,540 boys and 3 schools for girls.

Local interest in the schools was quickened by the introduction of a representative element into governing bodies, and a beginning made of a connection between the primary schools and secondary schools by means of entrance scholarships. This interest was due to the fact that as soon as the Welsh people began to exercise the political power put into their hands by the *Reform Act* of 1867, they considered the provision of the means of higher education of the first importance.

Welsh Intermediate Education Act, 1889

The *Local Government Act*, 1888, created county councils with extensive powers and duties connected with the local government of their areas, and in 1889 an extension of the principles of the *Endowed Schools Act* was made to meet the special needs of Wales. By the *Welsh Intermediate Education Act*, 1889, the newly created county councils were entrusted to deal to some extent with matters of education, although there was little real control vested in the councils themselves at that time.

The chief modification of the procedure of the Endowed Schools Acts was the transference of the initiative in framing schemes from the Charity Commissioners to a "Joint Education Committee" acting for each county and county borough. Each committee consisted of three members nominated by the county council *joined with* two members nominated by the Lord President.

The joint committees so appointed were to prepare a scheme (or schemes) for the intermediate or technical education of the *inhabitants* of their respective counties (not merely of boys and girls), specifying in each case the educational endowments which in their opinion ought to be used for the purposes of such schemes. Up to this time there had been no public funds used for any form of education beyond elementary education, and the term "intermediate" was used to refer to education intermediate between elementary education and university education.

Recognising the comparative poverty of Wales in educational

endowments, a new departure in endowment law was made,. in that funds might be provided out of the county rate (not exceeding a ½*d.* rate) and the Treasury were to pay, out of moneys provided by Parliament in respect of schools in each county, sums of money which in the aggregate must not exceed the amount payable in that year out of the county rate, which *county rates and Treasury grants were to be treated as endowments in the schemes.*

The powers of the joint education committees were scheme-drafting powers only. These committees were to have no control over the administration of the funds, nor over the management of schools supported by the endowments. The funds and schools were to be managed by governing bodies constituted by the several schemes.

Effects of the Education Act, 1902

When the *Education Act*, 1902, constituted the county councils the local education authorities for their respective areas, the powers and duties of the governing bodies of the intermediate schools were transferred to the new education authorities, while about the same time the power of the Charity Commissioners as endowed school commissioners were being transferred to the Board of Education.

The endowments, other than those attached to endowed grammar schools, which were included in the county or county borough schemes, were :

(*a*) Endowments which represented extinct schools and had already been converted into scholarship foundations by earlier schemes ;

(*b*) Endowments representing the share of an endowment divisible between two or more counties, e.g. the Howell Charity for girls was apportioned 36 per cent. to Glamorgan, 40 per cent. to Denbighshire and 8 per cent. each to the county of Monmouth and the county boroughs of Cardiff and Newport. Later, when Merthyr Tydfil became a county borough, a further apportionment of the Glamorgan share was made ;

(*c*) The Monmouthshire scheme includes the residue of the income of the Monmouth Jones's Grammar School Foundation after certain other provisions are made therefrom.

In addition to county schemes, a small number of schools were dealt with by separate schemes : e.g. the Howell Foundation, and a scheme for the school at Llandaff, while the Denbigh school still remains under a Chancery scheme.

Among other endowed secondary schools which are outside the county organisations are Christ College, Brecon ; the Llandovery Collegiate School ; the grammar schools at Abergavenny, Cowbridge and Ruthin ; the three schools of the Jones's Foundation (Pontypool, Monmouth boys and Monmouth girls). These were all boarding schools, and most of them claimed to be schools which carried classical studies up to a point fitting their pupils to proceed to Oxford and Cambridge.

The endowments included in the county schemes are, as a rule, administered by the county authority, and the income derived from them paid into the county fund. In some cases it is thereafter distributed over the county as an indistinguishable part of that

fund, in other cases it is either charged with certain payments for purposes outside the scheme. Under the Cardiff scheme £800 a year is payable out of the Cradock Wells Charity to the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire, and in Radnorshire £4 a year is paid out of the Presteign Grammar School Foundation for ringing curfew at the parish church.

The Education Act, 1902

The *Education Act*, 1902, not only transferred the powers of county governing bodies to the authorities, but brought a vast improvement in the financial situation and prospects of further education, by enabling the authorities to supplement the existing resources out of rates leviable under this Act for higher education, and in addition offered to the Welsh authorities a new way of meeting the growing demand for secondary schools, which is more simple and expeditious in procedure than under the 1889 Act.

The first of these points leads to the question : *Is this additional rate aid an addition to the endowment fund* or, since the local education authority now has a *duty* to provide secondary education, *is the endowment fund now being used in relief of the higher education rate in the county ?*

It may be noted that if a new school is established under the Welsh Act, even if the funds for its maintenance are to be provided from local rates and government grants, it has to be treated exactly as if it were an old endowment. The scheme for the county (or county borough) has to be amended to make room for it ; but this can only be done by calling back to life the old Joint Education Committee and setting the cumbrous machinery of the Act to work, or by an amending scheme under the Charitable Trusts Acts.

On the other hand, under the 1902 Act the education committee makes its plan, assures itself that the Board of Education will approve the proposal, and then obtains the consent of the county or county borough council.

It may be noted that secondary schools founded in this way under the 1902 Act are outside the organisation under the Welsh Act in respect of their examination and inspection ; they have no relation to the Central Welsh Board which deals with examination of the schools under the Welsh Act. So there are two systems of public secondary schools in Wales, the second type being found principally in the larger centres of population, e.g. the county of Glamorgan and the county boroughs of Cardiff, Merthyr Tydfil and Swansea.

Use of Endowments for Rate Relief

Reference is made above to the question (similar to that dealt with recently in Scotland by the 1928 Commissioners) as to whether in the county schemes the endowment funds are being used in relief of rates instead of providing something for the beneficiaries which they would not otherwise get.

The 1902 *Education Act* in Sect. 13 (now Sect. 41 of the *Education Act*, 1921) definitely authorises endowment funds, or parts of endowment funds, for *elementary* education to be used " in aid of the rate levied for the purposes of elementary education," if the endowment were for purposes for which the authority is responsible. This is a definite departure from previous endowment law.

The Board of Education to whom the Charity Commissioners' powers concerning educational endowments have been transferred by orders in council under the *Board of Education Act*, 1899, have ruled that the effects of this section of the Act must be strictly limited by the trust to the following :

(1) To purposes of *elementary* education (i.e. money from Grammar School Trusts do not go for rate relief) ;
(2) To some *particular* public elementary school (i.e. trusts for education generally, and not for a specific school, do not go for rate relief) ;
(3) The trust must be for purposes for which provision must *necessarily* be made by the L.E.A. (i.e. trusts for special educational advantages, e.g. prizes, exhibitions, etc., do not go for rate relief).

The Caerphilly Case

Questions have arisen in connection with the ownership of disused denominational elementary school buildings, on sites provided under the *School Sites Acts*, especially in view of the reversion clauses of those Acts under which the site for a school so given reverts to the donor on its disuse as a school site.

In the Caerphilly case, which was taken to the Court of Appeal in 1912, this Court decided that : " If a site is granted to a school in which education is to be the principal object of the grant, and education in the principles of the Church of England an adjunct to this, if the secondary purpose fails, *the site and the school will not revert to the donors*, if the primary purpose (i.e. general education) is still possible."

This decision was far-reaching in extent and importance and might affect a large number of schools, for if such a school building ceased to be used as a Church of England school, it *ipso facto* became available for use for general education as a council or provided school by the local education authority. The school would not revert to the donor of the site, nor to the Church, and, further, the Church authorities could not charge the local education authority a rent for the use of the buildings for general educational purposes, or alternatively the local education authority might claim a share of the proceeds of letting the school buildings as income in connection with an educational trust.

With these—to them unwelcome—possibilities of the decision before them, the Church Party appealed against the judgment and the case came before the House of Lords in November 1913 (*Price and others* v. *Attorney-General at the relation of the Glamorgan County Council*), but as a compromise was arrived at, the House did not give a definite ruling on this point. The scheme drawn up

on the terms of the compromise is being taken in many cases as in accordance with the opinion of the House of Lords even if no legal decision were made.

The University of Wales

The scheme for higher education in the Principality was rendered more complete in 1893 when the three University Colleges of Aberystwyth, Bangor and Cardiff were incorporated by Royal Charter as a University of Wales. (In 1920 the college at Swansea was included.) A University Court was created (including representatives from local bodies) to make statutes for the University and a Senate to recommend schemes of studies and examinations. By the *University of Wales Act*, 1902, it was enacted (among other provisions) that the University shall be exempted from the Mortmain Acts. This allowed gifts to be made to the University as endowments to provide buildings, scholarships, etc.[1]

The Welsh Church Act, 1914

Under this Act the Church of Wales was disestablished and disendowed. Arrangements were made under the Act for the vesting of Welsh ecclesiastical property in a body of commissioners who should transfer certain specified portions to a representative body (to be appointed) for Church purposes. Out of the residue certain tithe rent charges, and other property appropriated to parochial benefices, were to be transferred to the county council, to be applied by them for charitable or eleemosynary purposes *including the aiding of poor scholars*.

The final residue, after making specific provisions for certain purposes (including the above) was to be transferred to the *University of Wales*.

Conclusion

Owing to the conditions detailed above under which the law has developed, it will be seen that by the successive Education Acts (1902, 1918, 1921), many of the objects for which endowments were provided are now the duty of the local education authorities to provide, and instead of the endowments being used to provide, as their founders intended, that *the recipients should have some educational advantage that they could not otherwise have obtained*, the benefits enure to the rate-payers generally through relief of rates.

Under these circumstances a Departmental Committee in 1920 recommended the repeal of those sections of the Education Acts

[1] Sir W. J. Thomas gave £90,000 for the buildings of the Medical College, Cardiff; Mr. R. J. Thomas gave £20,000 towards the North Wales Memorial Fund for science buildings at Bangor; Sir W. J. Tatem gave £25,000 to the University College of South Wales for chemical laboratories; anonymous donors gave £100,000 to Aberystwyth College, apparently without specifying any special use thereof, and £15,000 for the Agricultural Department, while an amount of about £100,000 was obtained to raise Swansea Technical College to university rank.

which authorise such uses of the endowments, but no action in this direction has been taken.

Apart from the school buildings, the endowments consist of money and land estimated to produce an income of about £26,000 a year arising from a number of foundations very diverse in their origin, very variously treated under the schemes, and applicable for areas very different in extent, such as a parish, an indeterminate area representing the area from which a particular grammar school draws its pupils, or even, as in the case of the Howell Charity, the whole of Wales.

These endowments cannot be put back in the position they occupied before the Act of 1889. The old governing bodies have disappeared and cannot be reconstituted, while the purposes for which some of the endowments were applicable may be obsolete.

If there were a repeal of the Acts governing their present use, the repealing Act might authorise schemes being drawn up subject to the approval of the Board of Education whereby the endowment funds might be used to give to the inhabitants of each area educational benefits which they would not ordinarily derive from education rates or Government grants.

The improvement of a school library, museum, gymnasium, swimming-bath or playing fields, the provision of lectures and entertainment for the children attending the school to which the endowment was originally attached, are some of the forms the use might take, providing " school luxuries " on a scale of exceptional excellence calculated to add to the amenities, dignity and corporate spirit of the school. In other cases, university bursaries might be provided, while each scheme might provide for future changes by the inclusion of " plans " for the utilisation of the endowment funds on lines similar to those included in schemes prepared for education areas by the 1928 Commissioners for Scottish Endowments.

A. E. IKIN.

CHAPTER THREE

The Law of Educational Endowments in Ireland (until 1920)

The Early Schools of Ireland

IN the darkest part of the Middle Ages, from about A.D. 600 to 850 the schools in Ireland were the best educational institutions in the world. The *Insula Sanctorum et Doctorum*, as Ireland was called, sent forth scholars to various parts of the Continent to preach and to preside over schools.

The School of Armagh was one of the oldest, and for many years the chief Christian school in Ireland; another of the fifth century was the School of Kildare which became famous as a training school for teachers: while in addition, the School of Clonmacnoise became a kind of national seminary rather than a school for any one tribe. The monks and scholars came from all parts of the country.

These educational establishments were supported from the general ecclesiastical endowments of the place. These had been given by various kings and chiefs: e.g. in 648 the King of Meath, on his way to fight the King of Connaught, called at Clonmacnoise to ask for prayers for his success. On his victorious return he granted lands as church-lands for ever, the produce of which was to go to the support of the Institution with its school, so that no King of Meath might take so much as a "drink of water from its well without paying for it."

These endowments, as in the case of other early Christian endowments in Great Britain, were simply used for the purposes for which they were given, without the intervention of a Trust, and the beneficiaries administered the income in accordance with local customs, which may have been affected by contact with neighbouring brehon laws and customs, but there was no external supervising central authority to interfere with their internal arrangements.

Influence of the Northmen

With the advent of the Northmen or Vikings came a great change. The ecclesiastical institutions, on account of the plunder they provided, were specially marked out for attack and destruction, and education suffered severely. Irish culture really never recovered its pre-eminent position after this, although there was a revival of arts and scholarship during the century and a half following the defeat of the Northmen at Clontarf in 1014, from which latter period the most important relics of Celtic literature date.

English Law in the Irish Pale

With the advent of Strongbow and his companions at arms in 1189 commenced the struggle between the Norman-English and

the Irish which lasted for centuries with detrimental effects on education.

Henry II, fearing the establishment of an independent Norman State across the Irish Channel, went thither himself and obtained homage and submission from barons and chiefs. An English settlement was formed in the eastern part of the island, and the King granted charters to its Boroughs and appointed Sheriffs and Justices of Assize. This English settlement was regarded as subject to English Common Law as this law developed. So soon, for instance, as John had sealed the Charter (*Magna Carta*) at Runnymede, a copy was sent over to Ireland and published there.

Under John and Henry III (his son) several ordinances were issued with the object of enforcing English law in Ireland, and every effort appears to have been made to treat " The Pale " as an integral part of the King's English dominions. In order to make the administration of justice uniform, Henry III in 1227 sent over to Ireland a copy of the English Register of Writs and ordained that the formulæ contained in it should be used in Ireland.[1]

Educational endowments do not appear much in evidence at this time, nor any law or custom dealing with such. Attempts apparently were made to break up the Irish schools (which by the use of Celtic literature tended to perpetuate a national feeling among the Irish) rather than to endow them or to preserve existing endowments. There is, however, a little evidence that a few endowments were still being made, for a few years ago, in the Archives de la Côte-d'Or at Dijon, there were found in a bundle of documents four parchments dealing with grants from Irish Kings or Chiefs, made to the house at Citeaux in the early part of the thirteenth century.

An Irish Parliament was developed on parallel lines to the development of Parliament in England, but it did not attain any great power. In 1495, the King obtained from this Irish Parliament a Statute known from his Viceroy as " Poynings' Law." This Statute provided that Statutes *lately* made by the English Parliament should hold good in Ireland.[2]

Poynings' Law also provided that no Parliament should be held in Ireland until the Viceroy had certified to the King all such Acts as were to be passed, and these had been confirmed by the King and his Council.

The nullification of the power of the Irish Parliament was probably due to the fact that the Anglo-Irish had taken the part of the House of York (during the Wars of the Roses) and it was intended to prevent any future danger to the throne therefrom.

[1] This is an interesting point in legal history as it shows an authoritative introduction of the English formulary procedure to Ireland, and also the actual MS. which was sent forms an official copy of an English Chancery Register of Writs at an early date.

[2] Whatever " *lately* " meant when the Statute was passed, the construction soon put upon it was that *all* English Statutes of earlier date than Poynings' Law were law in Ireland.

Foundation of Schools after the Reformation

By the time of the Reformation Ireland was not quite so serious a political embarrassment to England as a little earlier, and the Reformation work proceeded as in England. The authority of the Pope was formally repudiated by the Irish Parliament and Henry VIII took the title, " King of Ireland and Head of the Irish Church." (Later Queen Mary received from the Pope the title Queen of Ireland.) The Irish chieftains were encouraged by Henry to come over to England to hold their Knight service and to receive English titles, the King hoping thereby to win their support, various chiefs receiving abbey lands. It is, however, a great blot on Henry's Irish Policy that out of the wealth derived from the dissolution of the religious houses not one penny was appropriated for the endowment of Irish schools or of a university.

Henry, however, recognising the need for educating the younger portion of the people, attempted to establish " Parish Schools " in the various parishes of Ireland—" *a schole for to learne English.*" As the monastic funds had been used otherwise, to avoid the difficulty of providing funds for these parish schools, an incumbent on admission to a benefice was required to take an oath to teach.

This procedure, in effect, reintroduced the custom of centuries before—that ecclesiastical endowments should include education as one of their objects, and the income of the benefices would thus be dealt with as being to some extent educational endowments.

If an endowment had been made for a cure of souls pure and simple, the Act really caused in fact a change of the trust by a variation of the founder's intentions. The endowment must be used to provide teaching as well as worship and preaching. Later we find evidence that the schools were neglected, the incumbent paying someone a small sum (e.g. £2 a year) to teach, and retaining the rest of the living for himself.

Elizabeth endeavoured to extend the educational work of her father and to supplement the work of the parish schools. Under the *Erection of Schools Act*, 1570, free grammar schools were to be erected in every diocese, to be maintained, one-third by the ordinary and two-thirds by the other ecclesiastics in the diocese.

Some years later, " understanding that these schools were supported slenderly or not at all," various Mayors (e.g. Mayor of Limerick in 1583) were ordered to sequester yearly from the livings, tithes, etc., certain sums until the Act was complied with.

University policy was also controlled by Elizabeth. The University of Trinity College, Dublin, was established to provide Protestant education because the Queen's subjects were going to " fforaine universities—and have been infected with popery and other ill qualities." (Pat. Roll, 34 Eliz.)

During the reign of Elizabeth, however, there were various disturbances (e.g. the Desmond and Tyrone rebellions). The dissatisfaction was due to some extent to the fact that exclusion

from Office of Catholic "leige subjects" under the Oath of Supremacy tended to alienate these old English of the Pale, while in the Gaelic states, questions were raised concerning ancestral rights and religious tolerance.

With the result of the fight at Kinsale and the loss of some of their leaders, the older Celtic and Norman Ireland may be said to have ended and a new type of Irish nationality had begun to emerge, partly English and partly Irish by race, chiefly Catholic in religion, but the upper ranks were English-speaking. The problem which James I inherited was how to reconcile this group to a Protestant government. In 1607, the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, with other chiefs of the North, fled from Ireland. Soon after this flight the Gaelic brehons, poets and historians ceased to write and this branch of Celtic literature ended.[1]

The lands of the earls and nobles who fled were declared to be "escheated" to the Crown and a plantation of Ulster took place, Protestants being brought into Ulster to occupy the vacant lands, a fact which caused the predominantly Protestant character of Northern Ireland to-day. Derry was given to the citizens (Livery Companies) of London (Londonderry).

Endowments of Schools

An attempt was made to provide for Protestant education in Northern Ireland by the foundation of Royal Free Schools. Schools were founded at Portora, Enniskellin in 1618; at Armagh and Dungannon in 1627 and others later. James I for himself and successors assigned lands for the support of these free schools. Here we have a departure from the policy of Henry VIII and Elizabeth of compelling the parish clergy, or the diocesan clergy, to support the parish or diocesan schools respectively.

Grants or endowments totalling over 20,000 acres were made from the escheated lands, analogous to the "school-land" endowments in North America later. (See YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION, 1937, pp. 282 *et seq.*)

After the rising of 1641 and the re-conquest of Ireland by Cromwell, large quantities of forfeited lands passed into the hands of his followers. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, various schools were founded and endowed, frequently endowments being made from the forfeited lands they had received.

Erasmus Smith's Schools

Erasmus Smith was one of the "adventurers" who took the side of Parliament in the war and received large grants of land in different parts of Ireland. Part of these lands he used as an educational endowment. He intended to establish a number of grammar schools in localities to be selected by himself, to give

[1] An attempt to revive a study of this literature was made by the Gaelic League, a course which has been supported by the Government of the Irish Free State since 1922.

combined religious (Protestant) and secular education to poor pupils of the schools. Children of his tenants or inhabiting any of the counties he mentioned were to have special privileges and to have preferences in free schooling, clothing or advancement to the university. Protestant education was an integral part of his scheme: he desired, he said, "to propagate the Protestant faith according to the Scriptures." [This caused difficulties later to Commissioners in devising a scheme: e.g. Should R.C. boys be excluded, also should R.C's. be excluded from being Governors of the Schools ?]

During these unsettled times there was little specific law in Ireland dealing with the administration of endowments. Endowments were made, and if the teachers did not receive the emoluments therefrom, they might bring an action in the Court; but apparently very few ventured on this course, with the result that endowments were not always rightly used.

Ireland and the English Parliament

After the English Revolution of 1688–9, the Constitutional question was raised as to whether Ireland was subject to the English Parliament as well as to the English Kings, and in 1719 the question arose whether the English House of Lords could act as a final Court of Appeal from the Irish Courts. To settle the question, a declaratory Act (6 Geo. I, c. 5) was passed by the English Parliament which stated that the English Parliament had power to make laws to bind the people of Ireland, and that the Irish House of Lords (not being directly descended from the King's Council) had no power to affirm or reverse the judgments of the Irish Courts, thus definitely subordinating the Irish Parliament to the English.

This affected the law of endowments to the extent that the English House of Lords being the ultimate Court of Appeal from the Irish Courts, and also as it was the English Court of Chancery which dealt with endowments, Irish law would approximate more to English law at this period.

A Free Irish Parliament

In 1782, the above-mentioned Act was repealed, and the next year a free Irish Parliament was set up which repealed Poynings' Law, referred to earlier in this survey, and for 18 years Ireland was subject only to the English King.[1]

Commission of Enquiry

The movement for Enquiry which characterised the beginning of the nineteenth century developed earlier under the Irish Parlia-

[1] Towards the end of the century it was feared that the spread of French Revolutionary principles might result in an attempt to set up an Irish Republic which under the unsettled European conditions might endanger England, and a Union between Great Britain and Ireland was *obtained* in 1800.

ment than in Great Britain. A Commission of Enquiry appointed under an Irish Act of 1788, reported in 1791 that neither the Diocesan Schools of Elizabeth, nor the Royal Free Schools of James I had fulfilled the intentions of the founders, and recommended that a Board of Control should be established with powers of summary jurisdiction for the improvement of the schools. One of the last Acts of the Irish Parliament before the Union of 1800 was an Act to constitute such a Board as the Report recommended.

A Board of Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests was created which consisted chiefly of Judges, with Bishops of the Irish Church (Protestant). This Board took the place of an annually appointed Committee of the Irish House of Lords whose duty had been to prevent concealment or misapplication of charitable funds, and the Board received power to sue for the recovery of such donations, and to apply property *cy-près* if the original objects failed.

Thus half a century before England obtained her Charity Commissioners a supervisory authority was appointed in Ireland, but legal difficulties unfortunately prevented the Irish Commissioners doing all they considered desirable and necessary.

The usual process to recover any donations and to appropriate them to their original or cognate purposes was to file a Bill in Equity, and in the ordinary sequence of events, the due and proper parties were brought before the Court, with all the incidents and delays then consequent upon such a species of suit. In fact, in various cases, owing to the great expenses and weighty costs incurred, the assertion of a title to the charitable donations was a loss to the educational funds rather than a gain. The costs were sometimes more than the legacy.

One other Act of the Irish Parliament was the *Roman Catholic Relief Act* (Irish Act, 33 Geo. III, c. 21) which dealt with the university which Elizabeth had founded in Dublin for the education of Protestants. This Act stated that if the Statutes of the University of Dublin were altered to allow of it, *any person* might graduate in the University without oath or declaration, save of allegiance.

In 1794, a Royal Letter made the necessary changes and, consonantly with the spirit of the law, Dissenters as well as Roman Catholics were admitted to the University, but *were unable to share in the endowments*, for the relaxations did not apply to scholars.

Some Effects of the Union

When the Union took place on January 1st, 1801, it was the union of two independent kingdoms (each having the same King) rather than the absorption of a dependent kingdom. The Laws of Ireland differed somewhat from those in England, but the differences were not so great as those which separated English law from Scottish

law. The basis of Irish law was English Common Law which had been received since the days of the Plantagenets for the English Pale, and since the Tudors for the rest of the country, and in addition, as mentioned, the House of Lords was the final Court of Appeal from Irish Courts as well as from the English and Scottish Courts.

Soon after the Union the Catholics were waiting with some expectation of relief from religious disabilities but were disappointed. No definite steps were taken for some years to come.

Another Commission of Enquiry

After the Union, the Enquiry Commission was revived in 1806 by 46 Geo. III, c. 122 (not an Irish Act this time). A further Report made on Endowed and other Schools commented strongly on the deficiency of the means of education for the poor. The Commissioners considered that the time had come when a really honest and persevering attempt should be made to educate the Irish Catholics without attempting to convert them to Protestantism.

The Kildare Place Society

No steps were taken by Parliament to carry out this policy, for it was feared that action in this direction by the Executive Government would excite jealousies which would counteract the benefits to be obtained.

The Kildare Place Society, a *Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland*, was organised at this time and was aided to supply education of which "the reading of the Bible without comment" formed an integral part.

It is frequently stated that the first Government aid for Education was made in 1833 when a grant was made in England. This, however, is incorrect. The first grant was one of £6,980 in the Irish Budget for 1815, to enable the Kildare Place Society to obtain a site and provide a school. The next grant was £6,000 to aid the Society to publish educational books. From 1817 onwards, annual grants were made to the Society gradually increasing from £9,653 to £30,000 per annum. Schools were erected, and were aided by the Society. Cheap and good books were provided, and teachers were trained in the Kildare Place College, so that about the year 1824 the elementary schools in Ireland had the reputation of being the "best in Europe." [1]

By 1830, there were 1,634 schools aided and inspected with an average attendance of 84. The jealousy of the Roman Catholics of the "Bible instruction only," however, wrecked the work of the Society, and after the *Catholic Emancipation Act* of 1829 when they obtained more power, their opposition caused a withdrawal of the Grants.

[1] A reminder of the conditions of a thousand years before when Ireland was "Insula Sanctorum et Doctorum."

A Board of *Commissioners of National Education* in Ireland was formed to take the place of the Society to some extent.

Board of Commissioners of Education in Ireland

The Enquiry Commissioners appointed in 1806 presented fourteen Reports between 1806 and 1813. In 1813, by the Act 33 Geo. III, c. 107, a *Board of Commissioners of Education in Ireland* was created to take charge of existing endowed and other schools. As the majority of the Endowed Schools in Ireland had been founded by Protestants, the Board had a majority of such as members.[1]

All Endowed Schools in Ireland (except Erasmus Smith's schools), charter schools, with schools of private foundation other than those of the Church of Ireland and schools with special visitors appointed by Statute or Charter were placed under their jurisdiction. The Royal Free Schools were vested in these Commissioners, and, in addition, the Court of Chancery might transfer other endowment funds to them.

The Commissioners do not appear to have improved the administration of the schools, for two later Enquiry Commissions reported very adversely on them.[2]

A report by another body of Enquiry Commissioners in 1858, after half a century of administration of endowed schools by the "Commissioners of Education," stated that these Commissioners had managed the estates rather than the schools, and had done that badly. The Report also complained that they had acted with great want of uniformity, and further that *they did not take sufficient care of the deeds relating to the endowments* under their care.

Some of these delinquencies were no doubt due to the individual Commissioners having so many other duties to perform, that many of them could devote very little time to this particular work, and in addition, owing to the limited nature of some of their powers, members who had endeavoured to improve matters were discouraged by their lack of power and so their efforts ceased.

This Report recommended the replacement of the Commissioners by a new Board with more extensive powers, and empowered to deal with a wider range of endowments, also that the Board should consist of persons of different religious persuasions, and that there should be at least one paid Commissioner.

[1] The Board consisted of two Judges, three Protestant Archbishops, the Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, with four members nominated by the Lord-Lieutenant.

[2] A report in 1838 outlined a sensible and comprehensive scheme for Education in Ireland. A Central Education Authority was to be formed by the amalgamation of the "*Commissioners of National Education*" who dealt with elementary education (as successors to the work of the Kildare Place Society) and the *Commissioners of Education* which dealt with endowed schools. Local Education Authorities were to be formed by Grand Juries, or Town Councils, or County Councils, or County Boards. The Scheme was on sound lines but too much in advance of the times, and no steps were taken to carry it out.

Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests

Although nothing was done on this report, as in the case of the report 20 years earlier, yet some reforms were in progress. Between the issue of these two reports, in 1844, the Constitution of the oldest Charitable Trust supervising board—The Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests—was changed so as to consist of three Judges and ten other persons of whom five were to be Roman Catholics. Power was given to these Commissioners to hold lands in trust for Catholic priests (evidence of the spirit of tolerance then developing), although at the same time the powers of the Commissioners to deal with endowments on the *cy-près* principle was taken away.

Their powers were extended a little in 1867, and again in 1871, but even then their powers at the beginning of the twentieth century were more restricted than the powers of the English Charity Commissioners.

Irish Church Act, 1869

A wholesale interference by the Crown and Parliament with foundations and founder's intentions took place in 1869 when the Church of Ireland was disestablished.[1]

This action was comparable to some extent to the widespread alterations at the time of the Reformation, but with this essential difference, that whereas at the Dissolution of the Monasteries in Ireland none of the confiscated property went to education, although large amounts went to satisfy the greed of nobles and to purchase the goodwill of chieftains, the whole of the ecclesiastical surplus funds in 1869 was apportioned for public purposes.

The existing ecclesiastical property was vested in a Commission which was to give compensation for life interests, to transfer to a new representative Church corporation the churches, glebe houses and £500,000 in compensation for private endowments given since 1660, and to hold the rest for such purposes as Parliament might thereafter determine.

A Board of *Commissioners for Intermediate Education* was appointed under the *Intermediate Education* (*Ireland*) *Act*, 1878, to administer the annual interest on £1,000,000 transferred to them from the funds of the disestablished Irish Church.

In addition, in 1879, a sum of £1,300,000 was set apart from the Church funds as an educational endowment to provide superannuation allowances for teachers.

The Intermediate Education Commissioners provided examination facilities for persons educated in Ireland, irrespective of their religious persuasion. The *Intermediate Education* (*Ireland*) *Act*,

[1] Previous to this the Census of 1861 had shown that out of a total population of 5,798,967 only 693,357 belonged to the Established Church, while 4,505,265 were Roman Catholics. At the census of 1911, the number of members of the Church of Ireland was 547,490 or 13 per cent. of the total population.

1900, allowed *the funds to be applied in a manner provided by Rules to be made by the Board with the approval of the Lord-Lieutenant and submitted to Parliament*, a method of dealing with endowments so as to allow of alterations as time went on, to enable the funds to be utilised more in consonance with the needs of the age.

Further Enquiry Commission

The defects in the administrative work of the " Commissioners of Education " to which attention had been drawn in the two previously mentioned Enquiry Commission reports, were accentuated by the disestablishment of the Irish Church, in that the Board lost episcopal members, and in addition, some of the Endowed Diocesan Schools came to an end. A further Enquiry Commission was appointed, and in their report in 1880, attention was drawn, not only to the inadequacy of the powers of the Commissioners of Education, but also to the marked and most injurious absence of system, vigour and efficiency in the discharge of those functions which had been committed to them. The Report also pointed out the great need for summary powers for changing and improving the administration of educational endowments.

Educational Endowments (Ireland) Act, 1885

To deal with the matters referred to in the Enquiry Commissioners' Report, the *Educational Endowments* (*Ireland*) *Act*, 1885, was passed on the model of the Scottish Act of 1882 which was working so satisfactorily.

Temporary Commissioners were appointed to prepare drafts of schemes for the future government and management of educational endowments. The scope of their work was not to be restricted merely to the endowments under the Commissioners of Education (Royal Free Schools, etc.).

Schemes might authorise the changing of methods of investment of funds; the amalgamating, combining, or dividing of endowments, the selling or exchanging of leases, or disposing of property and investing the proceeds, and such changes were to have the same validity as if authorised by the original trusts.

Endowments might be transferred to the Commissioners of Intermediate Education, the constitution of governing bodies might be altered, schemes for scholarships or exhibitions might be readjusted, extended or abolished.

The Commissioners thus had extremely wide powers of varying the trusts and their administration so as to remove abuses and to enable them to serve better the needs of the times.

And, last but not least, schemes were to provide for regular *audit of accounts* by a Government auditor, a much-needed reform which has not yet been made applicable to English educational endowments, except in so far as these may be administered by local education authorities.

As the work of revising trusts and preparing schemes occupied a considerable time, the powers of the (1885) Commissioners were extended, by various Expiring Laws Continuance Acts and Orders in Council, to 1894, by which time the majority of the endowments had been dealt with.

One specially important scheme provided for the reform and reorganisation of the Board of *Commissioners for Education*, and Local Boards were formed for dealing locally with endowments under the supervision of these Commissioners.

The Scheme proposed for one group of endowments, that for the Erasmus Smith Schools, was not completed before the expiration of their powers owing to the difficulties already mentioned (as to whether R.C. boys were excluded from the Schools or whether R.C. governors of such schools could be appointed).

In accordance with Sect. 18 of the Act, the Commissioners provided in their Schemes for the alteration or amendment of a Scheme from time to time by the *Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests for Ireland*, upon application made by the governing body or any person interested, provided such alterations should not be contrary to anything in the Act.

Some Endowments in 1920

The advantage of annual audit of accounts is very great as this obviates the danger of loss or misuse of endowment funds.

The Annual Report of the *Commissioners of Education in Ireland* for the year 1920 gives some particulars for that year of the endowments under their control.

The income for that year was :

" Ulster Royal School Endowments " : Rents £2,044 8*s.* 6*d.* ; dividends £2,291 18*s.* 9*d.* ; miscellaneous £221 5*s.* 10*d.* ; a total of £4,557 13*s.* 1*d.* There were eleven schools sharing in the income from these endowments. From " Other Endowments " the Commissioners received : Rents £205 10*s.* 9*d.* ; dividends £1,479 19*s.* 3*d.*, miscellaneous £175 4*s.* 2*d.*, a total of £1,860 14*s.* 2*d.*

The " Other Endowments " included the " *Preston Endowment* " with a gross income of £1,087 17*s.* 6*d.* [£888 11*s.* 5*d.* in 1919]. The three schools which benefited by this were King's Hospital, Oxmantown ; Preston School, Navan ; and Preston School, Abbeyleix.

From the " *Caryfoot Endowment* " £135 was divided equally between Catholic and Protestant managers. There were two Catholic schools—Sheena, and Ballinatone, and three Protestant schools—Aughrim, Ballycreen, and Mucklagh.

From the " *Leamy Endowment*," Limerick, £205 17*s.* 6*d.* was paid to the Leamy Local Boards of Education for two schools. One of these it was decided to close and apply the endowment for Intermediate Scholarships and in the promotion of primary and technical education.

From the "*Viscount Limerick Endowment*," Dundalk, £52 19*s.* was divided between two schools which claimed to share in this endowment.

From the "*Banks Endowment*" £20 6*s.* 4*d.* was paid in accordance with a plan submitted by the trustees for the teaching of shirt-making, knitting, etc., and for prizes for attendance, etc.

From the "*Diocesan Schools*" and "*Banagher Royal School Endowment*," the following sums were paid for the benefit of pupils attending Intermediate schools in the following districts: £12, Dioceses of Leighlin and Ossory; £26, Dioceses of Meath and Ardagh; £28, Dioceses of Tuam, Killala, and Achoury; and £30, King's County. In King's County a sum of £40 was offered but only £30 was awarded owing to lack of eligible candidates. The income from the *Anne Hall Endowment, Lattone School*, was being devoted to reduction of the debt incurred in enlarging and repairing the school premises.

The trust of the "*Limerick Diocesan School Endowment*" having failed the income was being invested. The income for the year was £47 0*s.* 11*d.*

Some of the difficulties experienced in connection with obtaining the endowment income are exemplified by the following extract from the Commissioners' report for 1915:

> "We note an improvement in the amount of rent collected by the Agent reducing the arrears, but must point out that in eight cases no rent was collected notwithstanding the instruction that all tenants must be made to pay at least something each year. Again on the Bog Rental out of 264 cases no rent was collected in 49 cases. The Agent's explanation of the latter defaulters was, that the tenants promised to pay but did not pay in time to be included in the report: that several had paid since and that he hoped for further payments shortly."

University of Dublin

The report of a Royal Commission on the University of Dublin, issued November 1920, drew attention to the great value of the services rendered by Trinity College to the cause of education and general culture for more than three hundred years, and recommended an annual grant to the University from public funds. Until 1920 the work had been carried on entirely from their own resources.

Attention was drawn to the complexities of the source of salaries which depended in many cases on income from endowments:

> "No feature of the financial arrangements of Trinity College has appeared to us so strange as the number and singularly varied character of the sources whence salaries are paid to Fellows and Professors. This feature has no doubt some historical interest in showing how in successive generations the resources of the College have gradually been gathered together. In some cases the income of a professor may be drawn from more than half a dozen sources, some of which are liable to annual variation so that he cannot always reckon with certainty what may be his income at the end of a year."

Under the provisions of the *Irish Land Act*, 1903, the sum of £5,000 a year was allocated for the purpose of preventing the College from suffering loss by reason of the sale of lands under the Act. The £5,000 was apparently allotted every year, but was only available in case of *loss* on the sale of land, and in 1920 the Public Trustee held an accumulated fund of £70,000.

Position at the time of the Division of Ireland

Irish education (excluding the universities) was administered by three authorities, differently constituted and independent of each other :

(i) The " Commissioners of National Education in Ireland " who had replaced the Kildare Place Society, controlled the administration of public elementary education :

(ii) The " Board of Intermediate Education," to which had been transferred, as mentioned above, some Church funds, supervised education intermediate between elementary and university.

(iii) The Department of Agriculture and Technical Education appointed under the Education Act of 1899.

In addition to these separate authorities which assisted by means of public grants, there was the body known as *The Commissioners of Education in Ireland* who were concerned with the administration of educational endowment funds, many of which were dealt with under schemes made under the 1885 *Educational Endowments (Ireland) Act.* These endowments were administered under the sanction of the *Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests* (analogous to the Charity Commissioners in England). As mentioned this body had power to amend schemes made under the 1885 Act, but for endowments whose schemes were not completed when the powers of the 1885 Commissioners expired, there was no summary course for dealing with any amendment or revision which might be necessary or desirable : application to the Court of Chancery for a scheme or to Parliament for a special Act was the only course available.

A. E. IKIN.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Law of Educational Endowments in Northern Ireland

Establishment of Ministry of Education

UNDER the provisions of the *Government of Ireland Act*, 1920, the counties of Antrim, Armagh, Down, Fermanagh, Londonderry and Tyrone, together with the county boroughs of Belfast and Londonderry, were constituted a self-governing unit of the United Kingdom under the name of "*Northern Ireland.*" The exact southern boundary was finally settled by the *Ireland* (*Confirmation of Agreement*) *Act*, 1925.

The Ministry of Education for Northern Ireland was created by an Order in Council of June 7th, 1921.

The Ministry being established it was recognised that a satisfactory unified control of the various branches of education could not be realised under the former divided administration. The co-ordination of primary, secondary and technical education signified more than mere economy in administration. There ought to be a constant inter-relation between these elements, which only a common control could harmonise.

On these grounds, Orders in Council were made transferring to the Ministry :

(1) All the powers and duties of the "Commissioners of National Education," in relation to Northern Ireland ;
(2) All the powers and duties of the "Intermediate Education Board" in relation to Northern Ireland ;
(3) All the powers and duties of the "Department of Agriculture and Technical Education," in connection with Northern Ireland.

The period since 1921 has been marked by considerable legislative activity which was necessary to provide an adequate supply of easily attainable facilities for all forms of education. The previous educational system had the appearance of a patchwork rather than of a regular plan. It was the inevitable result of nearly a century of piecemeal legislation or administrative activity. The comprehensive *Education* (*Northern Ireland*) *Act*, 1923, was the first of a series of Acts, and in order that the Ministry should be able to act in pursuance of the new legislation and no longer merely in succession to the "Commissioners of National Education" or other independent bodies whose functions had been transferred on February 1st, 1922, the various Intermediate Education Acts were repealed as and from October 1st, 1923, and this date was fixed as the appointed day for the Ministry commencing work under the new Act.

As the Ministry of Education had taken over the management of endowments regulated by Schemes under the 1885 Act (including the Ulster Royal Schools Endowments), early steps were taken to

improve the method of obtaining copies of the audited accounts. Arrangements were made in 1923 with the Ministry of Home Affairs that upon audit of the accounts by the local government auditor, a certified copy of the abstract of accounts, together with a copy of the auditors' report, should be furnished by the Ministry of Home Affairs to the Ministry of Education. Further, in the case of the few schemes where the audit of the accounts, with the sanction of the Local Government Department, was carried out by auditors not connected with the Department, the Ministry was to be furnished immediately after audit with a certified copy of the abstract and the report. This arrangement was to facilitate the Ministry in its control of the schemes and reduce to a minimum the risk of irregularities.

Later, by Sect. 3 of the *Administrative Provisions Act*, 1928, the accounts of the income and expenditure of the endowments were subjected to audit by officers of the Comptroller and Auditor-General. The Ministry of Education reporting on this in 1936 stated, " the reports of these officers in general show that the incomes have been duly applied in accordance with the provisions of the schemes, and that the capital is invested in authorised securities."

Ulster Royal Schools' Endowment

The lands and the funds which constitute the endowments of the " Districts " *in Northern Ireland* are vested directly in the Ministry of Education. The districts referred to are Armagh, Tyrone and Fermanagh, and the Ministry administers the income of the endowment through Local " Education Boards."

A special report on the administration of the trusts in each District, and on the qualifications, management and conduct of each school sharing in the endowment, is furnished to the Ministry by an Inspector appointed for that purpose by the Governor of Northern Ireland. Reports on the condition and repair of the school and other buildings are also supplied annually by the technical officers of the Works Branch of the Ministry of Finance.

Where the endowments consisted principally or wholly of public elementary school buildings, negotiations were undertaken to transfer these to the local education authorities under the 1923 Act.

Proceedings were taken under the various Irish Land Acts for the sale to tenants of some of the endowment estates. Proceedings were taken for the sale of the estate belonging to the Armagh Royal School Endowment to the tenants under the provisions of the Irish Land Purchase Code. An order was made in 1923 by the Land Purchase Commission (Northern Ireland) directing the payment of the purchase-money to the Ministry.

Similarly, the Tyrone Royal Schools estates were sold under the compulsory provisions of the *Northern Ireland Act*, 1925, and the proceeds of the sales invested in authorised securities. A very few tenancies, and also the bog lands, did not come within the scope of

the Act and consequently remained in the ownership of the Ministry.

This affected the type of income, reducing the income from rents, and increasing the income from dividends; e.g. in the abstract of accounts for the Tyrone district in 1923 rents amounted to £1,706 and dividends to £4 14*s.* 3*d.*; in 1934 the rents were £308 and the dividends £1,529.

School Sites.

The *School Sites* (*Northern Ireland*) *Act*, 1928, was passed to fulfil a double purpose: firstly, to facilitate education authorities in accepting the transfer of certain public elementary schools; and secondly, to make it possible for the local education authority to obtain a suitable site for a new school in the city of Armagh. The first purpose arose owing to an interpretation which had been given to certain provisions contained in the *Leases for Schools* (*Ireland*) *Act*, 1881, whereby some classes of trustees and limited owners (such as tenants for life under family and other settlements) were empowered to grant a lease for school purposes of not more than one acre of their estate, for a term not exceeding 900 years and at a nominal rent.

The Ministry had been legally advised that the 1881 Act did not give power to grant a similar lease of a site which had a school already erected on it, and as the *Education* (*N.I.*) *Act*, 1923, made it possible for education authorities to accept the transfer of existing school buildings, it was considered desirable to facilitate these owners in effecting the transfer of an existing school on their property on a long lease.

The 1928 Act also released the trustees of the Armagh Observatory from the restriction which was imposed on them by an old Act of the Irish Parliament in the reign of George III, under which they had no power to grant leases of any portion of their property. They now have the power to dispose of a limited portion of their grounds to the local education authority for the purpose of a school.

Transfer of Schools

Mention is made above of the 1923 Act, which authorises owners of public elementary schools to transfer them to a local education authority and the authority will then maintain them. A number of such schools, forming part of the endowments within the operation of statutory educational schemes, have been transferred. Some of the transfers were effected by lease, usually at a nominal rent, and others by assignment of the fee-simple estate in trust for a public elementary school, subject to a condition that when the building ceased to be so used it should revert to the assignors. In the majority of transfers a covenant was included in the conveyances reserving a right of user in the school building out of school hours, for local parochial or congregational purposes.

In the majority of cases provision is made in the transfer documents that simple Bible instruction not distinctive of the tenets of

any religious denomination shall be given. In some cases additional clauses have been included providing that the school shall be managed by a School Committee constituted under Sect. 3 of the 1923 Act, and that the transferors or their successors in interest shall have representation on such school committee.

The Currie School, Belfast, was transferred by way of lease for a term of thirty-five years to the Belfast Education Authority.

In some cases the conditions attached to the right of re-transfer provide that the Trustees of the endowment scheme may exercise that right within a stipulated period upon payment of an amount representing the value of any capital expenditure out of public moneys that may have been incurred by the Authority.

Example of Present Procedure in Northern Ireland

Changed conditions, resulting from the operation of the *Education (Northern Ireland) Act*, 1930, rendered the provisions of the Scheme for the " Southwell Charity and Parochial Schools," Downpatrick (relating to the application of the endowment income), less beneficial for the original objects of the scheme, and it was considered necessary, in order to bring the scheme into line with present-day conditions, and at the same time to give effect to the general purposes of the scheme, that certain adjustments should be made in these provisions.

Formerly an application would have been made to the " Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests for Ireland " for an amending scheme.

The powers of those Commissioners so far as they affected Northern Ireland have been vested in the Ministry of Finance, consequently an application was made to this Ministry and an amending scheme made.

In consequence of the erection by the local education authority of a new central provided public elementary school, the trusts declared that the Educational Endowment Schemes for Armagh Church Schools ceased to have effect.

It, therefore, became necessary to make application in the matter to the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice. Under the direction of the Court a new scheme for the future application of the trust funds and other properties was settled, and the scheme was duly approved on November 13th, 1934.

The scheme which regulated the administration of the trusts of the Methodist College, Belfast, and of the Edgehill Theological College, Belfast, was repealed by the *Methodist College (Northern Ireland) Act*, 1928. The trustees and authorities of these two institutions considered that it was advisable, so as to enable the Methodist College more conveniently to comply with the requirements of the Ministry of Education, that these two institutions and their respective endowments should be controlled and managed under distinct and separate provisions, and the above-mentioned Act was passed to enable this to be done.

Under the terms of the Disestablishment of the Irish Church, some of the Church funds were allocated to the universities of Ireland. The University of Belfast now receives grants from the Ministry of Education, under Sect. 64 (3) of the *Government of Ireland Act*, 1920, £26,000, and under the *Queen's University of Belfast Act* (*N.I.*) 1928, £4,000. In addition, the Ministry pays £10,000 which was formerly charged on the " Church Temporalities Fund."

Conclusion

This Survey of Endowments in Northern Ireland shows an active and efficient control over educational endowments by various Government Departments.

The Ministry of Education deals with the administration of a number of endowments either direct, or by means of local boards of education, and supervises the educational efficiency of the work.

The Ministry of Finance reports by means of its Works Branch on the adequacy or otherwise of the school buildings.

The Officers of the Comptroller and Auditor-General audit the endowment accounts annually.

Amendment of Schemes made by the 1885 Commissioners are made by the Ministry of Finance.

Yet even with this great efficiency the question will arise—Are the educational endowments fulfilling the founder's intentions that the beneficiaries shall receive some educational benefits which they otherwise could not obtain ?

Or are the endowment funds only relieving rate-payers and tax-payers generally ?

The endowments served a useful purpose when educational facilities were non-existent, but now that the provision of adequate educational facilities is becoming more and more the *duty* of the Ministry of Education and the local education authorities, the question of the right use of these endowments will be raised as more and more is done by the educational authorities.

The survey of educational endowments in Scotland in Chapter Two shows how the problem has been dealt with in that country.

There is also the question of the Church Temporalities Fund ; will this fund be taken over by the Government, and an equivalent grant made which merely reduces the exchequer payments instead of the endowment being a fund for extra benefits ?

On page 288 of the YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION, 1937, the following reference is made to the result of endowment funds being borrowed by the State of Ohio : " Though the money borrowed by the government may have lessened taxation in the past, so far as the present and future are concerned the burden of taxation is no lighter than it would have been without a grant of land."

These are questions which will require serious consideration in the near future.

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CHAPTER FIVE

The Law of Educational Endowments in the Irish Free State (Saorstat Eireann)

Introduction

THE Irish Free State came officially into being on January 15th, 1922, with the status of a British Dominion. The new State is composed of twenty-four of the counties and four of the county boroughs of Ireland.

Before the formation of the Provisional Government in 1922, the authorities for education were separate and independent of one another. They were :

(1) The Commissioners for National Education who administered the system of Primary Education.

(2) The Commissioners of Intermediate Education, who administered the system of Secondary Education.

(3) The Commissioners of Education in Ireland, who administered the schemes for Endowed Schools.

(4) The Department of Reformatory and Industrial Schools.

(5) The Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction which administered Technical Education.

Formation of a Ministry of Education

On the formation of the Provisional Government the Minister of Education under that Government took over responsibility for supervision of the three first-named Boards of Commissioners. In this way the office of Minister, in its grouping of three educational services under one authority, became the nucleus of the present Department of Education.

Early in 1922, the Provisional Government decided upon the Commissioners of National Education being superseded and their powers delegated to a chief executive officer responsible to the Minister of Education.

The next step was the appointment of a secretary as chief administrative officer of all services controlled by the Minister of Education, and in June 1923, the Commissioners of Intermediate Education were superseded and the Secretary and the Deputy Secretary were appointed as " Intermediate Education Commissioners " in their place. At the same time the Commissioners of National Education were formally superseded by the appointment of the Secretary and the Chief Executive Officer as National Education Commissioners.

The *Department of Education* came into being in June 1924, when the *Ministers and Secretaries Act* came into operation.

The Endowed Schools Branch of the Department of Education

This branch is concerned with the office formerly administered as a separate Department by the " Commissioners of Education in Ireland." That body was dissolved by an Order of the Executive Council made under Sect. 9 of the *Ministers and Secretaries Act*, 1924, as and from March 31st, 1925.

By the same Order the powers, duties and functions of the Commissioners were transferred to the Minister of Education, and the various classes of property held by the Commissioners at the date of the Order were vested in that Minister.

Hence, since April 1st, 1925, the office has been a branch of the Department of Education directly controlled by the Minister of Education, instead of being a separate office with the secretary and chief executive officer as the Commissioners.

The duties of the branch are mainly twofold :

(1) To administer the endowments now vested in the Minister of Education.

(2) To supervise the administration of a number of Schemes framed under the *Educational Endowments* (*Ireland*) *Act*, 1885, the endowments of which are *not* invested in the Minister.

Endowments vested in the Minister of Education

The number of endowments in 1935–6 directly controlled by the Minister of Education was fifteen (which includes nineteen separate funds) as follows :

Scheme No.	34.	The Ulster Royal School Endowments (Free State portion).
	55.	The Preston Endowment (Navan).
	85.	The Carysfort Endowment.
	90.	The Banagher Royal School Endowment.
		The Meath and Ardagh Diocesan School Endowment.
		The Tuam, Killala and Achonry Diocesan School Endowment.
		The Leighlin and Ossory Diocesan School Endowment.
	95.	The Leamy Endowment.
	111.	The Preston Endowment (Leix).
	128.	The Banks Endowment.
	143.	The Viscount Limerick Endowment.
		The Limerick Diocesan School Endowment.
		The Preston Scholarship Fund.

N.B.—Particulars are given in Chapter Three of this " Survey " of the foundation of the Tudor Diocesan Schools and the Stuart Royal Free Schools (Ulster).

During the year 1935–6, the number of schools having claims to share in these nineteen funds was sixty, of which eighteen were secondary and fourteen primary ; in addition to which pupils of seventy-eight secondary schools were entitled to compete for scholarships offered under Scheme 90.

The income from these endowments was as follows :

	1924 £	s.	d.	1934 £	s.	d.	1935 £	s.	d.
Rents .	193	11	1	73	12	4	73	12	4
Dividends .	3,037	8	2	2,722	12	0	2,906	16	8
Miscellaneous	543	5	7	396	14	1	409	15	0
Total .	3,774	4	10	3,192	18	5	3,390	4	0

The stocks, etc., invested in the Minister at the end of 1935 were as follows :

Railway (Irish) Stock	£16,449
Free State National Loan Stock	£32,693
Other Stocks (including Dublin Corporation, and Dublin Port and Docks Board, Bank of Ireland, Land Bonds and Agricultural Credit Corporation Stock)	£9,621

N.B.—The previous holdings of railway stocks were reduced under the *Railway Act*, 1933.

Transfer to the Minister of other Endowments

By an Order dated August 2nd, 1935, [the National Education Commissioners (Transfer of Functions) Order, 1935 (made under Sect. 9 (1) of the *Ministers and Secretaries Act*, 1924),] the Board of National Education Commissioners which had been established by Order of the Executive Council under Sect. 7 of the *Adaptation of Enactments Act*, 1922, was dissolved. All the jurisdictions, powers, duties and fuctions of the Commissioners were transferred to and conferred and imposed on the Minister for Education. The Order also stated : " All land, hereditaments, tenements and premises situate in Saorstát Eireann and all other property and assets (including choses-in-action) which at the time of making this Order were vested, whether by statute, deed, contract or otherwise, in or held in trust for the National Education Commissioners are hereby vested in the Minister without the necessity for any other conveyance or assignment whatsoever."

Further, the Order stated, " every mention or reference contained in any *British* Statute of or to the National Education Commissioners shall, so far as the same is not inconsistent with the provisions of this Order, be construed and take effect as a mention or reference to the Minister of Education."

Other Educational Endowments supervised by the Department of Education

There are ninety Schemes, the endowments of which are directly administered by local governing bodies (constituted under the *Educational Endowments* (*Ireland*) *Act*, 1885) which are *not* vested in the Minister of Education, but over which the Minister exercises supervision.

The annual income of these endowments is about £35,000 per annum (£37,843 was received in 1934, £35,053 in 1935).

The Act and the Schemes framed thereunder provide *inter alia* for the constitution of local governing bodies, for the holding of statutory meetings, for the furnishing of annual returns, for the audit of the accounts and for the inspection of schools sharing in the endowments. The following table (kindly supplied by the High Commissioner for the Irish Free State) gives some particulars of these Schemes :

NO OF SCHEMES 1935–6	NO OF SCHOOLS 1935–6	BRANCH OF EDUCATION	ANNUAL INCOME 1935
48	265	Primary	£8,960
14	23	Secondary	£13,944
22	12	Technical and Special	£9,449
6	108	Primary and Secondary	£2,700
Totals 90	408		£35,053

Governmental Supervision of Educational Endowments

The Minister of Education appoints inspectors who report to the Department of Education on the general working of the Schemes, and on the general efficiency of the schools which share in the endowments.

The auditors of the Department of Local Government and Public Health supply the Minister of Education with abstracts of the accounts and funds of the endowments, with reports thereon.

From the annual reports of the Department of Education, it would appear that as a rule the powers and duties of the various trustees and governing bodies are exercised and discharged in accordance with the provisions of the respective schemes. That " in substantially all cases," the property and funds of the endowments are satisfactorily managed in accordance with the statutory regulations, that the schools are efficiently conducted and that the various buildings and equipment are maintained in good condition and repair.

In the 1924–5 Report there is mention of " one case where the administration of the endowment has been reported as inefficient," and the report stated that " steps are being taken to obtain an alteration of the Scheme which will give the Minister a controlling voice in the application of the endowment."

Amendment of Schemes

In accordance with Sect. 18 of the *Educational Endowments (Ireland) Act*, 1885, the Commissioners provided in their Schemes for the alteration of a Scheme from time to time by the " Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests " upon applica-

tion by the governing body or any person interested, provided such alterations should not be contrary to anything in the Act. In accordance with this power an amending Scheme dated January 14th, 1936, was framed by the Commissioners in respect of Scheme 109—John Ivory's School, New Ross.

As regards endowments not dealt with by the 1885 Commissioners, since the expiration of their powers there does not appear to be any *summary* course for dealing with any amendment or revision which changes in time may prove necessary. Application to the High Court of Justice for a Scheme, or to Parliament for a Special Act, may be necessary.

An Act was passed to enable the Commissioners to deal with a scheme for schools at Waterford. The *Waterford and Bishop Fry Endowed Schools* (*Amendment*) *Act*, 1930, amended an Act of 1902. Under the 1930 Act the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests for Ireland may, by a Minute under their seal, alter or vary any one or more provisions of the 1902 or amending Acts provided that " no such alteration or variation shall affect or change or purport to change the denominational character of any school or schools," also that no alteration or variation shall authorise any funds being used for an object " other than the establishment, promotion or maintenance of a school or schools in or near the City of Waterford."

In Chapter Three of this " Survey " reference is made to the foundation of the Erasmus Smith's School Endowments and to the religious difficulties which prevented the 1885 Commissioners from completing a Scheme for the administration of the Endowments.

The High Court of Justice has now approved a Scheme for these schools (after eight years of litigation with costs amounting to about £50,000). After payment of the costs the remaining endowment funds (about £130,000) are divided equally between Roman Catholic and Protestant trustees.

Another case dealt with recently by the Court is the Limerick Diocesan School Endowment.

" In accordance with an Order of the High Court of Justice, dated June 6th, 1935 (No. 5469), containing a Scheme for the administration of the Limerick Diocesan School Endowment, all the properties of the Endowment consisting of securities and accrued dividends and interest were transferred to the Accountant, Courts of Justice, on December 31st, 1935. These include £1,131 Railway and other Stocks and £493 cash in hand (accrued dividends, etc.).

" The Order referred to, provided for the division of the total funds available in the proportion of three-fourths to the credit of the County Council of Limerick towards the financing of the provision of technical schools at Cappamore, Croom, Kilfinane and Shanagolden, and the remaining one-fourth to the credit of the Corporation of the City of Limerick to be applied for the purposes of technical education and for continuation education in the County Borough " (1935–6 *Report of Department of Education*).

Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests in Ireland

In Chapter Three of this "Survey" reference is made to the formation of this Supervisory Board of Commissioners. As this Board deals with Charitable Donations and Bequests of all types, it has not been superseded by the Minister of Education like the three other Boards of Commissioners referred to.

According to the 87th Report of the "Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests for Saorstát Eireann for the year ended December 31st, 1934," the gross total of the securities and cash held by the Commissioners on December 31st, 1934, amounted to 2,500 dollars, and £1,289,775 9*s.* stock, and £5,225 12*s.* 10*d.* cash.

In accordance with the *Railway Act*, 1933, the Commissioners' holdings in Great Southern railway stock were written down from £133,791 to £92,740 nominal value during the year 1934, so that while there was an increase during the year of £22,655 4*s.* 3*d.* in the other funds, this writing down of railway stock resulted in a net decrease of £18,395 15*s.* 9*d.* as compared with their holdings at December 31st, 1933.

The above-mentioned endowment funds are not by any means all *educational* endowment funds, but include a number of educational funds.

Additions to Donations and Bequests

The funds are continually being increased by charitable donations and bequests.

Taking the Reports of the Commissioners from 1924 to 1927 (77th Report to 80th Report), we have the following added by donors or testators to the funds in their hands :

1922. Summerhill College, £300 Victory Bonds, £1,107 cash.
Schoolmaster and sexton, Bective, part of £1,110 cash.
1923. Mullingar Technical School, £100 cash.
1924. Mercer's Schools, £750 cash.
Trinity College, Dublin, £855 cash.
Brownesgrove School, £400, Five per cent. War Loan.
1925. Trinity College, Dublin, £90 cash.
Teacher, Liss National School, £150 cash.
1926. Educational purposes in St. Patrick's College, Cavan, £1,698 cash.
Candidate-teachers Training Fund, at the Church of Ireland Training College, £134 Irish Free State National Loan.
Protestant National Schools, Killarney, £100 Chinese Government Reorganisation Gold Loan.
Grouse Hall School, £419, Five per cent. War Stock.
1927. Sneem National School, £293 cash.
Dunany Protestant School, £100 Four and a half per cent. Land Bonds.

1927. Students for R.C. Priesthood, £132, Four and a half per cent. Land Bonds.
Naas Protestant Parochial Schools, £667 Four and a half per cent. Land Bonds.
University Scholarships, £396 Five per cent. War Stock.

This addition to the donations and bequests for educational purposes is continuous, each Annual Report giving a schedule of additions. In the 85th Report of the Commissioners (1934) we have mention of :

1933. Female Orphan School, Drogheda, £189 Land Bonds, £4 5*s*. cash.
St. Peter's Parish School, Drogheda, £180 Land Bonds, £4 1*s*. cash.
Molony Scholarships, £1,985 Five per cent. First National Loan.
1934. Poor of Dublin City Schools, £3,250 Land Bonds, £62 10*s*. cash.
Masonic Orphan Schools, £10 cash.
Education of Students at St. Jarlath's Seminary and Maynooth College, £746 Land Bonds, £152 cash.

(In 1932, there was £3,799 stock for Holy Cross College, Clonliffe, and £723 stocks for Coyne Memorial Scholarships.

The Charity Accounts of the Commissioners are audited each year by the Local Government Department. The 85th Report stated :

" Accounts of the sum voted by the Oireachtas have been furnished, in accordance with the forms adopted under the direction of the Minister of Finance and the provisions of the *Exchequer and Audit Departments Act*, 1921 ; and the appropriation account for the year has been certified to be correct by the Auditor-General of Public Accounts.

Church Temporalities (Ireland)

In Chapter Three of this " Survey " mention is made of the Disestablishment of the Church of Ireland in 1869 and the distribution of the Ecclesiastical Funds, part of which were devoted to educational purposes.

An annual report is published containing the Accounts of the " Land Commission " in respect of Church Temporalities for the year, together with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor-General thereon. This is presented to the Oireachtas pursuant to Sect. 37 of the *Irish Church Act*, 1869.

On account of the apportionment of the Fund between the Irish Free State and the Government of Northern Ireland a sum of £7,523 13*s*. 3*d*. was paid in 1926–7 to Northern Ireland, with a final payment of £568 19*s*. in 1927–8.

Under the *Agriculture and Technical Instruction* (*Ireland*) *Act*, 1899, a sum of £30,000 per annum is paid to the Department of

Education. This annual sum is revisable at the expiration of fifteen years from April 1st, 1930.

Under the *Irish Universities Act*, 1908, an annual payment of £10,000 is made.

In addition, there is a liability for interest at 3 per cent. on a capital sum of £886,600 in respect of a change created under the *National School Teachers* (*Ireland*) *Act*, 1879.

Conclusion

In the twentieth century we have the culmination of attempts to free Ireland from English rule and domination. Their leaders have borne in mind the confiscation of lands in Tudor and Stuart times, with the attempts to create a Protestant English-speaking race of Irish people by means of the Diocesan Schools of Elizabeth, the Erasmus Smith's Endowments and the Royal Free Schools of Ulster.

Early in the twentieth century there was the emergence of a group of persons interested in Gaelic literature who invested the older heroic literature with a glamour, and created a resurgent national spirit and race-consciousness in literature. The *Love Songs of Connacht* and the *Raftery Songs* spreading among the people would, they considered, help to develop an enthusiasm for the Irish language and encourage the insistence of this language being taught in schools as a reaction from the teaching of English. A love for Irish literature, the permeation of the national ideas embodied in this literature they hoped would help to make the youth of Ireland more race-conscious and more race-proud. (See pages 562–74 of THE YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION, 1933, for an article on "The Irish Language in the Free State.")

The desire for the teaching of Irish is combined with the desire for a definitely Roman Catholic type of religious instruction in place of "simple Bible instruction," and the combined effect of nationalism and Roman Catholic religious views may have an effect later on in the use of endowments which were founded to promote effects different from Irish nationalism and Roman Catholic religion.

At present it would appear that the greater part of the endowments are used to provide education which either now is, or at an early date may become, a *duty* of the State and the local authorities to provide. Then the question of the use of the endowment funds may have to be reconsidered. Shall the funds be used merely for the benefit of the tax-payers and rate-payers generally, or shall the funds be used to provide something for the educands which they otherwise would not obtain ?

The Irish Free State Government has not found it necessary up to the present to set up any Commission to consider the question of Educational Endowments, analogous to the Commission under the *Educational Endowments* (*Ireland*) *Act*, 1885, or to the Commission under the *Educational Endowments* (*Scotland*) *Act*, 1928.

If such a Commission be appointed later, there may be difficulties in framing Schemes to use for other purposes endowments originally intended for Protestant education.

The High Court of Justice has, as already mentioned, sanctioned a Scheme for Technical Education in the place of the Limerick Diocesan School Endowment, thus providing for an educational use without raising the religious issue as to whether *Diocesan* funds may be used for a form of education into which religious belief scarcely enters.

If any future Commission of Enquiry should deal with the general question of a change of use of the endowment funds, it is probable that the national issue may be considered. Many of the endowments were founded by the Government then in power (the English), to provide a type of education which *that* Government desired, i.e. a Protestant-English education for the people. May not the Government now in power (the Irish) decide to use the endowments for purposes which *they* desire ? In such a case it might be decided to use the endowment funds to provide specially for the teaching of the Irish language and history. When elementary education is provided by the State and the local authorities, and the endowment funds are not required for the support of the elementary schools which at present benefit, it might be possible for part of the endowment funds to be used to provide education other than elementary, including the granting of scholarships (some connected with instruction in the Irish language) to places of higher education, as at Galway College, for persons resident in the areas for which the endowments were originally intended. This use would help to develop that pride of race which is an important element in Irish nationalism.

A. E. IKIN.

PART IX

A Survey of Aspects of Education in India

CHAPTER ONE

Reconstruction of the Secondary System

(See also Year Book, 1937, pages 439–98)

THERE is now throughout India increasing dissatisfaction with the system of secondary education, especially in its relation to unemployment among the educated and semi-educated classes and to its adverse effect on rural well-being. It is the intention of this series of surveys, all dealing with the same question though from different aspects, to summarise the present position and also to examine certain measures which have been advocated for remedying these and other defects.

I. Diagnosis of the Disease

In the preamble to their Resolution on the subject,[1] the Government of the United Provinces compiled a valuable collection of criticisms and suggestions which had been voiced in Convocation addresses. The authors of those addresses spoke, not unnaturally, from the point of view of universities and, after lamenting the congestion of universities, emphasised the need for restricting admissions. But it was Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru who probed deeper into the malady and challenged Government to " undertake the overhauling and readjustment of the entire educational machinery. . . . It is only when the State has reorganised the system of secondary education and has made it more fruitful . . . that universities may be expected to fill their place in the life of the country."

And it was Lord Willingdon who, in his speech to the Universities Conference in 1934, expressed the poignancy of the situation :

" From the point of view of the students concerned, it is heart-rending that many young men, who have fought their way successfully up the educational ladder and have gained degrees in spite of many obstacles, are yet unable to find means either of maintaining themselves or of serving their fellow men. From the point of view of the country, it is disastrous that the labours and initiative of these young men should be running to waste."

Summary of Previous Criticisms

Criticisms have also been expressed in previous volumes of the Year Book of Education. In his initial article, Sir Philip Hartog

[1] Dated Allahabad, August 8th, 1934. These opinions were reproduced in Mr. Saiyidain's article in The Year Book of Education of 1936, page 718 ; and also in Mr. Sidhanta's article.

observed [1] that " the whole of the high school system . . . is dominated by matriculation ; and the secondary schools (except for a marked superiority in the teaching of English in Madras) are extraordinarily alike all over India." He later lamented " the wholesale conversion of vernacular into middle English schools " in Bihar and Bengal. In his article on Punjab education,[2] the present writer summarised the findings of the Punjab University Committee and indicated that a radical scheme of school reconstruction lay at the root of university reform. In a more comprehensive article,[3] Mr. H. V. Hampton reviewed similar ground and, after expressing " the universal belief that the education imparted in secondary schools is of poor quality and of a predominantly literary type," suggested that " the whole structure of secondary education needs to be overhauled . . . and made complete in itself." Mr. H. E. Stapleton [4] has also referred *inter alia* to the neglect of rural education in Bengal and observed that " the middle English schools constitute the initial agency for filling the villages with discontented youths who scorn their ancestral pursuits." Mr. K. G. Saiyidain,[5] after referring to grave congestion in the colleges, suggested as a remedy that students should be " diverted at the pre-university stage to practical pursuits " and be trained " for entering such technical and industrial vocations which do not require, as a condition precedent, higher education at the colleges or the university."

A further defect was pointed out by Lord Eustace Percy,[6] who deplored the fact that as " English secondary and higher education in India preceded by too long an interval the development of a basic system of vernacular education . . . the idea of making the high schools a vehicle of reconciliation between English and Indian culture hardly entered the minds of English administrators." This point of view was expanded later with much cogency by Mr. H. G. Rawlinson : [7]

" But the greatest wrong inflicted on India by our educational policy has been on the spiritual side. We have uprooted a system based upon the traditional code of ethics in the East—the reverence of the pupil for his teacher, the inculcation of knowledge as a religious obligation, and the conception of *dharma* or duty. We have divorced religion from education. ' They asked for bread and we gave them a stone.' "

These and other expressions of discontent, whether in India or elsewhere, have been strengthened by the authoritative opinions of numerous committees and commissions ; and

[1] YEAR BOOK, 1932, page 694 ; and 1933, page 583.
[2] YEAR BOOK, 1934, pages 362–5.
[3] YEAR BOOK, 1935, page 345.
[4] YEAR BOOK, 1935, page 780.
[5] YEAR BOOK, 1936, page 717.
[6] YEAR BOOK, 1934, page 19.
[7] YEAR BOOK, 1937, page 439.

also by the Government of India and by provincial Governments.[1]

Considerations of the Central Advisory Board

The Central Advisory Board has done a great service by the following summary of " the considerations which, among others, necessitate a new attitude towards educational problems."

(*a*) The increasing desire among educationists and others to bring about changes in the educational system in view of the altered conditions of life.

(*b*) The growing volume of unemployment among the educated classes.

(*c*) The emphasis laid on a purely literary form of instruction in schools.

(*d*) The inadvisability of too frequent examinations.

(*e*) The large number of " over-age " pupils in the senior classes of high schools.

(*f*) The increasing number of students in universities, who are unable to benefit by university instruction and accentuate the difficulty of making satisfactory provision for the better-qualified students and for research.

(*g*) The need of developing training of a more practical type than at present and of making provision for such training, especially for those with little or no literary bent, and of adjusting it to the scheme of general education.

(*h*) The advisability of developing a suitable scheme for rural education, by which boys and girls in rural areas shall be given such training as would develop in them a capacity and desire for the work of rural reconstruction.

Amplification of Diagnosis

(*a*) *Domination of the Universities*

The secondary schools are *so dominated by university requirements* that pupils and teachers alike become hypnotised by the lure of matriculation, while the schools themselves are confined to a lifeless preparation for the all-important examination and have little independence of their own. Hence there is a remarkable and distressing uniformity among the schools; the teaching is almost

[1] *Report of Calcutta University Commission.*
Indian Statutory Commission : interim report, 1929 (Hartog Committee). Government of India. *Tenth Quinquennial Review*, 1927–32.
Punjab University Enquiry Committee, 1932–3. Government Printing, Lahore.
Christian Higher Education in India (Lindsay Commission) 1931. Oxford University Press.
Unemployment Committee (Sapru report). Allahabad.
Resolution of Government of United Provinces, dated August 8th, 1934.
Resolution of Government of Bengal, dated July 27th, 1935.
Report of Hyderabad Government, by the late Mr. A. H. Mackenzie and Fazil Muhammad Khan, 1937.

entirely of a literary type ; practical training is at a discount ; and even the training of eye and hand is sadly defective.[1] The school classes, even from the primary classes upwards, are regarded merely as stages towards the main objective, the passing of an examination which is the passport of admission to a university in spite of the fact that the majority of pupils have no bent for such higher study.

The lure of matriculation is aggravated by the importance attached by Government to university qualifications in their recruitment even to subordinate posts. The Central Advisory Board were so impressed by the evils of this practice that they recommended that " candidates desirous of joining the subordinate clerical services of Government and of local bodies should pass such qualifying examinations as may be prescribed by proper authority, and should not be more than nineteen years of age at the date of their examination."

(*b*) *Effect of Frequent Examinations*

The stranglehold of the university is tightened by the *practice of biennial and external examinations*, an evil to which Mr. Sidhanta has referred in his chapter. From an early age in life, Indian pupils are subjected every two years to the ordeal of a public examination ; after each interruption of his course, a pupil spends perhaps half a year in adapting himself to new conditions and often to new surroundings ; and perhaps half of each second year in cramming for the next examination. And yet these examinations do not mark the completion of any particular stage of education, but are merely as milestones along the unprofitable road towards a degree, in the quest of which only few are successful ; the casualty lists at each successive examination are appalling. In these circumstances, there can be little continuity of study or training of character ; and those much-needed improvements in teaching which are now being widely canvassed in India have small chances of success in so depressing an atmosphere. The passing of examinations rather than the development of human beings is the main objective of Indian secondary schools. The framework must first be recast before the details of the picture can be illuminated.

(*c*) *Adverse Effects of Literary Education*

Such being the uniformity in schools and such being the attraction of matriculation, many pupils *prolong unduly a purely literary*

[1] Vide *Report of Hartog Committee*, page 104 : " All sections of the community, with their different occupations, traditions and outlook, and with their different ambitions and aptitudes, have little, if any, choice of the type of school to which they will send their children. In fact, the present type of high and middle English school has established itself so strongly that other forms of education are opposed or mistrusted, and there is a marked tendency to regard the passage from the lowest primary class to the highest class of a high school as the normal procedure for every pupil. There is nothing corresponding to the exodus from many English secondary schools either into practical life or into vocational institutions.

form of education as the table below illustrates ; hence they become averse from practical training and occupations. The danger to India is not so much a problem of unemployment as of *unemployables*.

"OVER-AGE" PUPILS AT THE SECONDARY STAGE

PROVINCE	NUMBER OF PUPILS (BOYS AND GIRLS) IN THE FOUR SENIOR CLASSES OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS	NUMBER OF PUPILS (BOYS AND GIRLS) "OVER-AGE" IN THESE CLASSES	PERCENTAGE OF "OVER-AGE" PUPILS TO TOTAL NUMBER OF PUPILS
Madras	97,829	58,430	59·73
Bombay	48,795	39,176	80·29
Bengal	128,323	47,410	36·95
United Provinces	72,363	50,530	69·83
Punjab	105,968	55,876	52·73
Burma	27,271	21,648	79·38
Bihar and Orissa	29,347	14,283	48·60
Central Provinces	13,994	11,510	82·25
Assam	9,886	3,888	39·33
North-West Frontier Province	6,568	3,432	52·25
Coorg	607	468	77·10
Delhi	5,249	2,794	53·23
Ajmer-Merwara	1,804	1,419	78·66
Baluchistan	875	483	55·20
Bangalore	1,467	1,019	69·46
Other Administered Areas	2,955	1,829	61·89
British India	553,301	314,195	56·78

Mr. Abbott has also urged that the prospects of Indian industry are jeopardised by the fact that, in general, only the mediocre are attracted to industry, and even then as a last resort ; and that the qualities and qualifications of the foreman class, in particular, which is the pivot of improved efficiency and organisation, leave much to be desired.

A further adverse effect of this prolongation of literary studies is that many of the humbler, though by no means unimportant, callings in life are still filled by illiterates. Though it is not now uncommon for even graduates to accept posts as police constables, soldiers, waiters or mechanics, it would be unreasonable to expect them to do so in large numbers. Had they received a shorter and a more suitable education, they would perhaps have been prepared to do so. And so it is that while the volume of middle-class unemployment is rapidly increasing, India has still to be content with illiterates in many walks of life in spite of the large quantitative advance in education.

(*d*) *Adverse Effects on Rural Reform*

A further defect of the secondary system of education is *its adverse effect on rural reform*. One of the pleasing features of Indian

life in recent years has been the increasing attention paid to rural problems, but, unfortunately, the salutary measures which are now being put into operation lack the conditions essential to success. There is not at hand a peasantry sufficiently and suitably educated to understand and to appreciate their value ; nor is there a resident and an indigenous agency to guide their development. Success should not be dependent, as now, upon spasmodic efforts from *without* ; there should be a widespread movement from *within* ; and this movement is itself dependent on a suitably devised system of rural education.

Unfortunately, the present system of education is inimical to rural progress. In the first place, largely owing to faulty administration and a haphazard distribution of schools, the primary system rarely imparts to the rural population those qualities and that background which would stimulate a desire for improved well-being ; and, in the second place, at the very time when the upholders of rural reform are crying out for a resident and indigenous agency, the more gifted pupils who in the course of time would have supplied that agency are flocking into the towns in order to pursue a purely literary and urban form of education ; and, such being the conditions of rural life, it would be unreasonable to expect them, on the completion of their schooling in the towns, to return to their homes and serve the countryside. They loiter in the market-places, seeking work and finding none.

The pivot of a sound system of rural education is the vernacular middle school with eight classes, which was termed by the Fraser Commission " the keystone of the arch of educational reform." The position of these schools varies in the several provinces. In Bengal, they have fallen into almost hopeless decay and number only about fifty as against some three thousand middle English and high schools. As a result, after completing their education in the primary schools, which, in this province especially, are none too effective, pupils must almost invariably continue their education in the English schools, with their eyes glued on matriculation and in an atmosphere divorced from rural conditions. Whence, then, is to arise that widespread movement so vital to rural reform or that new attitude of mind so strongly advocated by Mr. and Mrs. Harper ?

As Mr. and Mrs. Harper have indicated, however, promising experiments are being made in the reform of rural education ; notably at Moga under their own efficient and experienced care. But they are fully justified in their contention that vernacular middle schools cannot be expected to prosper so long as they are regarded as inferior alternatives to English schools. Indeed, the dead hand of matriculation grips and strangles all efforts to create an efficient and harmonious system of rural education. The radical scheme of school reconstruction, which will be discussed later, is an essential preliminary to rural reform.

There has also been much criticism of the so-called optional English classes in vernacular middle schools. If (as often happens)

the institution of these classes is merely the first step towards the conversion of vernacular middle into English schools, the tendency should be resisted at all costs. If, however, their intention is merely to widen the horizon of the pupils by introducing them to English learning and books, the teaching should not be of the linguistic type, but should aim at providing a good working knowledge of the English language as a vehicle of speech and thought.

Mr. and Mrs. Harper have also made a valuable contribution by their proposal that institutions for higher teaching and learning in rural subjects are imperative, and also in their contention that such institutions should not be regarded in any way as inferior to the higher secondary schools of the future. Rural leadership is essential to rural reform.

(*e*) *Effects of Congestion in High Schools and Colleges*

Bearing in mind the depletion of the countryside and the prolongation of literary studies, it is not surprising that the senior classes of high schools as well as of colleges *are gravely congested*, especially by those unfitted for such instruction. The figures are alarming. The number of university students of all kinds rose from 67,000 in 1922 to 92,000 in 1927 and to 98,000 in 1931 ; and the number now stands at 117,000.[1] Perhaps the most rapid advance has been in the Punjab, where the figures rose from 12,726 in 1927 to 19,090 in 1931, and to 23,920 in 1935.[2]

The effects of this rapid increase are grave as the better-gifted students do not now receive that training and guidance which they deserve and which the country needs ; and that, in spite of the fact that India now needs wise leadership more than ever before in her history. Such also is the press of extraneous duties that universities are fast becoming administrative machines instead of centres of learning. There is also an ominous tendency to concentrate on the few and to expect the many to fend for themselves.

(*f*) *Need for Increased Use of Vernaculars*

Mr. Hampton has elaborated the theme introduced by Lord Eustace Percy and Mr. Rawlinson that " *modern English education is divorced from the thoughts, sentiments and aspirations of the people and from India's age-long traditions and culture.*" It is serious enough that the intelligence of a race is being blunted by teaching given through a foreign medium ; what is even more serious is that the English, urban and university-ridden system of education is so alien to the lives and genius of the Indian people.

Mr. Sidhanta's account of the extension of the use of the vernacular medium in the United Provinces is depressing, but its par-

[1] Even these figures are vitiated, by way of comparison, owing to the omission of intermediate students in the United Provinces in the later figures.

[2] For purpose of comparison, these figures include those of Delhi University : vide *Education in India*, 1934–5.

tial failure may have been due to the fact that the reform has not gone deep enough. It is not sufficient merely to make a pronouncement that the vernacular medium shall be used more extensively ; the ground should first be prepared if success is to be achieved. The inclusion of vernaculars in the university curricula should receive more ample encouragement, and vernacular literature should be further developed. It is also possible that the average Indian teacher is less at ease in teaching through the vernacular than he is through the English medium, and therefore the methods and manner of training should be adapted to vernacular requirements.

Similarly, the teaching of oriental languages will continue to be disappointing so long as the teachers of those languages (as so often happens) are held to be inferior, both in emoluments and status, to teachers of other subjects. As Mr. Abbott has observed in another connection, there should be no barriers within the walls of a school ; all work is of equal importance and teachers of all subjects should be held in equal esteem.

But in view of the influences of the past which have been graphically described by Mr. Hampton, it is doubtful whether a few improvements in language teaching and in an extended use of the vernacular medium can be successfully grafted on to the tree of Western education. The hope of real improvement lies in the hitherto neglected vernacular system, which is far more suited to the genius and requirements of India. Mr. and Mrs. Harper have gone to the root of the matter in their contention that the relative values of vernacular and English education should be revised.

II. Partial Remedies

The secondary system is thus gravely defective. It impoverishes the countryside ; it creates unemployables ; its teaching is artificial and lifeless ; there is a growing divorce between English education and Indian culture, between the educated and the uneducated classes ; the universities are congested and tend to become administrative machines instead of centres of learning. These defects are widely recognised : what are the remedies ?

Some, especially those who have voiced their discontent in convocation addresses, have recommended a stiffening of matriculation standards. Though there is little doubt that, under the strain of increasing numbers, these standards do not ordinarily represent a sufficient justification for university studies, such action, by itself, would be neither equitable nor effective. It would not be equitable to deny educational facilities to pupils merely on the ground that they have little bent for literary studies ; alternatives to literary studies should first be provided. Such action would also be harmful, as it would congest still further the high school classes ; " over-age " pupils would become even more " over-age " in their determination to pass the more difficult test. The malady lies deeper than matriculation and should be treated in the schools.

Others have proposed not only a stiffening of matriculation standards but also a widening of their scope by including vocational alongside of literary subjects in the schools. New wine should not be put into old bottles. Mr. Abbott has also urged that, with the exception of agriculture, " it is usually undesirable to provide general and vocational education in the same school. Arrangements of this kind would lead to a confusion of aims even if the difficulties of staff could be overcome." It should also be borne in mind that vocational training must inevitably be costly. Resources should not therefore be dissipated but be concentrated in separate institutions designed for the purpose. There is the further danger that pupils will be tempted by " soft options " to proceed yet further along the unprofitable and dangerous road of literary studies and thus accentuate their aversion from practical work and occupations.

Others, again, seek a solution in Intermediate Colleges comprising the two high and the two intermediate classes. This innovation was first recommended by the Calcutta University Commission ; and institutions of a new type have been created, notably in the United Provinces and the Punjab. Mr. G. C. Chatterji and Mr. S. K. Sidhanta, however, who can both claim at least to be friendly critics, admit that they have not achieved that success or popularity which were anticipated. Mr. Chatterji attributes their partial failure to competition by privately managed high schools which retain their pupils until after matriculation ; as a result, Intermediate Colleges are four-year institutions only in name. Mr. Sidhanta urges that in the United Provinces these colleges represent merely either the superimposition of two additional classes to high schools already overburdened, or the inclusion of those classes in colleges affiliated to Agra University, many of which include post-graduate as well as degree classes.

These criticisms are justified, but the root cause of their partial failure is that Intermediate Colleges do not mark any definite stage of education and therefore do not enjoy an independent existence of their own. Moreover, their course is bisected by a meaningless examination ; and in the Punjab there is the additional complication of a divided allegiance in that they are subject to university control at the top and to departmental control at the bottom. It is scarcely reasonable, therefore, to cast the blame on privately managed institutions in present circumstances, but if once there were well-defined stages of education, each with its own objective and with a clear demarcation of boundaries, the competition to which Mr. Chatterji objects would automatically disappear, and Intermediate Colleges (or, according to the new term, higher secondary schools) would occupy an important and an independent position in a reconstructed scheme of education.

There are others, again, who would rely upon improvements within the existing framework. In point of fact, there has been in recent years much improvement in the schools themselves. In the Punjab, for example, most high schools possess well-constructed

buildings and good playing-fields ; the large majority of teachers have received training and the standard of admission to the training colleges has steadily improved ; physical training and the playing of games reach a high standard ; the boy scouts have done much towards providing healthy recreation and instilling in the boys a desire for service ; the schools are by no means the dull, drab places that they used to be. Unfortunately, in spite of these considerable and undoubted improvements, the general position tends to deteriorate. The countryside is further denuded of its better talent and initiative ; the number of unemployables is rapidly increasing ; the number of university students (exclusive of Delhi) stands at 21,650 ;[1] the difficulties of accommodating such vast numbers have become formidable.

III. Radical Reconstruction

There can be little wonder, therefore, that a more radical remedy is demanded ; and that at the root of the trouble is the schools.

Proposals of Punjab University Enquiry Committee

The first proposals for radical reconstruction were made by the Punjab University Enquiry Committee in 1933 ; it will be convenient to quote their actual words :

" Our main criticism of the existing system is that it has overtaxed its strength. The University is overburdened by the immense area of its jurisdiction and by the ever-increasing number of students, many of whom are ill-fitted for such education. If the present rate of expansion is maintained and no relief is given, the burden will become intolerable. In a word, the University is becoming a vast administrative machine. If the burden is increased, the machine will cease to function.

" A readjustment of the present system is imperative in order to meet the expanding needs of the province. . . . In spite of several meritorious qualities the school foundations are not strong enough, particularly in organisation and adjustment. Every stage of education should have a clear objective, and as far as possible be self-contained. There is too much overlapping between the successive stages ; in consequence, there is confusion of objective." [2]

The Committee then proceeded to define the objectives of the several stages which they proposed :

" There is much justification for the view held that the primary course should be extended to five years in order to ensure literacy within that stage. The majority of pupils would then complete the modest degree of education which their parents sought for them." [3]

The Committee further recommended that the secondary course in vernacular schools should be increased by one year, and that in anglo-vernacular schools it should be decreased by one year, thus

[1] *Education in India*, 1934–5, page 20.
[2] *Report*, page 299.
[3] *Report*, page 300.

entailing a break at the end of Class ix ; they gave as the object of these recommendations that " the secondary stage should be self-contained and not be broken by an examination held during the course. Study should be continuous, and subjects should be arranged to provide a good general education for all pupils."

A further objective in making these recommendations was that vocational training should be placed in its right setting :

" Vocational training should not be attempted until pupils have gained the essential rudiments of general education. . . . Industrial and craft schools should be adjusted in the general scheme of education in such a way that recruits should have gained a sufficient measure of general knowledge to enable them to apply themselves wholly to their practical training in separate vocational institutions. We suggest that pupils should be admitted to industrial schools at Class vi and to craft schools at Class x, for it is essential to divert pupils at these stages to practical pursuits." [1]

The Committee further held that " the readjustment and shortening of the anglo-vernacular secondary stage would be to the advantage of those pupils who are considered competent and desire to continue their studies preparatory to a university course. The Punjab boy has many admirable qualities ; but these often remain undeveloped because a premature college training is wrongly substituted for a good school training. . . . The Intermediate classes should therefore be removed from the university course . . . and should be included, along with Class x of the schools, in separate, self-contained higher secondary institutions, the courses of which should extend over three years. The degree course would then be also of three years."

Resolution of the Universities Conference, 1934

In the following year (1934), the Universities Conference was held at Delhi and passed unanimously the following resolution :

" A practical solution of the problem of unemployment can only be found in a radical readjustment of the present system in schools in such a way that a large number of pupils shall be diverted at the completion of their secondary education either to occupations or to separate vocational institutions. This will enable universities to improve their standards of admission."

In a later resolution the Conference developed in greater detail their proposals for school reconstruction and stressed the necessity of dividing the school system into definite stages, each of them self-contained and with a clear objective. The stages were to be the primary, extending over four or five years ; the middle (or lower secondary), extending over five or four years ; and the higher secondary over three years.

The Government of the United Provinces were the first to follow up these important proposals. It is unnecessary to reproduce

[1] *Report*, page 305.

extracts from their Resolution, as Mr. Saiyidain has anticipated the task in his article in the YEAR BOOK of 1936 ; and Mr. Sidhanta has also given a long extract in his article.

Observations of Government of India on the Resolutions

In January 1935, the Government of India forwarded to provincial Governments the resolutions passed by the Universities Conference, together with their own observations. They first offered the *caveat* that " these discussions should not be interpreted as a desire in any way to restrict the benefits of education. . . . For such of the pupils as have little or no bent for a literary form of education, other forms of education should be made available." They also stressed the importance of a suitable foundation of general education, " whether it be in preparation for literary or scientific studies or for vocational training in one form or another." On the other hand, they pointed to the danger that if literary studies were unduly prolonged pupils " might lose their bent for practical pursuits." The Government of India then endorsed the proposal that " vocational training shall ordinarily be provided in separate vocational institutions." They also alluded to the evil effects of biennial examinations and suggested that each examination should " take place at the termination of a particular stage of education and therefore test whether candidates had attained the objective of that stage."

Perhaps the most important contribution then made by the Government of India was the announcement of their intention to revise the Central Advisory Board of Education.[1] The Board accordingly met at the end of the subsequent year (1935) and concentrated attention on the subject of school reconstruction. In this task they were much assisted by the presence of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, whose valuable report on unemployment in the United Provinces had recently been published, and in which the urgent necessity for school reconstruction had been emphasised. The Board then recorded the opinion that " a radical readjustment of the present system of education in schools should be made in such a way as not only to prepare pupils for professional and university courses, but also to enable them, at the completion of appropriate stages, to be diverted to occupations or to separate vocational institutions." They also suggested that " expert advice would be of value in reorganising the scheme of reconstruction," as outlined by them.

In forwarding these resolutions to provincial Governments, the Government of India endorsed the view that expert advice would be of value, especially " for the planning of vocational training," and offered to bear the expense thereof. As a result, Mr. S. H. Wood, Director of Intelligence to the Board of Education, and Mr. A. Abbott, formerly Chief Inspector of Technical Schools, visited India during the winter of 1936–7 and paid particular attention to

[1] *Vide* Sir Philip Hartog's article in the YEAR BOOK of 1937, page 467.

the United Provinces, Delhi and the Punjab. Their report was published just as this chapter was being sent to press, but Mr. Abbott has fortunately been able to contribute one of the chapters of this section. It will be sufficient to state that " whole-hearted support " was given by these eminent educationists " to the general ' lay-out ' of the proposed reconstruction, whereby the universities would be responsible for a three-year course, leading to the first degree, and the system of general education below the universities would be divided into three well-defined stages." [1]

In his article, Mr. Abbott, after emphasising the importance of a basis of general training, has given a valuable sketch of the main features of vocational training, the details of which should be filled in after surveys of industrial requirements and opportunities had been completed. His proposals that vocational training subsequent to the completion of the revised lower secondary stage should be largely of a general nature and that the staffs of junior vocational schools should be fully as well qualified as those in the higher secondary schools are timely.

Mr. Abbott is also well-advised in suggesting that the Government of India should give a lead by carrying out the new scheme in the province of Delhi, where conditions are generally favourable. His proposal that facilities should be provided in that city for the training of vocational teachers appears to be the starting-point for action.

IV. Future Prospects

The malady has been diagnosed ; a remedy, though drastic, has been proposed ; what are the prospects of action ? Subsequent contributions to this section betray apprehension.

It will be convenient first to dispose of Mr. Chatterji's objection to increasing the total period of education. Mr. Chatterji has neglected to observe that the Punjab course is already shorter by one year than that in the United Provinces, but exact uniformity between the provinces is to be deprecated. The principle of reconstruction is far more important than its details. Mr. Chatterji is probably correct in his statement that objections to prolonging the course are widespread and genuine. Mr. Abbott appears to be satisfied with Class viii (instead of Class ix) as the completion of the shortened secondary stage, and that should afford relief and consolation to Mr. Chatterji. We may now turn to objections in principle.

Problem of Wastage in Present System

It is often urged, as has Mr. Chatterji, that educational reform would require money, and that money is unlikely to be available for some time. To this objection it may be said in reply that the present system of education is not only defective but also extravagant. Much could be done even by a more effective expenditure of " present money."

[1] *Vide* article in *The Times*.

The examination results for the Bachelor's degree indicate that, after four years or more of study, more than half of the candidates fail to achieve success in what is generally believed to be a lenient test of their labours. But, more serious, an even larger proportion of candidates fail at the Intermediate stage. It is not unreasonable to deduce that, of the (approximately) 80,000 undergraduates in arts and science, 40,000 are pursuing what are largely unprofitable studies and that the money spent in their education is largely infructuous. On the basis of an average cost of Rs. 200 a student, the amount spent on these unprofitable studies approximates Rs. one crore a year. This large amount, however, does not include capital expenditure on buildings, etc. If the present policy of " drift " is continued, large sums will have to be expended on building improvements and extensions, an expensive proposition in congested urban areas. Overcrowding in city colleges has already become dangerous to health, discipline and morality. Even more perplexing is the practice of herding Intermediate students, who should be regarded as school boys, into provincial capitals for their education. It is unthinkable that large numbers of boys would be drafted every year from the much smaller country of England into the city of London for their schooling ; in practice, many parents residing in London prefer to send their children away from their homes to schools in country places. Why does this extravagant and unsatisfactory practice persist in India ? There is also for consideration the personal expenditure on food, hostel rent, etc. A sum of Rs. 25 per mensem is not an unreasonable amount, or Rs. 120 lakhs a year.

Unfortunately, waste is not confined to undergraduates ; it is at least as great in high schools. Recent figures indicate that 314,000 out of 553,000 pupils in the four senior classes of high schools cannot even appear (let alone pass) an easy matriculation test until they are eighteen years or more of age ; many are even over twenty years of age. These are also wasting their time and money in largely unprofitable studies. The average cost of educating a boy in a high school is Rs. 50 per annum ; thus, the total direct cost of educating these 314,000 boys exceeds Rs. 1½ crores a year. In addition, there is much capital expenditure as well as the personal expenditure by the pupils themselves.

A total annual expenditure of Rs. 5 crores on these students and boys would not be beside the mark. It is not suggested that the whole of this vast sum would be saved by their elimination from schools and colleges, but it is indubitable that large sums of money are being squandered and that much of the money could be spent more profitably. It is for those in authority to decide whether " present money," let alone " future money," shall be spent on the present wasteful system or on one which would be less extravagant and more effective. The final bill will not become less by the waiting.

Other Instances of Waste

Mr. Chatterji has raised the further question whether, in the event of more money becoming available, it should not be spent rather on primary and vocational education. A discussion of primary education would be beyond the scope of this survey, but for the purpose of this argument it will be sufficient to point out that there is also waste (though of a different kind) in primary as well as in secondary education. Even from the limited aspect of the attainment of literacy, the Indian primary system is disappointingly ineffective. On an average, only 26 per cent. of the boys and 13 per cent. of the girls enrolled in primary classes reach Class iv, where literacy may be expected. This serious diminution of numbers in the higher classes is due mainly to "wastage" and "stagnation." By the former term is meant the premature withdrawal of children from school at any stage before the completion of the primary stage; by the latter term is meant the retention in a lower class of a child for more than a year.

This distressing state of affairs is due to many causes, but mainly to a faulty distribution and organisation of schools. The problem is therefore largely administrative and is due to the misguided surrender by provincial Governments of almost complete control over primary education to inexperienced local authorities, while they have not reserved to themselves even the means of correcting abuse and inefficiency. Hasty efforts, therefore, to expand primary education in present conditions would only result in increased waste and are to be deprecated. Besides, even if conditions were favourable to rapid expansion it would be hazardous to pour redoubled numbers of primary pupils into the present unreformed system of secondary education, and thus accentuate present discontents. Finally, it is not a question of competition between the several stages of education; it is a question whether or not the money spent, or to be spent, on secondary education should be well spent. Similar problems arise also in respect of expenditure on primary education. It is hoped that, in a future YEAR BOOK, a series of articles will be directed to primary education and its expenditure.

Reform of Vocational Training

By no means the least valuable suggestion in Mr. Abbott's chapter is that vocational training should be introduced with caution and that money should not be dissipated by competing institutions. He has also indicated that much of the present expenditure is on an extravagant scale. He has given some consolation to Mr. Chatterji by showing that initial expenditure on vocational training need not necessarily be alarming, and that much can be done at the outset by the adaptation of existing buildings and expenditure. Moreover, it would be unwise to extend vocational facilities promiscuously in the teeth of Mr. Abbott's advice that they should be adapted to a reconstructed, and not to the existing, scheme of education.

Problem of Communalism in the Punjab

Mr. Chatterji is on surer ground in his main contention that reconstruction should not be attempted in the Punjab so long as communal controversy remains acute. Reform of any kind is largely dependent for its success on a harmonious environment and on active co-operation by the general public ; and it is particularly advisable that the delicate task of adjusting existing institutions to the new framework should be carried out by an authority which commands confidence in its impartiality. As has already been suggested, the control of education in its several stages is unsatisfactory, and this defect is responsible for many shortcomings—the inequitable distribution of primary schools, the competition between communal secondary schools (to which Mr. Chatterji has referred), the haphazard creation of vocational institutions (to which Mr. Abbott has referred), the unequal rivalry between urban and rural schools (to which Mr. and Mrs. Harper have referred), and the lack of co-ordination between universities in higher studies. Mr. Chatterji is of the opinion that in the past the Punjab Government, especially in its Education Department, has not exercised its control either effectively or impartially. If that be so, there will be general agreement with Mr. Chatterji that the first step towards reform lies with the Punjab Government, that it should put its own house in order, and that its impartiality should be beyond question. Mr. Chatterji has, however, ended his chapter in a more optimistic strain, and the news that the new Punjab Government has declared its intention to root out communalism from the province is reassuring.

Problem of Vested Interests

Mr. Sidhanta has based his pessimism rather on the strength of vested interests, and there can be little doubt that those who are personally interested in the continuance of the existing order will unite to resist reform. With certain forms of vested interests every sympathy should be shown. For example, compensation should be given to universities for the loss of the large income derived from examination fees ; it would be an undoubted advantage if universities were released from the temptation of regarding examination candidates as so much cannon fodder for meeting the needs of higher studies and research. It is also doubtful whether schools would be crippled in their finances by the new proposals. In the existing order competition and duplication are alike extravagant. Owing to competition the higher classes of many schools tend to be smaller than economy demands ; owing to duplication, these attenuated classes tend to offer an extravagantly large number of optional subjects, the argument being that if this is not done pupils will migrate to other schools. In the proposed scheme, with clearly demarcated stages, such competition and duplication would tend to disappear, always provided that the controlling authority were both

effective and impartial. The lower secondary schools would become self-contained and relieved from expenditure on the higher classes ; the higher secondary schools would be released from expenditure on the lower classes. Similarly, the clear demarcation between general and vocational education would relieve many schools from expenditure which is alike ineffective and uneconomical. The removal of the first Intermediate class from the jurisdiction of universities would relieve congestion in city colleges and would assist the development of higher secondary schools in mufassal areas.

There are other forms of vested interests, however, with which there should be no quarter ; with those who canvass and intrigue for lucrative examinerships, with the prolific writers of textbooks and so forth, with those who thrive on the large increase in the number of examinees and who exercise an undue and an unhealthy influence in university councils.

Conclusion

The outlook is fraught with difficulty, but is none the less promising. It has been indicated in this chapter that there is growing discontent with the present system, that authoritative opinion is largely agreed on the diagnosis of the disease and on the remedy which should be applied. It is at least cheering that a man of the eminence of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru is spending the evening of his life in battling for educational reform. Who will give the lead in action ?

G. ANDERSON.

CHAPTER TWO

English Education and Indian Culture

Introduction

IT is hardly an exaggeration to say that the system of English education is chiefly responsible for the creation of Modern India ; on the other hand, even friendly critics would hesitate to deny that it suffers from grave defects. In the post-war period the demand for reform and reconstruction has increased in earnestness and intensity, and there has been a growing realisation that many of the shortcomings of an outworn system are due to one root-cause—the divorce of modern English education from the thoughts, sentiments and aspirations of the people and from India's age-long traditions and culture.

As long ago as 1910 Sir Valentine Chirol pointed out that " the average student cannot bring his education into any direct relation with the world in which, outside the classroom, he continues to live. For that world is still the old Indian world of his forefathers, and is as far removed as the poles asunder from the Western world which claims his education."[1] No one, familiar with Indian conditions, would question this verdict, but it is a sad commentary on more than a hundred years of educational effort that the present system should be judged a failure because it is so unrelated to life as it is lived in the India of to-day. Not only has it widened the gulf between the educated classes and the masses of the people (most of them illiterate), but it has led graduates to " complain of the duality of their lives. At the university they read the writings of Shakespeare, Milton, Burke, Mill and Herbert Spencer and imbibe their ideas, but at home with their families they live in a totally different atmosphere."[2] Mr. Mayhew tells us that up to comparatively recent times a student could graduate without knowledge of scientific method or results, or of his own country's literature and philosophy ; " on the other hand, he would almost certainly know the names and dates of all great English writers and would be able to write a better English essay on Chaucer than a vernacular essay on Tukaram or Tulsidas."[3] Later, he observed that " We have not yet made any real contribution to India's scheme of real values. When the educated Indian is most himself, in the expression of his deepest emotion, and in the domestic or communal enjoyment of his leisure, he shows the least trace of what our schools and colleges have given him."[4]

[1] *Indian Unrest*, page 216.
[2] Whitehead, *Indian Problems*, page 143.
[3] *The Education of India*, page 60.
[4] *Op. cit.*, page 207.

Effects of Education based on Foreign Tongue

Quotations might be multiplied to indicate that the experiment of giving India a Western education through the medium of a foreign tongue has not proved to be the success which the liberal and humanitarian reformers of the last century confidently anticipated. There is no doubt that men such as David Hare and Ram Mohun Roy, Alexander Duff and Macaulay strove to do what, according to their lights, was in the best interests of the people of India. They failed, however, to realise what seems so obvious to-day—that an educational system is a delicate organism which may flourish in its own time and place, but which cannot be transplanted to a foreign soil and be expected to thrive in an alien environment. The Victorians had few misgivings about the merits of their own institutions, but they rashly concluded that what worked well in England would work equally well in India. It is well to remember, however, that the most influential factor in the introduction, and subsequent spread, of Western education was the insistent demand of progressive Indians for a knowledge of English ; hardly less important were (*a*) the need for suitably qualified Indians to help in the administration of the country, and (*b*) the desire of missionaries to employ English as a means of conversion to Christianity.

Effects of Break-up of Mogul Empire

It is often forgotten also that, following the break-up of the Mogul Empire, " there was neither law nor morality nor enlightenment " in the land. Years of civil war and general disorder had " caused the submergence of all those arts which flourish in times of peace." [1] The first task of the British, therefore, was to restore law and order—those settled conditions without which neither material prosperity nor the arts of peace could flourish. For obvious reasons they were anxious to conciliate the people and were reluctant to interfere with established social customs, still less with religious beliefs or practices. They wisely adopted a policy of " strict religious neutrality," which was officially endorsed by the Court of Directors in 1808.

Three years later, Lord Minto, the Governor-General, pointed out that " the abstract sciences are abandoned, polite literature neglected and no branch of learning cultivated but what is connected with the peculiar religious doctrines of the people. . . . It is to be apprehended that unless Government interpose with a fostering hand, the revival of letters may shortly become hopeless for want of books or persons capable of explaining them." He therefore proposed that the Directors should allot funds for the reorganisation of the Sanskrit College (founded in Benares by Jonathan Duncan in 1892) and the Madrassa (founded in Calcutta by Warren Hastings as early as 1781) ; and suggested that other institutions for the promotion of Hindu and Muslim learning should be established at suitable centres.

[1] Garrett, *Legacy of India*, page 395.

First Use of Public Money for Education

Before the Directors had had time to pass orders on these recommendations the Company's Charter was renewed in 1813 and, mainly owing to the efforts of Wilberforce and Charles Grant, a clause was inserted authorising the annual expenditure (out of surplus revenues, if any) of not less than a lakh of rupees (£10,000) " for the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India " and " for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences." This clause marks an epoch in the educational history of the country because, as Howell points out, it contains " the first legislative admission of the right of education in India to participate in the public revenues." [1] The wording of the Act was ambiguous, except that the grant was intended for the promotion of *higher* education. The phrases " revival of literature " and " encouragement of the learned natives of India " seem to indicate that Oriental learning was to be fostered, whereas the explicit mention of " the introduction of a knowledge of the sciences " appears to point to a desire to encourage Western learning. In their despatch of the following year, the Directors showed that their views on the subject of Indian education were still hazy and that they were embarrassed by the expenditure of the grant which had been forced on them by Parliament.

In 1815, Lord Moira, who had become Governor-General, penned a very important minute, in which he described the degraded condition of the people and advocated the expenditure of public money on the expansion of education, particularly primary education. Owing to the war with Nepal (1814–16), followed by the campaigns against the Pindaris and Marathas (1817–19), the Government's attention was turned to more immediate matters, while their resources were seriously depleted.

The Foundations of English Education

In spite of these difficult times, the foundations of English education, as we know it to-day, were laid in Calcutta in 1817 when the Anglo-Indian College, or Vidyalaya (Home of Learning), was instituted. Chief credit for the establishment of this famous college (which later developed into Presidency College) is due to David Hare, who was neither a Government official nor a Christian missionary, but a retired jeweller and generous philanthropist. He was warmly supported by Ram Mohun Roy, the great Hindu reformer, and Sir E. Hyde East, the Chief Justice. Hare, who was an avowed rationalist, had long been appalled by the ignorance and superstition of the people ; realising that Indians were as intelligent, gifted and industrious as the inhabitants of other civilised countries, he concluded that their improvement would be

[1] It is interesting that in England itself the first Government grant for education was not made until 1833, and then was paid to two great religious societies which were mainly interested in the education of the poor.

hastened by the spread of Western literature and science, particularly among the upper classes. Orthodox Hindus became alarmed, but, in spite of organised opposition and internal difficulties, the College succeeded beyond expectation.

The Demand for a Knowledge of English

This success was partly due to the fact that Hare and his colleagues, notably the Anglo-Indian poet, Derozio, and Captain Richardson, had an unbounded admiration for English learning and a generous faith in the capacity of young Bengalis to assimilate Western ideas. More important, however, was the demand by young Indians for a knowledge of English. About the beginning of the nineteenth century this demand had first become vocal, and it soon became obvious that progressive opinion was in favour of Indians coming into closer touch with their new rulers and of obtaining an intimate acquaintance with their language and literature. The enterprise and initiative of the English had won the admiration of a people who were not slow to appreciate the benefits of settled government ; and the desire to learn the secrets of this success and to participate in the administration of the country can easily be understood. Besides, Oriental learning had lost its vitality and the land was buried in ignorance. It is little wonder that bolder spirits sought in the more virile civilisation of the West an antidote against social defects and corruptions which called for redress. Unfortunately, " Westernism " quickly gained such a hold on the young men of the day that its votaries felt constrained to decry their own civilisation, to despise their own culture and to ridicule their own religion.[1] These repercussions were serious, and right-minded people deplored the excesses of misguided youths who, in the words of a contemporary, " were cutting their way through beef and ham and wading to Liberalism through tumblers of beer." Even the College authorities became alarmed, but they made allowances for the exuberance of youth and regarded these misdemeanours as characteristic of the upheaval which the impact of modern knowledge must inevitably cause in a social order which had outlived its day. They failed to realise, however, that they themselves were ultimately responsible, and that they had made the capital mistake of trying to supplant Indian by European culture, instead of aiming at a synthesis, or fusion, of what was best in each. Early in the history of the College the study of Sanskrit was discontinued, and a little later Persian was excluded from the curriculum. Though Bengali was made compulsory for students in every class, it was for practical rather than for cultural reasons ; English was not only the medium of instruction, but the only subject which was highly valued in and for itself.

Ram Mohun Roy's opposition to Sanskrit College

In 1823, a Committee of Public Instruction was set up to administer the expenditure of the grant which had been sanctioned ten years

[1] Ronaldshay, *Heart of Aryavarta*, page 45.

earlier and generally to control education. It was composed of senior civilians, most of whom were members of the Asiatic Society (1784) and warm admirers of Oriental classical literature. Almost its first act was to recommend the foundation of a new college in Calcutta, a proposal which prompted Ram Mohun Roy, the acknowledged leader of the progressive party, to address a protest to Lord Amherst. He told the Governor-General that the establishment of a college " to impart such knowledge as had been current in India 2,000 years ago " would be a retrograde step ; he urged the need for instruction in modern science and mathematics and stressed " the futility of loading the minds of youths with grammatical niceties and metaphysical distinctions of no practical use." He argued that, as it was the policy of the British Government to promote enlightenment, they should not found a college " to perpetuate ignorance " and " keep the country in darkness." Though himself a fine Sanskrit scholar, he yet realised that India must emerge from her cultural isolation and absorb the best which the West had to offer. Some competent critics have regarded his advocacy of English education as extreme, and he has even been blamed for the " denationalisation " of India. It is nearer the truth that he was the first to realise that what India needed most was a fusion of Eastern and Western learning in order to revitalise her weak and sickly civilisation ; curiously enough, this need did not occur to Hare and Duff, Trevelyan and Macaulay, nor to many others whose names figure prominently in the history of Indian education in the nineteenth century.

Realisation of Danger of Westernisation

Mohun Roy's letter, which was not answered, may be regarded as the first serious criticism of the Government's intention to patronise Oriental learning ; with it started the long and bitter controversy between the " Anglicists " and " Orientalists " which for many years retarded the advancement of education.

Plans for the foundation of the Sanskrit College went ahead in spite of the protest, but the Committee of Public Instruction were persuaded by David Hare and Horace Hayman Wilson also to subsidise the Anglo-Indian College, which had fallen into financial difficulties. A few years later (1831) they reported to the Board of Directors that " a command of the English language and a familiarity with its literature and science has been acquired to an extent rarely equalled by any schools in Europe. A taste for English has been widely disseminated and independent schools, founded by young men reared in the Vidyalaya, are springing up in every direction." But they also sounded a note of warning that young men of " respectable birth and talents " had broken away from the " restrictions of Hinduism " and had become " openly contemptuous of its beliefs and ceremonies." Thus, Hare's young collegians had not only offended the more orthodox and conservative members of the

community, but they also strengthened the Committee in their conviction that the spread of Western education was fraught with grave dangers.

Rapid Growth of the Vidyalaya

The Committee were powerless, however, to stem the tide, and the decision of the Directors to recruit educated Indians in increasing numbers to the public service gave a further impetus to English education. This policy had already been strongly recommended by Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay (1819–27), and by Munro, Governor of Madras (1820–7), each of whom was anxious that Indians should take a larger share in the administration of the country. In 1824, the Directors, in a despatch believed to have been drafted by James Mill, recommended the promotion and extension of *useful* learning and went so far as to state that Oriental literature " contained a great deal of what was frivolous, not a little of what was mischievous, and only a small remainder in which utility was in any way concerned." This can hardly have been pleasant reading for the members of the Committee ; in their reply they warned Leadenhall Street of the danger of offending the susceptibilities of learned pandits and maulvies and urged the necessity for going with " the tide of popular prejudice," which held that " European science and literature were not worth the trouble of attainment." This plea did not carry much weight with the Directors, who, in 1827, stated in very plain language that " the first object of improved education should be to prepare a body of individuals for discharging public duties." In a despatch, issued three years later, emphasis was again laid upon the desirability of appointing Indians to posts of " the highest trust and responsibility " —a decision which was hailed with delight in Calcutta and which helps to explain the rapid growth of the Vidyalaya.

The Influence of Alexander Duff

Until 1830, the Anglo-Indian College had enjoyed a virtual monopoly of higher English education, but in that year Alexander Duff arrived in Calcutta and founded what has since become known as the " Educational Mission." He was by no means the first missionary to engage in educational work, nor even the first to found a missionary college. In the eighteenth century, Schwartz and others had opened schools in various parts of the country, and the " Serampore trio "—Carey, Marshman and Ward—had founded in the Danish settlement in 1818 a college, which had been granted a university charter by the King of Denmark some years before Duff set foot on Indian soil. It was he, however, who gave a new direction to higher education and endeavoured to make it the vehicle not only of modern thought but of spiritual culture. He quickly realised that the results of missionary effort had been disappointing—congregations were small, primary schools poorly attended and converts limited to a few orphans and members of the

lowest castes. He therefore decided that steps should be taken to gain closer touch with the more influential classes and, with this end in view, established a system of modern education embracing all the branches of knowledge ordinarily taught in the higher schools and colleges of Europe, but " inseparable from the Christian faith and its doctrines, precepts and evidences." He made no secret of the fact that he intended to employ education as a means of conversion and that his ultimate object was the overthrow of Hinduism. It is little wonder that cautious officials became alarmed and that more experienced missionaries tried to dissuade the impetuous young Highlander from such a dangerous course. Encouraged by the blessing of the aged Carey and by the active support of Ram Mohun Roy, however, Duff opened (1830) the General Assembly's Institution, which marks another epoch in Indian educational history. Quick to sense that the leaders of society were clamouring for a knowledge of English and that the Vidyalaya (in spite of its secularism) was the most popular and efficient educational institution in the city, he resolved to impart Western education through the medium of English, but " as English education was not a mere secular thing, but steeped in the Christian religion," he further resolved to make the study of the Bible compulsory in all classes. The cry that " Hinduism is in danger " was raised, and efforts were made to boycott Duff's college. These came to nothing and, in spite of threats of excommunication and despite the fact that a few converts were made from among Brahmins, high-caste Hindu parents continued to send their sons to the missionary college, which was soon in a position to challenge the Vidyalaya in point of both numbers and efficiency.

An Inherent Weakness in Duff's Scheme

Like Hare, Duff insisted that the study of the mother-tongue should be encouraged, for it was through this medium that Christianity would eventually spread among the masses ; like Hare, he discouraged the study of Sanskrit, for in this language was embodied the superstitious structure which it was his aim to undermine ; like Hare, he saw only the worst side of popular Hinduism—its idolatrous practices and superstitious beliefs—and had no conception of the beauties of Sanskrit literature or the profundity of Hindu thought. But even Indians themselves, save for a few pandits who kept the torch of Sanskrit learning alight, had grown oblivious of their rich cultural heritage and were ready to support the two English colleges. The fact that many of those who clamoured for English education were actuated by worldly, or selfish, motives did not deter Duff, because he was convinced that secular knowledge could be imbued with the spirit of true religion and interpreted in the light of the Christian revelation. To those who argued that the success of his college was almost entirely due to the prosperous careers which followed an English education, he replied that he would

" overstock the market " and thus compel those who were ambitious to obtain the most lucrative posts " to obtain a higher degree of knowledge which would enlarge the intellect and elevate the soul." Modern knowledge, he held, would fit young men for worldly careers, while the eternal truths of religion, enshrined in the noble language of the English Bible, would safeguard their morals and gradually " filter " down from them to the lowest strata of society. Admirable as were Duff's vigour and enthusiasm, there is little doubt that his scheme suffered from an inherent weakness in that it aimed at supplanting one civilisation by another. The same " root and branch " methods were advocated by Hare and Macaulay, who (with Duff) were also mistaken in supposing that modern knowledge would gradually " filter " down from an educated few to the great masses of the people. But the Indian caste system was not favourable to the process of " filtration " ; indeed, it is doubtful whether it ever has worked, or ever could work, in any country. Early success, however, blinded the pioneers of English education as well as enlightened public opinion to fundamental defects in a system of education which had no really solid foundation.

Anglicists and Orientalists

Trevelyan points out that the remarkable development of the colleges founded by Hare and Duff was the strongest practical argument in favour of the spread of English education, while Howell remarks that " it is one of the most unintelligible facts that, at the very time when the people themselves were crying out for instruction in European literature and science and were protesting against the prevailing Orientalism, a body of Englishmen, appointed to initiate a system of education for the country, was found to insist upon the retention of Oriental to the exclusion of European learning." In fairness to the Committee, however, it must be admitted that they had a genuine admiration for Indian classical literature, that they were anxious to conciliate sober and orthodox public opinion, that they were alarmed by the reckless conduct of " anglicised " students, that the funds at their disposal were so limited that they could not possibly have rendered any substantial aid to the spread of elementary education ; also, it is to their credit that the aim which was steadily kept in view was the refinement and enrichment of the vernaculars so that they should ultimately become the media of instruction. The " Anglicists " believed that this could be most quickly and satisfactorily brought about by the encouragement of English, while the " Orientalists " held that if Sanskrit (and Persian) were used as the medium of higher education, more solid and permanent results would ensue.

Macaulay's Minute of 1835

On the arrival of Macaulay, this controversy had been going on for ten or twelve years, and opinion on the Committee was equally

balanced—five against five. The matter was referred to the new Legislative Member and resulted in Macaulay's celebrated Minute of 1835, in which he argued, with a wealth of superlatives, that English was more *useful* than Sanskrit, that Government had never given any pledge to encourage Oriental studies to the exclusion of Western learning, that students of Sanskrit and Arabic had to be awarded stipends, while those who were anxious to learn English were willing to pay fees. Macaulay's minute is often regarded as the real beginning of English education, and his liberal and progressive attitude towards the enlightenment of India was warmly appreciated by Indians and extravagantly praised in the West. The truth is that, as has already been shown, English education had been firmly established before Macaulay was asked to settle a dispute over the allocation of a trifling sum of money. "His intervention was late, and the forces which he represented would probably have been successful without his singularly tactless and blundering championship."[1]

Government Support for Anglicists

Be this as it may, Macaulay's minute was decisive and was also open to serious criticism. It definitely switched Government's educational policy to the wrong direction and made the capital error of aiming at the transformation of young Indians into Englishmen "in taste, in opinions, in morals and in culture." Macaulay failed to realise that the real educational problem was "one of assimilation rather than substitution," and, in common with Hare, Duff and many other contemporaries, he believed that by a process of "filtration" India would rapidly become "anglicised." Lord William Bentinck, however, did not need Macaulay's eloquence to convince him that English civilisation had obvious merits while Indian civilisation had obvious defects; within the space of a few weeks he decided that "the great object of the British Government should be the promotion of English literature and science" and that, therefore, "all the funds appropriated for education would be best employed on English education *alone*."

Unsuccessful Opposition to Government's Decision

This decision was cordially received by the great majority of enlightened Indians, and the Committee of Public Instruction—reconstituted and placed under the chairmanship of Macaulay—lost no time in withdrawing grants from Oriental institutions and in increasing the number of English schools and colleges. The decision, however, did not pass unchallenged: the Asiatic Society condemned the Governor-General's policy as "destructive, unjust, impolitic and unpopular"; Muhammadans, who still viewed English education with suspicion and held themselves sullenly aloof, submitted a monster petition praying that the Madrassa

[1] Mayhew, *The Education of India*, page 12.

might be spared. H. T. Prinsep, leader of the defeated Orientalists, criticised very severely Government's " partisan policy," which, he said, was inconsistent with former proclamations, unfair, illiberal and politically dangerous. Bryan Hodgson, an eminent Sanskrit scholar, wrote a series of letters over the signature of " Junius," in which he made a strong case for the " pre-eminence of the vernaculars." Finally, Adam, who had been deputed to make a survey of indigenous schools in Bengal and Bihar, submitted three elaborate reports (1835–8), in which he questioned the wisdom of providing, at the expense of the State, higher English education for the upper classes and recommended the improvement of elementary education throughout the country. These protests and suggestions fell on deaf ears.

In 1844, Lord Hardinge gave a direct and a further impetus to Western education by the order that, in the selection of candidates for Government service, preference should be given to candidates who had distinguished themselves in English colleges ; and, as Persian had already ceased to be the language of official business, the popularity of English increased still further.

The Wood Despatch of 1853

In 1853, the Company's Charter was renewed (for the last time), and in the following year Sir Charles Wood (afterwards Lord Halifax) issued the famous educational despatch which, even to this day, is regarded as the Magna Carta of modern Indian education. Although it repudiated any attempt " to substitute the English language for the vernacular dialects " or to discourage India's " traditional learning," it stated that " the education which we desire to see extended in India is that which has for its object the diffusion of the arts, science and philosophy of Europe ; in short, European knowledge." It is to this despatch that India owes the inauguration of Departments of Public Instruction in each province, the introduction of the grant-in-aid system, and the establishment of universities (based on the London model) in the three Presidency towns. Although Wood had stated that his policy was " to combat the ignorance of the people, which he considered the greatest curse of the country," higher education made such rapid progress that little or no money became available for the extension of primary education among the masses, although in 1858 Dr. Duff, with characteristic bluntness, had reminded Government that they had not taken any steps to fulfil their pledge to spread useful and practical knowledge " among those who were incapable of obtaining any education by their own unaided efforts." In the same year the Government of India passed to the Crown, and Queen Victoria in her proclamation promised that Indians would be " freely and impartially admitted into our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability and integrity duly to discharge."

Rapid Increase in Higher Education

It is not surprising, therefore, that the number of secondary schools and colleges, Government and aided, missionary and secular, increased with remarkable rapidity ; first in Bengal, then in Bombay and Madras and, a little later, in northern India. As a result, the claims of elementary education were shelved and the universities gradually began to exercise a dominating—some would say a paralysing—influence over the whole educational system. Few realised the dangers ahead, and the establishment of universities was regarded as the logical outcome of Bentinck's vision. The new policy could claim at any rate that it had satisfied the aspirations of Indians, whose enthusiasm for Western education was genuine ; the interests of Government, who considered a knowledge of English an indispensable qualification for public service ; and the aims of the missionaries, who (despite the small number of converts from among the higher educated classes) still regarded education as the most effective proselytising agency.

Recommendations of the Ripon Commission

During the next twenty years the number of secondary schools, in which English was the sole medium of instruction, grew apace ; and colleges, affiliated to the new universities (which rapidly degenerated into mere examining bodies) sprang up in every direction. In consequence, funds were not available for the promotion of elementary or female education. It gradually began to dawn on thinking people, however, that the system was out of joint, and in 1882 Lord Ripon appointed an Educational Commission " to enquire into the manner in which effect has been given to the Despatch of 1854 " and " to suggest measures for furthering the system of Public Instruction on a popular basis." Sir William Hunter and his colleagues made important recommendations, including a wide extension of primary education and the gradual withdrawal of higher education from direct Government control, but they failed to realise the fundamental defects of the system.

First Serious Challenge to Established System

Yet, it was in the eighties that the merits of the established system were first seriously challenged, and to this period can be traced the emergence of a politically minded and discontented middle class, a product of Western education. In 1889, Lord Lansdowne, in a Convocation address, made one of the earliest official references to the over-production of graduates and to middle-class unemployment. The faith of the *intelligentsia* in English as " the language of good appointments " began to be shaken. Allowance must also be made for the rapid growth of political consciousness which followed the foundation of the Indian National Congress (1885) and gave rise to " moderate " and " extremist " parties, the one appreciative

of, the other hostile to, English education. The development of the vernacular press and the spread of books written in modern Indian languages, notably Bengali, Marathi and Tamil, served to give wide publicity to problems of educational and social reform. Further, the increasing influence of various religious societies, such as the *Arya Samaj*, attracted attention to the past glories of Indian civilisation and led to the " back to the Vedas movement " and other expressions of Neo-Hinduism. Finally, a number of scholars, European and Indian, by their researches and translations revealed the forgotten beauties of ancient Indian literature and art and the secrets of a profound philosophy which the more practical interests of modern life had relegated to oblivion. These movements caused a ferment among the educated classes and compelled Indians themselves to focus their attention on problems concerning their own cultural and educational welfare. As a result, many of the weaknesses of a rigid and top-heavy system of education were brought to light.

Lord Curzon's Examination of the Problem

Although the influence of these movements—political and economic, social and religious—continued to gather weight, no important changes were introduced until Lord Curzon, with characteristic zeal and energy, examined the problem of educational reform. He candidly admitted that " as regards the teaching of the masses in the vernaculars Government had not fulfilled its duty," and added that " ever since the cold breach of Macaulay's rhetoric passed over the field of the Indian languages and Indian textbooks, the elementary education of the people in their own tongue has shrivelled and pined." He brought pressure to bear on provincial authorities, who, at very considerable expense, were compelled to provide facilities for primary education such as had never before existed. Unfortunately, the results of this aggressive campaign were disappointing, partly because the illiterate masses were unable to appreciate the blessings of education, and partly because neither the educated classes nor officials showed any great enthusiasm for mass education.

When, however, the Viceroy turned his attention to university reform he encountered strong and bitter opposition, which was intensified by the partition of Bengal (1905). He was accused of aiming at the destruction rather than the improvement of education, of trying to officialise the universities, of planning to diminish the strength and influence of the educated classes. The Universities Act of 1904 was condemned in many ways, but, strangely enough, not on the ground that the Viceroy had failed to rectify the fundamental defects of the educational system.

Factors necessitating a Reorientation of Policy

It is significant that, whereas the Resolution of 1904 made no reference to Oriental learning, in a similar Resolution, issued by the

Government of India in 1913, importance was attached to " the cultivation and improvement of Oriental studies," and mention was made of " the increasing interest throughout India in her ancient civilisation." Two years earlier, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta, had reminded an audience educated on Western lines but already conscious of India's cultural heritage that " we Indians naturally believe that there is much in our past upon which we may look back with legitimate pride and admiration. We are aware that our country early developed a high type of civilisation and culture, that Indian poets and thinkers have made contributions of permanent value to the literature of the world." [1] Since then the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission (1917–19), the upheaval caused by the war and the subsequent economic depression, and the political movements culminating in the new constitution of 1937, have all tended to focus attention on problems of educational reconstruction and the need for a reorientation of educational policy. That many and far-reaching changes will be made is certain ; and among them, it is safe to predict, not the least important will be the wider and fuller recognition of the value and importance of the modern, as well as the classical, languages of a country whose history and civilisation date back to hoary antiquity.

Conclusion

The present system of education is intelligible only in the light of its past history. That it is lop-sided is generally recognised, that a drastic overhauling is needed is widely accepted. There is also little doubt that the root of the present trouble lies in the past when, mainly for utilitarian reasons, over-emphasis was placed on a knowledge of English. It would be unfair, however, to blame the early pioneers for developments which they could not possibly have foreseen. In their view England was morally bound to give Indians access to that knowledge and experience which the West had acquired, but which India lacked ; they confidently expected that such knowledge would usher in a new era of happiness and prosperity for people who lived in outer darkness. Their humanitarian intentions were sincere—and were generously appreciated—but they failed to realise that it was impossible to impose English education on a land where civilisation was rooted in a past totally different from their own. It has taken years of effort, and failure, to prove that the policy of " substitution " is not only utterly impracticable but inherently wrong. Education should always be closely related to the environment, to the present needs and aspirations as well as to the past history and culture, of those for whom it is intended. Further, " a nation subject to external influences selects only those aspects of foreign culture in harmony with its own racial character, adapts and metamorphoses others to suit its purpose and emerges

[1] Convocation Address, March 1911.

often with a changed culture but with its racial character unaltered."[1] Hence it is that, in spite of the almost exclusive attention given to English, Western education has failed, as it was bound to fail, to " anglicise " India.

Future Relationship of Vernaculars to English

There will, of course, always remain a place, and an important place, for the study of English in Indian schools and colleges ; but the claims of the mother-tongue must come first so that children may be the better able to express their innermost thoughts in a language related to the genius of their race and redolent of their past. The original assumption that the vernaculars were unsuitable media for instruction in the literature and science of the West was probably based on grounds of practical convenience, but not on sound psychological knowledge. Until well on in the last century few realised that the use of a foreign language as the medium of instruction placed a grievous burden upon the vast majority of pupils ; fewer still realised that, if children were taught in the mother-tongue, a better knowledge of English as a foreign language could subsequently be acquired in a comparatively short time and with comparatively small expenditure of effort ; scarcely anyone appears to have realised that the exclusive use of English in schools and colleges tended to crush individuality and independence of thought and to foster, instead, habits of repetition and memorisation. Yet, though the people of India are as keen to-day to learn English as they were a century ago, English must occupy its proper place in the curriculum—that of a second language, indispensable perhaps, but yet subordinate to the mother-tongue. Indians will still cherish, as they have always cherished, the benefits which contact with the West has brought them—an intimate acquaintance with English literature (especially Shakespeare), a knowledge of modern science, a love for English games, not to mention a zest for politics, which some consider to have taken the place of religion as the main interest and preoccupation of the educated classes.

Future Relationship of India to the West

Finally, a due recognition of the value of racial culture, past and present, does not imply that the influence of the West will cease ; India could not afford, even if she so wished, to resist the impact of modern thought. She will continue to appropriate whatever is wholesome in Western culture, but will also strive to preserve and develop all that is good and useful in her own national culture. In short, she will aim at a fusion of what is best in Eastern and Western civilisation and, by a creative synthesis, " seek to realise in community of study the meeting of East and West." She will take from abroad only that which she needs and, in the process of

[1] Fletcher, *Education and Colonial Development*, page 21.

assimilation, the ideas which she adopts will become " racy to her soil." [1] In this way will she be able to build up a system of education in which the knowledge and experience of the West will be related to the lives of her own people. This will enrich her knowledge and culture and will create citizens of balanced and integrated personalities. When this ideal has been realised, there will no longer be any grounds for repeating the taunt of the late Mr. C. R. Das—"The education which we now receive is a borrowed and imitated article ; it does not co-operate with the natural genius of our being, and hence is unable to enrich the life-blood of our soul."

H. V. HAMPTON.

[1] Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, *An Autobiography*, page 432.

CHAPTER THREE

Secondary Education in the Punjab

THOUGH the Punjab was the early home of the Aryan settlers and became a centre of early Vedic culture, Brahminism never took deep root within its borders, and it was at Benares and other centres on the banks of the Ganges that the great schools of Brahminic culture arose and held sway. In later times Buddhism established great schools of learning at Taxila and other places on the North-west Frontier, but the traditions of Buddhist learning had been dead and buried for centuries before its relics were exhumed by the Archæological Department less than forty years ago. While, again, the Moslem invaders pillaged and plundered towns and villages of the Punjab, they regarded that part of the country merely as a highway leading to the richer temples and pastures of Hinduism which lay deeper in the heart of Hindustan. Even the Moghuls, who had their capital at Delhi, regarded the Punjab as a frontier province, and their culture made a much deeper mark on Delhi, Agra and Lucknow than on Lahore or Multan. Although the Sikhs who wrested the Punjab from the Moghul grip had a strong devotional background, they were essentially soldiers without schooling. The system of administration adopted by Ranjit Singh was inherited wholesale from the Moghuls, and Persian remained the Court language. Thus, the history of education in the Punjab can be said only to have begun with the British administration in 1849, and public education in this province is therefore less than a hundred years old.

Early Beginnings

The first step taken by the British administration was to establish a secondary school in Amritsar, and a similar school was later established at Lahore. These were the only schools maintained from Central sources until the Education Department was established in 1856. In addition to these, district officers sometimes founded and maintained schools from local funds. In some instances an educational cess was levied, and over thirty schools were thus maintained by public contributions.

In the meantime, the home authorities had published the famous despatch of Sir Charles Wood, popularly known as the Despatch of 1854, which, together with the later Despatch of 1859, laid down an educational policy for the whole of British India.

The Despatches of 1854 *and* 1859

These despatches affirmed the belief of the British Government in the value and necessity of modern education " not only to produce

a higher degree of intellectual fitness, but to raise the moral character of those who partake of its advantages, and so to supply you (Indian Governments) with servants to whose probity you may with increased confidence commit offices of trust in India." [1] The proposed form of education was to be the diffusion of European knowledge, which was to be of practical utility, and there was concurrently to be an encouragement of Oriental learning and of the vernaculars. English was to be the medium of instruction in the higher branches, and vernacular for the mass of the people at the elementary stage.

The administrative machinery for carrying out this policy was provided by the establishment in each presidency and province of an Education Department, with a Director of Public Instruction at the head who was to have under him an adequate inspecting staff. The first Director of Public Instruction in the Punjab was Lieutenant Delafield Arnold, son of the great Dr. Arnold of Rugby, who was appointed in 1856.

Universities were also to be established which would test and encourage liberal education by conferment of degrees. Their functions were to be confined to examinations, the teaching being left to colleges affiliated to them. The intentions of the despatch in this respect were given effect to by the establishment of the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras in 1857, and by that of the University of the Punjab in 1882.

The most important feature of these two despatches, however, was the emphasis laid on popular and secondary education, and it was to this end that the active efforts of Government were to be mainly directed. Schools were to be created in each district, and their pupils encouraged by a liberal system of scholarships. These schools were to be of both types—anglo-vernacular and vernacular.

The task was too stupendous to be undertaken single-handed by Government, and therefore Government was to support with grants-in-aid such educational efforts as were made by private agencies. While Government schools were to abstain from all religious teaching, there was to be no interference with religious teaching in private schools, the only condition of grant-in-aid being the right to inspect and test efficiency on the secular side. The despatch thus gave every encouragement to locally managed schools, subject to Government inspection, and looked forward to a time " when any general system of education entirely provided by Government may be discontinued with the gradual advance of the system of grants-in-aid and when many of the existing Government institutions, especially those of the higher order, may be safely closed or transferred to the management of local bodies."

Education in 1862–1919

The following figures quoted from the Punjab Educational Report of 1862 show what practical steps were then taken to give effect to the principles and policy adumbrated in the two despatches :

[1] G.I., No. 4927, July 19th, 1854.

	1861		1862	
	Nos.	*Scholars*	*Nos.*	*Scholars*
Zilla [1] schools	23	2,283	22	2,741
Normal schools	8	405	8	368
Tahsil [2] schools	119	6,765	56	4,472
Village schools	1,750	38,849	1,807	46,559
Female schools	52	1,312	103	2,224
Grants-in-aid .	30	2,867	40	3,626

Establishment of Middle Schools

In 1867, Zilla schools were divided into two grades—those preparing pupils for matriculation, which came to be known as High Schools, and all others which did not reach that standard came to be known as Middle Schools. This nomenclature has become fixed and still persists. In 1869, a Middle School examination was introduced. In 1872, there were only six Government high schools and 122 middle schools. The middle school course, previously of two years' duration, was increased to three years in 1879. In 1874, Government issued an order that no one should obtain an appointment of Rs. 25/- *per mensem* or be promoted above that grade unless he had passed the Middle School examination. This order gave a great impetus to secondary education.

Government College, Lahore

The first central college, which came later on to be known as Government College, was opened at Lahore in 1864, and affiliated to Calcutta University. A medical college had already been opened in 1860. The Mission School at Lahore, which came later to be known as Forman Christian College, was also preparing students for university examinations. In its early beginnings, Government College, Lahore, contained less than twenty students, every student held a scholarship, the staff consisted of a principal, a professor and an assistant professor ; and the total annual cost to Government was less than Rs. 20,000. Immediately after the foundation of Government College, an active movement began for severing the connection of the Punjab colleges from the University of Calcutta and to establish a local university. In 1869, the Punjab University College was founded, and was twelve years later raised to the full status of a university.

The University of the Punjab

With the foundation of the University of the Punjab in 1882 the edifice of the educational system in the Punjab was completed, and the fifty years or more which have since elapsed have been years in which, while there has been much expansion, there has been no radical change either in the aims and policy which underlay the system, or in the nature of the institutions and the curricula through which these aims and policy were to be realised.

[1] District. [2] Smaller division of a district.

At first, the progress of privately managed institutions was necessarily slow and was confined to those maintained by Christian Missions, but the rise of the Arya Samaj or Reform movement in Hinduism founded by Swami Dayanand in 1886 brought a new competitor in the field. A large central D.A.V. College (Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College) was founded in Lahore, and several D.A.V. high schools were started in the province. The Sanatanists or Orthodox Hindus also started schools and colleges in rivalry to the Arya Samaj. Educational institutions therefore began to take a communal tinge and a few years later, with the rise of Moslem and Sikh communal consciousness, these communities also started institutions of their own. Consistently with the policy of the despatch of 1854 Government handed over several flourishing schools of its own to Christian Missions or to local authorities, and secondary education came to be more and more in the hands of communal and denominational organisations.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms

Such is, in broad outline, the history of secondary education in the Punjab until the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919, by which education became a transferred subject and was placed in the charge of successive Ministers selected by the Governors from amongst the elected representatives of the province. The first Education Minister of the Punjab was the late Sir Fazli-Husain, afterwards a Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. Sir Fazli was the founder of the Unionist Party in the Punjab, which has recently formed the Government of the province in accordance with the Government of India Act of 1935. Thus, although Sir Fazli's sad death in the summer of 1936 robbed the province of its most constructive and able statesman, the policy which he initiated is likely to gather further strength in the years to come.

Objectives of the Policy

The main objectives of this policy were to encourage backward communities, to develop the countryside and gradually to improve the lot of the agriculturist by reducing his burden of indebtedness and taxation. In the sphere of education, Sir Fazli's policy was one of rapid advance; it is significant that the total enrolment in schools and colleges rose from 438,000 in 1921 to 1,313,000 in 1930. Bearing in mind his political creed, it is not surprising that educational advance was particularly marked in rural areas. Primary education was developed mainly by increased enrolment in the schools maintained by district boards; and the number of vernacular middle schools, some with six and others with eight classes, increased from 656 in 1922 to 3,101 in 1930. In addition, adult and night schools were started on a large scale; the scout movement penetrated the remotest villages of the Punjab; village libraries were opened; and many types of extra-curricula activities became the

educational slogan of the day. In addition, high schools, especially those in rural areas, were provincialised and taken over from local bodies; and a number of Intermediate Colleges comprising the two senior high-school classes and the two intermediate classes were started.

Clash between Town and Country

Though it is difficult to find fault with this policy, it was yet bound to create a clash between town and country interests; and as the Hindu community is mainly occupied with business and commerce in the towns, while the Moslem population is mainly concerned with rural occupations in the villages, this clash of interest soon degenerated into a communal conflict between the two communities. In the Punjab, the Sikhs, who form 20 per cent. of the total population, are also an important factor which cannot be overlooked. As their occupation is mainly in agriculture, they have much to gain by the rural bias of the Unionist Party; but at the same time they have greater religious and cultural relations with the Hindu community; and their religion, like that of Islam, being militant and proselytising, brings them frequently into violent conflict with the Moslems. In considering educational problems, therefore, it is essential to bear in mind this triangular tension between the three great communities.

Setbacks to Expansion

Unfortunately, this movement of expansion met with a severe setback during the economic crisis of 1928–9, which hit the agricultural community particularly hard. Adult education and night schools declined in popularity, and the intermediate colleges, mainly on account of depleted recruitment to Class IX, owing to the rivalry of competing communal high schools, failed to fulfil the hopes that had been raised. Secondary education reached its high peak during the years 1930–1, and since then there has been slow, but persistent, decline.

The Failure of Higher Education

But, unfortunately, the malady was more serious and deep-rooted than a temporary setback owing to financial causes. It is admitted on all sides that, judged by its average product, higher education has failed to produce the kind of results which should be expected, but those who condemn the failure of education in India fail themselves to realise the specific aims which Western education set out to achieve. The avowed object of such education, as laid down in the two despatches, was the training of clerks and petty officials, and the main agency for its realisation was to be privately managed schools and colleges receiving grants-in-aid from Government, while universities would impartially examine their product and set upon them the seal of their diplomas and degrees. The system has not failed in that objective. On the contrary, it has been only

too successful, for it has produced applicants suitable for clerical and other Government employment on such a scale that no Government, however intricate in its machinery and generous in the roll of its employees, can ever hope to employ even one-tenth of the total output. The system has failed rather because it is no longer adapted to the political, economic and social requirements of India, which itself has been transformed during the last fifty years from the position of a mere dependency of the British Crown into something approaching the status of a self-governing dominion. A system of education which was adapted to a subject race can no longer satisfy the requirements of a largely autonomous democracy.

The brief respite caused by the financial shortage afforded an opportunity not only for stabilising the gains of the previous decade but also for considering the wider issues to which reference has just been made, but unfortunately the communal clash became even more embittered and the opportunity was lost.

The Punjab University Enquiry Committee

It was in this unfavourable atmosphere that the Punjab University Enquiry Committee, presided over by Sir George Anderson in 1931–2, held its meetings and wrote its report. The Committee concentrated attention as far as possible on an examination of the school foundations of the university and recommended a somewhat radical reconstruction of the school system by which the period of schooling would be divided into definite stages, each with its own objective ; and at the completion of each stage, pupils would be diverted to vocational occupations and training. But, though the Committee itself tried to hold a balance between conflicting interests, the time for examining radical schemes of reconstruction was not opportune. And so there can be little wonder that, though their recommendations in a modified form have been sponsored by the Central Advisory Board, they have met with little popular support either from the University or from the general public.

It should also be remembered that, education being entirely a provincial subject, no Government can be coerced into adopting reform unless the political party which it serves has been converted to acceptance of that reform. Judging from the present state of the finances of the Punjab Government and the general feeling of apathy in the Unionist Party towards education, there seems little prospect of any radical scheme of reform being adopted in the near future.

There is one point on which opinion is practically unanimous. The present course of education from the first class of a primary school to the B.A. degree is of fourteen years. It has to be remembered that the Indian has a shorter span of life than the Westerner and should therefore be prepared to enter the struggle for a livelihood at an earlier age. If the new scheme is to receive serious considera-

tion, it must at least be modified so as not to lengthen the period of school and university instruction leading to the B.A. degree.

There is also the financial difficulty. While, judging from the Budget speech of the Finance Minister in June of this year, the financial position is sound, no large additional grants are likely to be available for education or other beneficent departments. While, again, the worst years of depression may have passed, agriculture, on which the Punjab mainly relies for its revenue, has not made any marked recovery. The agriculturist has complained for years that the existing rates of land revenue are excessively high, and the frequent occurrence of hail-storms, floods and other disasters necessitate frequent remissions of land revenue. The present Government, with its strong rural and agricultural bias, is bound to give every possible relief to the agriculturist, and there is little hope, therefore, of financing any great measure of educational reconstruction.

Need for Increase in Primary Education

Even if, however, money were forthcoming for education, there are other calls on the support of the Punjab Government. There are, first, the claims of primary education, especially in view of the vast extension of the franchise as a result of the Government of India Act of 1935. The great bulk of the voters who went to the polls in the Punjab at the recent election were illiterate, and while, for the present at any rate, they are more influenced by the local reputation and position of candidates, they are liable to be swayed by any extreme party with an effective machinery for propaganda such as that employed by the extremist Congress politicians in other parts of India. An illiterate democracy is, in fact, a grave danger to the stability of any society, and it is to the extension and consolidation of primary education, therefore, that the Unionist Party must necessarily direct its main efforts.

That this is the direction in which the mind of the present Government is working is indicated by the speech made by the Minister of Education in the Punjab Assembly on June 22nd, 1936. The intention of Government, he declared, was to extend the primary course by one year. The present primary course consists of four classes and suffers from two main defects—the insufficiency of the complete course for the attainment of permanent literacy and the failure of the large majority of the boys admitted to the first class to reach the fourth class. In the Punjab out of every 100 boys admitted to the first class only 25 boys reach Class IV ; and many of those who do not proceed to a middle course relapse into illiteracy after a few years of village life. To remedy these defects will inevitably cost a great deal of money.

Technical and Vocational Education

A further matter to which the Punjab Government should pay immediate attention is the development of technical and vocational

education, on which much emphasis was laid by the Anderson Committee and on which the report of the two experts appointed by the Government of India in 1936 is being eagerly awaited. The Unemployment Committee recently appointed by the Punjab Legislative Assembly is also likely to press the need for developing technical and vocational education. The Punjab is industrially a very backward province, and opportunities for the absorption of highly skilled technical labour are extremely limited. It would be a mistake, therefore, to embark upon an ambitious scheme of technical education. In fact, the programme of technical education will have to be nicely adjusted to the programme of industrial expansion if it is to relieve and not add to the difficulties of unemployment. In any case, this aspect will absorb not only much of the energy and time of the Punjab Government, but also its financial resources. In these circumstances, it is doubtful whether the Punjab Government will have much inclination to tackle the problem of secondary education or to undertake any major scheme of reconstruction.

The Evil of Communalism

Unfortunately, lack of funds is not the only obstacle which stands in the way of educational reform in the secondary stage. The main defect of middle and high school education in the Punjab is its communal bias. In many a small town in the province, there are three or four secondary schools where one would suffice. These are usually of the communal type and are engaged in cut-throat competition ; they are also in receipt of grant-in-aid from the Government. Educational standards therefore tend to deteriorate, and as any improvement of higher standards would affect all communities alike, opposition to reform is the point on which all tend to unite. Such opposition often becomes a question of communal prestige and influence, is resisted by violent agitation and is foiled by back-door intrigue. Communalism is the basic evil which needs to be eradicated before there can be either reform or reconstruction. But the evil, as we have seen, is too well established and too deep-rooted to be overcome either quickly or easily. The wholesale disaffiliation and withdrawal of grants-in-aid from communal schools is out of the question, but something at least should be done immediately to counteract the communal spirit to which the Education Department has pandered too long. What is needed, in the first instance, is a new spirit in the Government itself and more especially in the Education Department, so that all appointments shall be made strictly on merit and capacity and not on communal lines. Petty, and very frequently anonymous, complaints against officers belonging to other communities should also be disregarded, and Government should be prepared to stand by its officers when they adopt an unpopular attitude in the interests of efficiency.

The rules for recognition and grant-in-aid, if not made more

stringent, should at any rate be strictly applied. A salutary condition of grant-in-aid to a communal school would be that it should have a certain proportion of teachers and pupils belonging to other communities. In any case, no grant-in-aid should be given to any new communal school or college, but wherever a specific need for a school or college exists Government should open such institutions under its own control. In its own institutions also Government should aim at a higher standard of efficiency and should ensure for its employees reasonable scales of salaries and equitable rules of promotion.[1] It would be tragic if the communal spirit, bad enough outside, is allowed to persist in Government institutions. In a word, the eradication of communalism is the essential preliminary to reform of any kind; and it is for Government to give a lead by putting its own house in order. Any radical overhauling of the system, at the present moment, would be hazardous and, however admirable in itself, might easily result in more harm than good. The right atmosphere must first be established.

Hopes for the Future

That such a change of spirit is not completely out of reach is one of the happy signs of the new era which has set in with the recent reforms. Under the able and statesmanlike leadership of Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, the present Premier of the Punjab, the Unionist Party is becoming increasingly a political rather than a communal party. It is likely to attract to itself all the moderate elements which are in favour of working and not wrecking the new constitution. The Government has declared its firm intention to fight communalism in all its forms, and if it is able to translate that intention into actual deeds, the time may become ripe for a genuine measure of educational reconstruction.

The new Education Minister has also given the right lead in a recent speech in which he stated that "the Government were out to beat the demon of communalism in the Punjab, which is a bane to the province and pervades every walk of life." He then expressed himself as strongly opposed to denominational institutions and pleaded for a nationalisation of education, in which task he solicited the whole-hearted support of all who had at heart the well-being of the province. It is for the province, therefore, to afford that support, in which case the essential preliminary to reform will have been achieved.

G. C. CHATTERJI.

[1] Recently, the scales of pay for the Subordinate Educational Service have been drastically reduced, and M.A., B.T.s are now recruited on Rs. 65/– per month !

CHAPTER FOUR

School Reconstruction in the United Provinces

THERE are four types of school in the United Provinces which may be classified under the heads of Primary Schools, Vernacular Middle Schools, Anglo-vernacular Middle Schools and High Schools.

(i) Primary Schools

The primary course extends over five years—the Infant Class and Classes I to IV—and the primary schools in the province number over 20,000 with an enrolment of about 1,300,000 pupils. This is moderately satisfactory, as it shows that about a third of the male children of school-going age are actually receiving instruction, but an analysis of the figures will not give the same ground for satisfaction. Over 40 per cent. of these pupils are in the Infant Class and half of them never proceed beyond that stage so that their schooling has no lasting effect.[1] Again, only about 15 per cent. of the pupils joining the Infant Class complete the full course and can thus claim to have received the minimum of education necessary for permanent literacy. The teachers in these schools are very poorly paid, but are better qualified than in most other provinces, nearly 70 per cent. of them being trained as against about 30 in Bengal, 50 in Bombay and 60 in Madras. But a number of the schools are single-teacher institutions, and as it is obviously impossible for one teacher to attend single-handed to so many classes, the lowest class is usually neglected. There is thus considerable waste and stagnation, as is proved by the number of " over-age " pupils in primary schools. Taking those above the age of 9 years in the Infant Class as " over-age," the percentage according to the last *Quinquennial Review* was 27·8, which is higher than in most other provinces.

Administration of Primary Education

Primary education is mainly administered by local bodies, district and municipal, the Department of Education only exercising supervisory functions. The chairman of the Education Committee of a Board is empowered to recognise primary schools, while the teachers are appointed and controlled by him. Salaries of teachers are paid from the funds of the Board, though the Government

[1] The actual figures for 1935 are as follows :

Infant	599,000
I	300,000
II	187,000
III	133,000
IV	96,000

makes " block grants " for the purpose, additional grants being given to those areas where compulsion has been introduced. The Acts of 1919 and 1926 give Government the discretion to enforce compulsory primary education in selected areas, and this power is generally exercised at the instance of local boards. Financial reasons have prevented a widespread introduction of compulsion, and at present only 36 municipalities and 25 district boards have introduced compulsory primary education, and that only for boys.

The Problem of Wastage

In view of these considerations, it seems advisable to attempt the reduction of wastage before extending compulsion and increasing the number of schools. The existing schools, which have at present an average enrolment of about 65 pupils, should be able to accommodate a million more if the average were raised to a little over 100 ; but there should be at least three teachers in every school (instead of one, as is far too common at present), the teachers should be better qualified and better paid, the withdrawal of a boy after he has joined school should be penalised, and village life should be improved so as to afford some opportunities for keeping the seeds of literacy alive by means of travelling libraries, the use of the radio and by other means. It is eminently desirable that the infant classes should be in the charge of women teachers, but the province has not yet an adequate supply of such teachers, while rural conditions are such as to make the employment of unmarried women difficult.

(ii) Middle and High Schools

After the five years of primary education a pupil proceeds either to complete his education in a vernacular middle school, or to continue it in an anglo-vernacular school which may have high school classes in addition to the middle classes. *Vernacular middle schools* with three classes, V, VI and VII, teach up to the Vernacular Final Examination and are supported by district or municipal board funds which are mainly derived from Government grants. The medium of instruction is Hindi or Urdu, while English is an optional subject and is at present taught in 227 schools. Boys who have passed the Vernacular Final Examination and possess an adequate knowledge of English are admitted into Class VII of anglo-vernacular schools. There are 753 of these vernacular schools with a total enrolment of 88,000—35,000 in Class V, 28,000 in Class VI and 25,000 in Class VII—giving an average enrolment of about 115. Mainly situated as these schools are in rural areas, their curriculum has a rural bias and their work is praiseworthy. The expense-ratio per pupil is moderate, being about Rs. 25 a year, and most of the teachers (over 80 per cent.) are trained and qualified for their work. Vernacular middle schools therefore combine suitability and economy.

The *English middle schools* have usually six classes, III to VIII.

There are only a hundred such schools with an enrolment of 11,700, but after taking into calculation the pupils enrolled in the middle classes of high schools, the figures approximate to 63,600 and are distributed as follows :

Class III .	5,000
Class IV .	6,000
Class V .	10,500
Class VI .	14,000
Class VII	14,500
Class VIII	13,600

It will be evident from these figures that while a good many of the products of vernacular schools, without adequate knowledge of English, start their education in English in Classes V and VI, not many do so after finishing the full course in these schools. Thus, vernacular middle schools are, to a great extent, self-sufficient and their pupils, after completing their education, are ready to go back to their work in the villages, but the same cannot be said of the English middle schools.

Analysis of High Schools in the Provinces

This statement appears to be justified by an examination of the high schools in the province. They are 206 in number and comprise Classes III to X, while many of the intermediate colleges have all the classes from III to XII. The study of the figures for Classes IX to XII is again instructive, as there are over 12,000 students in Class IX and about 11,500 in Class X, while both Classes XI and XII have over 4,000 each. It is thus evident that once a student has started his education in English schools he drifts upwards, no matter whether he is fitted to continue his literary education or not, and from Classes V to X the numbers remain fairly steady. That there is considerable stagnation is evident from the number of " over-age " pupils, of whom there are as many as 53 per cent. in the four senior classes ; the student plods on and lingers in the institution even though he should have been diverted to some vocation. The first public examination at the end of Class X weeds out a number of the unfit, but the majority of those who pass, even though with great difficulty, desire to continue until the Intermediate stage ; and if they pass the examination, even after two or three attempts, they often proceed to a university where they hamper the work of the teacher and degrade the standards of teaching and examination in the degree classes.

(iii) Present Discontents

Discontent with this state of things has been voiced by many of the leading men of the province. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, addressing the Allahabad University Convocation in 1933, said : " It is only when the State has reorganised its system of

secondary education and made it more fruitful than it is at present . . . that the universities may be expected to fill the place in the general life of the country which it is their duty to fill." Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, addressing the Benares Hindu University Convocation in 1929, said: "Where there is no diverting of students to vocational courses, where, generally speaking, every student is forced to adopt one general course which leaves him unfit for anything except clerical training of a poor kind, it is not surprising that universities have been hampered in their work by admitting students who are unfitted by capacity for university education and on whom many would be more likely to succeed in other careers." Similar opinions have been expressed by Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Vice-Chancellor of Lucknow University, by Sir P. C. Roy, addressing the Hindu University Convocation in 1932, by Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyar, addressing the Lucknow University graduates in 1933, and by other persons interested in the intellectual advancement of the province.

Report of the Conference of Indian Universities

The Conference of Indian Universities held in March 1934 discussed the various defects and weaknesses of the educational system which undermined university teaching, prevented the colleges from achieving their ideals and led to the production of a huge number of graduates who were unemployable and remained unemployed. The Conference came to the conclusion that "a practical solution of the problem of unemployment could only be found in a radical readjustment of the present system of education in schools in such a way that a large number of pupils should be diverted at the completion of their secondary education, either to occupations or to separate vocational institutions." It was further held that this readjustment should involve a shortening of the period spent in secondary schools so that a number of boys who stagnated in these institutions might be diverted to practical work before they became averse from it. That this stagnation was a solid fact was proved by the *Quinquennial Review* published within a few weeks of the Conference, in which it was pointed out that 56 per cent. of the pupils at the secondary stage were "over-age" and were continuing in schools where they were congesting the classes. The authorities in the United Provinces had already noted this deplorable stagnation, which was even more serious there than in most other provinces, the "over-age" pupils numbering 70 per cent. as against 37 in Bengal, 53 in the Punjab and 60 in Madras.

Influence of Examinations

It now becomes necessary to examine reasons for this unsatisfactory state of things. All work in secondary schools is dominated by thoughts of the Matriculation or High School examination, and from the time a pupil joins Class V his one aim is to matriculate.

With this object in view, he takes recourse, often at the suggestion of his teachers, to various devices, such as the cramming of selected portions of his textbooks and the use of cribs and keys, which enjoy such prodigious sales in India. The curriculum, also, even at the lower secondary stage, is dominated by the courses prescribed for the High School examination, and in some subjects, such as arithmetic, the high school course is completed at the middle stage so that pupils may go on revising the same work for two years, thus wasting the time which might have been better utilised in studying a new branch of mathematics. Subjects like hygiene and the second form of the vernacular which are not likely to be offered by candidates for the High School examination are almost completely neglected and attention is concentrated on the compulsory subjects—English, a modern Indian language, mathematics, history or geography, and an optional subject.

The Position of Teachers

Even in these subjects little real work is done, mainly owing to the poor quality of the teaching, a defect due largely to unfavourable conditions of service. The pay is miserable, tenure insecure and there is no provision against accident, illness or old age. Government employees are better off than those serving in privately managed schools, but only 48 out of the 206 high schools are maintained by Government. In 1935, only 55 per cent. of the teachers in high schools had been trained, a percentage which compares unfavourably with those in Madras and the Punjab.

The Vernacular as a Medium of Instruction

A recent innovation is the use of the vernacular medium in high schools. The supporters of this change contend that a boy should make more rapid progress by being taught through the medium of his mother tongue so that more time will become available for instruction in English. In practice, however, while the standard of English has deteriorated, the standards in other subjects have not appreciably improved, and efforts to improve those standards have been strenuously opposed by those in charge of schools and colleges. Poor equipment in English has rendered the products of intermediate colleges less fit to follow university lectures in that language, thus increasing the difficulties of university teaching.

Disadvantages of Biennial Examinations

A further defect in the system is that of biennial examinations. From Class IX until the completion of the B.A. Course an Indian student is expected to take a public examination every two years (or, it may be, every year), and all his energies are focused on the devices to pass these examinations. The Intermediate examination is not a landmark in the student's educational career but is, as the name signifies, a stage in his progress towards a university degree.

Standards have also deteriorated. The B.A. (or B.Sc.) has not the same academic standing or the same market value as he had twenty years ago ; and the M.A. degree tends to occupy the place once held by the B.A. degree. The new teaching universities, with highly paid and well-qualified teaching staffs, should have raised the standards in all subjects, but they have not succeeded in doing so for the first degree on account of the weak equipment of many undergraduates ; and these universities have to justify their existence mainly by pointing to the amount of research work done by their teachers and students.

(iv) Proposed Remedies

In view of the discontent expressed by various authorities, the Government of the United Provinces issued a *communiqué* on August 8th, 1934, in which the following definite suggestions were made for reconstituting the secondary course.

" The course may be shorter than the present High School course by one year and the medium of instruction should be the vernacular throughout. Only those who have a bent for literary studies should prolong them beyond the high school stage. The High School examination should therefore have two kinds of certificates—one certifying completion of a course of secondary education and qualifying for admission to industrial, commercial and agricultural schools, and the other qualifying for admission also to Arts and Science Intermediate Colleges. The Intermediate course should, if the High School course is curtailed by one year, be extended to three years and should be of four parallel types : (1) Industrial, (2) Commercial, (3) Agricultural and (4) Arts and Science, and end with an examination which may be called the Higher Certificate Examination. . . . Only students who have passed the Higher Certificate Examination in Arts or Science should be eligible for admission to the Arts and Science courses at universities, but the Higher Certificate in Commerce and Agriculture may qualify for admission to university courses in Commerce and Agriculture respectively on such conditions as the universities may prescribe. The Higher Certificate in Commerce may be recognised as the qualification for admission to all clerical posts in the public services. Students who have specialised in a single aspect of some industry often find it as difficult to obtain employment as those who have received a purely literary education. The industrial courses should, therefore, not be of a specialised vocational character, but should aim at giving technical training of a general character designed to develop skill of hand and eye, cultivate practical aptitudes, and prepare boys for, and predispose them towards, industrial life. In order that schools may discover at as early a stage as possible boys who are fitted rather for an industrial course than for a literary course, manual training or handicraft in some form should be compulsory in the lower classes of secondary schools and optional in the two highest classes."

These proposals were generally approved by the High School Board and by universities with the modifications that the first public examination should be held on the completion of Class VIII, and that a higher secondary course of three years should be followed by a university course of three years leading to the first degree. The Sapru Committee of 1935, which examined the question of unemployment among educated young men, were in agreement with these proposals ; they also supported the proposal of having four parallel courses for the higher certificate extending to three years and with two types of certificate. They also endorsed the scheme of vocational instruction and technical training, which should be of a general character.

The Government of the United Provinces have subsequently appointed another Committee (with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru as chairman) to consider the reorganisation of secondary education from the " middle " classes to the " intermediate " stage. This committee has published a questionnaire and has appointed six sub-committees, but it will be some time before its final recommendations become available.

(v) Conclusion

Sixteen years ago the United Provinces took the lead in acting upon the recommendations of the Sadler Commission and in attempting to demarcate the various stages of education. It must be confessed, however, that the aim which the High School and Intermediate Education Act of 1921 had in view has not been fulfilled and that Intermediate Colleges have not served the purpose for which they were created. University teachers complain that worse material is being provided by Intermediate Colleges ; and the authorities of these colleges feel, in turn, that the foundations of school education are defective. The higher secondary stage has not been dissociated from the lower secondary and university stages, and Intermediate Colleges do not form a separate and an independent stage extending over four years. They are rather merely high schools of the old type, with two classes superimposed and with little improvement either in the staff or in methods of teaching. An alternative is provided by the Intermediate classes attached to the Agra University M.A. colleges, where the methods of instruction are on lines similar to those in the B.A. classes.

While all educational authorities are agreed that present conditions are not satisfactory, they all tend to oppose any changes which would affect their present position. Thus, when it was suggested that most of the Agra university colleges should give up their M.A. work and avoid duplication, they vigorously protested as the abolition of M.A. classes would mean a loss of status. They rightly pointed out that so long as the teaching universities continued to do undergraduate pass work, they should not also have a monopoly of M.A. work. Nor are these colleges prepared to give up the

Intermediate classes without being assured of compensation for the pecuniary loss caused thereby, for these classes are in most institutions the main sources of fee-income. The Intermediate Colleges object to the loss of a year, as they would in the present proposals, while the high schools bitterly resent the proposal to reduce them to the status of lower secondary schools as they consider it to imply. Most of them would prefer to have an additional year and to include the higher secondary stage, but that is obviously impracticable, if only on financial grounds. Some of them therefore suggest that a year should be taken off the primary stage so that anglo-vernacular high schools may continue to comprise eight years as now, and that the year gained should be added either to the Intermediate or to the Degree courses. But there are serious objections to the shortening of the primary course, as has been pointed out by many educationists; the Sapru Committee proposed that it should be lengthened to six years.

It is difficult therefore to escape the conclusion that though drastic changes are desirable, they cannot be carried out so long as the machinery of Government as well as of educational bodies is democratic. Vested interests are strong and funds are limited. The immediate prospects of radical reconstruction are therefore precarious.

N. K. SIDHANTA.

CHAPTER FIVE

School Reconstruction and Rural Development

I. The Present Situation

SCHOOL efficiency is of vital importance to rural welfare; and successive enquiries into economic and social conditions in the villages of India have questioned the suitability of the existing schools to the needs of the rural classes. Though efforts have been made, many of them successful, to remodel the rural schools, it is increasingly apparent that their problems cannot be segregated from the problems of urban schools and even of universities. The Central Advisory Board of Education has rightly stressed that radical readjustment of the entire school system is imperative. The purpose of this survey is to discover how far their plan of reconstruction is likely to promote rural development.

No educational subject has elicited such popular interest, in which the Press has played a valuable part. Plans for the extension and improvement of rural education form part of the programmes of the new ministries in several provinces. In the Punjab, where the Unionist Party is in power, the Minister for Education has publicly declared in favour of improved methods of teaching in village primary schools and of a vigorous advance in adult education. Many voices are challenging the Congress ministries to active promotion of mass education.

Need for Training of Citizens

This demand arises from several causes. Among them is the increased political consciousness, which demands the training of citizens, which feels the shame of illiteracy and which emphasises the importance of rural welfare. The extension of the franchise has accentuated this need for an intelligent citizenry, which is insufficiently met by the schools.

The present system of education has therefore been subjected to serious criticism. The traditional, language-centred curriculum, the teaching which trains memory rather than thought, contribute little to the establishment of democratic institutions. This is realised, as yet but dimly, by political leaders.

Campaign for Literacy

Indian leaders are also disturbed by widespread illiteracy. Increased school attendance has not produced or even maintained literacy to the degree that might have been expected. Besides, an efficient educational system should not only produce intelligent readers, but also promote literacy among adults.

Concern for Rural Welfare

Interest in the economic and social reconstruction of the villages is also growing among the educated classes, and has been stimulated by the Viceroy as well as by large grants from the Government of India towards rural development, but plans for moral, agricultural and industrial development need for their ultimate success the co-operation of the schools. The Linlithgow Commission [1] pointed out that the fortune of the agriculturist more than that of any other worker is " dependent upon his own skill and judgment, and in no profession is the possession of a sound elementary education and of *the balanced and progressive attitude which it imparts* [2] more likely to prove of commercial advantage. . . . Without a satisfactory all-round advance in primary education, there can be little hope of any widespread economic progress."

The help of the schools can be rendered both by spreading propaganda through the agency of the pupils and by creating in them a new attitude. In a recent review [3] Mr. Strickland, after alluding to the apathy of the villager, went so far as to observe that " little lasting effect of rural development can be produced in less than a generation." In other words, a new generation with a new mind must first be produced. " That balanced and progressive attitude which education imparts " seems to have been taken for granted by the Royal Commission, for it is open to grave doubt whether the rural schools are now producing that attitude. Are they not, on the contrary, by their very methods and curricula, encouraging intellectual apathy and indifference to progress ?

If, again, education is to make a healthy impression on home and village life, it must be closely integrated with the environment of the pupils. In other countries and in parts of India, many a neighbourhood, backward through poverty, has been changed by the success of the school in interesting boys and girls in growing flowers, in cleaning and beautifying their homes, in improving their family health ; but the average Indian school, with its concentration on mental exercises and its isolation from the realities of life, is scarcely an instrument of rural development.

Further, the teaching of primary and, even more, of secondary schools is not calculated to create the new mind requisite to the improvement of the environment. Mechanical exercises, memory training, excessive attention to the past in history and the domination of purely literary subjects are unlikely to result in open-mindedness, initiative and intelligent thinking. The schools have not succeeded in developing rural leadership.

[1] *Royal Commission on Agriculture in India*, 1928, page 513.
[2] Italics present author's.
[3] *Rural Welfare in India*, by C. F. Strickland, C.I.E., Indian Village Welfare Association, 1936.

The False Line of Matriculation

The blame cannot be placed wholly on the rural schools themselves, as they rarely attract the ablest of the boys and girls. These have often forsaken the countryside in order to prepare themselves for admission to a university in a town ; or, in many cases, have attended in the village itself a secondary school entirely divorced in its aims and studies from rural life. The result of this trend towards urban education has been the production of misfits in the economic world, while rural life has been impoverished by the removal of its brightest boys to the towns. Sadder still, ambitious boys in large numbers have been rewarded for their industry by bitter disillusionment, idleness and increased poverty. The acuteness of the economic problem of unemployment has aroused the demand for educational action ; the bitter need of the villages for an educated leadership is less articulate but equally vital.

II. Progress already Made

It must not be inferred, however, that nothing has been accomplished. On the contrary, there have been many courageous experiments which show promise for the future. A further asset lies in the very unanimity of those who have studied the situation. The many able reports which have dealt with educational problems are agreed in recommending studies more closely related to the life of the village, greater attention to girls' education and to the provision of women teachers for co-educational primary schools, the extension of compulsion, the value of vernacular secondary schools with rural bias, and the need to train teachers in a village environment with emphasis on village interests and village culture. Thus, the goal of rural educational reform is a matter of common consent. As the editor of *Educational India* has remarked : " The major educational problems are now beyond controversy. Opinion has become crystallised and it is only vigorous and steady action that is required." [1]

The Primary Curriculum

Such action has begun. There is, first, a note of increased interest in the details of curriculum and methods, particularly in rural schools. A recent communiqué of the Madras Government is typical of this healthy change in attitude.

" Government further consider that one of the causes of unsatisfactory progress is the unsuitability of the curriculum in elementary schools, and the absence in many cases of proper methods of teaching. The scheme of studies for elementary schools is not sufficiently related to the life and surroundings of both parents and pupils. This is particularly so in the case of rural elementary schools. What is especially required is that educated villagers

[1] *Educational India*, March 1937.

should be trained in rural bias so as to make the imparting of knowledge a living thing in relation to everyday happenings in village life. In this connection Government believe that it is probable that the project method of teaching in elementary schools is the best suited, particularly for rural schools."

Pioneer Normal Schools

It is additionally pleasing that the aims of Governments are supported by private effort and by Christian Missions. By way of illustration we would refer to the Union Training School for village teachers at Chhapra in Bengal ; to the Boys' Vocational Training School, Ankleswar (Bombay Presidency), where boys are taught to be self-supporting in village occupations ; to the Pasumalai High and Training Schools (Madras Presidency), where experiments in better high school methods are carried on ; to the Union Teachers' Training School at Viruthampet (Madras Presidency), with its system of village schools under the direction of Dr. Mason Olcott ; to the London Missionary Society Boys' Higher Elementary Training School at Erode (Madras Presidency), a pioneer in applying the principles of the project method ; to the Ingraham Institute, Ghaziabad (United Provinces), where rural service is the heart of the school ; and to the Christian Boys' High School, Kharar (Punjab), in which vocational courses have been introduced into the high school curriculum. One of the most interesting of these pioneer schools is the Stewart Ward Memorial School of the Church Missionary Society, Khatauli (United Provinces). The aims as set forth by the Principal, the Rev. J. O. Nicholas, include the selection and training of rural " workers of high intellectual standard who can think for themselves and lead ; and so to train the others that they may be not only economically a strength to the Church but also unpaid leaders therein."

The Training School for Village Teachers, Moga

We now pass to the experiments in rural education which are more familiar to us in our own province. Many years ago, the Punjab Government adopted new methods of selecting and training rural teachers, as it was realised that improvements in the curricula would be largely ineffective unless the teachers were rural-minded. We have ourselves been privileged to be connected for some dozen years with the development of a mission institution, which has been a pioneer in this new type of teacher-training.

The Training School for Village Teachers, Moga, Punjab, was established in 1911 by the Rev. Ray Harrison Carter, with the avowed purpose of training village boys for service in their own village communities. In spite of many difficulties, the school has held firmly to its original principles and purpose. It consists of a vernacular middle school and a junior vernacular teacher-training department, and now has about 200 boarders and 100 day pupils.

Simple living, self-reliant manual labour, student self-government, co-operation and service are the heart of the institution. The pupils from the very beginning have cooked their food, washed their clothes and helped to build their hostels. They now clean their own rooms, both in school and hostel, sweep the compound, care for the cattle, nurse the sick, and manage their own literary society. None of the usual school servants are employed, not even a sweeper. All work is held in equal honour, as it contributes to the health, happiness and service of the school. A self-help system is in operation by which residential pupils earn money by general farm labour, by the sale of garden produce and by the pursuit of village crafts, etc. From these earnings they pay part of their school expenses.[1]

It is perhaps possible now to appraise results. Over 400 students have finished the training course during the last twelve years. Although there have been failures, more than 80 per cent. are actually serving in village schools and many are doing effective work. In them lies the main hope of rural development, and of an invigorated system of primary schools.

Attention to the better training of teachers has led inevitably to improvement in the methods used in the practising school. Moga has become a laboratory, where experiments in the revision of curricula and in devising new methods of teaching have been shared and subsequently extended to village schools. The project method of teaching seemed to offer the best hope for the rich development of the personality of the child, and to be in keeping with the latest research in child nature and growth. Experiments along these lines were begun by Mr. W. J. McKee in 1919 and have subsequently been developed.[2] A new Urdu reading system has been worked out and is effecting great improvement in child literacy ; it has been translated into Hindi, and other translations are in contemplation.[3] A technique of teaching through active experiences related to village life has thus been adapted to the use of Indian teachers. A large number of class projects or units of activity have been carried through in our primary and middle classes during these past twelve years and reflect the rural interests of the pupils.[4]

[1] This general scheme of training has also been adopted in all the normal schools of the province ; and the Government Normal School, Gakkhar, has become a model of its kind. All teachers of the future now learn enough of practical agriculture and village crafts to enable them to assist in the occupations of the villages. They also join in rural development activities and serve the villages with enthusiasm. In this work the Department of Rural Reconstruction has co-operated, and helped the vernacular training schools to become centres of community service and rural uplift propaganda. Many of these teachers throughout the Punjab have become thoroughly identified with the villages, and their schools are the stronghold of rural uplift.

[2] See *Developing a Project Curriculum*, by W. J. McKee, Ph.D. (Y.M.C.A. Publishing House, Calcutta).

[3] The Moga Urdu Readers. (R. S. M. Gulab Singh & Sons, Lahore.)

[4] See *Introduction to the Project Method*, by A. E. Harper, Ed.D. (R. S. M. Gulab Singh & Sons, Lahore.)

New Methods in Village Schools

The results of these experiments are now beginning to be applied on a larger scale to village schools. The Department of Education, Punjab, held two refresher courses for inspecting officers at Moga in 1935; and under the direction of the Moga staff a thorough course of re-training in primary school methods and practice of teaching was given. Three refresher courses of about two months each have also been given for district board teachers. By means of these courses about 150 village teachers have been enabled to introduce improvements in their schools. Encouraged by their inspectors, they are doing pioneer work of great value.

The Vernacular Middle School

The Punjab has perhaps done more than any other province to make the vernacular middle school a success. The importance of these schools is generally recognised. The Fraser Commission called them the "keystone of the arch of educational reform"; and Mr. Wood has referred to a vernacular middle school as "potentially the most significant educational institution in a country in which about 90 per cent. of the population live in rural areas." There are to-day some 3,000 such schools in the Punjab, of which about 800 have upper middle classes; 247 schools have an agricultural bias curriculum, with small farms or gardens attached. Within the last two years the work of these schools has been further strengthened by the introduction of an excellent course in rural science, a composite subject including agriculture, science, village sanitation, co-operation and elementary civics. This course is an alternative to optional English. The first Government examination in this new subject was held in February 1937. Two Deputy Inspectors of Rural Science have been appointed to supervise the teaching of this course throughout the province.

Our school at Moga has consistently followed the ideals of the Department. With the years, our faith in the vernacular middle school with rural bias, as the salvation of education in rural areas, has been strengthened. In addition to the Government curriculum, we devote much time to manual activities and village crafts, and we develop constructive interests by means of class "projects." Many of our pupils have either returned to their villages and entered helpfully into their activities or, after further vocational training, have undertaken village occupations.

Teaching Reading to Adults

Another line of advance in rural education is the effort to increase adult literacy. Throughout India new interest in this development is being shown. Many workers have been encouraged by the visit of Dr. Frank Laubach, a missionary in the Philippine Islands, who had been invited by the National Christian Council of India

to tell of his successful experience in teaching adults to read. New reading material for adults has been produced in several language areas in India. In the Punjab, the Department of Education is carrying on experiments with the new methods in various centres. Efforts have also been made to translate theory into practice. The Gakkhar Normal School students during the hot-weather vacation have been teaching Urdu to adults in 143 villages and using a new primer prepared by their headmaster. The campaign for teaching adults to read their spoken language, Punjabi (in the Persian character), is gaining ground and has been assisted by material prepared by the staffs of the Christian Boys' High School, Kharar, and Moga Training School in co-operation. Every boy of the Moga Training School from the fourth class upwards left for his summer vacation equipped with teaching material and purpose to teach at least one adult. Why should not every high and middle school boy and girl in India do the same? A suggestion has been made that the teaching of one adult to read be included in the requirements for the School Leaving Certificate.

III. Obstacles in the Way of Further Advance

Even this cursory and incomplete view of what is being done for the improvement of rural education forbids discouragement. It is clear that the ideas inherent in the new schemes now under discussion are not untried experiments. It will be well, however, to consider what obstacles have been encountered. In other words, while much has been done, why has success not been greater?

Competition with Anglo-Vernacular System

In most of India the vernacular middle schools are still few in number compared with the more popular English schools. Even in the Punjab, in spite of the strong and consistent policy of the Department of Education, the vernacular middle school is not as popular and successful as it should be. Although agriculturists are coming to appreciate the instruction of their boys in rural science, many still demand optional English in place of rural science. Many also send their children at the end of the vernacular middle course to the two years' special English class in order to prepare for Matriculation.

The cause of this trend is the popular misconception of the values of education. In the popular view the vernacular and anglo-vernacular are not parallel schemes of education, as there is a decided implication of superiority attached to English studies and of inferiority to vernacular studies. Hence vernacular education labours under the handicap of unpopularity. It enrols mainly those who are barred, because of their place of residence or their poverty, from receiving anglo-vernacular education. Students known to us, whose families are of depressed-classes origin, often feel bitterness because they have not had the opportunity of an

anglo-vernacular education. Some of them will sacrifice bravely, but often unwisely, to give younger brothers and sisters the " education " they have missed.[1]

The Curriculum

A further handicap is found in the vernacular course itself. Mr. Wood has shown how greatly the subject-matter and methods are out of harmony with the nature of adolescents. In the teaching of the vernacular, the language controversy unfortunately attracts more attention than pedagogical considerations. The classical phase of language study should be postponed to the higher secondary stage, and language study in the primary and lower secondary should consist of thorough practice in the use of the mother tongue both in speech and writing, and of reading for pleasure and information. Formal and lifeless methods are also used in history, geography and mathematics ; and the mathematics course is full of subjects and processes unrelated to the experience of the village child or adult.

In the curriculum the constructive instinct of the adolescent is often ignored. So great an emphasis is placed on literary studies that an inferiority complex is developed in those children who might excel in creative expression aroused by making things, by pictures, music, etc. Little attention is paid to these cultural subjects. Manual training, by which is meant the industrial arts and crafts, is omitted. It is significant that the Central Advisory Board urged that at the lower secondary stage some form of manual training should be provided, which would aim at the development of practical aptitudes and be made compulsory. In our view, the success of manual training and of subsequent industrial training depends upon the encouragement of expressive activities in the primary school.

IV. Relation of Rural Education to the Scheme of Reorganisation

It is evident, therefore, that the enrichment of village life by means of education is to a very great extent dependent upon the reorganisation of education as a whole. The importance of radical change has not been sufficiently realised. Progress in rural education is impossible so long as the higher stages of rural training are thought to be inferior to the literary type of training. Until the grip of a false concept of education has been broken, and until all boys and girls, whether urban or rural, receive a sound general education sufficiently flexible to prepare for practical efficiency and a wise choice of vocation, the better type of rural education cannot prosper. Once it has been relieved, however, from the incubus of the high value mistakenly attached to university certificates, it will be possible to open up to village youth many honourable professions and vocations. It must also be recognised more widely that home-making, farming, the development and management of industries,

[1] Punjab University Enquiry Committee, page 88.

business and commerce, the various forms of social service, and the profession of teaching, all require as high mental attainments as do the professions and the public services for which the university now prepares.

Clearly then, the first step towards the improvement of village education is the acceptance of the broad framework of school reconstruction proposed by the Central Advisory Board. The weight of expert opinion favours the division of education into three well-defined stages (Primary, Lower Secondary, Higher Secondary), each of which should be complete in itself ; and large numbers of rural pupils would leave at the completion of each stage in order to enter productively into village life.

Accepting this framework, the use of the vernacular as the medium of instruction in all types of schools in the lower secondary stage is essential. This reform would do much to correct the false distinctions noted above. It would make transfer to a different type of school possible for village boys and girls as soon as their special aptitudes had been discovered ; it is also essential to a sound education rooted in Indian culture.

Need for Better Primary Schools

The rural primary school must also be extended and strengthened. If the course is lengthened to five years, the aims of primary education will have to be thought out anew, and curricula, methods of teaching, and textbooks adapted to the essential aims. Intelligent citizenship, the discovery of individual aptitudes, the ability to read, enjoy and use books and practical efficiency in the use of language and number will then take their places as important objectives. Methods of teaching will take account of the nature of young children. In this connection, the *Report on Vocational Education in India*, Part I, Chapter I, is extremely helpful. The advice of Mr. Wood should be widely disseminated among primary teachers and inspectors. The following guidance is invaluable :

" It has been impressed on us from many quarters that the main purpose of primary education is to secure permanent literacy. We regard this as an unbalanced view of the purpose of education at any stage ; and even if we accepted it we could not subscribe to the present method of attempting to secure literacy. Literacy, like happiness, is not achieved by pursuing it as a narrow objective : it is a by-product of satisfying activities. Literacy does not consist in reading and writing, but in the use of reading and writing, and, it may be added, of speaking and listening. A child will not master these simple skills nor form the habit of using them unless they are required for purposes which are significant to him rather than to his teacher. Conning books, learning by heart, and chanting in unison, have their legitimate place in the disciplines of learning, but they do not by themselves constitute an education for young children.

" It is no surprise to discover that this concentration at the infant stage on literacy as the goal of schooling finds its natural expression in the worship of literary facility at the higher stages of education. If the seed is sown in the infant school it is idle to complain of the fruit as it ripens in the university." [1]

The Lower Secondary Rural School

The next step advantageous to the course of rural development would be the gradual conversion of anglo-vernacular and rural middle schools into lower secondary schools of a new type. If *all* secondary schools were based on a sound conception of what is required for boys and girls between the ages of 11 and 15,[2] there would be no ground for regarding schools where the pupils are partly engaged in doing and constructing as of an inferior type. The type of activities and the materials of study will, of course, differ according to the environment, but the elements of an all-round curriculum should be the same for all.

Changes in the curriculum should not be made wholesale or hastily, and should be introduced into the schools only after thorough experimentation. It would be a wise measure if in each province an institution under progressive management could be made a laboratory for experiment and demonstration. Teachers in training, teachers in service and inspectors would be able, through observation and discussion, to improve their work.

The Rural Higher Secondary Stage

If, however, the rural lower secondary school is—as experienced observers have considered it—the most essential institution in India to-day, it is surely worth while to plan that higher stage of education which alone can make it fully efficient. The next step will therefore be to provide a higher secondary stage especially adapted to village needs. What is needed to absorb the product of the rural lower secondary school is the provision of efficient vocational schools of high standard, higher secondary schools of rural science and rural training schools of the higher secondary grade.

The Village College

It is the latter type of school which was envisaged by Sir George Anderson as the most necessary step in the education of mass-movement Christians.[3] That it is also an essential in the general movement for rural development is shown by the recent recommen-

[1] Wood and Abbott, *Report on Vocational Education in India.*

[2] See Mr. Wood's statement in Chapter II of Part I of *Vocational Education in India.* Also the following: *Better Village Schools*, Mason Olcott, Ph.D., Y.M.C.A. Publishing House, Calcutta; and *The School of the Future*, K. G. Saiy-ud-Dain, The Indian Press, Ltd.

[3] See *Christian Education in India*, by Anderson and Whitehead. (Macmillan.)

dation that all subordinate workers in the present-day schemes of rural development should receive special training in rural social service. The rural training school should provide facilities for the training of village teachers and of other rural workers ; and it should possess ample equipment for advanced teaching, not only of the various branches of rural science, but also of such cultural subjects as Indian Art, music and drawing and the practice of selected Indian crafts, together with advanced study of an Indian language, and mathematics related to village occupations. There should be attached to it a practising primary and lower secondary school, and a group of adjacent villages forming a rural reconstruction unit in which students would learn through practical activities.

Such an institution should also be developed by Missions in each large mass-movement area. The future of the Indian Church depends upon a trained rural leadership, which it lacks at present. In the Christian village college theological and pastoral training should be given to those who intend to become village pastors and evangelists. Their longer course of training could also include essential elements of the courses in rural social service and rural teaching. This institution would thus provide vocational training for the most able of the pupils of the lower secondary schools. With it, the school system for the rural areas would become complete and harmonious.

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CHAPTER SIX

School Reconstruction and Vocational Training

Introductory

ALTHOUGH factories, mines and railways have been established in increasing numbers during the last generation, the welfare of the people of India has always been dependent, and is still dependent, mainly on the cultivation of the soil. In 1892, the number of persons engaged in organised industries was about half a million, while in 1932 it had risen to approximately two and a half millions; and it is not unlikely that this number will be increased still further if a resolute attempt is made to render the conditions more favourable to a wider utilisation of the natural resources of the country for the benefit of its population.

It is certain, however, that the country must remain predominantly agricultural. The population is increasing very rapidly and the provision of its means of subsistence must keep pace with this increase; it must indeed outstrip it if, as is desirable, the general standard of life is to be raised. The first need of India is therefore an improvement in the methods of agriculture.

The second need is greater efficiency in the production and distribution of goods made within the country from its raw materials. If India is to compete successfully with other countries, not merely in the world's markets but even in her own, she must take steps to equip her people for carrying on industry and trade as adequately as are the peoples of Western countries and of the Far East. Both the improvement of agricultural practice and the more effective production and distribution of goods alike require the enlargement and the amendment of the educational system until it meets these two vital national needs.

It is fortunate that "educational reconstruction" has been discussed and considered so fully in India in recent years, since the problem of creating a system of vocational education, which will be adapted to her peculiar needs, has become urgent. It is not sufficient to consider vocational education in isolation from other branches. The connection between it and general education should be close, for it can only become effective if it rests on the solid foundation of a good general education. Every vocational subject of study arises out of a non-vocational subject, and is as closely related to it as is a plant to its roots; there is no exception to this rule. The education of children and of young men and women must therefore be regarded as one and indivisible, although first one phase and then another may receive special consideration. A realisation of this principle would prevent vocational education from being looked upon as being on a lower plane than general

education and fit only for persons of inferior abilities actuated by utilitarian aims. Even if this were true, and it is very far from being so, vocational education is worthy of respect since it must ultimately lead to increased national prosperity, though perhaps not so quickly as is sometimes thought.

The Place of Vocational Education in the Reconstructed System

In the new framework which is contemplated, the schools of general education will include the following stages :

The Primary stage—Classes I to IV inclusive ;
The Lower Secondary stage—Classes V to VIII inclusive ;
The Higher Secondary stage—Classes IX, X and XI ;
The University stage—a three-year course leading to a degree.

In theory, there might be four stages of vocational education, each of them based on one of the previous stages of general education. In practice, however, this is not so, since the completion of the primary stage does not provide an adequate preparation for any form of real vocational education. The possible stages of vocational education are therefore :

(*a*) The Junior Vocational stage, based on the Lower Secondary stage ;
(*b*) The Senior Vocational stage, based on the Higher Secondary stage ;
(*c*) The Post-graduate stage, based on the University stage.

In this classification, no mention is made of vocational studies at the University stage itself, although these already exist, for example, in the University Departments of Engineering and Commerce ; nor will there be much reference in this survey to the post-graduate courses which are carried on already with great success in a number of institutions in India. The omission to deal with these activities is not because they are unimportant, for they are likely to have a most beneficial influence on the future welfare of trade and industry, but solely because at the present time the reconstruction of the lower stages of the educational system appears to be more urgent.

The unity of the educational system has already been emphasised, but it should be stated here that it is usually undesirable to provide general and vocational education in the same school. Arrangements of this kind would lead to a confusion of aim, even if the difficulties of staffing could be successfully overcome.

There is one exception to this rule. Agriculture differs from all other industries in that it is carried on by men who have been familiar with its operations almost from birth, and there is every reason why rural schools, attended by boys who are to become cultivators, should provide a general education with a bias towards the needs of agriculture. The vocational school, indeed, is not

suitable for the needs of the ordinary cultivator, although there is a very definite place for the agricultural college in training men for specialised work in agriculture.

Some Characteristics of Industry and Commerce in India

It is necessary also to say something by way of introduction about the characteristics of industry and commerce in India, for a vocational school should have a very intimate relationship with these activities. From one aspect, a vocational school is essentially part of the educational system, while from another aspect it is part of the industrial system. Neither of these aspects can be neglected, and it is for this reason important that every province should make a survey of both the existing and the potential fields of employment within its borders for recruits to industry and commerce. Until such surveys have been made, it is impossible to plan a complete scheme of vocational schools for the different provinces. All that can be done at present is to create a framework to be filled in as soon as the surveys have been completed.

Agriculture is, and will certainly remain, the most important industry of India. It is carried on mainly by small cultivators of little education, living in villages, and to a great extent isolated from the outside world and therefore conservative in their methods.

Industries conducted on Large and Small Scales

The volume of organised industry on a large scale in India is comparatively small, although, as has been said above, it is increasing. It is noteworthy that the size of the industrial unit is usually far greater than in older industrial countries, since the average production of each employee is smaller.

In every branch of large-scale industry, there are normally three grades of workers :

(*a*) Directors, managers and heads of departments ;
(*b*) Foremen and others occupying supervisory posts ;
(*c*) Rank and file workers.

Each of these grades includes men varying in responsibility. Thus, in the highest grade there are general and departmental managers ; in the supervisory grade there are foremen with considerable responsibility over large groups of workers, and charge-hands looking after smaller groups ; and the rank and file include skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers. This classification applies both to industries which, like engineering and textiles, demand considerable skill in manipulation, and to others which, like rice milling and cotton ginning, are conducted mainly by operative workers who need little manual skill, since the processes are either very simple or are carried out by semi-automatic machines. The former group of industries were termed " manipulative " and the latter as " non-manipulative " by the Indian Industrial Commission which reported in 1918 ; and these terms are very convenient.

The training of men occupying the highest posts in the organised industries included in both these categories is by no means the most important task which faces vocational schools. Very high posts are comparatively few in number, since the works are usually of large size. Moreover, the vocational courses now provided in universities and other institutions for post-graduate students are capable of rapid expansion should the need for more men with a prolonged education arise.

By far the most serious problem before vocational schools is that of increasing the supply of men fitted to occupy supervisory positions, intermediate between the management and the rank-and-file workers ; it is the lack of these men which prevents greater efficiency being attained in various industries. In both the manipulative and non-manipulative groups, the foremen should possess technical knowledge and skill ; in the manipulative group, they should be competent workmen, able to show a worker by actual performance how he ought to perform his task ; in the non-manipulative group, this manual skill is not so necessary for foremen, but they should have a sound acquaintance with the scientific principles underlying the operations which they supervise. In both groups, they need for the proper discharge of their duties those personal qualities which enable a man to guide and control others without friction. These considerations point to two methods of recruiting and training foremen. In the first group, they should have qualified as skilled workmen, whose promotion is justified by their having exhibited the qualities of uprightness, diligence, tact and ability. In the second group, they should have had a longer preliminary education and, after having been assistants to more responsible workers, have received promotion on the ground that they had shown themselves capable of exercising authority over others with fairness and ability.

It is not practicable to train the ordinary members of the rank and file, save in exceptional instances, by means of vocational schools. The presence of energetic and capable foremen and charge-hands in a works would be more effective than any other means of equipping ordinary workmen for the efficient performance of the tasks with which they are entrusted.

The volume of *small-scale and cottage industries* in India is very great and, in spite of the growing replacement of manual work by machinery, will probably remain characteristic of the country.

Commercial Ooccupations

The workers in commercial occupations can be divided broadly into three groups :

(*a*) Those engaged in carrying on business transactions ; industrialists, merchants and other traders.

(*b*) Those engaged in recording the details of business transactions ; clerks, book-keepers and other office workers.

(*c*) Those engaged in professional occupations ancillary to trading ; accountants, bankers, commercial secretaries and officials of insurance companies.

Each of these three main groups of commercial workers needs a special grade and type of education. Obviously, the education of the first group should be on very broad lines and should develop sound judgment of men and affairs ; that of the second group should ensure that, in addition to their skill in the " office arts," they will be capable of understanding instructions given to them and of carrying them out with care and intelligence ; that of the third group should be of the same grade as that provided for the first group, but should be more specialised.

The Junior Vocational Stage

The chief function of the Junior Vocational Schools, which should be based on the Lower Secondary stage, will be to prepare pupils to work in organised industry as skilled artisans, and to make this training so effective that a diligent pupil can look forward with confidence to reaching the rank of foreman as soon as he becomes sufficiently mature. As the quality of flexibility is of such value to a boy entering industry, the instruction given in the Junior Vocational School should continue his general education ; at the same time, it should have reference to a complete group of related trades and not merely to a single occupation within those trades. For example, a boy who has passed with credit through a Junior Vocational School should be able to enter the engineering industry either as an apprentice to fitting, turning, pattern-making, moulding or any other of the separate trades within the industry, and to make a success of his work.

The course of instruction in a Junior Vocational School should, like that in a Higher Secondary School, extend over three years, of which the first two should be general in character, while the third might be specialised in a particular direction in the case of boys who had shown a desire or ability for a definite kind of employment.

It is of the greatest importance that the Junior Vocational School shall be held in the same repute as the Higher Secondary School, and accordingly it should prescribe a test for admission and also award a leaving certificate. This certificate should not be merely a record of success in an examination held at the end of three years, but should testify to the performance of the pupil in the classroom, the workshop, the drawing office and the laboratory and in doing home-work throughout his career—from the day he enters the school until the day he leaves it.

It is also essential for the success of a Junior Vocational School that its staff shall hold academic qualifications equivalent to those held by the staff of the parallel Higher Secondary School. The principal, for example, should be a university graduate who has had experience of industry or commerce, while the members of the assistant staff should, for the most part, be as fully qualified.

They would then constitute a " pool " from which future principals of similar schools could be drawn.

Though a number of varieties of Junior Vocational School might be created in view of the wide range of industries and trades, experience is necessary before any great development of this type and grade of education can be started over a wide field ; it is therefore advisable that a beginning should be made by the establishment of only a small number of " Junior Technical Schools."

The Junior Technical School

A skilled worker in the engineering industry, or in any of the manipulative industries, should be able to make calculations, to read a drawing and to perform the ordinary workshop processes with dexterity and speed ; further, he should have a sound knowledge of the elementary scientific principles on which workshop practice is based, and should be able to express himself easily and correctly both in speech and in writing. These requirements define the curriculum of the Junior Technical School. It should comprise (*a*) mathematics ; (*b*) technical drawing ; (*c*) workshop practice ; (*d*) elementary science, including heat, mechanics, electricity and the rudiments of chemistry ; (*e*) English. About five hours a week should be devoted to each of these subjects, which should be compulsory as they form part of the essential equipment of the young workman who is aiming at promotion. Other subjects of an optional kind, such as art, may be added, but the total number of hours each week should not exceed thirty.

Although English is included in the curriculum, the instruction in every other subject should be given in the vernacular, but ordinary technical terms, such as force, specific heat, etc., may well be used in their English form.

The buildings of a Junior Technical School should include a science laboratory, a room which can be used as a drawing office, and workshops for woodwork and metal-work. The metal-work-shop does not need elaborate equipment, as it is most desirable that the pupils should gain a knowledge of the working properties of the materials through the use of hand tools and simple machines.

On the completion of the first two years of the course, some degree of specialisation may be introduced. Thus, in the third year pupils may elect a course in general engineering with the object of entering garages or joining the maintenance staff of a large works ; or they may concentrate on electric wiring and installation, since the use of electricity is spreading rapidly in India ; or again they may elect to follow a course in textile spinning and manufacture. In each of these cases, a rearrangement of the curriculum will be necessary in order to afford more extended opportunities for practical work in the shops ; and in the case of textile spinning and manufacture, far more expensive accommodation and equipment will be needed. There is little doubt that the range of

instruction provided in schools of this grade is capable of considerable extension in useful directions, but at the start it would be wise to concentrate on a comparatively narrow field of work.

The Senior Vocational Stage

Senior Vocational Schools, which are based on the Higher Secondary stage, fall into two main types—Senior Technical and Senior Commercial Schools. The former will normally prepare their pupils for entrance to more responsible posts in non-manipulative industries, while the latter will prepare pupils for work in clerical occupations, where a knowledge of English is usually required, or, at any rate, is useful.

The Senior Technical School

A responsible official in a works engaged in one of the non-manipulative industries should have some knowledge of the machinery employed, an ability to make the calculations needed, skill in understanding technical drawings and in making freehand sketches of machine details, and some acquaintance with the fundamental principles of science on which the practice of the industry in which he is engaged is based.

The curriculum of a *Senior Technical School* should therefore comprise mathematics; physics, including heat, electricity and mechanics; chemistry; technical drawing; workshop instruction in a metal-workshop.

Pupils should not, as a rule, be admitted to courses of this kind unless they have shown their ability to profit by them; they should therefore have completed the courses of the Higher Secondary School and have included mathematics and science in their studies.

The Senior Commercial School

Clerical workers need skill in what are sometimes called "the office arts"; that is, they should be able to write shorthand and to type, to make accurate calculations, to keep accounts and generally to record and file. It is equally important that they should have a sense of responsibility. Accordingly, *Senior Commercial Schools*, while providing the necessary vocational instruction, should also continue the general education of their pupils. The elements of accounts should be taught as arising from instruction in arithmetic and should impart a knowledge of principles rather than a detailed knowledge of their application; the study of geography should be continued, though it may well have a strong bias in the direction of commerce; and English should be taught with a view to its use as a means of communication rather than with the object of obtaining a detailed acquaintance with the writings of great authors.

Since it is desirable that every clerical worker should know some-

thing of the structure and methods of commerce, instruction should also be given in the " elements of commerce " ; that is, the organisation and methods of trading firms of different types and the part played in trade by bankers, accountants, insurance companies and the like.

The allocation of time to the different subjects of the curriculum may be somewhat as follows : English, 7 hours ; geography, 2 hours ; history, 2 hours ; shorthand, 5 hours ; typewriting, 5 hours ; book-keeping, 2 hours ; arithmetic, 3 hours ; elements of commerce, 2 hours ; physical training, 2 hours.

Pupils in attendance at Senior Commercial Schools should have completed the full course of a Higher Secondary School and have passed its leaving examination.

Whether the Senior Vocational School is preparing its pupils for industry or for commerce, its course should not exceed two years. The principal and staff of a Senior Vocational School should have good academic qualifications of an appropriate kind, and, if possible, should have had business experience also, since this qualification would give reality to their instruction. It is most desirable that they should gain contact with business men either informally or by means of suitable advisory committees attached to their schools.

The Existing Industrial and Technical Schools

Industrial and Technical Schools already exist in the various provinces under the administration of the different Departments of Industries. They include :

(*a*) Trade Schools for training handicraftsmen ;
(*b*) Industrial Schools for training boys and youths to work on their own account in small-scale industries ;
(*c*) Technical Schools for training youths of good preliminary education to hold responsible posts in industry.

In certain of the provinces, the smaller schools belonging to the two lower grades appear to be more costly than is desirable. It would be of advantage, as regards both expense and efficiency, if these schools were concentrated into a smaller number of institutions, and if the standard of admission to them were raised.

If vocational education is to be made more generally acceptable to the people—and this is most desirable—it must be brought more prominently before the public eye, and the replacement of a number of small separate institutions by larger " polytechnic " schools situated in the larger centres of population would tend to bring this about. Moreover, overhead charges would be diminished by the prevention of the duplication of such essential services as supervision, power, cleaning and clerical work.

An equally desirable improvement is the raising of the standard of admission to the schools of this group. There is little doubt that the linking up of the Technical Schools, which provide more

advanced instruction, to the Junior Technical Schools, and the insistence on candidates for admission to advanced classes having successfully completed the first two years of the Junior Technical School course would enable the authorities to shorten the course of the Technical School by at least one, and possibly by two years, thus diminishing the total cost of the more advanced training.

The Trade Schools

These are places of apprenticeship for boys about to enter manual occupations. At this time, it is not practicable to insist that pupils admitted to them should have passed the Lower Secondary stage of general education, since this would have the result that the schools would be empty. For the present, pupils who have passed Class VI should be admitted, but the advisability of raising further the entrance standard should be borne in mind.

The existing Trade Schools train boys for such occupations as weaving, woodworking and metal-work in their various forms, and such artistic crafts as lacquer work and woodcarving. In any proposed extension of the number of Trade Schools, account should always be taken of the likelihood of the trades taught being permanent. The last generation has seen many ancient crafts replaced, wholly or in part, by mechanical operations, and it would be unfortunate if Trade Schools were established for imparting special forms of skill whose value might be diminished through this cause.

While the main function of the Trade School is to teach manual skill, some part of the time available—possibly one-quarter—should always be devoted to continuing general education.

Industrial and Technical Schools

In Great Britain, the task of training is often shared between the school and the industry concerned, the school giving the theoretical training, while the industry affords opportunities for gaining practical skill in workshop operations and processes. This method is appropriate in an old industrial country, but it does not suit Indian conditions. In India, it is far better to entrust the whole of the training, both theoretical and practical, to the school. It is for this reason that the workshop is made the centre of the instruction in Indian technical schools, the theoretical instruction being associated with the workshop practice. This policy is sound, for it is the business of the school to search out and to provide first-rate instruction in workshop practice, and this is not usually available in the works themselves. If the Departments of Education are to establish vocational schools based on a reconstructed system of general education, the question at once arises of the *future control of the existing Trade, Technical and Industrial schools* now administered by the provincial Departments of Industries. While it is true that in many countries the whole of technical and commercial education is administered by the Departments of Education, there are in India strong reasons for allowing the control

of the existing vocational schools to remain with the Departments of Industries until the Departments of Education have gained far more experience ; the matter could then be reconsidered. The Departments of Industries have accumulated much useful knowledge, and it would be a grave mistake to throw away this asset by any premature transfer of the more highly specialised forms of vocational education to Departments which have, as yet, neither the staff nor the experience needed for wise administration. The Departments of Education will indeed be very fully occupied by the problems of reconstructing the system of general education and incorporating in this the types of vocational school based immediately on the Lower and Higher Secondary stages.

Schools of Arts and Crafts

The total number of Schools of Arts and Crafts in India is small, and the provision of sound instruction in art should be extended considerably if India is to maintain her great artistic traditions. There is no doubt of the taste and artistic skill of her population, as the monuments, the dress and the household utensils in common use indicate abundantly ; but every visitor to India must remark that great quantities of goods, both of cheap and of expensive kinds, which are not in harmony with Indian taste, are tending to replace goods of Indian design. There is a serious risk that the artistic element in the culture of the Indian people will decay, and that the loss will be immense. Immediate steps should therefore be taken to arrest the further decline of the national tradition of artistic production and appreciation.

In the first place, the present Schools of Arts and Crafts should have affiliated to them branch schools in suitable centres ; and in the second place, each of the Museums which have been established should begin to create a " Loan Collection " from which good examples of Indian craftsmanship could be sent out to schools and other institutions in their provinces. Such collections need not be started on an ambitious scale, and a beginning could probably be made by preparing photographs—in colour where this is appropriate—and making them available at suitable centres for examination by craftsmen ; in this way, workers in districts distant from the main Museums would have the opportunity of seeing good designs in harmony with their national and local traditions.

Part-time Courses

The number of Part-time Courses of Instruction provided for pupils already in employment is small ; necessarily so, because instruction in both workshop practice and in the theoretical principles underlying this demands full-time attendance at school. There is, however, room for an increase in courses of this kind, but they should devote their main attention to instruction in theory, leaving their pupils to gain manual skill in the ordinary course of

their employment. In many countries, the bulk of part-time instruction is given during the evenings, and this plan is possible of adoption on a small scale in some of the larger centres of population in India. A far better method, which is being increasingly adopted in Western countries, is for employers to release promising pupils for one or two half-days a week for the purpose of attending school, and to make this privilege conditional on diligence and satisfactory progress. It is true that this involves the employer in both trouble and expense, since he has to make some reorganisation of his works or office; but employers who have adopted the plan usually regard the advantages gained through the better training of their employees as outweighing the disadvantages.

Co-operation between Business and Education

One of the most pressing needs for the successful carrying out of a scheme of vocational education is close co-operation between representatives of business and of education. It is desirable that each Provincial Government shall set up an "Advisory Board for Vocational Education," including as members the Directors of Industry and of Education, two or three principals of important vocational schools (including those already in existence), and four or five business men selected on account of their knowledge and experience of trade and industry, and not because they represent particular interests. Such an Advisory Board would naturally commit the detailed work in connection with different branches of industry or commerce to expert sub-committees, each responsible for its own branch. There would thus be sub-committees—each constituted in the same way as the Advisory Board and responsible to it—for engineering, textiles, agriculture, small-scale industries, other industries of major importance, and commerce. These sub-committees would advise as to curricula and syllabuses, the equipment of schools, and the places where schools should be established. In addition, they would be performing a most useful service if they were to make surveys of the educational needs of the various branches of trade and industry within their provinces.

Initial Steps in the Reconstruction of the System

It will be necessary for each province to consider, not merely the organisation of vocational education, but the whole of its educational system. This must be made into a single coherent unit, of which vocational education is one constituent element. There is no doubt that reconstruction of this kind is a formidable task, but it is not one that can be shirked, since the future national welfare depends upon it.

It is fortunate that a beginning can be made in reconstruction without any great expenditure, since the first step would not be the establishment of entirely new schools, but the adaptation of existing premises to fresh uses. Some expenditure, it is true, will

be needed for the provision of equipment and possibly for structural alteration ; but there are many reasons why the modification of the educational structure should be initiated on a comparatively small scale. When it is found that vocational education is a profitable investment—and all the experience of other countries goes to show that it is—it will be possible to expand the system without financial embarrassment until it meets all reasonable needs.

The Government of India can do much to foster the development of vocational education by reorganising the educational provision of the Province of Delhi, so that the Primary, Lower and Higher Secondary, and Vocational Stages constitute, together with the University of Delhi, a complete system suitable for the requirements of the whole province. Reconstruction in an area of this size would give abundant opportunities for working out the various problems on a small scale ; and the methods employed and the results obtained could be made known throughout the country.

Only one new institution, which could conveniently be accommodated in the premises of the present Government High School in old Delhi, would be necessary. It would serve as a College—containing a Junior Technical School, a Senior Commercial School, technical classes for older pupils, a School of Arts and Crafts, and a Training College for Teachers aiming at employment in vocational schools in the Province of Delhi or in neighbouring provinces. This Training College would obviously have to work in collaboration with the ordinary training colleges situated in the provinces adjacent to Delhi.

From an entirely different angle, the Government of India could assist materially the movement for the establishment of vocational schools by modifying the conditions of admission to certain forms of employment. They might, for example, recognise that the training given in a Junior Technical School fits a boy in a very special way for admission to some grades in the Railway Service or the Public Works Department, and that the training in a Senior Commercial School is a suitable preliminary to certain forms of employment in other services. Definite recognition of this kind would undoubtedly ensure that these vocational schools possessed a nucleus of pupils aiming at entering the public service, and that the schools became valuable institutions serving very wide needs as soon as the quality of their work was properly known.

Similarly, the Provincial Governments could assist to make the vocational schools useful institutions by imposing the same kind of requirements on candidates for admission to their own service. But although Governments can do much in this way, it is on the interest of parents, the zeal and energy of teachers and administrators, and the active co-operation of those engaged in trade and industry that the success of vocational education ultimately rests ; and there are many signs that these will not be wanting in any well-considered attempt to increase the national welfare.

A. ABBOTT.

PART X

The Development of the Education of the African in Relation to Western Contact

CHAPTER ONE

The Native as an Educator

Is there a Native Education?

THE question whether the native of Africa had, previous to his contact with the European, anything approaching a conception or even a practice of education is one that has not yet been adequately discussed by educationists, much less by anthropologists who are specially equipped to consider the matter. They have hardly even considered whether the question is worth asking.

It has been very different in the sphere of politics. Those who are engaged in the work of governing the backward races of Africa in the modern spirit of trusteeship would probably agree that the work of the anthropologist is, if not essential, at least helpful to them in solving many problems of administration. Even the most conservative or sceptical would surely admit that the study of the reactions of backward peoples to European influences is valuable, in so far as it enables those who are attempting to guide native peoples along the line of development to see the most secure path of advance which in the distant future may enable them to stand by themselves. Disintegration of life there must be, but it may be possible with the specialist knowledge of the anthropologist to lessen the dangers of such disintegration. Only thus shall we secure some measure of integration of the old customs and the new contacts. But before we can lessen such dangers we must have some adequate knowledge of what the conditions were before we came to establish the contacts.

Political Education as Adaptation

The constant temptation in the past has been for the European to regard the native as a *tabula rasa* on which may be written the rules of a new system of civilisation. Such an attitude was certainly pardonable : we had so much to offer and could at first sight see so little fitted to survive. It is difficult not to have some sympathy with the view that " the doubt whether it is worth while attempting to adapt primitive usages, often the same which were practised in a bygone age and have long since been discarded by the most civilised nations of the world, merits more attention ; particularly when it is

felt by those who have tried for years with but indifferent success to preserve that which history indicates is doomed to decay." [1]

It is very doubtful whether the view here quoted holds the field in the political sphere. Miss Margery Perham has described Indirect Rule as a system by which the tutelary power recognises existing African societies and assists them to adapt themselves to functions of local government.[2] Sir Donald Cameron says that indirect administration is designed to adapt for the purpose of local government the tribal institutions which the native peoples have evolved for themselves, so that the latter may develop in a constitutional manner from their own past.[3] Miss Perham has rightly said of Nigeria that we are forced to recognise the dominant part played by the evolutionary and educational purpose of its Government.[4]

Is Educational Adaptation Possible?

If, then, the dominant purpose of the enlightened Colonial Government of to-day is education in the political sphere, the relevant question poses itself to what extent have these evolutionary and educational purposes been made use of in the general and social improvement of the people which it is the aim of education to secure.

Clearly, if we are to answer that question, if indeed we are to regard the question as of practical importance, we must consider whether there is any prospect of finding in the educational sphere any trace of an indigenous training. If we can find such traces, we shall have to consider whether they are of such value that they may be adapted and developed so that the dangers of the disintegrative processes which appear to be unavoidably associated with the Western educational contacts may be reduced to a minimum.

The Failure of the Anthropologist

It would be generally agreed that there is value in the study of traditional native cultures, even if the only result of such study is to enable us to explain the changes brought about by European contact. It is curious that anthropologists appear to have been largely remiss in studying, or at any rate recording that part of native culture which consists in the transmission of beliefs, customs and aptitudes from one generation to another. It has been well said that the necessity for educating each generation in the ways of thinking and behaving which have maintained the society in the past and which, it is believed, will maintain it in the future, is one of the heaviest responsibilities which faces primitive peoples, for in the absence of

[1] E. S. B. Tagart, *Africa*, vol. iv, 1, page 64.
[2] "Some Problems of Indirect Rule in Africa," *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, May 1934.
[3] *Principles of Native Administration and their Application* (Lagos, 1934).
[4] *Native Administration in Nigeria*, page 302 (Oxford, 1937).

written records, it has to be done entirely through direct training.[1]

As Mr. Driberg points out: " One would have expected that since education is one of the dominant factors in modern problems of contact and colonial administration, indigenous systems of education would have received even more than adequate treatment. That would have been a reasonable expectation, as it is not much use debating whether this or that system of education is better for natives till we have discovered whether or not they have one of their own more suited to their requirements. . . . It is the more unfortunate therefore that anthropology has been so singularly remiss." [2]

The Failure of the Educationist

It is not only the anthropologist who has been remiss—the educationist, whether Missionary or Government official, has been prone to disregard entirely the methods of training in use among the people he is hoping to educate. As Dr. Edwin Smith points out in his essay, *Indigenous Education in Africa*, Dr. Loram dismissed the previous experience of the African in a sentence or two.[3]

Types of Indigenous Training

The fact appears to be that many writers, both anthropologists and missionary educators, seem to have concentrated their attention on the instruction given in the initiation schools and have regarded these schools as being practically the only formal education, or at least the most important education given to the native boy and girl. That the transition from boyhood and girlhood to adult life is of importance is unquestionable, but the failure to recognise the importance of the education which was given in early childhood is somewhat analogous to regarding the matriculation or the school certificate course as a beginning and end of Western education.

The passage quoted above from Mr. Driberg's *At Home with the Savage* shows that he at least realised the inadequacy of such a treatment. Mr. Stayt, too, in his description of the Bavenda, appears to recognise the importance of the indigenous training of the tribe, for he devotes much space to the upbringing of the native child.

Dr. Smith, in the essay referred to above, mentions particularly the *Thondo* School. But it is at least worthy of consideration whether the most striking piece of educational work is not the *Mahundwani*—or miniature villages—in which the little boys and girls actually practise, under the eyes of their parents, a preparation for life as responsible men and women of their villages, with their little chiefs and miniature courts.[4]

[1] Mrs. A. W. Hoerule, *Africa*, vol. iv, 2, page 146.
[2] J. H. Driberg, *At Home with the Savage* (Routledge), page 232.
[3] *Essays presented to C. G. Seligman* (1934), page 319.
[4] H. A. Stayt, *The Bavenda* (Ch. lx).

Other examples of something approaching a definitely planned educational work are the Vagosi training in Kavirondo, referred to by Professor Thurnwald,[1] and the training of the Chagga, described by Mr. Raum in the article mentioned by Professor Malinowski in a recent contribution to the *International Review of Missions*.[2] With reference to the Vagosi training, it is sufficient to note that the rules which govern this training, which the writer has seen in operation, might well have formed the basis of Lord Baden-Powell's Scout Law.[3] Mr. Raum in his article has attempted, not merely to describe the Chagga system of training which Professor Thurnwald would call the use of concrete methods of teaching aptitudes and of training character, but also to show the relations between these concrete methods and the philosophy of native life. That philosophy of life may for the Chagga be an unconscious philosophy, but it is none the less real.[4]

But the instances of enquiry into the indigenous training of the African are lamentably few. An examination of Torday's descriptive sociology will reveal how little is apparently known of the African's childhood and education, or at any rate how little it is recognised that the education of the African, prior to the coming of the European, is worth studying.

Enough has been said to show that it is only of very recent years that any very real effort has been made to consider the value of what Professor Malinowski calls the slogan, " An African education for the African." [5]

The Malangali Experiment

The Tanganyika administration did indeed make an experiment in this direction. It has been described by Dr. Mumford, who was the officer responsible for the organisation and the control of the Malangali School. The educational policy underlying the Malangali experiment was based in part on the principle that the school should be built on native tradition, and continuous with any system of training youths which existed prior to the advent of the European.[6] Unhappily the experiment came to an untimely end. It is indeed possible that it might have taught us Europeans some most useful lessons, though it may well be that the experiment was bound to fail, for it aimed at combining the methods of the African as understood by the European, and as interpreted to him by the African with the organisation and administration of the European. That might well have proved impossible. None the less, it is a pity that financial exigencies and administrative changes made it impossible to give it a thorough trial.

[1] R. C. Thurnwald, *Black and White in East Africa*, page 236.
[2] *International Review of Missions*, October 1936.
[3] Compare Edwin Smith, *op. cit.*, page 320.
[4] I am indebted to Mr. Raum for permission to refer to this article.
[5] *Op. cit.*
[6] *Africa*, vol. iii, 3, page 265.

The Native Languages

A word must surely be said about the linguistic training of the African. To take only the example of the Bantu languages, it is remarkable that, without the assistance of the material required for transmission by writing, the people using these languages should have evolved a speech not only highly inflected and of great linguistic interest, but of real value as a vehicle of communication owing to its clearness and suppleness. How were these languages evolved ? How did they reach their present form ? Fascinating but apparently insoluble problems ! Is it not a little humiliating to us Europeans who struggle with our books of grammar to consider that with the African, every story told to the children, every story learnt and repeated by them, almost every sentence must be a lesson in the practical use of the correct form of speech.

The Problem of Adaptation

In the concluding sentences of his essay, Dr. Edwin Smith claims that the fact does emerge that Africans do educate their children and that it is a genuine education that is given, and he adds that it becomes a problem of urgent importance how, while introducing the European system of schools, to conserve the very real values of the indigenous African system. That problem, he says, awaits solution.[1]

The Lessons of the Past

Two observations appear to be called for. In the first place, it will be agreed that in aiming at the social development of any group, the first essential is to study the life of the people whom it is proposed to help. The mistakes which have been made in the political field may be said to have justified the plea that the anthropologist is of real value to the political officer. But it is hardly open to question that the dangers of ignorance in the field of social development are every bit as great. One might almost hazard the conjecture that the failure to conserve the indigenous values lies at the root of a rapid disintegration which seems to many who are interested in the development of native peoples to be so discouraging and disastrous. That would probably be an exaggeration, but the failure is, at any rate, an important contributory factor.

The Attitude of the African

The second observation is that probably we are too late to remedy the omissions of the past. The African himself declines to accept the indigenous system of training as a foundation for his future education. His political development has proceeded, and is proceeding at such a pace that he would regard any suggestion in the educational sphere to build upon the old as tantamount to a refusal to grant him the benefits and opportunities of the purely Western

[1] *Op. cit.*, pages 333–4.

forms of training, to which he not unnaturally attributes the domination of the white.

It would hardly be an exaggeration to say that the African of to-day, particularly the educated African, does not recognise education except in its Western garb. He does not appear to realise that his early upbringing was the most formative part of his life. The truth of this may be illustrated by reference to the ten Africans whose lives are described by themselves in Miss Perham's *Ten Africans*. They make hardly any reference to their childhood or to their training in childhood. The only one who speaks of the influence of his early training is Ndansi Kumalo.[1]

Is Adaptation an Academic Question?

Whether the African in the past ever evolved a system of education or anything approaching a system of education which might have enabled him to overcome the social dangers arising from European contact may, in the light of what has just been said, appear to many to be an idle or, at the best, a purely academic question. Unhappily, there is force in such criticism, but not such great force as we are naturally disposed to think. If education embraces all the arts of life, then surely there is still some reason to believe that we may find something to adapt and to develop in the indigenous systems of training themselves. The example, on the social side, of the Vagosi given above is one. On the material side the most up-to-date agriculturist will probably admit that in some respects the agricultural methods of the African, apparently contrary to all European teaching and practice, do fit the circumstances and the conditions in which the African cultivates his crops. Is it not at least open to question whether the pastoral tribes have not in some cases evolved a system of cattle management which is worthy of commendation by even the most modern veterinary officer?

It is not the purpose of this section to attempt an answer to the question whether the opportunity of applying evolutionary methods is or is not irretrievably lost, but rather to point out how the Westerner has acted, and is acting, and what the reactions of the indigenous peoples have been, and are, to those methods.

H. S. SCOTT.

[1] M. Perham, *Ten Africans*, page 65.

CHAPTER TWO

Education by the European

I. The Field of Education

THE question what is the field covered by education in the life of the native appears to have been settled in the minds of many by a process of reasoning somewhat on the following lines. The education of the African was begun by, and still is, mainly in the hands of the Christian missionary. The purpose of the Christian missionary is to evangelise; therefore it follows that the education of the African as conceived by the missionary is solely to secure his conversion to Christianity. Those who argue on these lines may superficially, and possibly even historically, have some truth on their side, but it is reasonable, in the words of Dr. Oldham and Miss Gibson, to urge that this way of looking at things implies as radical a misunderstanding of the nature of religion as of the process of education. It assumes that Christianity is primarily knowledge and not, as it is in reality, a life.[1] These writers go on to point out that modern education has moved away entirely from the standpoint of thinking of a human being as a passive receptacle into which knowledge can be pumped. It rightly views him as a living organism continuously active, and growing through constant interaction with the world around him.

But we must not forget that we are discussing, not modern views of education, but the beginnings of the education of the African. Those who are a little unhappy about the education of the missionary in modern days would reply that they are not satisfied that the missionary educator has recognised sufficiently the changes which have taken place in regard to educational views.

One may well accept the statement that the aim of evangelism is not to win adherents to a particular set of beliefs, but to reveal to men their own existence, in order that they may find and realise their true selves.[2] The realisation of their true selves must surely mean, or at least include, the realisation of their relations to the society to which they belong. If one examines the history of missionary education, it is a little difficult to avoid the conclusion, that in the beginning of things, and perhaps up to very recent days, there has been a tendency to separate religious conversion to Christianity from the influence on the general life of the native produced by that conversion. By the general life is meant, of course, the life which the African leads in his African environment. It was inevitable that this should be so, for it was not to the African living

[1] J. H. Oldham and B. D. Gibson, *The Re-making of Man in Africa* (Oxford), page 20.

[2] *Op. cit.*, page 21.

in his own natural environment that the early missionary preached and offered education. For the life of the African as an African peasant or as a pastoralist was not the life he was leading when he was brought into contact with the earliest education of the missionaries. It might be possible to say that this statement is an unwarranted generalisation, but it is certainly true that the Hottentots, to whom the Moravians preached at the Cape, were no longer the nomadic pastoralists they had been before the coming of the European. Similarly, on the West Coast, the people to whom the early missionaries preached were already dis-orientated by European contact.

II. Slavery and Education

It was the character of that contact that was responsible for the direction taken by the education of the African. That contact was the contact of the master and the slave. We can trace the beginnings most easily in the United States of America. The development of negro education is described in *Race Relations*, by Drs. Weatherford and Johnson,[1] and may be briefly summarised. From quite early days the importing slave-owners, who were in the main religious people, took care that their servants were taught the Bible. They were not merely converted—they were taught to read the Bible. It was at the very beginning of the eighteenth century that the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel* was engaged in this evangelistic and educational work. As early as 1704 a school was opened in New York. The missionary of the Society in South Carolina was able, in 1705, to speak of great numbers who were able to read the Bible. Before the middle of the century it was even proposed to train slaves as teachers, after they had been purchased for that purpose. The extent and success of this education among the slaves is indicated by the reactionary legislation of most of the States, which forbade anyone to teach a slave to write. But that legislation was largely ineffective, for there is no doubt that it was disregarded by many slave-owners who believed not only in giving their slaves the religious advantages of Christianity but also in securing for themselves the profits of increased efficiency in service. The liberal white people of the South considered that the enactments forbidding the education of the negro were applicable, not to the southerner, who was interested in the improvement of slaves, but only to the mischievous abolitionist.[2]

Here was the beginning of an education of a vast mass of people, truly African by birth, who were so separated from their homes that there could be no question of relating the education given to them to anything in their life as originally lived. All that was in the minds of their owners, however kindly disposed they might be, was to make better men and women of them and better servants ; it was

[1] W. D. Weatherford, Ph.D., and Charles S. Johnson, Litt.D., *Race Relations* (Heath & Co., 1934).

[2] *Op. cit.*, page 352.

for this that they taught them the elements of reading, writing and counting, and in the case of women, housekeeping.

The Results of Emancipation

The Civil War marked the second stage of development. The slaves flocked to the Northern Army in large numbers. The need to keep them peacefully occupied was met by the institution of the school system, which provided, *inter alia*, for the acquisition of plantation lands on which crops were cultivated. It looks almost as if the training of a peasant population for the life which was to face them after the war was in the minds of those who laid these foundations. But it was early days to be thinking of the development of a peasant population on the land. None the less, the creation of the Freedmen's Bureau by Act of Congress in 1865 opened the way. Abandoned lands were seized, crops were planted and plans were made to push the establishment of the freed slaves economically and educationally. The urge towards something in the nature of higher education found expression in the early post-war days in the beginning of the Fisk University. In spite of that the first post-war stage clearly marked an emphasis on agricultural and mechanical arts. But the call of Booker Washington, speaking to his own people—" Cast down your bucket where you are, cast it down in making friends in every manly way of the people of all races by whom you are surrounded, cast it down in agriculture, in commerce, in domestic science, and in the professions"—did not find the same response in the heart of the negro that it did with the southern white. The negro thought he was being urged to abandon the idea that negroes could attain intellectual leadership.

It was not until the twentieth century opened that the environmental aspect, especially of rural education, began to hold the field. To this period belong such efforts as the Penn School, and the inspiration of Miss Jeanes.[1]

The Problem in Africa

Much may undoubtedly be learnt from an examination of the development of negro education in the United States, but we must not forget that the problem of the African in his own Continent is fundamentally different. In America we have the sight of a vast alien population which the European is attempting, perhaps not to assimilate but at least to adjust himself to, so that the problems of education are inevitably examined and the solutions proposed are inevitably tested by the probable effect which they will have upon the relations between black and white. Though this may in a special sense be true in South Africa, where the preponderance of the African population over European emphasises all the difficulties of adjustment, it does not apply throughout Africa generally. The difference is well put by Dr. Oldham and Miss Gibson in a quotation

[1] Oldham and Gibson, *op. cit.*, page 82.

which they make: "In Africa, education has to deal with communities which have their own languages, traditions and social institutions—a distinctive national culture which it is a main task of education to help them to foster and develop. It has also to train pupils who in large parts of the Continent have before them a political future, and must be educated for leadership in national institutions and for responsibility in the government of their own people.[1]

Educations and Missions

The early history of the African education is inextricably interwoven with the history of Christian missions. It might even be said that educational development is synonymous with missionary success. The general criticism has been made that missions consider education secondary and ancillary to evangelisation, and that the primary end pursued by missionaries is evangelisation and that nothing authorises them to neglect it for other works.[2] Admittedly this indicates the general view of many who have watched the development of education in the last forty years. It has been pointed out above that this criticism may well be based on a false view of education, but it is at least questionable whether those responsible for the development of missionary work have not themselves been partly responsible for the prevalence of this false view. We need not at this stage discuss the questions whether the missionary ought, or ought not, to have a special interest in the school apart from his evangelical work or whether we are to accept Professor Huxley's view that the principle of secular education has not yet found much foothold in Africa, and that secular education is a principle meaning that education has value in itself, and is itself a sacred task in which specifically religious education has only a minor rôle to play. It may be that Professor Huxley would include in that sacred task the moral and possibly even the spiritual aspect of education which he seems almost to belittle.[3] We are at present concerned solely with the facts. The facts are that Colonial Governments have in the past tended to regard education as a function of the school, and by school they have meant, at least until relatively recently, a place in which instruction is given in certain branches of knowledge. That was not the view of the British Government as early as 1847, as will appear below, but as long as Colonial Governments have held this view it must be admitted that they are not adversely criticising missions for regarding school instruction as ancillary to evangelisation.

The Missions and Changing Views of Education

Views in regard to the purpose and meaning of education have changed and are constantly changing. It is the aim of this section

[1] Elder's *West African Review*, August 1931, quoted by Oldham and Gibson, *op. cit.*, page 60.
[2] Oldham and Gibson, *op. cit.*, page 19.
[3] J. Huxley, *African Review* (London, 1931), page 327.

to elucidate to what extent the views and practice of those responsible for the instruction (we will not call it education) of the African have changed with the years, since the first missionaries undertook the salvation of the African.

In the YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION for 1937 an attempt was made to trace the recent growth of educational policy in the British Colonial Empire, as expressed in the various memoranda of the Advisory Committee on Education. It may be worth recalling that the stimulus to formulate a policy came, not from those responsible for the administration of the Empire, but from the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland.[1] The missionaries were clear as to their share in the responsibility for educating the African ; that, after all, is what anyone who has even the most superficial knowledge of missionary work in Africa would have expected.

The Early Problem and Slavery

The problems which faced the early missionaries and the early administrators differed from those of the twentieth century, not merely in degree, but in kind, particularly in West Africa. The same would be true of Central Africa, save in so far as missionary work began much later there. The whole contact between European and African was coloured by the continuance of slavery and slave-raiding in Africa long after 1807. The continuance of the overseas slave trade to Brazil and to Cuba maintained the very conditions which it had been the aim of the philanthropist to destroy. There could be no hope of educating the African as a freeman, as long as these conditions persisted, for there could be no hope of making effective contacts with the vast bulk of the population whilst slave-raiding went on. The only durable contacts made by the missionary were in the nature of things either with the relatively small number of Africans who inhabited the country close round the administrative stations, or with those who took refuge in the missionary institutions. The population of Sierra Leone, for example, in no way represented (does it even now ?) the great African indigenous population.

Buxton was indubitably right in his assertion that there was no hope of civilising Africa except by penetration and the resulting intercourse on the basis of freedom. He was prepared to fight the slave trade of the Spaniards, the Brazilians and the Portuguese by increasing the naval forces of Great Britain, and he urged at the same time the making of treaties with native chiefs of the Interior to relinquish the slave trade and to secure grants of land for cultivation.[2]

He went further when he said : " The real remedy, the true ransom for Africa, will be found in her fertile soil." While he

[1] YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION for 1937, page 413.

[2] Charles Buxton, *Memoirs of Sir Thomas Fowle Buxton* (J. Murray, 1849), page 448.

stressed the importance of protecting and encouraging legitimate commerce he emphasised with equal earnestness the necessity for raising the native character by imparting Christian instruction. "Let missionaries and schoolmasters, the plough and the spade, go together." It was for this that he urged the agricultural, commercial and missionary settlements which it was the purpose of the ill-fated expedition of 1841 to secure.

It is noteworthy that even at this early date the danger of mixing philanthropy and trade was recognised. The fear of that danger appears again and again in the history of missions; the principle involved is discussed later on. It is only necessary at this juncture to indicate one effect of the policy. One cannot but respect the reasons which led to the separate organisations of the *African Civilisation Society* and the *Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade*, but the separation of the exclusively philanthropic and the commercial or industrial in the sphere of native development may perhaps account, in part at least, for the later division of educational aims into what are really artificial compartments. The critics of missionary education seem sometimes to want to have it both ways. If the missionary has recognised that part of his duty has been to develop the African in every aspect of his life, both material and spiritual, the cry has gone up that the missionary is engaged in farming or in trading, and that he should stick to his own business of evangelisation, while those who have sought only to bring spiritual enlightenment are charged with neglecting material needs.

Buxton was before his time, and his schemes failed to materialise. The Hinterland was still closed, so the missions found themselves forced to continue the task of doing what they could for a mass of people, the great bulk of whom we would in these days describe as de-tribalised. The outlook of the people was to a purely European development. There could be no thought of uplifting an uncivilised people living in their natural environment. In that respect conditions were not dissimilar from those of the freed slaves in the United States after the Civil War.

III. Education after Emancipation

(a) The West Indies

The British Government continued to show its interest in the welfare of the African after emancipation by what must be considered in those days liberal grants for education. In 1835 and 1836, £25,000 was voted, and in 1837 the sum provided rose to £30,000.[1] The grant continued unreduced until 1842, in which year it was lessened by one-fifth; it was reduced each year until extinguished four years later. The grant was divided among various bodies interested in education. The names of these bodies are worth recording. They were the *Church Missionary Society*, the *Society for*

[1] Colonial Papers (House of Commons, 1837–8).

the Propagation of the Gospel, the *Wesleyan Missionary Society*, the *Baptist Missionary Society*, the *Ladies' Negro Education Society*, the *London Missionary Society*, the *Moravian Mission*, the *Scottish Missionary Society*, the *Mico Charity* and the *British and Foreign School Society*. The grants were distributed not only to the schools in the West Indies, where the bulk of the freed slaves were, but even to places as far away as Mauritius. The Government had the West Indian schools inspected to see that the grants were properly expended. The inspection reports of C. J. Latrobe, the officer appointed, revealed that the educational aims were directed to assist what we can only describe as black Europeans, as indeed the conditions of the West Indians seemed to the various societies to justify. The effect in Jamaica is described in the account of education in Jamaica, which was compiled by Inspector Savage and sent to the Secretary of State in 1877.[1] Savage says of this period in Jamaica that in the years 1838–44 (the period of the British grant) the emancipated people found that freedom conferred the privilege of education : the lower classes had been excluded by the upper classes previously ; hitherto the planters and employers of the negro had thrown every obstacle in the way of enlightening the masses. But after emancipation, in spite of the Government's grants and the efforts of the Mico Charity and the religious societies, the demand was far greater than could be coped with, and there were many worthless shams ; it became apparent that the schools were largely inefficient and enthusiasm waned. It was evident that the schools had done little for the children. The result was waning attendances, increasing inefficiency and decreasing interest.

The grants of the local legislature were paid without reference to the reports of the inspectors. The planters, even in this period, continued to exclude the children of the peasantry. Their control in the legislature enabled them to limit the amounts available ; one of the inspectors, writing of the twenty years after the Emancipation, says that there are now many districts in which there are no schools and no religious teaching, and where the people are only one remove from barbarism.[2] That this serious position was recognised is apparent from the reports of the governors. In 1846, the Governor of Jamaica states that the attempt to promote the interests of general education in the colony by legislation or other means is attended with considerable difficulty. He speaks of the establishment of a Board of Education and forwards its first report. He mentions the appointment of an inspector, " whose visits and reports will, it may be hoped, encourage zealous and conscientious teachers, rouse the indolent to exertion and improve the general character of the education given in the schools frequented by the peasantry." Perhaps the most arresting passage of his report is that " the Board have taken steps for the establishment of a normal

[1] John A. Savage, *Short Historical Sketch of Education in Jamaica*, 1877, C.O. Bound in Blue Book Reports, 1875–7.

[2] Savage, *op. cit.*

school of industry to encourage the study of science and practice of agriculture. It must not be forgotten that a few years ago, according to the popular creed of these colonies, the freedman could not without degradation engage in field labour." [1] That was a significant result of the tradition of slavery. Freedom meant freedom, not only of person, but freedom from the servile work of cultivating the soil for masters. Even cultivating the soil for oneself had the taint of slavery. If education meant for the negro that he was to be secure from the taint of slavery, it followed that he was to be secure from the cultivation of the soil. The line of argument which we hear first proclaimed in Jamaica was heard throughout the Continent for many years to come. If these Africans in their natural environment were agriculturists, slavery had seemed completely successful as a disintegrating process.

(b) The West Coast

If this was the position in the West Indies, it was no better in the Continent itself, where the history of the efforts of the missionary workers is largely a long list of disappointments and of heroic deaths. At the time that Buxton was urging the need to attack the slave trade at its source by opening up the country, the Wesleyan Mission on the West Coast had already put in hand a scheme for promoting the civilisation of the Christian Fulas. A piece of land of 600 acres had been granted for cultivation, implements were purchased, and an agriculturist was selected to undertake the work. The plans of the Society had the specific approval of the Secretary of State. The agriculturist never reached his post. His successor was only able to stay on the Gambia for four months, and the scheme failed.[2]

None the less, the idea persisted that something on these lines was needed. The Select Committee of the House of Commons, which sat in 1842, reported that in their view the liberated Africans of Sierra Leone [3] did not owe much to Government beyond :

(*a*) Rescue from the slave ships and emancipation from a future of slavery.

(*b*) Temporary sustenance.

(*c*) Being placed within the reach of missionary influence.

[1] *Blue Book Report*, 1845 (Despatch 52 of 1846).

[2] W. Fox, *A Brief History of the Wesleyan Missions on the Western Coast of Africa*, pages 445 and 497 (London, 1850).

[3] In order to make clear the references made to the West Coast dependencies, the changes in the arrangements for administration may be recorded :

1821. Gold Coast under Sierra Leone.
1828. Gold Coast administered by Committee of London merchants.
1843. Gold Coast under Sierra Leone.
1850. Gold Coast separated from Sierra Leone.
1866. Gold Coast under Sierra Leone.
1874. Sierra Leone and Gambia together ; Gold Coast and Lagos together.
1886. Gold Coast separate ; Lagos separate.
1888. Gambia separate.
1906. Lagos and Southern Nigeria united.

The Committee praised the work of the Church Missionary Society and of the Wesleyans, but went on to say: "A few ill-supported schools and one chaplain is all that has been contributed to the religious and moral improvement of those of whom it has undertaken a protection, and their social improvement has been unattempted. No model farm has been established, no instruction has been afforded. . . . The Government ought to have established a model farm or in some way communicated agricultural knowledge, and we would recommend that it should be attempted even now." [1]

Taking a general view of the condition of the freed peoples in West Africa, the Select Committee concluded that really the best course was to move the whole population to the West Indies. That such a recommendation should be made is sufficient indication that the settlements of the West Coast were regarded as little related to the great population of the Hinterland.

The Governor of the Gold Coast in 1846 again comments [2] on the unsatisfactory condition. He urges the establishment of model schools for the instruction and training of boys in the knowledge of various mechanical arts; he points out that at present there is no employment for educated boys except as teachers in schools and clerks in Government and mercantile establishments, and says: "Hence the results of education, pleasing as they may be, are not so healthy, vigorous and permanent as they would be if associated with various branches of useful mechanical knowledge." While he urges this development, he makes no suggestion as to the employment of boys so trained; it is not clear that under mechanical knowledge he includes the tilling of the soil.

It was evident then that there was general dissatisfaction at a lack of definite purpose in the work done in the schools. The philanthropic movement which in the full tide of emancipation in 1833 had caused the Government to spend, and spend liberally, in grants for the education of the emancipated people almost appeared to lack clarity of vision and certainly lacked guidance in defining the aims of education. It seemed clear by the end of the half-century that it was not enough to make grants, and that it was not enough to send an inspector to see that the grants were properly expended. That this, at any rate, was the view of the Government seems evident from the action taken at the beginning of 1847.

The Privy Council Memorandum

(i) *Educational Aims*

Early in 1847 the Privy Council Office sent to the Colonial Office a document which is described as "a short and simple account of the mode in which the Committee of the Council on Education considers that industrial schools for the coloured races may be

[1] Select Committee of 1842 on West Coast of Africa.
[2] Report on Colony, 1846, Despatch 33, 1847.

conducted in the Colonies and to render the labour of the children available towards meeting some part of the expenses of their education." [1] This document was clearly the first considered statement of the British Government on educational policy among the Africans, and as such it should rank in importance in its day with the Command Paper of 1925. The Memorandum begins by excluding any description of method of intellectual instruction and minute details of organisation. The reasons given for this omission are that it would be presumptuous to attempt to describe those varieties in discipline which might be suggested by a better knowledge of the peculiarities of a race which readily abandons itself to excitement and perhaps needs amusements which would seem unsuitable for a peasantry of a civilised community.

While endeavouring to suggest the mode by which the labour of negro children may be mingled with instruction fitted to develop their intelligence, it would, in the Committee's view, be advantageous to know more of the details of Colonial culture and of the peculiarities of household life in this class and thus to descend from the general description into a closer adaptation of the plans of the school to the wants of the coloured races. This, however, the Committee says cannot now be attempted. Whatever we may think of the phrasing of this paragraph and of the attitude of mind revealed, we must give credit to the Committee for having indicated that the work of education should be closely related to the conditions of life.

Having emphasised the mutual dependence of moral and physical training, of intellectual and industrial teaching, and of religious education and instruction in the practical duties of life, which in the view of the Committee are all comprehended in Christian civilisation, the Committee turns to the practical question of the instruction to be imparted.

It is emphasised that in the opinion of the Committee too sanguine a view has been taken of the amount of instruction which may be hoped to be imparted, taking into account the means at the disposal of the Colonial Legislatures. Some time must elapse before the limits assigned to such instruction can be reached ; less, however, could not be regarded as a transforming agency, by which the negro could be led within a generation materially to improve his habits. The Committee goes on to say: " If we would have him rest satisfied with the meagre subsistence and privation of comfort consequent on his habits of listless contentment with the almost spontaneous gifts of a tropical climate, a less efficient system may be adopted ; but if the native labour of the West Indian Colonies is to be made generally available for the cultivation of the soil by a settled and industrious peasantry, no agent can be so surely depended upon as the influence of a system of combined intellectual and industrial instruction carried to a higher degree of efficiency than any example which now exists in the Colonies."

[1] Colonial Office Library, *Miscellaneous Pamphlets*, vol. i, No. 1.

The next point made is that a wise Colonial Government will neglect no means which may lead to the creation of a native middle class, and thus completing the "institutions" of freedom by rearing a body of men interested in the protection of property, and with intelligence enough to take part in that humble machinery of local affairs which ministers to social order. Clearly the Committee is thinking of the special conditions of the West Indies, but there seems to be a curious recognition of the value of education and development in administration. Perhaps it may be fanciful to find in the Privy Council's ideas of a native middle class the germs of the idea of indirect administration ?

(ii) *Practical Suggestions*

The objects of education for coloured races of the Colonial Dependencies and the means by which those objects are to be attained comprise in the view of the Committee the following :

(i) To inculcate the principles and promote the influences of Christianity by such instruction as can be given in elementary schools.

(ii) To accustom the children of these races to habits of self-control and moral discipline.

(iii) To diffuse a grammatical knowledge of the English language as the most important agent of civilisation.

(iv) To make the school the means of improving the condition of the peasantry by teaching them how health may be preserved by a proper diet, cleanliness, ventilation and clothing, and by the structure of their dwellings.

(v) To give a practical training in household economy and in the cultivation of the cottage garden as well as in those common handicrafts by which a labourer may improve his domestic comfort.

(vi) To communicate such a knowledge of writing and arithmetic, and of their application to his wants and duties, as may enable a peasant to economise his means, and give the small farmer the power to enter into calculations and agreements.

(vii) Improved agriculture is required to replace the system of exhausting the virgin soils, and then leaving to natural influences alone the work of reparation. The education of the coloured races would, therefore, not be complete for the children of small farmers, unless it included this object.

(viii) Lesson-books should teach the mutual interests of the mother country and her dependencies, the rational basis of this connection and the domestic and social duties of the coloured races.

(ix) Lesson books should also set forth simply the relation of wages, capital and labour, and the influence of local and general government on personal security, independence and order.

These suggestions to define the objects of the schools are comprehensive enough, in all conscience, and it is not surprising that a caveat was entered that some time must elapse before they could be accomplished. One might indeed question whether we have succeeded in achieving very many of them after ninety years.

(iii) *Types of Institutions*

The types of institution suggested to carry out this programme were four in number :

(i) The elementary school.
(ii) Day schools of industry.
(iii) Model farm schools.
(iv) Normal schools.

The memorandum goes into considerable detail in suggesting the organisation of the day school of industry. The chief features were as follows : the boys were to be divided into working parties for gardening and a model cottage was to be used, especially in ex-slave areas ; this cottage should be erected so that pupils might learn how to make healthy cottages. The girls were to do the washing for the school as well as the cooking and the mending. The aim was to give habits of steady industry leading to a settled and thriving peasantry which should develop in time to a native middle class. It was urged that the children should be apprenticed at 13 and remain indentured until 19. They were not to receive any payment, but might receive some of the garden produce. Their services could also be used as apprentice teachers to give instruction.

The model farm school differed from the day school mainly in that it was definitely a boarding establishment. Pupils would be expected to attend for four years up to the age of 18 or 19. Apprenticeship would not be demanded.

The normal school for training masters for the schools enumerated above should have a model day school attached to it for practising purposes. Special emphasis was laid on character and discipline. Among the subjects to be taught, which comprised the usual subjects of a teacher's training institution, the following may be specially enumerated :

(i) Biblical instruction and the evidences of Christianity.
(ii) Chemistry and its application to agriculture.
(iii) Theory of natural phenomena in their relation to agriculture.
(iv) Land surveying and practical mensuration.
(v) Theory and practice of agriculture and gardening.
(vi) The management of farm stock, including the treatment of disease.

(iv) *Summary of Aims*

Here, then, was the policy of the British Government. It aimed at maintaining the influence of missionary teaching, that is clear from the emphasis laid on religious instruction; it aimed at the development of character as the essence of education; in the social and economic sphere it aimed at securing better conditions of life and the development of the African as a peasant on the land. The means by which these aims were to be realised may seem to us to-day inadequate. It may be, too, that the authors failed to realise the force of their own reference to the inadequacy of the means at the disposal of the Colonial Governments. It was one thing to define aims and to suggest machinery for realising those aims; it was a very different thing to find the machinery, not merely in money—but in personnel—nor does it appear that the Colonial Office itself took steps to secure the implementing of the policy. That at least appears to be a fair deduction from the history of the second half of the century. Some of the reasons for the failure of the policy may appear from what is said below as to the conditions which prevailed in the third quarter of the century. It may surely be said in conclusion that it is sad to think that eighty years ago there was actually in circulation a document which might and ought to have inspired those who were responsible for the administration of the Empire to do something which was, in effect, begun half a century later.

Reception of the Scheme on the West Coast

Though it was clear that the memorandum which has been summarised above was drawn up with an eye to the conditions prevailing in the West Indies, the Colonial Office evidently regarded it as of a more general application. It was certainly distributed in other colonies. The Governor of Sierra Leone [1] in speaking of the position at this time says that he does not anticipate any alteration in the existing system for some time to come, or that it will assume a more industrial character. The clergymen engaged in the education agree as to the expediency of the change, and the advantage to be derived from the adoption of a practical industrial education more suited to the wants and spheres of life of the scholars than the present system. "But," he adds, "though advocating the principle, none as yet have begun to put it into practice."

As regards the proposals themselves, he says, "the brief practical suggestions for the establishing and conducting of normal and industrial schools for the education of the coloured inhabitants of H.M.'s Colonies which have lately been received have been widely circulated amongst all classes of the inhabitants, and I am in great hopes that the missionaries and other influential members of the community may be led by the suggestions therein contained to make an attempt towards establishing a system which is so eminently calculated to work beneficially for the scholars themselves."

[1] Report for 1846, Despatch No. 32 of 1847.

That the Governor was really interested in education and did want to get something done was evident, not only from his personal expenditure on school prizes, but also from his request that permission be given to use Government funds to encourage proficiency in some mechanical art or in husbandry. "If that is done," he says, "possibly missionaries will take up the idea of establishing industrial schools." He sees no hope of progress unless the boys are interested in agriculture and the mechanical arts and the girls in the usual social and domestic acquirements.

Summary of the First Half of the Nineteenth Century

Sufficient has been said of the first half of the century to summarise what had taken place. The movement for the emancipation of the slaves in England and then in the Colonies, and the subsequent demand for the suppression of the slave trade, were accompanied by a tremendous urge for the enlightenment of those who had lived in the darkness of slavery, and many of whom were still living in its shadow. The urge was an expression of the feeling in England, that we must make Christians of those people, in whose oppression we had so long shared. To that succeeded the recognition that it was not only evangelisation that was required, but some system of instruction which would make the lives of the people more practically useful by giving them opportunities of employment. At the same time the direction of that employment was clerical rather than manual. This was naturally so : the people for whom the missionaries were labouring were not in the main African peasants, but the children of slaves, to whom the life of the peasant meant the life of a slave on a plantation. The time had not yet arrived when those responsible for the administration of the Colonies and for the education of the people could look to the really indigenous native peoples as the objects of their care. Moreover, the conditions of life and the climate were such that no European could hope to survive long enough to see the fruits of his work. It was hardly surprising that little was done.

The educational work of the half-century is brutally summed up by a later inspector of the West Coast, who says that up to 1868 the whole of the educational systems of the Colony were purely missionary, the imparting of Christian dogmas forming the chief aim and end of all the work. In the early times the Bible, catechisms, hymn-books, etc., seem to have been the chief textbooks. Reading, writing and spelling seem to have been nearly all taught in a purely scriptural connection. The glibness of utterance in ordinary life, in the streets, during the most ordinary occupations, all these seem to prove that the Bible was made too cheap. Moral influence, or rather training, was expected to result as a matter of course from the mechanical training of Scripture. But from 1840 a new era was inaugurated when secular school books came into use. Schools came to be under fairly good masters, comparatively speaking.[1]

[1] C.O. 7860, *Sierra Leone Reports on Elementary Schools*, 1885, para. 51.

We need not accept this summary as a correct or adequate description of all that had been done or was being done, but it is probably sufficiently near the truth to justify the sense of helplessness, almost of despair, that marks many of the Governors' reports of the first half of the century.

The Second Half of the Century

The third quarter of the century marked the lowest depth of discouragement and also the beginnings of the improvement which was the reaction from that feeling of despair.

The development of the Basel Mission's work did something to strike a new note. The missionaries went inland from Lagos and tried to improve the condition of the indigenous people by combining evangelisation with instruction, not merely in European trades, such as those of the builder and the bootmaker, but also in the development of the agricultural possibilities of people who were already living on the land. Generally speaking, however, there was little to cause satisfaction. The position of the whole of the West Coast is well summed up by the Governor in 1871.[1] He points out that though it can be truly said that one of the great objects for which the British settlements were maintained had been accomplished and that the oceanic slave trade was entirely gone, African slavery as a home trade continued to exist. He points out that it is to slave labour that we owe our flourishing commerce, and that the whole of the produce from Lagos and the Gold Coast and Gambia is the result of slave labour. Even in the case of Sierra Leone, it is the labour of domestic slaves which produces nearly the whole of the exports. As regards imports, the Governor states that the European produce is carried from the coast into the interior by slaves, and he estimates the value of the produce so conveyed as more than £1,250,000. He quotes Livingstone to show that the advance in trade, civilisation and luxury makes the position of the slave worse. He is particularly trenchant on the subject of education, for he says that one of the avowed objects of establishing the western settlements was to train the natives so as to render them capable of self-government. He goes on to refer to the report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons of 1865, which laid it down that the object of our policy should be to encourage in the natives the exercise of those qualities which may render it possible, more and more, to transfer to them the administration of all the governments with a view to our ultimate withdrawal from them, all except, probably, Sierra Leone.

Native Criticism of the Missionary

That policy, the Governor points out, can only be established if the safe foundation of African home governments is built up, and that foundation must be a comprehensive system of public instruc-

[1] *Blue Book Report*, 1871.

tion. He quotes his own predecessor and the education officers in support of the assertion that education had been most inadequately provided for. One cause of the failure he specifically mentions. He says that at Lagos and at Cape Coast the native chiefs have complained. One of them, Docemo, complained that he sent his son to school, but had to withdraw him because the teachers warned the boy that his father's customs were sinful, and that he should assist in rooting out his father's heathen customs. Unfortunately, says the Governor, this attitude of the missionaries appears to have been general. In every English school, it was alleged, the religion and customs of the people were specially discouraged. It is interesting to speculate whether this attitude towards Docemo's son was the beginning of the disagreement between the house of Docemo and the Colonial Government which lasted for over fifty years.[1]

Development of Trade and Industrial Training

But the picture was not altogether gloomy, since it is possible to record the development of cotton and of the progress of the oil industry. The Governor points out that the exports of the latter product amounted in 1871 to £400,000. There was evidently adequate incentive to encourage habits of industry and enterprise among the people. The Governor admits the development of blacksmith's work, and speaks favourably of the instruction at Elmina of masons, carpenters and blacksmiths, where the houses are built of stone in contrast with the mud dwellings at Cape Coast eight miles away. Of the Basel Mission he says that they are giving technical instruction in their schools, but that their zeal has as yet made no impression beyond a very limited area.

The Beginnings of Government Educational Administration

It was in 1868 that the first active steps were taken to secure the services of government officers who were to devote their attention to education. A special officer was sent out to enquire into the state of education in Sierra Leone, and the result of his visit was the appointment of a Director of Education, T. H. Popplestone, of whom one of his successors said, that no more suitable man could have been appointed.[2] Until Popplestone's death in 1873, education was supported regularly and systematically. He was succeeded by inspectors who succumbed to the climate in a few months, and matters fell into a bad way. No examinations took place, grants were, for a time, made on averages furnished by the school managers. In 1877, all educational grants were stopped and the schools fell off considerably. About this time the Rev. Metcalf Sumter was appointed as Inspector of Schools for the whole of West Africa. He remained in service until his death in 1892. Sumter had

[1] Perham, *op. cit.*, pages 12 and 264.
[2] *Sierra Leone Reports on Elementary Schools*, C.O. 7860.

arrived in Sierra Leone as principal of Fourah Bay College, in which capacity he continued until 1882, though he acted as Director during part of 1875 and 1876.

The Education Ordinances

The appointment of Sumter was marked by the passing of the first education ordinances on the West Coast. The Sierra Leone ordinance was passed in 1881, and the Gold Coast ordinance in 1882. Difficulties arose at the Gold Coast, and an amending ordinance had to be enacted before the original ordinance was applied. The ordinances were in many respects similar. Provision was made for a Board of Education, consisting of the Governor and members of the Executive Council, together with additional members nominated by the Governor. In the Gold Coast, provision was also made for the creation of local boards. Two classes of primary schools were recognised: (i) those established and maintained by Government, and (ii) assisted schools established by private persons to which aid might be contributed from public funds.

Industrial Schools and Training Institutions

Special provision was made in the ordinances for industrial schools, both day and boarding, so that it looked as if the recommendations of the Privy Council made in 1847 were going to bear fruit at last. But the ordinances were extremely cautious in their definition of industrial schools. They were defined as schools in which all the pupils devote not less than two hours of every school day to manual labour on a regular and approved system. It was laid down that manual labour should be understood to mean any kind of handicraft, manufacturing process or agricultural work.

As regards the training of teachers, it was laid down that grants could be made to training institutions, in which a course of training for two years was given.

Conditions under the Ordinances

The reports made by Sumter under these ordinances are still available, and though the details in regard to individual schools are as dull as such detailed reports might be expected to be, the general covering reports on the conditions of the various Colonies are interesting and illuminating. Sumter certainly did not hesitate to express himself with vigour, and even with violence. He spared no one, and it is evident that he was quite ready even to attack the Governments, secure in his position as Inspector of Schools for H.M. West African possessions, and not responsible to any one government.

In writing of the Gambia,[1] for example, he speaks almost with

[1] C.O. 8234.

bitterness, and evidently regards the missions as doing very little effective work. He urges that in dealing with heathens, and especially Muhammadans, facts should be dealt with as facts, and a spade should be termed a spade : no ideal of a missionary society's creation will raise or civilise any race. Dealing with them must, in his view, be through a practical medium with the object in the first place of material improvement. It is the defect in the estimates formed of the end and aim of missionary work—this new appreciation of realities, which has rendered the progress of Christian civilisations lower than it might have been ; a merely sentimental ideal is the creation of a religiously enthusiastic brain, but not the product of rational appreciation of facts.

Missionary societies must, he insists, deal with the secular as well as the religious. Non-recognition of the secular may in the end induce, or cause, failure.

He says of industrial education that it has received but little attention at the hands of missionary societies, although it is most necessary to the well-being of the people and to their progressive development in the arts of civilisation. . . . If practical benefit to a people is intended " the saw, plane and spade should be associated with the Bible in the work of Christianising, which is nothing unless it is civilising any heathen nation or tribe."

He advocates improved methods of building, iron work, shoemaking and agriculture, as a means of humanising before Christianising the people. Improved methods of life would tend to predispose the heathen favourably towards the reception of Christian truth.

Writing about the schools in the Gold Coast in 1886,[1] the Inspector says that as far as boys are concerned it is only the Basel Mission who take up industrial work, though it is the most needed branch of education for the requirements of the Colony. " The prevailing vices of the Accras are too well known to need description ; idleness is certainly one of them, exercising a pernicious effect on a population for the most part mere loafers. . . . The Accras and the Ossûs are decidedly possessed of parts ; idleness and the fetish are two powers working in unison ; their natural abilities are rarely called into play. If any compulsory training is needed here, it is industrial." He commends the Christian boys' schools of the Basel Mission, where the pupils are compelled to work manually for eight to ten hours a week, besides planting yams and other crops for their own support. Similarly, he praises their work at Akropong. He compares the Wesleyans very unfavourably with the Basel Mission, saying that while the Wesleyans neglect altogether industrial training and oversight of the children out of school, only going in for the Bible in particular and such other secular books as may be thought necessary, the Basel Mission recognises the importance of industrial training as a humanising influence.

But it is not only the directly educational importance of industrial

[1] C.O. 8997.

work that he stresses. He says: " We have taken all we can from the country in the way of duties on imports, etc.; merchants have simply cared for produce and for ready cash for the same. Granted this to be true, what have we done in the way of opening up the country, helping to improve crude ideas as to the preparation of raw produce for market, improvement of cultivation, introduction of new industries? We should move in the direction of industrial education in connection with elementary.

" If we cannot take matters entirely on our own shoulders, can we not give help to those who will, and of a substantial kind? Would not the revenue improve with improved methods? "

Reports couched in such terms were hardly calculated to soothe the susceptibilities of Governors, traders or missionaries, or the general public. The people of the Gold Coast were so incensed that they tried to repudiate the Gold Coast share of responsibility for Sumter's salary. They even secured the support of the Chief Justice, and the Governor, Sir B. Griffiths, had to record (obviously with reluctance) both a deliberative and a casting vote to retain the Inspector's salary.

None the less, Sumter's reports did have some effect. He pointed out in 1887, that though his reports now and then gave offence, they had at least the effect of stirring up increased effort, with its concomitant improvement. To this the Governor tartly rejoined that any increased efforts had been caused, not by Sumter's reports, but from the desire of the local legislature to meet the wishes of H.M. Government upon the question of education.[1]

Commission on Economic Agriculture

In spite of the Governor's assertion, it is difficult not to believe that the appointment of a Commission in 1887 to report on Economic Agriculture on the Gold Coast was, in part at least, due to this pertinacious and no doubt somewhat difficult official.

The report is an interesting document, and is preceded by a preface which explains how the Commission came to be appointed, and incidentally reveals also the extreme slowness with which things in West Africa moved. " Recommendations were contained in the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1842, and in the evidence before the Committee of 1865, for the establishment of a model farm or botanical garden in the Colony with a view to the promotion of agriculture. Accordingly, about the year 1882, Sir B. Griffith, then Lieutenant-Governor of Lagos, introduced economic plants from the West Indies and gave them the benefit of his own superintendence. After his appointment to the Government of the Gold Coast Colony in 1886, Sir Brandforth Griffith also brought the subject forward in despatches, but . . . various circumstances . . . prevented practical effect being given to his ideas in this respect until 1889, when, whilst on leave in England,

[1] *Blue Book Report*, 1890, No. 110.

he secured the services of a trained botanical superintendent . . . and proceeded . . . at the end of February 1890 to personally inaugurate the new botanical station at Aburi." It was during Sir Brandforth's absence on leave that the Commission was actually appointed, and it reported at the end of 1889.

The report begins by describing the rural economy of the country. Each village, it says, is surrounded by a thick growth of plantains affording the principal food of the people ; in the neighbourhood are small clearings where they grow corn (maize), yams and other vegetables. The report then proceeds to describe the tenure of land and the system of boundaries, and reveals the serious condition caused by the system of money-lending, due in the main to the heavy outlay in connection with the " Customs " prevailing at inheritance. The methods of cultivation are then touched upon —the universal use of the matchet and the hoe and the practice of clearing ground by fire and the custom of shifting cultivation. The report then proceeds to enumerate the crops actually grown, both for local consumption and for commercial purposes. In regard to these the report states that the products of the soil of the Colony are unexplored and unworked mines of wealth, which can only be utilised by improved means of communication and transport. It urges that the Government should undertake this development, and suggests that by the establishment of good roads, by the introduction of beasts of burden and by the opening of experimental gardens as training schools for young native agriculturists, the minds of the natives will be turned to the sure foundation of prosperity. Agricultural labour will be intelligently directed and the wide basis of trade will be found in a large variety of commodities produced in the country.

The Commission further point out that improved means of communication will lead to a great and immediate increase in the export of palm oil and kernels, but the country's prosperity will always be subject to violent shocks while it rests on a single product. Efforts, they say, should be made to render it independent of the state of any single market by the introduction of foreign products and the exploitation of native growths. Plants should be introduced and tried from other countries, steps should be taken to bring to the knowledge of the people new staples and to instruct them in their cultivation.

The Training of the Native

No better means can be used than the establishment of experimental gardens under trained botanists. Men capable, not only of dealing with known plants, but also of developing such as are indigenous to the country and whose qualities are at present unknown. These gardens should be utilised as training stations for young natives to teach them civilised methods of cultivation, to enable them either to cultivate the soil for themselves or to take charge of plantations established by others. " While *petite culture*

will no doubt be largely followed by natives, large plantations must, for many years, be dependent on European capital, but no European will think of starting a plantation unless he is able to find someone to take charge of it when he is obliged to leave the Colony for reasons of health. No greater boon could be bestowed on the country than such an opening for the employment of its youth, who now flood the clerical market and have almost reduced the rate of wages below the means of living."

The Governor, in commenting upon the report of the Commission, shows that he is entirely sympathetic to the views of the Commission, and observes that he has already had this object in view in his scheme for the Aburi botanic station, and he now informs the Secretary of State that he has directed the masters of the Government School at Accra and Cape Coast to intimate to their pupils that the Government intends to select some of them who will be sent to Aburi, where they will receive instruction and ultimately be assisted in starting plantations of their own.

While he agreed that the main difficulty of development was one of communications, he recorded his view that transport by means of animals was largely impracticable, owing to the prevalence of fly. What was required in the Governor's view was the construction of light railways.

This report, and the Governor's despatch,[1] not only mark a great development in the general views of the people on the spot, but also show that steps were actually in hand to do something practical.

The Position at the End of the Century

We have now reached the point when the Government of at least one Colony recognised that the development of the country depended largely on the improvement of agriculture and the development of communications. The education of the African was no longer the education merely of the product of the slave trade, whether repatriated freedman or refugee from the interior. The Hinterland was calling and the economic development for which education and instruction were needed depended no longer, or at any rate far less, on the conditions at the coast ; for the development of the interior the urgent need was means of transportation with its accompanying opportunities, not only for the native agriculturist, but for the native artisan and clerk.

The position at the end of the century as regards native educational needs is well summed up in a pamphlet on the system of education in Lagos, written by an inspector of schools just after the close of the century. He says : " The railway which was recently inaugurated will open new markets, and the roads which are being constructed in all directions will tend to increase the facilities of communication with Lagos. It is therefore a most urgent question

[1] Colonial Report with Blue Book, 1890–1891, Despatch, November 10th, 1890.

how to prepare the people for the new condition of things which these changes imply. The masses will require elementary training, both moral and intellectual, and some measure of agricultural training, in order to develop fully the agricultural wealth for which the country possesses such natural advantages. To this end the establishment of agricultural schools is not only one means, it is far the greatest means." [1]

(c) Central Africa

Differences between West and Central Africa

If we turn to the development of Central and Eastern Africa, we can secure some effective comparison of the different circumstances in which the work of education began in these different parts of the continent. We may also be able to see to what extent the different circumstances resulted in a different method of approach to the problems of African education.

It is as true to say of Central and East Africa as it is of West Africa that the slave trade was directly responsible for the first efforts of the missionaries, but it is true in a very different sense. The early struggles of Central Africa were concerned with the slave trade at its source. It was the native peoples who were actually being raided that we set out to protect and to help ; it was not, as on the West Coast, the men and women who had been suffering from the evils of slavery, and had been brought back as freed men and women to the continent from which they or their parents had been torn. This difference is fundamental. The settlements on the West Coast had, at the beginning, to tackle the problem of doing something for the people who for generations had suffered the evils of contact with Western civilisation in the worst form of that contact. In Central Africa the people, though victims of raids, were still unaffected by the evils of Western contact. Of the evils of domestic slavery they had had experience, but they had at least this negative advantage over their fellow-Africans of the West Coast, that they had not seen or experienced the white man as the slave-owner, though it must be admitted that the share of the Portuguese in slave-raiding, to a certain extent, lessens this difference. A further point of importance is that they had not been the subject of violent political controversy, or of civil war, as in America. There is a further important difference between the missionary work of the West Coast and the rest of tropical Africa. The work on the West Coast was undertaken under the protection of, and one might say, at the instigation of the British Government. Elsewhere the missionaries preceded the coming of any European Government. They went into the country, largely on their own responsibility. It was not until 1891 that a Protectorate was established in Central Africa, and that was thirty years after the arrival of the ill-fated Bishop Mackenzie, of the Universities Mission.

[1] *Nigeria Pamphlets*, vol. ii, No. 40.

Early Agriculture of Central African Missions

The fact that the missions to Central Africa opened their stations in the heart of the country surrounded by the African in his uncivilised state affected their method of development. The missionaries were forced by the circumstances in which they found themselves to depend largely on their own efforts to secure supplies of food. We are told,[1] for example, that at Blantyre an irrigation furrow was constructed and gardens were enclosed, in which abundance of wheat, rice, maize and vegetables could be grown. A market was even established. The Free Church Mission at Cape Maclear was moved to Bandawe, partly because the site at Cape Maclear was too circumscribed, and lacked a sufficiency of cultivable land; at the same time it was obvious in the early days of both these missions that the condition of the country was such as to make any marked development in the material condition of the people impracticable. It is to the later period of their work that we shall have to turn to find much progress in that direction. But progress was possible in the last decade of the nineteenth century, and in the twentieth century further development was due to the hold which the missions had secured on the people among whom they were working.

The African Lakes Corporation

At the same time they were, even in the early days, far from oblivious to the material needs of the people. The introduction of civilisation was no doubt due to the direct influence of the mission, but Stewart rightly emphasises the important part played by the African Lakes Corporation. He explained[2] that the Livingstonia Mission had not been long in the country before it became very apparent that to benefit the natives and convince them that the white man was their friend, it was needful to help them in other ways than by preaching. " For the first time the people had come into contact with those articles which civilisation produces. They needed them more largely than the missionaries could supply them by merely buying food and paying for labour. It was urged by one who was on the spot, that ' if a man is naked, the best thing you can do to convince him you are his friend is to clothe him—give him calico, not words. If he wants to cultivate, induce him to buy tools; if he wants to build a house, and has nothing better than a wretched little axe to fight against the forest ever encroaching on him, despite fire and axe, the best thing to do is to give him in return for his labour, or for anything he has already produced, a suitable weapon. That will give him heart and success in his struggle.' "

It was in 1877 that Laws and Stewart wrote to the Chairman of the Livingstonia Committee at home, asking permission to start a store

[1] J. du Plessis, *The Evangelisation of Pagan Africa*, page 302.
[2] J. Stewart, *Dawn in the Dark Continent*, page 216.

with such goods as the mission could supply, or which might be sent, so as to afford the natives those articles they greatly needed, from calico to axes and needles. The reply of the Committee was that no trading was to be done by the mission, but goods would be sent out, and someone would be sent out to manage the business. The company which was formed consisted of shareholders who were almost exclusively supporters of the mission. The part played by this company in the fight against slave-raiding and in the introduction of civilisation was a great one.

It is interesting to note that this separation of commercial work from purely philanthropic work followed the lines of Fowell Buxton's plan which led to the creation of the African Civilisation Society, which came to an end after the disastrous expedition of 1841.

Later on the same principle was adopted by the Church Missionary Society, when the Uganda Company was founded to take over the industrial work in Uganda, particularly in connection with cotton. Similarly, the formation of the Industrial Mission Aid Society in that part of the East African Protectorate which is now Kenya was associated with Fowell Buxton's son, and aimed at assisting the missions in the work of civilisation.

Reference has already been made to the industrial work of the Basel Mission in West Africa, and it is not out of place to consider this aspect of missionary work. While it is reasonable that the missionary work should be free from all suspicion of trading for profit, it is open to question whether from the wider point of view of the general education and development of the African, the missions would not have been well advised to have maintained their association with the industrial progress of the people.

It is at least arguable that it is part of the duty of a missionary as an educator and civiliser to concern himself and concern himself closely with the general development of the African. Had this been recognised more consistently, the scope of missionary work would have been much widened, and the missionaries would have been more closely in touch with the needs of the country in which they were working. The development of the community and the improvement of the condition of the people as a whole appear to be a not unimportant part of the missionary's task. This has come to be more and more recognised during the last twenty years.

(d) Uganda and East Africa

Reference to the work in Uganda and East Africa is hardly called for in respect of the periods preceding the end of the last century. The work of Krapf and of the Methodists in the coastal area and that of the Church Missionary Society and the White Fathers in the Centre was, in the main, pioneer work pure and simple, and in Uganda almost entirely evangelistic. The conditions, often of active hostility, in which the missionaries worked made it im-

possible to do more than preach the gospel and give that instruction in reading which led to the recognition that ability to read was generally synonymous, at any rate in Uganda, with the Christian faith.

Mention may, however, be made of the settlement of the freed slaves at Freetown, which caused some of the same problems and difficulties which had arisen in the settlement at Sierra Leone.

(e) South Africa

The Special Relation to Government

It is not possible within the limits of this chapter to deal with the development of education in South Africa. That would require far more than a section of the YEAR BOOK to itself. All that we can hope to do is to indicate the salient features of that development and the points of difference between the conditions which governed the progress of education in South Africa and the rest of the continent.

The development of educational work among the African peoples in the south differed both from that of the West Coast and Central Africa. The differences between the South African and Western development are obvious, for in South Africa the missionaries did not find themselves faced with the problem of a large freed slave population. They resemble the Central and East African missions just in so far as they can be said to have often been the spearhead of civilisation, but they were not cut off from civilisation or the assistance of Europeans in the same way as the Central and East African missionaries. On the other hand, while it is true that the Cape Government tried to control their movements, which they were inclined to view with dislike, or at least with anxiety, and actually forbade them to go beyond the borders of the Colony, the South African Missions had just this much of resemblance to those of Central Africa that in practice they frequently formed their settlements in what was really hostile country. Still, the influence of the Government was always there, and the effect of this difficult position is seen, not only in the relations of the missions with the natives, but also in their relations with the Government at the Cape. These difficulties were sometimes, as in the case of the early Moravians, of a theological kind,[1] but later they were to an increasing degree of a social or political character.

The Character of the Evangelisation

The South African missions in their early days differed from the West Coast and those of Central Africa in another important respect. Their first efforts were directed towards the Christianisation of the Hottentots, whose whole method of life made them peculiarly unsusceptible to civilising influences. They were nomads and pastoralists, and as Van Riebeck said, " they will never

[1] J. du Plessis, *A History of Christian Missions in South Africa*, 1911, chap. vii.

live with us in our houses, like the birds that prefer ranging in the open air to living in the finest palaces." [1] In view of this great difference it was certainly a remarkable achievement at Genadendaal to secure the homely atmosphere of peaceful settlement which Lady Anne Barnard so felicitously described.[2]

It was only possible because the Hottentots affected by the mission had been brought into close relations (perhaps subjection would not be too strong a word) with the early settlers. The pattern of Genadendaal persists throughout the missionary work for the first troubled half of the nineteenth century. An example is Bethelsdorp, which aimed indeed at religious and educational work, but was also essentially protective in character. These institutions became the refuge of the necessarily dependent classes, the infirm, the weak and the aged. Moreover, as time went on, the more intelligent of the natives came to learn that it was only at mission stations that they had any secure base for the carrying on of trades.[3] But the prospect of turning the Hottentots into peasant farmers was never bright. The fate which ultimately attended the efforts to secure small holdings for the descendants of nomad pastoralists has been a sad one. And it is not necessary to enquire whether it was due entirely to economic and social difficulties, or in part, at least, to political pressure. It does appear true to say that the efforts made in the direction of securing for the natives sufficiency of land and of developing the capacity to cultivate it were in the nineteenth century largely ineffective.[4] That individual missions achieved much is indubitable : at Wupperthal, for example, Leipoldt, of the Rhenish Mission, brought gardens and fields under cultivation. A mill was erected, and industries, such as tanning, blacksmithing and carpentry, were begun. In spite of the difficulty of persuading the Hottentots to undertake manual labour of any description, and the still greater difficulty of keeping them at it, great changes were undoubtedly effected in the character and habits of the two hundred Hottentots who were settled at the station.[5] In the eastern part of the Colony the famous institution of the Glasgow Board (later the Free Church of Scotland) does indeed mark something definite in the direction of a wider education than the purely evangelistic. From the beginning Lovedale was identified with special educational efforts, and when Stewart came out to South Africa he aimed at broadening the basis of education and making it " more suitable for natives." [6] We must remember, however, that he was dealing with less intractable material than the early missionaries in the west.

The fact that Europeans were at Lovedale admitted side by side with natives made for a higher standard of efficiency. The aim of

[1] Du Plessis, *op. cit.*, page 25.
[2] H. J. Anderson, *South Africa a Century Ago*, page 181.
[3] W. M. Macmillan, *Cape Colour Question*, page 37 (1927).
[4] Macmillan, *op. cit.*, pages 284–5.
[5] Du Plessis, *op. cit.*, page 203.
[6] Du Plessis, *op. cit.*, page 361.

Stewart was definitely to bring the native people into line with the European occupants of the same land. Du Plessis questions [1] whether the purely missionary and evangelistic labours were not too greatly overshadowed by the educational. Christianity, he urges, must precede civilisation, education is in no sense a substitute for conversion.

Those who know the history of Lovedale and something of its achievements will answer du Plessis' questionings according to their own views of the place of education in the civilisation of the African. Some indeed may hold that, while it is no doubt true to say that education is in no sense a substitute for conversion, it is at least possible that conversion and education are most likely to be of lasting value when they go together.

The Presence of Europeans in South Africa

The special features of mission work in South Africa, as distinct from the rest of Africa, which have been referred to above, are no doubt of importance in the development of education, but the conditions in South Africa have differed in a more fundamental respect. South Africa has been developed as a territory for the settlement of Europeans, and a large European population has made its home there.

In West Africa there was never any serious question of the permanent settlement of a white population. In Central and East Africa that settlement has not even yet assumed such proportions as seriously to endanger the development of the native. In South Africa the struggles between the European settlers, moving constantly from the west, and the Africans moving from the east, produced a situation which has resulted in the settlement of the European and the mastery of the European over practically the whole sub-continent.

The Subordination of the African

In a sense, the political development of South Africa brought the wheel round almost to full circle. We have seen how in the earliest days of the education of the African negro that education was the education and instruction of the slave. It would be manifestly unjust to suggest that in South Africa during the latter half of the nineteenth century the conceptions of native education and development were not far more liberal and disinterested. The liberal grants of money for the evangelisation and education secured from the British Government by Sir George Grey are sufficient indication to the contrary.[2] But there is just this point of resemblance—the European population has in the main continued to regard the native peoples as subordinate, and has felt that on the continuance of that subordination its own security depends and will depend.

[1] Du Plessis, *op. cit.*, page 364.

[2] £40,000 a year, 1855–1857, Du Plessis, *op. cit.*, page 354.

From the point of view of educational development, such an attitude has inevitably been perhaps not repressive, but at least restrictive and limiting in its results.

Educational Tendencies in the Nineteenth Century

An attempt may now be made to get a broad view of the missionary and government policy in the sphere of education up to the end of the nineteenth century, and to estimate the influences which moulded that policy. They may be summarised as follows :

(1) The spiritual revival of the latter half of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

(2) The impetus given by this spiritual awakening to the growing aversion to the conditions of slavery and the horrors of the slave trade.

(3) The birth of the great missionary societies in England and Scotland.

(4) The insistent demand that the gift of Christianity should be made available to the freed slaves and also to those living in barbarism outside the limits of civilisation.

(5) The recognition that for evangelisation, education was essential.

(6) The development of the idea that with Christianity must come the opportunity to live a life of greater material happiness by means of training in some at least of the occupations of the European.

On the other hand, it must be admitted that there is little sign that the essential differences in the life of the African before and after his contact with the European were taken into consideration in the attempt to mould his beliefs and his mode of life. There is even less evidence that anyone considered it necessary in moulding those beliefs or that mode of life to base the gradual improvement on the beliefs or mode of life to which the African in his earlier environment had been accustomed. That this should have been so was inevitably due to the institution of slavery generally, and in particular, to the circumstances under which education developed, not only in the West Indies and on the West Coast, but also in Central and East Africa.

The Achievements of the Nineteenth Century

What were the achievements resulting from this policy and the influences which moulded it ? The missionary societies bore, for the most part, the burden of the work ; it is to them that, in the main, credit must be given for what was achieved. They were assisted, after the emancipation of the slaves, by not inconsiderable financial support from the British Government, and later, again, at the Cape. They were also assisted by relatively small (almost insignificant) subsidies from the various Colonial Governments. To that extent, the Government, both at home and in the Colonies,

assisted in the development of education and shared the responsibility for its shortcomings.

In the previous sections we have seen that, save in the case of one or two societies, the main work of the missionaries was religious. It has been summed up by one writer on the development of the West Coast in somewhat trenchant words : " At first the aim was purely moral and spiritual ; their first effort at education was to teach the natives how to read, so that they might be able to study the Bible for themselves and thus become preachers to their friends—the tendency was for a mission station to gather round it refugees who had fled from their homes for various reasons. The question then arises—Are these refugees to idle about, or are they to be taught work ? After it is resolved that work be taught them, the fame of the station as an industrial school spreads abroad and others are attracted also. The Basel Mission on the Gold Coast combined trade and religion from the very beginning and gave an industrial training to many thousands of natives. Despite that fact, most of the missions restricted their educational syllabus to the teaching of reading, writing and arithmetic and religion until the end of the nineteenth century, and even at their best, their influence did not extend beyond the coastal periphery." [1] We need not accept this generalisation as wholly accurate. We have seen that even before the middle of the century the need for education other than religion and the three R's was recognised on the West Coast and in South Africa, and later in Central Africa. Failure adequately to meet the need was in West Africa, at any rate, largely due to climatic conditions and the constantly changing personnel, both of missionaries and of Government officials, and also to the fact that the inhabitants of the coastal periphery were largely the offspring of repatriated slaves with no natural instinct to exploit the land to which emancipation had brought them.

H. S. Scott.

[1] Allan McPhee, *The Economic Revolution in British West Africa* (1926), pages 266–7.

CHAPTER THREE

The Twentieth Century

THE title page of Lord Lugard's Dual Mandate has inscribed upon it three significant quotations. The first is from a speech of King George V : " It will be the high tasks of my Governments to superintend and assist the development of those countries . . . for the benefit of the inhabitants and the general welfare of mankind." The second quotation, from the Mandate Article of the Covenant of the League, says that the well-being and development of peoples not yet able to stand by themselves form a sacred trust of civilisation. The last quotation was from Joseph Chamberlain—" We develop new territory as trustees for civilisation for the commerce of the world."

Here we have set forth the aims which have inspired the British administration during the present century. The fulfilment of these aims depends not only on education as a separate service, but requires that " the dominating purpose of the Government should be evolutionary and educational.[1]

Commerce—Communications—Health Conditions

The changes which took place about the beginning of the twentieth century, and which have become more marked since the Great War, were certainly worthy of the adjective revolutionary. They were threefold. Firstly, there was the great urge towards the exploitation of the resources of Africa indicated in the quotation above from Joseph Chamberlain. Secondly, there was the improvement in health conditions, brought about by the discoveries of Ross and Manson, which enabled the European to stay longer at his station and to live longer in the service as missionary, trader or Government official. Thirdly came the development of roads and railways.

Resulting from this last great change was another, directly due to it. This was the revolution in agriculture, whereby natives were going over from subsistence agriculture to exchange cultures. In this agricultural revolution the administrations were the prime movers, although they received valuable assistance from missionary bodies and traders.[2]

Development of Artisans

The direct effect of railways was that the need for African artisans was felt. First of all, the construction of railways and other public works called for industrial skill on the part of the African.

[1] Perham, *op. cit.*, page 302.

[2] McPhee, *op. cit.*, page 6.

But the development and maintenance of these services have enormously increased the demand for them. One of the early illustrations of this need is to be found in the report on the Uganda railway in 1903. The inspecting officer, after commenting very favourably on the equipment of the locomotive and carriage repair shops at Nairobi, remarks that the employment of Swahilis, Wakikuyu, and other natives of Africa in the shops as hammer men, riveters and coolies is a pleasing feature, and urges that the employment of a small number of Africans as apprentices is desirable, so that they may be trained to become artisans and eventually replace the skilled labour then being obtained from India. The eventual result, the inspector thought, would be economy.[1]

That the development has been rapid and has afforded a line of employment of great value to the native races is undoubted. There are repeated references to the development of the training given in the various reports. Writing in 1930,[2] the Director of Education in Nigeria refers to the large number of artisans who have passed through the workshops of the railways, public works and marine departments, and having finished their apprenticeships were absorbed in Government work and private enterprise throughout the southern provinces.

Advanced training in Nigeria is now taken at Yaba [3] for instruction in engineering. On the Gold Coast the arrangements for training artisans on the railway are comprehensive, including such services as plate-laying, engine driving and firing, traffic organisation and mechanical engineering,[4] while advanced work is being done at Achimota.

Similar training is found on the East Coast and higher work is done at Makerere, where the training is for natives to be employed by the Public Works Department.[5] It is evident that the Governments have not been backward in this work, but it is interesting to note that the Director of Education in Nigeria reported in 1930 that, largely owing to the output of trained artisans, the efforts of missions to provide technical training in carpentry did not meet with great success.

Training in wood and metal work was not undertaken as part of their education, the subject when taught being confined to a few pupils whom it was intended to turn out as practising carpenters.[6] This difficulty does not appear to have arisen in the east if one may judge from the reports of the Uganda Education Department. In East Africa and in the Sudan, the training of artisans for other than railway employment was undertaken by the education authorities and has to a considerable extent remained in their hands. In Kenya, the Government, until a few years ago, had a definite

[1] C.O., *E.A. Pamphlets*, vol. ii, No. 52.
[2] *Education Report*, 1930, page 5.
[3] *Education Report*, 1935, page 6.
[4] *Education Report*, 1935, page 57.
[5] *Uganda Education Report*, 1935, page 62.
[6] *Education Report*, 1930, page 5.

plan for making the training of artisans a joint responsibility for the missions and the Government. It is just possible that if the training of artisans were retained in the hands of the education authorities it might make a more general appeal to the missions. It may be said generally, that both in the west and the east, and throughout the whole of Tropical Africa, the education of the African as an artisan has been taken seriously in hand, and has sometimes even reached the point at which supply exceeds the demand.[1]

All this indicates to what an extent the development of communication by road, rail, river and lake has profoundly and directly affected the education and the life of the African. Whether the changes produced by his employment have made for his greater happiness need not be questioned; they have been an inevitable result of contact with Europeans. It is also, no doubt, a matter of interest to note that in its inception the employment of the African in these exotic activities was not organised with any view to the educational development of the people. It might even be argued that the native was exploited in the interests of transport.

It would probably be admitted by all that the people have gained more than they have lost by this development, but it should be noted, on the other hand, that in its social reactions the development of communications must have played an important part as a disintegrating influence.

In regard to the general training as an artisan, it might be urged that more could have been done in the direction of training the African to be of use to himself in his own immediate environment. The criticism of the Phelps-Stokes Commission is surely of general application. In speaking of the Hope-Waddell Training Institution at Calabar they are moved to say: "It is to be hoped that the highly trained Scotch mechanics now devoting all their skill to the training of a very small number of five-year apprentices may be assigned to give at least part of their time to arrangements for imparting some manual training of a practical character to the 400 boys of whom many are to be teachers in rural areas. The five-year apprentices are likely to become the employees of white commercial concerns. While this is a desirable end, it is even more important to help the native people in their small mechanical needs."[2]

Though one cannot but agree with the principle here enunciated, it is reasonable to point out that if instruction in manual work is to be of practical value, it is useless to produce what might be characterised as an African handyman. It is essential that the instruction should be directed to production. It is also doubtful whether much can be done in the direction of producing native artisans who will make a living in native areas until the wants of those native areas are materially increased.

[1] *Gold Coast Education Report*, 1935, para. 332; *Kenya Education Report*, 1934, para. 46.

[2] *Phelps-Stokes' Commission Report*, page 57.

The most important direction in which improvement must be looked for is that of housing, and the urge for improved housing depends largely on the development of the medical and sanitary services.

Medical Services

In the sphere of health, the missionary record is a great one. It would be invidious to say that any particular mission has pride of place. Such institutions as Lovedale in South Africa, Livingstonia in Nyasaland and the Scottish Missions in Kenya testify to the fact that the Scottish missions have not failed to recognise that training in health matters is second only in importance to evangelisation.

Of the work of the Church Missionary Society the Phelps-Stokes Commission has said that one of the noblest records of work in the whole of East Africa for the benefit of the community is the hospital in Mengo, which opened in 1897 and was the pioneer in medical work in Uganda.[1] At Mengo particular credit is undoubtedly due to the efforts, not merely to secure treatment, but to train native women as nurses and health workers, thereby bringing the benefits of health work directly to the people themselves.

Increasing Co-operation of the Natives

The development of the health services in recent years has been the most remarkable work done by Governments and missionaries together for the improvement of the conditions of life for the African. A remarkable feature of that development has been the increasing measure of African co-operation called for. In every territory there is record of increasing development of native training in the health services. It is unnecessary, and it would be burdensome, to give details of what is being done in all the different areas, and it will suffice to quote the record of 1935 in the case of one Colony—no doubt similar evidence could be obtained from practically every territory. Theoretical and practical training is given at the hospital to nurses and dispensers by medical officers, the matron and nursing sisters and the dispenser's instructor. A scheme exists for training more dispensers. Training for midwives is undertaken—systematic training of African nurses is given. On the health side, schools for sanitary inspectors have been established, while every field officer of both branches of the department assists in the training of sanitary inspectors, vaccinators, midwives and health visitors in the hospital or district of which they have charge. In the Medical Research Institute the training of laboratory assistants is undertaken.[2]

It is this training of the African which is going to give the people of the country the constantly increasing knowledge of the importance of hygienic conditions in their own homes. The building of better houses and of the necessary appliances, such as more suitable

[1] *Phelps-Stokes' Commission Report*, page 159.
Gold Coast Education Report, 1935, page 56.

furniture, must follow.[1] The problems of nutrition and improvement of food supply are questions partly involving medical authorities and partly involving improvements in agriculture. The Secretary of State last year called for report and action on this vital matter, and a committee has been appointed in London to advise on matters of nutrition in the Colonies.

Problems of health are not to be solved merely by extensive and costly hospitalisation. This is being more and more generally recognised. They are largely problems of education, and call for close co-operation between medical and education authorities. The system of Jeanes teachers in Kenya and Nyasaland has done much in this regard. We might almost be tempted to say with the Governor of Nyasaland: "A very large sum of money has been invested in native hospitals all over this Protectorate. I cannot help wishing that the hospitals had remained unbuilt and that the money had been invested instead in centres for spreading the knowledge of preventive medicine and sanitation." [2]

Agriculture

The Phelps-Stokes Commission stated in its report that one of the most unfortunate results of the education so far given in Africa has been the depreciation of agriculture in native opinion. They say that, however unintentional and incidental this result has been, it is nevertheless real.[3] It is open to question whether such a sweeping statement is wholly justified. The view expressed by Dr. Fraser is perhaps fairer. He asks the question—What are missions and Christian teaching doing to improve the style of agriculture and to demonstrate that the Christian should be so good a farmer that his use of God's earth should not impoverish his soil, but should enrich and replenish it? He goes on to say that he is not sure that missions have sufficiently recognised the value of this essential service. Far more attention had been paid to such arts as printing, building and carpentry than to agriculture—the real calling of every African.

On the other hand, it is true that the missionary has paid attention to cultivation. Dr. Fraser points out that the first cocoa plant was brought to the Gold Coast by the missionary—that it was to the garden at Blantyre that the first coffee tree from which the coffee plantations of Nyasaland had received their seed was brought. It was Moir who introduced tea into Nyasaland. Similarly, the introduction of the bread fruit, first into Calabar, and thence to the Congo, was due to missionary pioneers.[4] He might have added, to give other instances, the Church Missionary Society's share in the introduction of cotton to Uganda.

These claims do not vitiate the criticism that in the main the

[1] Cf. R. A. Paterson's *Book of Civilization* (Longmans).
[2] *Nyasaland Education Department's Report*, page 33.
[3] *Report*, page 35.
[4] D. Fraser, D.D., *The New Africa*, page 117.

education given to the African did not, at any rate until very recently, encourage him to agricultural pursuits. The very gifts brought to the continent by missionary enterprise were exotics and did not touch the native directly as an agriculturist. It is not suggested that the introduction of new crops has not been a boon to the African—far from it ; but it is none the less true that his training as a peasant farmer of the indigenous crops has been too much neglected.

Attempts to readjust Non-agricultural Bias

While we have seen that the need for such training was recognised quite early, and that on the West Coast serious efforts were made to get something done, we must at the same time admit that, generally speaking, the education given has received a one-sided bias which is only now being adjusted. This alteration in outlook can be illustrated, not merely by reference to the reports of Agricultural Departments, but to the reports of Education Departments, and this is more important for our purpose. The Sierra Leone report emphasises the close-co-operation between the Education and the Agricultural Departments. It is clearly recognised that the great bulk of the population must inevitably draw their livelihood from the soil, and that care must be taken not to let the schools divorce the children from the soil.[1] In the Gold Coast stress is laid upon the high general standard of those who are specially trained by the Agricultural Department at Kumasi, while training in veterinary knowledge is not neglected.[2] In the Nigeria report, details are given of the active and practical steps taken, especially in the schools of the Southern Province, to improve agriculture with the active co-operation of officers of the Agricultural Department.[3]

Uganda has an education officer who is called the Superintendent of Agricultural Education. The report of this officer deals with the special training of agriculture and also with the work in the schools themselves, and reveals the great importance attached to agriculture in the educational scheme of the Protectorate.[4]

In Nyasaland the same interest is evident. The first Director of Education appointed, in the first report he published, gives some account of the development of the work. He says that before the advent of the Education Department, some missions had paid special attention to agriculture. The industrial societies, as their name implies, devote part of their instruction outside evangelistic work to industrial training. In the Zambezi Industrial Mission, manual work takes the form of cultivating coffee and preparing it for the market. The Baptist Industrial Mission deals almost exclusively with the planting, curing and grading of tobacco. The Malamulo Mission has a stock farm and a dairy, and also grows a

[1] *Education Report*, 1935, page 21.
[2] *Education Report*, 1935, para. 297.
[3] *Education Report*, 1935, para. 22.
[4] *Education Report*, 1935, Appendix XIII.

certain amount of coffee. The larger missions have for many years realised that in an agricultural community true education must have its roots in the soil. The Livingstonia Mission has dealt with agricultural work and afforestation, whilst the Church of Scotland Mission at Blantyre has a large farm at Mkhoma, comprising fruit and vegetable gardens and extensive wheat and maize fields. The White Fathers have a well-conducted farm where large quantities of vegetables are grown. The Marist Fathers also manage several good fruit and vegetable gardens. Some societies—notably the Scottish Mission, the Dutch Mission and the Livingstonia Mission—include agricultural training in the curriculum for teachers' classes.[1]

In Kenya the development of instruction in agriculture has been of later growth than elsewhere, possibly because of the presence of European settlers in relatively large numbers. Education has tended to develop on the lines of artisan training perhaps to an excessive extent. It may also be the case that the Agricultural Department for some years was inclined to concentrate its attention on assisting European farmers. Recently, however, the position has materially altered. There has been considerable development in the direction of assisting native agriculture. This development is shown, not only in the work of the Agricultural Department's schools to give instruction to natives in agriculture at Kabete, Bukura and Ngong, but by the movement towards a definitely agricultural bias in the Government schools. Moreover, provision has been made in the revised scheme of grants for the development of agricultural work in grant-aided mission schools.[2]

An interesting example of definite agricultural instruction is that of the school in the West Suk country. Here the school was used as the centre for a mass movement of adult instruction which aimed at the increase in the quantity and variety of the crops produced for the whole community. An account of this school was given by the writer at the Imperial Hygiene Conference of July 1937.[3]

Important Contributions of the Missions

The contribution of the missions towards agricultural development is evidently much more important than one would expect from a general criticism that mission education is unduly bookish. The quotation from Dr. Fraser given above makes reference to some of the new crops, the introduction of which has been due to missionary enterprise. There can be no more striking example than that of Uganda. As far back as 1901 cotton was mentioned by Sir H. H. Johnson as a potential economic crop, but he recorded his uncertainty as to whether it could be commercially profitable when the cost of transport to the coast was considered. Prior to 1903, apart

[1] *Nyasaland Education Report*, 1927.
[2] *Education Department Report*, 1934, paras. 47–9.
[3] " Education and Nutrition," H. S. Scott, *Africa*, October 1937.

from small trials, no use of cotton as an economic crop appears to have been made. In that year, however, the Government imported half a ton of seed of three selected types of cotton. The seed was distributed to natives in accessible parts of the country for trial in April and May 1904. A prominent part in the initiation of cotton-growing on a commercial scale must be credited to a missionary of the Church Missionary Society, Mr. K. Borup. It was early in 1902 that he discussed the possibility of cotton development with the native ministers of Buganda, and in 1903 he imported, largely at his own expense, sixty-two bags of cotton seed supplied to him by the British Cotton Growing Association. Subsequently the Uganda Company was formed to take over the industrial side of the mission's activities, and Mr. Borup became general manager.[1]

Possibly one of the reasons why the missions have not received all the credit due to them, in regard to the improvement of agriculture and the introduction of new crops is that they have from the first separated their general evangelistic and educational work from the agricultural and industrial development of the people. This has already been referred to in the references to Fowell Buxton's propaganda, and to the Basel Mission and other examples. Had the missions not made this differentiation, it is no doubt probable that they would have been open to the charge of exploiting the native—a charge which could hardly, in the light of their work, have been seriously put forward, even by the most hostile critic. It was perhaps desirable that they should be above suspicion, but the advantages of taking a different course would have been great. They would have extended the sphere of their work and avoided the very criticisms which are now, or have been until recently, made against them.

Importance of Agriculture to Africa

The position and importance of agriculture in the general development of the African are being more and more recognised every day, and this development is summarised in the following passage from a book of authoritative character on West African agriculture. Though the authors are writing about West Africa, what they say is not inapplicable to Africa generally, though it should be noted that inadequate tribute is paid to the work of individual missions in the past. "The application of scientific methods of investigation to the problems of agriculture in West Africa is a comparatively recent development. The only agencies that can undertake this are the Governments through their Agricultural Departments, and in their present form these departments are really a post-war development. It was the activities of traders that first led to the establishment of Colonial Government in West Africa, and this fact had a considerable influence for many years on the general policy of the Governments. Yet neither the early Governments nor even the chartered Niger Company took the view that

[1] H. B. Thomas and R. Scott, *Uganda*, 1935, page 127.

their only duty or interest was to protect the traders and facilitate their operations. At a very early date many valuable plants were introduced from other parts of the tropics in the hope of their being adopted by the natives of the country, and eventually botanic gardens were established and officers appointed whose special function was the introduction of new crops and economic plants. But the main object in view was still an immediate development in export trade, and this tendency persisted even when agricultural departments were established. Indeed, the motive for their establishment seems to have been chiefly the hope of inducing the people by more constant propaganda to adopt new crops." [1]

Few will quarrel with this analysis of the earlier development of the Agricultural Departments. The authors go on to say that now the purpose of Agricultural Departments is considered to be, not merely to stimulate production for export by native farmers, but to try to assist them to increased prosperity and well-being in all directions. In order to accomplish this it is necessary, not merely to study what export crops can be grown, but also to try to increase the quantity and quality of the native foodstuffs.[2]

Conclusion

In the opening part of this section, an attempt was made to consider to what extent the African himself had evolved any system of education : it was pointed out that the evidence as to the content and value of native indigenous training appeared to show that the African had before his contact with Western civilisation himself arrived at something approaching a technique in the art of transmitting from one generation to another the traditions, customs and language on which the stability of his society depended. The degree to which that technique had been developed varied in different races and even in different tribes of the same race. Our knowledge of the subject is, however, so deficient that it is difficult to state whether it could have been possible to evolve a system of education which could co-ordinate the experience of the savage with the civilisation of the European. As a matter of historical fact, no effort was made in the direction of such co-ordination, nor was such an effort practicable in the light of the circumstances in which the earliest contacts were, in the main, made. The question does arise whether any such effort could be made even now, and reference has been made to the fear that the opportunity has passed away largely owing to the attitude of the African himself. None the less, it should be recognised that, speaking very generally, the principle involved in such an effort is capable of application even now.

The principle is in effect embodied in the recommendations of the Advisory Committee of the Colonial Office, which were analysed in Section VIII of the last issue of the YEAR BOOK, in which it was

[1] O. F. Faulkner and J. R. Mackie, *West African Agriculture*, 1933, page 3.
[2] *Op. cit.*, page 5.

urged that education should be directed to the general raising of the standard of life of the community as a community and emphasis was laid on the need for integrating the African's method of life in his natural environment with the changes inevitably brought about by Western contact.

It may be pointed out that the application of such a principle depends for its success largely on our knowledge and understanding of the African's method of life ; it is therefore not, even now, too late to attempt to arrive at a sympathetic knowledge of the extent to which, and of the manner in which, the African adjusts himself—that is, educates himself—in his own environment.

The explanation of our failure in the past to make any such attempt is not entirely to be found in our ignorance and lack of appreciation of anthropological research ; it is to be found partly in the view which was taken of education by the educators of the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, a view which has, it has been pointed out, undergone a revolutionary change. It lies also, as has been said, in the circumstances of the contact produced by slavery. The old environment had been destroyed in an instant by the catastrophe of the slave raid, and the new contact bore no relation to it.

That contact inspired in the European a deepening sense of shame and a feeling of responsibility ; the generation which fought against the institution of slavery was moved by recognition of its Christian duty to do what it thought was best for the African, and what it thought was best was to bring him to the Christian faith. It does not emerge from the early history of the missionary educators that they realised that conversion to Christianity involved a claim to a fuller life on earth in all its aspects. We have seen this claim to a fuller life becoming gradually stronger during the nineteenth century, albeit with many setbacks and failures. It may be said with confidence that in the twentieth century it has been fully established.

Nor did the administrator who was directly responsible for the government and welfare of the people realise in the early days the full nature and extent of his responsibility. The conception of the Colonial Empire which still held the field was exemplified by the phrase "oversea possessions"—possessions which had to be governed and administered in the interests of Great Britain and not of the inhabitants. The references to education in the despatches and reports of the nineteenth century clearly show that the conception of the aim of education was, that it should make useful citizens, and when we say useful citizens we mean literally citizens who would be of use to us. The conception was one of exploitation and development for the benefit of the people of Great Britain—it was to this purpose that such education as was given was directed. Even the enlightened Governors looked for education to help the people by giving them work as servants and employees. They were to be taught trades that they might be more usefully employed,

not that they might have a fuller enjoyment of life. It will be remembered that the Gold Coast Committee of 1887 urged the improvement of education mainly in order that export trade might be developed.[1]

It is customary to speak of the material revolution which was brought about in Africa at the beginning of the century. The revolution has its counterpart in our attitude towards the education of the African. It should be evident from the summary which has been given of what has been done of late years, and is now being done, that the well-being of the African has come to be not merely the means but the end of Colonial Administration.

The Present Position

We may conclude by considering what the present position is, and whether it gives grounds for reasoned optimism. The medical and health services have been established and extended, the agricultural service has come to be recognised as vital, not merely on account of the economic development which it secures through the crops which the African is enabled to produce for export, but also on account of the social service which is performed by helping the African to live a better life by means of his own crops for his own consumption. The service of education has come, or is coming, gradually to be recognised as one that endeavours to secure a training which will enable the African, not only to understand, but to enjoy better conditions of health, greater wealth in every sense of the term, greater comfort, and enhanced opportunities for the enjoyment of life, not only as an individual, but as a member of the whole African community.

The pamphlet discussed last year gives reason to hope that the essentials for further progress are recognised. Two may be touched upon. The first is the need to recognise that education in its true sense is not the service of a department called an Education Department, but the service of all the departments in the State together, whether they be political, industrial, social or religious; and in the term "departments," we must include the great missionary bodies. The second is the need for machinery to secure this unification of purpose of all these departments. The need for co-ordination appears to be generally recognised. Central bodies are being called into being to secure such co-ordination. For example, in Nyasaland it is recorded that the Governor in 1935 appointed a Native Welfare Committee consisting of the Senior Provincial Commissioner, the Directors of Agriculture, Education and Medical Services and the Conservator of Forests. The functions of the Committee are advisory rather than executive, the executive functions being exercised by the members as heads of their respective departments. Their chief duty is to keep the co-ordination of effort in welfare work under observation and to advise the Governor

[1] See above, page 718.

as to the steps which should be taken in the direction of such co-ordination.[1] No doubt similar action has been taken elsewhere. The opinion may be expressed that such bodies ought, if they are to be effective, to have provision for missionary representation. It is, moreover, questionable whether they should not have executive authority, for there is always a danger that advisory committees of heads of departments may discuss much and achieve little, unless they are constantly spurred on by executive authority.

There are clearly grounds for optimism in the sphere of African education, but there is always a grave danger that counsel may be given, as it has been, and that machinery may be set up to give practical effect to such counsel, but that the inspiration to keep the machinery going may fade away. In the educational history of the Colonies, we have the example before us of the fruitlessness of the memorandum of 1847. It would be interesting and valuable to know what practical steps the various Colonies are taking along the road upon which they have been advised to go. It would be valuable, too, to know to what extent the various services have been and are being effectively co-ordinated, not in theory, but in actual practice, so as to secure in its widest sense the educational development of the African.

H. S. SCOTT.

[1] *Nyasaland Education Report*, 1935, para. viii.

PART XI

Educational Traditions in the British Commonwealth of Nations and the United States of America

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

IN this Section Dr. Hans continues the comparative survey of education that he began in the YEAR BOOK for 1936. His former study dealt with Europe; he now traces those common traditions that permeate education in all the English-speaking countries—in the British Commonwealth and the United States alike. He has brought together, for the first time, a mass of material which he uses to show how potent have been the various religious and secular traditions. If any proof were needed of the relevance of history to the understanding of educational problems, Dr. Hans has supplied it.

It is natural that the traditional element is the one best illustrated by history. But, merely because it harks back to former times, tradition cannot be ignored: it lives on, with surprising and often disconcerting vitality, in this and other lands. Even the most revolutionary systems of to-day have their roots in the past.[1] However fervently we may desire to mould education to the needs of a changing world, we are impeded at every turn, not only by vested interests, but by what might be called vested habits of mind. When one considers the life-long effects of schooling on each generation, it is not surprising that education should be so conservative. Even a break-away to the opposite extreme is usually conditioned by each upbringing.

Hence the following chapters help to answer the "central question" that Lord Eustace Percy posed in the YEAR BOOK for 1936. "Have our policies," he asked, "been based on the tacit assumption that the social ideals of the later nineteenth century represented a body of revealed truth to which men's minds must swing back after any temporary oscillations caused by war or revolution?" It is plain that inherited ideals, many of them dating much farther back than the nineteenth century, still form the basis of our education (and of much else). Nor is that altogether to be deplored. Tradition, if it can be wisely and consciously used, is a steadying influ-

[1] Cf. "The Romantic Factor in Modern Politics," by Professor Ernest Barker, *Philosophy*, October 1936.

ence : it checks the wild vagaries and " stunts " that every year throws up. And it provides a common understanding between those countries that share it, even paradoxically, where certain traditional elements may be disruptive. Thus the Irish may hate the English language, but they understand and (in private) use it ; nor can it ever be forgotten that some of the best English literature was written by Irishmen.

But to cling to a mortifying tradition, or to thrust an alien tradition down the throats of another race—those are follies for which we have paid the price often enough. The dead hand lies heavy on our curriculum : we have not yet shaken off the conception of liberal studies formulated for a very different world by Aristotle. Still more absurd is the imposition of archaic learning on the new societies of the Dominions. Fortunately, however, these newer countries are in process of adjustment. Professor Clarke, in his invaluable study [1] of Quebec and South Africa, remarks that " the real resemblances are not so marked as a survey of the superficial resemblances of history would lead us to expect." That means, not that history is negligible, but that the two countries have followed up different and divergent lines of their past : " so it comes about that the deciding factor which settles the form and manner of a child's education is, in Quebec, his home religion, in South Africa, his home language. . . . Thus the supreme interest in South Africa is the bilingual school system ; in Quebec it is the autonomy of the religions." So, too, Dr. Hans in his last chapter shows that, although in all the English-speaking countries " the sources of origin and the subsequent development of the traditions were the same," yet differences of emphasis have resulted in great variation of educational system.

The five factors (unity of race, religion, language, compact territory and political sovereignty) which Dr. Hans specifies as making for national unity, even if they all existed throughout the Empire, would not be sufficient to bind it together. Actually, the only one of them common to all " English-speaking " countries (excluding, of course, the U.S.A.) is political sovereignty. Allegiance to the Crown persists, in spite of everything : it rests partly on utility, partly—as is evident on occasions of jubilation—on sentiment ; and to some extent it depends on education. It may be argued that economic interests form a far stronger bond ; yet it is a fallacy to suppose that these are at the root of all human activities. As Dr. Kotsching remarks : " Those who are obsessed by the idea that economic forces, and economic forces only, are moulding the world will find a rich field for meditation in an analysis of the interplay of economic fact, social concept, and national attitude." [2] In these days, it is unfortunately true, military and naval

[1] *Quebec and South Africa : a Study in Cultural Adjustment* (Oxford University Press, 1934). Cf. his article in the YEAR BOOK, 1933.

[2] W. M. Kotsching, *Unemployment in the Learned Professions* (Oxford University Press, 1937), page 53.

defence looms increasingly large ; but even that cannot be interpreted solely by the mechanistic conception. There must exist a certain measure of contentment to preserve a partnership of autonomous powers ; but even more, there must be a similarity of political thought, a common ideology (to use the fashionable word). And here at last one finds the deepest root of tradition. For it is to centuries of political education that the English-speaking peoples owe their ideal of liberty. With all its anomalies and limitations, its inequalities and hypocrisies, its abuses and occasional injustices, democracy gives more chance for freedom of thought and personal development than any other form of government. And one has the faith that, even were totalitarianism to swamp the world, mankind would sooner or later return to its senses and evolve afresh something like—and let us hope better than—the " British " philosophy of life. It is difficult to write on this theme without becoming rhetorical and appearing insincere ; but, to put it bluntly, unless we can preserve democracy for the world there is no function, indeed no excuse, for the British Empire. Hence the privilege, and the terrifying responsibility, of all who have to do with education.

Turning to the four great influences about which Dr. Hans writes, we see that they stand roughly in chronological order. The Catholic obviously precedes the Anglican ; Puritanism (in the sense of all that derives from Calvin) comes later ; whilst Secularism, in one form or another, may be said to date from the Renaissance, but to reach full strength from the seventeenth century onwards. Distinct as these streams are, it is impossible to separate them completely, with the exception of the Catholic. There is likewise a rough gradation of " progressiveness," since it is inevitable that reformers should be less conservative than those they have left. Thus it is broadly true that Catholics and Anglicans separated men into two classes, in Platonic fashion—an *élite*, to be educated by means of the classics, and the people, to be kept ignorant, or at most to be taught the bare rudiments. Neither Church did much for women and girls, at any rate in higher education (*see* table on page 820). And as for the curriculum, it was impious to suggest any departure from the ancient languages : Dr. Arnold's dictum is well known : " The study of language seems to me as if it was given for the very purpose of forming the human mind in youth ; and the Greek and Roman languages seem the very instruments by which this is to be effective." Even more outspoken is Archdeacon Denison, who says of the decay of Greek and Latin that " it lies as deep as the entire revolution of our time, which has degraded everywhere, in England, the schools and universities of the Church into places either of no religion at all, or, what is even worse, into places of quasi-religion. For good, plausible but unreal, pretentious but untrue, is always a more powerful instrument in the hands of the Tempter than openly proclaimed and undisguised evil." [1]

[1] G. A. Denison, *Notes of My Life*, 1878, page 12.

Yet with this Satanic guidance the Dissenters successfully introduced into their academies all sorts of new subjects and laid the foundations of the modern curriculum.[1] In this work they can hardly be distinguished from those whom Dr. Hans groups as Secularists ; indeed, their easy alliance, as he says, prevented a disastrous split between religious and anti-clerical parties. Opposition came later, since " Secularists " as a whole were in favour of State control of education, a doctrine adopted from France ; whereas Nonconformists were opposed to any form of State domination—an attitude preserved by such spiritual descendants as Herbert Spencer. Yet even in this matter, in the fight for universal, compulsory, free, secular elementary education, members of both groups, and even some Anglicans, united.

Thus, useful as it is to trace the activities of these four traditions, they must not be regarded too rigidly apart. Dr. Hans treats the Royal Society as an offshoot of Secularism ; yet one of its declared objects was to convert the American Indians to Christianity.[2] And a prominent early Fellow, that extraordinary figure, Joseph Glanvil, was not only a scientist but an Anglican divine (" surpassed in genius," says Lecky, " by few of his successors " [3]), and is chiefly remembered to-day as a defender of the belief in witchcraft. Or, to take a more modern example, London University was founded by the association of Secularists, Dissenters, Jews and Catholics (who were all technically excluded from Oxford and Cambridge) ; there was even an Evangelical, Zachary Macaulay, on the first Council.[4] It is indeed by their ability to sink differences for a common purpose that Englishmen often get things done : illogical they may be in appearance, inconsistent and perhaps hypocritical, but they can at need be effective.

The most original—and the most controversial—part of Dr. Hans's contribution is that which traces the spread of popular education to Rosicrucian and Masonic influences. He has published elsewhere [5] more evidence, and has certainly proved that many early men of science, *virtuosi* or *illuminati*, were concerned with the " Invisible College " which became the Royal Society,[6] and that later Freemasons (especially that very interesting character, J. T. Desaguliers) were educational pioneers. But the whole subject of Rosicrucianism is obscure : its eponymous founder, Rosenkreuz, seems never to have existed ; and its influence on Freemasonry is at least doubtful. It is certainly significant (to take one minor example) that the phrase " Diffusion of Useful Knowledge,"

[1] Cf. Foster Watson, *The Beginnings of the Teaching of Modern Subjects in England*, 1909.

[2] See R. F. Young, *Comenius in England*, 1932.

[3] *Rationalism in Europe*, Chapter I.

[4] See H. H. Belloc, *University College, London*, 1826–1926.

[5] *Adult Education*, April 1935 and March 1936.

[6] Yet Glanvil (in *Plus Ultra*) says that " the Royal Society have laid aside the Chrysopoietick, the delusory delights and vain transmutations, the Rosicrucian Vapours, Magical Charms," etc.

which Brougham made famous, was employed by societies affiliated to Freemasonry at the end of the eighteenth century ; yet too much stress must not be laid on a name : many followers of Bacon talked of " advancement of learning." Dr. Hans has undoubtedly made out a strong case, and I know that he is prepared to substantiate it further. Without being entirely convinced, I bow, as one not qualified to pass a judgment, to his erudition.

In any case, this particular question is relatively unimportant, for it does not affect his main argument. Others have written on the educational differences between members of the British Commonwealth : Dr. Hans here brings out the traditions that unite them with each other and with the United States. The outsider is said to see more of the game ; and Dr. Hans, though he has entered the British community, was not born into it. The chapters that follow should do a real service to mutual understanding.

F. A. Cavenagh.

CHAPTER TWO

The Roman Catholic Tradition in Education

WHEN we speak of the Roman Catholic [1] tradition in the English-speaking countries, we must distinguish the educational system of the mediæval universal Church from the separate systems of the Roman communities after the Reformation. The tradition of the mediæval Church served as a common cultural basis for all religious denominations of the post-Reformation period. The Church of England, the Church of Scotland and other Protestant bodies are as much direct descendants of the mediæval tradition as the Church of Rome. On the other hand, the educational systems of Roman Catholic post-Reformation Orders have been influenced to a lesser degree by the Renaissance and Reformation than the systems of the Protestant Churches. Moreover, the Roman Catholic Church after the Reformation became the Church of a persecuted minority, cut away from the rest of the population. Two centuries of persecution made any interchange of ideas and practice almost impossible, and resulted in a separate Roman Catholic school system existing side by side with national systems, without contributing much to the general development of educational traditions. Thus, whereas the mediæval scholastic tradition left its imprint on all Protestant school systems, the Roman Catholic tradition of the post-Reformation minority is a thing apart, clearly distinguished both from the old international system of the Middle Ages and from the national systems of the nineteenth century. In this chapter, therefore, we shall speak of the Catholic tradition only as the tradition of the post-Reformation minority. Although Catholic systems of all English-speaking countries resemble each other to a great extent, their legal status and influence are different in each country.

I. THE ROMAN CATHOLIC TRADITION IN ENGLAND

After the accession of Elizabeth in 1558, all the clerics, including university dons, who refused to accept the separation from Rome were deprived of their livings and university posts, and it soon became evident that there was no hope for a second revival of Catholicism. After the excommunication of Queen Elizabeth by Pope Pius V in 1570 and the St. Bartholomew massacre, the Catholics were persecuted, and there was no possibility of training priests in England. The exiled university dons and priests went to Catholic countries and started English colleges abroad.

Special colleges were founded for the training of an English

[1] The term *Roman Catholic* is used throughout this chapter for the sake of convenience, since to use any other might lead to confusion.—Editor.

Catholic clergy. In 1579, the English College in Rome came into being; in 1589, St. Albans College was founded in Valladolid; in 1611, the English College at Madrid, and in 1624, the English College at Lisbon. But all these colleges were theological seminaries, and could not, therefore, answer the need of the Catholic nobility and squires for lay Catholic education. A group of Oxford dons, led by Dr. William Allen, formerly fellow of Oriel and principal of St. Mary's Hall, provided for that need. Allen started, in 1568, a theological seminary at Douai, Flanders, but soon he came to the conclusion that a lay college was perhaps more necessary. In 1579, he founded the famous Douai College, known in Belgium as *Les Grands Anglais*. The lecturers were exclusively Oxford men, the regulations and the whole atmosphere were copied from Oxford; in fact, the Douai College was a branch of Oxford University abroad. Gradually, however, with the dying out of original members of Oxford and with the appointment of foreign-trained teachers, the intimate link with the English tradition was broken and the Douai College developed into a typical Catholic institution abroad.

A second college for the Catholic laity was founded in 1592, at St. Omer, near Calais, by the famous Jesuit Robert Parsons. From the start this institution was modelled on the Jesuit principles (later incorporated in the *Ratio Studiorum*) and had few English features. In the sixteenth century two further colleges were founded by the English Benedictines, one at St. Gregory, Douai, in 1622, and another in Dieuleward in 1669. The Dominicans started a college at Bornhem, Belgium, in 1673. But these three colleges had no direct connection with the English tradition.

In England the continuity of Catholic education was interrupted, and no schools existed from the time of Elizabeth to that of James II. During the short reign of James II a few Catholic schools were established, but these were all closed after his deposition. The only school which could claim continuity from that period was the school at Twyford, near Winchester, which was reopened in 1757 at Standon Lordship. This later became St. Edmund's College. Another school was founded in 1762 by Bishop Challoner at Sedgely Park, and later removed to Cotton Hall. With these exceptions, the Catholic gentry of the eighteenth century was educated abroad in the colleges mentioned above. Living abroad among the French-speaking people and meeting Catholics of all nations made the Catholic gentlemen and priests less insular than their Protestant contemporaries, and perhaps less narrow-minded in some respects. On the other hand, the exclusion from public services and universities made them half foreigners in their own country and deprived them of an opportunity of influencing the Protestant majority. Thus it happened that English educational traditions were moulded entirely by the Church of England, and the Nonconforming Protestants and Roman Catholics made no contribution up to the end of the nineteenth century.

The Effect of the French Revolution

A sudden change in the fate of Catholic education was brought about by the French Revolution. In 1793, all the English colleges in France and neighbouring Flemish towns were closed down and their property confiscated. The English Catholics became refugees for a second time, but this time they fled towards their native shores. Prejudice against Catholics in England was gradually disappearing. In the eighteenth century the ideas of religious tolerance were disseminated by English philosophers and deists and adopted as a practical policy by the influential society of Freemasons. Catholics were accepted into Masonry without prejudice, and some of them played important rôles in the society. Although the disabling Acts were not entirely abolished, some measure of relief was passed by the Government in 1778.

Side by side with the legal amelioration of their civic status went the change of attitude of Catholics themselves. From being rebels and Jacobites for a century, they became loyal citizens of their country. The so-called Cisalpine spirit became predominant among the Catholic gentry. Granted the basis of Catholic dogma, the Cisalpines concentrated their attention on their civic obligations. In theory they accepted the dogmatic teaching of the Holy See, but they resented any interference from the Pope and hierarchy in civic affairs. Later the Cisalpine Club represented the English Catholic laity during the struggle for emancipation. The Cisalpines accepted the Government proposal of veto which brought them into opposition to Bishop Milner and almost ended in their excommunication. The Catholics became nationally conscious. It is not astonishing, therefore, that in these circumstances the English colleges were repatriated without hindrance. The College of Allen moved from Douai to Ushaw and became the well-known St. Cuthbert College. The Jesuits of St. Omer, after a temporary sojourn at Liège under the name of Gentlemen of Liège, removed to Stonyhurst, where they resumed their old name after the restoration of the Society by the Pope in 1814. The Benedictine College of St. Gregory gave rise to Downside College, and the College of Dieuleward continued its existence at Ampleforth. The Dominicans of Borhem and their pupils found a new home at Carshalton. The Cisalpine parents of scholars from exiled colleges founded their own college at Oscott in 1794. Thus at the end of the century the Catholics possessed in England half a dozen secondary colleges with an established tradition which could rival the great public schools of the Anglicans.

A New Period of Catholic Education

A new period of Catholic education was connected with three independent events: Catholic emancipation in 1829, the Irish famine of 1845 and the subsequent emigration to England, and the conversion of Newman and his followers in 1845 and later.

Catholic emancipation gave a new impetus to the development of secondary schools, especially convent schools for girls. Foreign Orders, mostly from France, established their branches in England together with their convent schools. The *Faithful Companions of Jesus* were the first to reach London in 1830, and they founded the first convent school. *Sacred Heart* came to England in 1842 and *Notre Dame* in 1845. The schools of these sisterhoods were often conducted in French, and the girls were, as a rule, bilingual.

A new situation arose with the conversion of many High Church Anglicans connected with the Oxford Movement. Cardinal Manning, himself a convert, says in his letter to Talbot, another convert and secretary to the Holy See, "changed conditions require new kinds of work." He enumerates several new factors in the life of English Catholics, of which we shall mention here four: (i) "The contact with English society requires a new race of men as teachers, directors and companions. (ii) The work of the Church in relation to the Government in all public services, civil and military, at home and in the colonies, needs a class of men of whom we possess very few. (iii) The Catholic laity is beginning to be dissatisfied with the standard of education, both in themselves and in their priests. The close contact with the educated classes of English society forces this on them. (iv) A large number of our laity, chiefly converts, are highly educated, and our priests are, except individuals, not a match for them."

Manning very soon afterwards became one of the leaders of the Ultramontane Movement and forgot his own conclusions of 1859. (He was appointed Archbishop of Westminster and later Cardinal, and was the chief protagonist of the Roman policy which led to the promulgation of the dogma of Infallibility in 1869.) The converts led by Newman brought with them the English tradition of great public schools and Oxford, and demanded Catholic schools modelled on them. In 1848, the convert, Cornelia Connelly, founded the first purely English society of The *Holy Child Jesus* and established her first convent school at St. Leonards. "Here children of old Catholics and converts met in an English atmosphere and were educated in a tradition which was both Catholic and English. Her use of this tradition contributed a new element to Catholic education. This was the open-air spirit of freedom, born of trust and self-government, with which she inspired her schools, and which made them peculiarly adapted to meet the wants of the age."[1] Newman, in answer to the explicit desires of many converts, founded in 1860 his Oratory School at Birmingham on the model of Eton. Among the masters was Thomas Arnold, son of the famous headmaster, who, although converted to Catholicism, was steeped in English tradition. These new schools influenced the older Catholic schools of continental origin, and gradually Catholic secondary education became more and more English in

[1] David Mathew, *Catholicism in England*, page 284, Appendix by M. Mary Paul, S.H.C.J.

its atmosphere. The barrier between the Protestant great public schools and the Catholic colleges disappeared. They were accepted on equal terms on the Headmasters' Conference, which led to a healthy intercourse and rivalry between the different types of schools.

(*a*) Elementary Education

In the field of elementary education the position of Roman Catholics was entirely changed by the Irish immigration in the wake of famine. Before the coming of the Irish peasants and labourers the Catholic community was chiefly composed of squires and their dependants, and merchants in the City. Elementary education, or the education of the poor, was not so important among the Catholics as secondary education, since there were few Catholics of the lower classes. The Irish famine drove the starving population towards the English industrial centres. Within a few years thousands of Irish Catholics settled in Lancashire and elsewhere, thus changing the character of the Catholic community. The few existing Catholic elementary schools could not accommodate the newcomers, and new schools were necessary. In 1847, the Catholic Poor School Committee was founded under the chairmanship of C. Langdale. On December 18th the Committee was recognised by the Committee of the Council on Education as the representative organisation of the Catholic community and received in 1849 the first Government grant on equal terms with the National and British and Foreign Schools. In 1851, there were 311 Catholic schools, including colleges and convent schools, and of these not less than 166 were founded in the forties, which quite definitely shows that Catholic elementary education was closely connected with the Irish immigration. During the first ten years of Government grants (1849–58) the Catholic schools received £71,756, and since 1858 about £30,000 annually. The training of teachers was provided for at St. Mary's College for men, Hammersmith, founded 1851, and at Liverpool College for women, founded in 1856 by the Sisters of Notre Dame. Both colleges received Government grants. The introduction of compulsory attendance and of Board schools in 1870 induced the Catholic Committee to redouble its efforts in order to cover the whole child population of their co-religionists, as otherwise Catholic children would have been compelled to attend the undenominational Board schools. Very soon their aim was attained, and since the eighties all Catholic children of compulsory age have found ample accommodation in their own schools. With very few exceptions Catholic elementary schools are included in the systems of local authorities and are treated at present as a part of the national school system. The standards, the methods, the teachers and the inspectors are the same as in other public elementary schools, the only difference being a special religious atmosphere, which is often lacking in the provided schools.

(*b*) Secondary Education

Catholic secondary schools only began to receive Board of Education grants in 1902, and even now are not included in the local authorities' systems. Only about one-quarter of the Catholic secondary schools are included in the national system; the rest remain outside of it. All Catholic colleges are organised in an Annual Conference, and convent schools in a separate Conference. Here, as in the elementary schools, the standards and the methods do not differ much from Protestant or council secondary schools, but a certain consciousness of different tradition is jealously preserved. The President of the Annual Conference of Catholic Colleges in 1936 thus defined the difference: "Our boys are to preserve trust faithfully; they must feel not merely equality, but a sense of difference, a sense of superiority of their Catholic culture, a conviction that they hold a key position containing the adequate and ultimate solution of all problems. They must be wary of the corroding acid of a neo-pagan contact, and, without being prigs or recluses, look upon themselves as a race apart."

(*c*) University Education

In university education Catholics entered the field much later than in elementary and secondary education. Religious tests were only abolished at Oxford and Cambridge in 1854 and 1856 respectively, and until then University College, London, was the only institution where Catholics were accepted. But even when the tests were abolished, the Catholic hierarchy, especially Cardinal Manning, was emphatically against Catholic attendance at English universities. Newman, when invited to Ireland, wanted to develop the Catholic University in Dublin into an Imperial University for all English-speaking Catholics. However, both the Irish hierarchy and the English Catholics opposed his scheme. After his return to England Newman wanted to found an Oratorian College at Oxford (1864–1867), but his idea was vetoed by Manning. Manning himself attempted to found a Catholic University in London. A Catholic College at Kensington was duly opened, but the exclusion of Newman and of the Society of Jesus gave no promise of success. After a few years the College was transformed into Catholic university classes, which tutored students for the examinations of English universities. The Catholic laity did not wish for a separate ultramontane university, and were quite satisfied with the facilities given by Oxford, Cambridge, London and other modern universities. In 1894, they successfully petitioned the Holy See to revoke the prohibition imposed by Manning. The Jesuits sent students to Oxford even before the permission was granted, and, in 1896, founded Campion Hall for the members of the Society. The Benedictines of Ampleforth followed suit and founded St. Benet's Hall in 1897 for the members of their Order. Both halls adopted the system of Oxford colleges, and have their own tutors and

lecturers. In 1907 the Pope raised the ban on the attendance of Catholic women at the universities, and at present nuns of various congregations can be met at all English universities.

Conclusion

Thus, gradually, English Catholics began to share fully the national culture which is their birthright. The centuries of seclusion, and even opposition, have now given way to social intercourse and mutual influence for the benefit of the country as a whole. Because of that seclusion the contribution of Catholics to national traditions in education is not great. But it is noticeable in the broadening of the English insularity, in closer contact with continental systems and methods and in the emphasising of the necessity for a religious basis in education. Such new methods as Montessori and Decroly, started in Catholic countries, were popularised and disseminated in England largely by Catholic schools. On the other hand, English traditions have modified the original rigidity of Catholic school methods and softened down the extreme tendencies of ultramontanism. Newman has become an English classic, and Lord Acton, a professor at Cambridge, an exponent of the English tradition in history.

II. THE CATHOLIC TRADITION IN SCOTLAND

In Scotland, the Reformation was much more thorough than in England, and only the north-western highlanders retained the old faith, whilst all the towns, universities and the gentry went over to the Presbyterian Church. The only place of learning retained by Scottish Catholics was the old College in Paris, established long before the Reformation (1326). Very soon, however, the Jesuits founded a college at Tournai, in 1576, which was transferred to Douai in 1593. In 1600, a Scottish College was founded in Rome, and in 1633, one was founded in Madrid, but this was transferred to Valladolid after the suppression of the Society of Jesus. The two old Scottish Benedictine monasteries at Ratisbon and Wurzburg also served as seminaries for Scottish priests. Of all these continental colleges, the Scottish College in Paris was the only institution which supplied Scotland with educated lay Catholics. At the end of the seventeenth century, the Paris College was infected by Jansenist opinions, and its alumni formed the so-called "liberal" party among the Scottish Catholics. Many of its students did not enter the Church at all, some preferring the army, and others, lay professions. In the period 1739–64, not a single alumnus entered the Church. Both the Douai and Paris Colleges shared the fate of other Catholic places of learning during the Revolution, and were closed in 1793. Whereas, in England, this led to the transfer of many old colleges to English soil, the Scottish colleges disappeared without any continuation. One could hardly expect the 30,000 Catholic highlanders, mostly very poor, to maintain

colleges in Scotland. On the eve of the Catholic emancipation the total Catholic population of Scotland had increased to 70,000, and the whole educational system consisted of about ten elementary schools. The first Catholic schools were established through the agency of the Glasgow Catholic Society in 1817, four in Glasgow and two in Paisley.[1] In 1836, there were 20 schools with 1,690 pupils, although some of these pupils were Protestants, since six of the schools admitted Protestants, too. These schools were distributed as follows: Aberdeen 2, Banff 5, Dumbarton 1, Dumfries 1, Glasgow 5, Lanark 1, Renfrew 5.

For a long time the only place of higher education was a theological seminary founded in 1712 at Scalan and transferred in 1799 to Aquhartie. Both the Aquhartie and the later Lismore seminaries were small schools, having less than twenty students each. In 1829, both seminaries were combined and transferred to Blairs as the St. Mary's College, which became the national college for Catholic priests. In 1837, Blairs College received from France the remnants of the library which belonged to the Scottish College at Paris, and thus a certain continuity was established.

The Irish immigration influenced the Catholic community in an even greater degree than in England. In the sixties the Irish immigrants formed the majority of Catholics and their ratio increased continuously. In 1859, Bishop Gillis brought back to Scotland the Society of Jesus and other teaching Orders. The Jesuits founded St. Aloysius College at Glasgow, and the Sisters of Mary founded convent schools for girls (the first Convent of St. Margaret in Edinburgh was founded in 1832). The Marist Brothers founded the St. Mungo Academy at Glasgow. There was a marked difference between the old Scottish Catholics and the Irish newcomers. The influence of the Jansenist doctrine, with which the old Scalan seminary was also infected, and the Presbyterian surroundings, modified the attitude of Scottish Catholics towards the hierarchy. Cardinal Wiseman wrote to the Office of Propaganda in 1864: "There is no doubt that the dominant Presbyterianism of the country has had its influence also on the Catholics, who have consequently lost their fervour in many ways and in particular show little liking for episcopal rule." The Irish immigrants, on the other hand, brought with them their Irish priests, who demanded the re-establishment of a regular hierarchy. With the coming of the Irish the school system grew rapidly. In 1861, there were already 8,168 pupils in Catholic elementary schools, besides several secondary schools. Nevertheless, about 7,000 Catholic children were still unprovided for, and were obliged to attend Presbyterian and undenominational schools.

After the passing of the Compulsory Attendance Act and the institution of School Boards in 1872, the Catholics made every effort to cover the whole school population with their own schools.

[1] One Catholic school has existed in Paisley since 1775 as an undenominational school.

Training colleges were established at Glasgow (Notre Dame in 1894) and at Edinburgh, and about a dozen secondary schools for both boys and girls came into being. In 1873, there were already 65 Catholic schools under inspection with 12,909 pupils. In 1880, there were 126 schools with 32,103 pupils, and in 1900, 188 schools with 74,913 pupils. Since then the Roman Catholic population has been amply supplied with schools. The Act of 1918 gave the Roman Catholic schools an opportunity to enjoy a full measure of public financial support without surrendering their religious atmosphere. In 1919, 213 elementary and 13 Catholic secondary schools were transferred to local authorities, and thus the dualism of control and organisation which is still present in England disappeared in Scotland. The present organisation and standards and methods of Catholic schools are the same as in other public schools in Scotland.

III. THE CATHOLIC TRADITION IN IRELAND

The history of Catholic education in Ireland after the Reformation can be divided into three periods: (1) from the establishment of the Church of Ireland to the Treaty of Limerick in 1690; (2) the period of the penal laws of William and Anne; and (3) the nineteenth century. The Reformation was not successful in Ireland, and very few native Irishmen joined the established Church. The colonisation of Ulster, and the Plantation under Cromwell, introduced many English and Scottish settlers, who were, however, mostly Presbyterians. Thus the Irish population was divided into three distinct groups: the majority remained Roman Catholic and comprised almost all the native Irish and some descendants of the Anglo-Norman gentry; the urban population of the Pale, together with the aristocracy, belonged to the Church of Ireland; the colonists of Ulster were predominantly Presbyterian.

During the first period the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity of Elizabeth put the Roman Catholics at a disadvantage, as all the endowments for education were monopolised by the Church of Ireland, and Catholic schools existed only on sufferance. A Jesuit College existed in Dublin at the beginning of the seventeenth century, which was suppressed in 1630. At the time of the Commonwealth a Jesuit school had existed at New Ross since 1650. After the Restoration it was reorganised into a proper college with a new building, and in 1669, there were 120 boys, 35 of whom were boarders, out of which number 17 were Protestants. This college was suppressed in 1670. Another large Jesuit College at Drogheda had in 1671 about 175 boys. This was also suppressed. During this period Catholics used to receive their education in the many Irish colleges founded on the Continent. The first was founded at Salamanca in 1582, and in 1608 was incorporated in the University of Salamanca. Then followed the Irish colleges at Lisbon (1595), Douai (1596), Antwerp (1600), Prague (1631), Rome (1625), Toulouse (1660) and Paris (1667).

With the enactment of the penal laws all organised schools for Catholics disappeared from Ireland and the sending of boys to foreign colleges was prohibited by law. During this period, the only opportunity for education without forfeiting their faith was afforded to Catholics by the so-called Hedge schools. These were small illegal schools constantly persecuted by the informers and the police. They had no proper buildings, no school apparatus and no regular attendance. The teachers were all lay Catholics, who had somehow managed to be educated, either at Protestant schools, or abroad. Usually they taught the three Rs, to which the Catholic catechism was added in the majority of schools. In some cases, Irish and classical languages were also taught. The atmosphere of these schools was definitely Irish and anti-English, but it was Catholic more in a negative than a positive sense. As mentioned above, many of the Hedge schools did not even teach the Catholic catechism. The Catholic hierarchy looked upon them with disfavour. The enquiry of 1731 into the state of Popery enumerated about 549 Hedge schools.

The Effect of the Relief Acts

The enactments of the Relief Acts of 1782, 1792 and 1793 permitted Catholic teachers the establishment of schools under certain conditions, and opened Trinity College, Dublin, to Catholic students. Catholic poor school committees were formed, as, for instance, at Cork, which founded schools as early as 1793. The Government even endowed in 1795 a Roman Catholic college at Maynooth for the training of Catholic priests. Diocesan colleges were founded at Kilkenny in 1782, at Carlow in 1788, at Tuam in 1800 and at Waterford in 1807. Many private classical schools also came into being, and the enquiry of 1809 mentions a large Roman Catholic classical school at Dundalk, a Roman Catholic academy at Kilkenny and a Roman Catholic classical school at Middleton.

A definite revival of Catholic tradition was furthered by the foundation of the Irish teaching Orders. The first of the Irish Orders were the Christian Brothers, founded in 1808 by Edmund Rice. The first school was established at Waterford in 1802. In 1824, the Christian Brothers had 11 schools with about 5,000 boys. In 1828, Daniel O'Connell laid the foundation-stone of the O'Connell schools for the Order in Dublin. On his initiative the Catholic Association voted £1,500 for the schools of the Order. In 1867, the Christian Brothers had 60 schools with 25,120 boys. When the National system was established in 1831, the Christian Brothers, advised by Archbishop Murray, applied for grants for six of their schools, but after a short period of co-operation they withdrew, as the idea of separation of secular and religious education was contrary to their principles. Another Irish Order was founded in 1815 by Mrs. Aikenhead, a converted Presbyterian. Encouraged

by Archbishop Murray, she started the Sisters of Charity. In 1830, the Sisters founded in Dublin their first school for girls. At first they introduced the methods and regulations prevalent among the schools of the Society of Friends (Quakers). Soon, however, they abandoned this connection, and applied to the Christian Brothers for an instructor. Brother Duggan was delegated and introduced the methods of his Order into the girls' schools. Encouraged by Murray, Catherine McAuley founded another Order, the Sisters of Mercy, in 1827, for the education of girls and orphans. The first school was opened in Dublin in 1831, and by 1850, the Sisters of Mercy had 30 convent schools. Archbishop Murray also invited foreign Orders, and in 1822 the first convent of the Sisters of Loreto was opened. Schools for boys were also established by the Patrician Brothers in 1808, by the Franciscans in 1818 and by the Jesuits. After the restoration of the Society of Jesus in 1814, the Jesuits could assume their activities under their own name. Father Kenney, S.J., who was the president of Maynooth College, was especially active. In 1814, he founded the Jesuit College at Clongowes Wood and, after the emancipation, the College at Tullabeg and the Seminary in Hardwick Street (later at Belvedere House). All these foundations, however, both primary and secondary, could only cater for about 10,000 Catholic children, and this was entirely inadequate for a country with a population of about eight millions. It was evident that the Roman Catholic Church was unable to build a national system without the aid of the State. Hedge schools still flourished, and were the only source of education for the great majority of Catholics.

Antagonism to National System

The emancipation of Catholics in 1829 compelled the Government to take the initiative. At first, the Catholic hierarchy, led by Archbishop Murray, accepted the undenominational national system with united secular and separate religious instruction. During the first years, 1831–40, 26 convent schools and 12 schools attached to monasteries applied for building grants and accepted the regulations of the Board. Soon, however, the hierarchy changed its attitude. The Bishop of Tuam, McHale, was the first to denounce the national system and to prohibit the co-operation of the clergy of his diocese with the National Board. The death of Archbishop Murray deprived the National system of its staunch supporter among the Catholic prelates. His successor, Archbishop Cullen, was an extreme ultramontane and was dead against any system of undenominationalism. He summoned a synod of prelates and clergy at Thurles in 1850, which officially denounced the national system and the newly established Queen's Colleges. In 1852, the decrees of this synod were promulgated in all the Roman Catholic churches and a campaign of boycotting national schools was started by the clergy. It was unsuccessful, however, and the

Catholic laity continued to send their children to national schools. But it retarded its natural growth and engendered a spirit of denominational strife.

The attitude of the Catholic hierarchy to the national system was not always consistent and depended largely on the kind of training the Catholic prelates had received themselves. One of the broad-minded prelates, Dr. Doyle, Bishop of Kildare, in his Parliamentary examination in March 1825, distinguished the education received at Maynooth and Irish theological colleges abroad from the education at foreign universities. In his opinion, prelates who attended university courses " received greater information and improved their talents more " than those who studied at home or in Irish colleges abroad. Archbishop Murray, after attending a Protestant school in Dublin, went to the University of Salamanca, and there received his degree. Bishop Doyle completed his education at the University of Coimbra. They were both broad-minded enough to promote the system established by the National Board. On the other hand, Dr. McHale, Archbishop of Tuam, received his education at Maynooth, and Cardinal Cullen, Archbishop of Dublin, after attending a school kept by a Quaker, completed his education at the College of Propaganda at Rome, where he received a narrow theological training. Both these latter prelates were uncompromising enemies of national education. Cardinal Cullen's attitude towards education was expressed by him in the following words : " Too high an education will make the poor oftentimes discontented, and will unsuit them for following the plough or for using the spade, or for hammering iron, or for building walls." Therefore he would limit the education of the poor to the three R's and catechism.[1] The Government, by founding and endowing the theological college in 1795 at Maynooth, attempted to stop the practice of attending foreign universities. This aim was achieved, but the result was opposite to their expectations. The hierarchy educated at Maynooth was more uncompromising than the previous generation educated abroad. The College at Maynooth, which was established " for the better education of persons professing the Roman Catholic religion," and was meant to be a place of higher learning for both clerical and lay Catholics, was changed into a purely theological seminary through the policy of the Catholic hierarchy. Lay students attended the College until 1817, when this practice was discontinued, because, to quote the Catholic periodical *The Irish Monthly*, (1891) : " the young lay gentlemen were not considered of advantage to the clerical students." Thus the Catholic hierarchy missed a chance of establishing a Catholic university endowed by the State. The Irish Catholics were compelled to attend the Anglican Trinity College against the expressed disapproval of the Catholic hierarchy. The position was abnormal, since in a Catholic country the only university was controlled by the Protestant clergy.

[1] *Royal Commission of Enquiry*, 1870 (Ireland), vol. i, page 566.

When the Government at last founded Queen's University, with its three colleges at Cork, Galway and Belfast, the attitude of the hierarchy was not unanimous. Individual bishops, such as Dr. Murphy, of Cork, Dr. Murray, of Dublin, Dr. Crolly, the Catholic Primate, and Dr. Ryan, of Limerick, were in favour of accepting the scheme of an undenominational university with special resident deans for each persuasion. This was in 1845, and before Dr. Cullen came back from Rome. Dr. McHale, of Tuam, however, anathematised the project and christened it " Godless." In October 1847, a rescript from the Council of Cardinals reached Ireland denouncing the new University as injurious to religion. Dr. McHale went to Rome, and the rescript was repeated in 1848 and 1849. In 1850, Dr. Cullen was appointed Primate of Ireland after the death of Dr. Crolly, and in the same year he summoned the Synod of Thurles. Here the new University was again denounced as " Godless," and the Catholics were urged to boycott it. The new generation of prelates, headed by Archbishop Cullen, had now triumphed, and the Catholic hierarchy refused any co-operation with the National system and the Queen's University.

The policy, however, was too negative to satisfy Catholic opinion. Some effort had to be made to establish a denominational Catholic university. Archbishop Cullen started a national campaign, and collections were made in all churches. The exact amount of money collected is not known, but it was between a quarter and a half million pounds. The Primate invited Dr. Newman to be Rector of the new University. In 1854, the Catholic University was founded, and Newman zealously organised it. He had a vision of an Imperial Catholic University which would form a centre of learning for all English-speaking Catholics. He invited well-known English converts as professors, among them Thomas Arnold, son of the famous headmaster. His idea was to combine the best traditions of Oxford with the religious atmosphere of Catholicism. His vision, however, was unacceptable both to the Irish hierarchy and to the English laity.

The English Catholic gentry would not send their sons to Ireland, preferring Oxford, which had just opened its doors to Roman Catholic students. The Irish hierarchy was not at all concerned with Newman's imperial dreams, and did not approve of a wholesale transportation of old Oxonians. Friction with Cullen became inevitable. The larger amount of the collected funds did not reach the University. Newman, finding himself restricted in his plan, was compelled to resign in 1858, a disillusioned man. Although during the first year about 100 students matriculated, their numbers continuously decreased, and in the seventies fell to about twenty. Funds were exhausted, collections dwindled from year to year, and it became evident that the Church could not maintain the University without the help of the State. The reorganisation of Queen's University in 1882 into the Royal University, with fellowships available for Roman Catholics, presented an opportunity to revive

the moribund institution. The Catholic University, or what remained of it, was handed over to the Society of Jesus. Father Delaney was appointed Rector, and the new Catholic College received a State subsidy in the form of eight fellowships at £400 each. In 1883, there were 160 students, and their numbers increased continuously. It was a Jesuit University, modified, however, by English traditions. In 1909, it was incorporated in the National University and officially became a State institution.

Effects of the Acceptance of a State Subsidy

Thus, in spite of the official policy of the hierarchy, the Roman Catholics of Ireland accepted the principle of divided secular and religious instruction as an unavoidable compromise. With the exception of Christian Brothers and Sisters of the Holy Faith, founded in 1857, all Orders availed themselves of the advantages of the State subsidy. In 1910, there were 399 national schools under the Orders with 112,478 pupils. Outside the national system the Christian Brothers and the Sisters of the Holy Faith had 110 schools with 27,500 pupils. The majority of Catholic children, however, were in national schools under lay teachers. In the field of secondary education, on the other hand, the majority of Catholic schools were managed by the Orders. In 1910, out of 208 Catholic schools, 164 were under the Orders. The Catholic training colleges were also controlled by religious Orders. Whereas the Catholic Church could not monopolise national education, in one respect it frustrated the efforts of the Government in establishing a common system for Catholics and Protestants. Although, officially, national schools are undenominational, in practice, Catholic and Protestant children are segregated, with few notable exceptions. Nevertheless, the National Board influenced the organisation and methods in religious schools, and many features common to all English-speaking countries were incorporated by the Irish Orders in their own institutions.

IV. THE CATHOLIC TRADITION IN THE U.S.A.

The present territory of the U.S.A. includes areas with quite a different historical background in relation to Catholic traditions. Whereas in English-speaking colonies Catholicism was subject to the same penal legislation as in Great Britain, in adjoining French and Spanish colonies the Roman Church was an established institution, maintained and protected by the State and endowed with an almost exclusive monopoly of education.

The Spanish Colonies

The roots of the present system of Catholic education in America must be looked for, therefore, in the Spanish colonies. In the present territories of New Mexico, California and Florida the Franciscan missionaries established a network of schools in the first half of the seventeenth century. The school systems of New

Mexico and Florida were completely destroyed by Indian revolts at the end of the century (in New Mexico in 1690). But the school system of California survived up to 1834, when it was secularised by the Mexican Government. Thus there is no uninterrupted continuity of Catholic schools in the former Spanish colonies.

The French Catholic Schools

The French Catholic schools, on the other hand, had an uninterrupted growth into the present system. The first school of New Orleans was founded by the Capuchins in 1722, but the most lasting influence was imparted by the Ursuline Sisters, who came to New Orleans in 1727 and founded the first school for girls. It developed later into an Academy, and exists, even now, as one of the best-known secondary schools for girls. When Louisiana became American in 1803, Jefferson, as President, afforded them official protection in recognition of their work. There were also French Catholic schools in North Louisiana, St. Louis and Detroit, which later formed the nucleus of the present Catholic system.

The English Colonies

In the English colonies the first Catholic schools were established in Maryland, which, in contrast to New England and the Southern colonies, was founded by Lord Baltimore, in 1634. As regards religion, the first Maryland law, enacted by the Catholic Assembly, stated that: "Holy Church within this province shall have and enjoy all her rights, liberties and franchises wholly and without blemish." As there were many Protestants in the Colony, each was left free to decide to which "Holy Church" he would belong, which in practice amounted to a freedom of religious beliefs. Puritans and other Protestants began freely to settle, and soon were in a majority.

The Puritans seized the opportunity of the Civil War in England to overthrow the Government of Baltimore. The Toleration Act of 1649 passed by Catholics was repealed and Roman Catholicism was proscribed. It is interesting to note that Cromwell disallowed this repeal and forced the Puritan Assembly to restore toleration. The disfranchisement of Catholics was enacted only after the Restoration under the pressure of the Church of England. Later, William III took the colony from Baltimore, made it into a Royal Province in 1692 and established the Church of England. The fate of Catholic schools of Maryland, therefore, followed these changes. The first school was founded by Jesuits at Newtown in 1640 and the first Jesuit College in 1677. After the repeal of Baltimore's charter the Jesuits were scattered and their schools closed. The Society, however, succeeded in founding an illegal college at Bohemia which existed undisturbed from 1704 to 1765, when it was closed. After the American Revolution, Catholics were emancipated and the Jesuits founded a college at Georgetown, which can be considered as the continuation of Bohemia College.

German Influence in Pennsylvania

In Pennsylvania, Catholics enjoyed freedom from the start. Schools were founded in German colonies by German Jesuits. Especially active was the former Rector of the Heidelberg University, Jesuit Schneider, who started a school at Goshenhoppen in 1741. Two other Jesuits, Molineux and Farmer, organised a Catholic parish in Philadelphia and started the first regular parish school of St. Mary in 1781. It became the model on which the later parish schools system was built.

French Influence following American Independence

With the establishment of American independence all restrictions on Roman Catholics were rescinded, and Catholics began to build schools in all places where they were congregated. A new impetus to Catholic education was given by the arrival of many French *émigrées*, among whom were many priests and members of religious Orders. Exiled from France by Revolutionary legislation, they transferred their activities to America. During the period 1790 to 1798, sixteen French members of the Sulpician Order arrived and helped to organise the Catholic College at Georgetown and the St. Mary Seminary at Baltimore. These two institutions became the parents of the Catholic system of colleges and seminaries throughout the U.S.A. Many other pioneers of Catholic education were also French *émigrées*, as the Trappist community and the Fathers Badin and Nerinckx, the founders of Kentucky schools. The English Dominicans, driven from Belgium in 1807, founded St. Thomas College in Kentucky. Exiled Sulpicians, Brother Flaget and Father Rivet, and the most famous, Father Richard, organised schools in many places. Especially influential was the activity of Father Richard, who was at the head of the school system of Detroit from 1798 to 1832. He established a complete Catholic system, with high schools and teachers' training colleges, published textbooks and administered schools. In 1817, he helped to found the "Catholepistemiad or University of Michigania," and was its first Vice-President. Teaching Orders of Sisters also began to arrive from France and other countries. The French Poor Clares arrived in 1792. The Lazarists from France arrived in 1816 and opened a college at St. Louis. The French Sisters of Sacré Cœur came in 1818 and the French Brothers of the Christian Schools in 1817. New American Orders were founded and encouraged by the French *émigrées*. Father Nerinckx founded the Order of the Sisters of Loretto in 1812. Mrs. Seton, encouraged by Sulpician Dubourg, founded another American Order, the Sisters of Charity, who opened their first school at Baltimore in 1808. This Order later branched off into five Sisterhoods and was responsible for one-tenth of all the Catholic schools in America. The French community, *Les Dames de la Retraite*, opened an Academy at Philadelphia in 1832. Irish Orders joined the French in founding new

schools. The Irish Sisters of Mercy started work in 1831, and the Irish Ursulines in 1834.

Development of a Separate Catholic System

At that time, the Catholic school system grew to such dimensions that it attracted public attention. The question of State and communal grants to Catholic schools had to be decided. Denominational schools of Protestant churches had enjoyed public support since the planting of colonies. It was quite natural, then, that Catholics should demand the same measure of public support. In some towns, as, for instance, Lowell, Mass., Catholic schools received public grants on certain conditions. The agreement was signed in 1835, and, three years later, the Catholic grammar schools and two primary schools were being supported by public funds. The agreement was abrogated in 1852. The test case, however, was decided in New York. Bishop Hughes petitioned the State legislature in 1840 for State grants to Catholic schools. Although Catholics agreed to accept all regulations and State inspection, both petitions were refused. The combined efforts of Protestant societies, and the growing movement for the secularisation of all schools, compelled the Catholics to build up a separate independent system which existed side by side with the public system. Since then, the Catholics of America, as in other English-speaking countries, are segregated in their own institutions. During the forties of the last century the Catholic population of the U.S.A. experienced a great influx from Europe. Before that period, the Catholic congregations were mostly the descendants of the original settlers of English, French or German origin. But in the forties the famine in Ireland, and political conditions in Germany, caused a constantly increasing immigration from these countries. The majority of the Irish immigrants, and a large proportion of the Germans, were Catholics. The Catholic population was doubled in a decade, and was continuously growing. Later, the immigration from Italy, Poland, Austria, Hungary and Lithuania added to the Catholic population people of different origin and with traditions quite foreign to the common tradition of the English-speaking nations.

New Orders from Abroad

The teaching Orders already settled in America were unable to cope with the magnitude of the problem. New Orders from Europe were invited to help with the task. From France came the Sisters of St. Joseph (1836), the Sisters of Providence (1840), the Sisters of Notre Dame (1840), the Sisters of the Holy Cross (1843), the Sisters of the Incarnate Word (1853), the Sisters of Divine Providence (1866), the Brothers of the Holy Cross (1841), Brothers of the Christian Schools (1846), Brothers of Sacré Cœur (1847) and the Alsatian Brothers of Mary (1847). From Germany came the Sanguinist Sisters (1844), School Sisters of Notre Dame (Munich)

(1847), Dominican Sisters of Ratisbon (1853), Sisters of St. Francis (1851), Benedictine Sisters (1852). From Holland the Dutch Xaverian Brothers (1854) and from Great Britain the Irish Franciscans (1847), and the English Sisters of the Holy Child Jesus (1863). Later in the century some Polish Orders also joined the ranks. It is interesting to note that the great majority of the imported Orders were French and German. Both these nationalities had many congregations of old settlers thoroughly Americanised. The imported French and German Sisters and Brothers had to learn English from the start, and were soon replaced by the English-speaking generation. More difficult was the Americanisation of the Italian, Polish and other Slavonic immigrants. This rapid growth of the Catholic population, its varied origin and the refusal of public authorities to subsidise Catholic schools made the task of the hierarchy very difficult.

The lack of parish schools, and the necessity for substantial financial sacrifices on the part of the poor immigrants in order to enter Catholic schools, compelled many Catholic parents to send their children to public non-sectarian schools. No less than one-third of the Catholic children attended public schools. The hierarchy, therefore, redoubled its efforts to organise a complete school system embracing the whole of the Catholic population.

Decrees of the Plenary Councils

The first plenary council of Baltimore in 1852 unified the system of various dioceses and exhorted the bishops to establish schools in all parishes, and to provide money from the revenues of the churches for the support of teachers. The next Council at Cincinnati, in 1855, adopted the following decree: "We admonish pastors of souls again and again to strive by all means in their power to prevent boys and girls entrusted to them from frequenting those schools which they cannot attend without great danger to their faith and morals; and at the same time we exhort parents to aid and sustain parochial and other schools which are under Catholic direction." The second Council of Cincinnati of 1857 decreed: "It is the judgement of the Fathers that all pastors of souls are bound, under pain of mortal sin, to provide a Catholic school in every parish." These decrees were affirmed later, in 1875, by the Roman Congregation of Propaganda. Its instruction was concluded as follows: "Parents who neglect to give this necessary Christian training and instruction to their children or who permit them to go to schools in which the ruin of their souls is inevitable, or, finally, who send them to the public school without sufficient cause and without taking the necessary precautions to render the danger of perversion remote—that such parents, if obstinate, cannot be absolved." Only in exceptional cases, with the permission of the bishop, were the parents allowed to send their children to public schools.

The question, however, was not definitely settled by the instruction of the Roman Propaganda. There were many Catholics who

recognised the right of the State to control the education of its citizens, and wished to arrive at an agreement with the State. In 1891, the Professor of Moral Theology at the newly founded Catholic University at Washington, Thomas Bouquillon, published a pamphlet, " Education, to Whom Does it Belong ? " He admitted that the State, beside a vague general right to educate, possessed also " the special and proper right " to educate the rising generation. It had also the right to compel attendance at school, to prescribe a minimum of education and to inspect private institutions. The Jesuits attacked Bouquillon's views and denied the right of the State to enact compulsory legislation in education. Cardinal Satolli, sent from Rome, and half of the American bishops assembled at New York in 1892, tried to find a compromise, and allowed parents to send their children to public schools in the absence of Catholic schools. The Letter of Satolli, however, did not satisfy the Ultramontane party. The controversy could not be decided in America, and a Letter from the Pope was necessary in order to end it. The Pope confirmed the decisions of the Plenary Councils of Baltimore, and thus definitely ended the attempts at a compromise. Public non-sectarian schools were incompatible with the ideas of Catholic education, and henceforward all Catholic schools had to form a separate and independent system. The American hierarchy succeeded in building up a well-organised system with high schools, training colleges, general colleges and separate Catholic universities. Two old colleges at Georgetown (1789) and Notre Dame (1842) gradually developed into universities of the first rank, and a new Catholic university was founded at Washington in 1887.

Statistics

In 1933, the Catholic system included 7,942 elementary schools with 2,193,160 pupils ; 2,074 secondary schools with 269,309 pupils. In elementary schools, out of 58,684 teachers, only 4,509 were lay, the rest being members of religious Orders. In secondary schools, 2,298 teachers were lay and 13,311 religious. The number of colleges of different standards amounted to 200 with 100,000 students. The five complete universities (Catholic, Georgetown, Notre Dame, Fordham and Marquette) had about 18,000 students. The 14 archdioceses and 105 dioceses are organised in a uniform way, having boards of education and superintendents, similar to public American bodies.

V. THE CATHOLIC TRADITION IN CANADA

The North American British colonies which form the present Dominion of Canada are historically composed of two parts with quite different traditions. The former French colony was populated by French settlers, who without exception were strongly attached to the Roman Church. The Maritime Provinces and

the Province of Upper Canada, on the other hand, were settled by Protestant loyalists from America and emigrants from Great Britain. Although among them there were many Irish and Scottish Catholics, their traditions and outlook were more akin to their Protestant blood relations than to their French-speaking co-religionists. Thus we have to distinguish the policy of the Catholic Church in French Quebec from the policy in the rest of the Dominion.

The Catholic Tradition in French Quebec

When conquered by the British in 1760, French Quebec had a population of 60,000, with an established system of government and legislation and a sufficient network of schools organised and administered by the Roman Church. The French Government only occasionally subsidised schools or intervened in educational matters, and the Church had in practice an undisputed monopoly. Both the religious Orders and the hierarchy were active in establishing schools in Canada. The first school was founded by the Jesuits at Quebec in 1635. It was a typical Jesuit college with a preparatory school (*La petite école*) for younger boys. It is interesting to note that the first aim of the Jesuit foundation, as of many others, was the education and Christianisation of the Indians, the education of the French settlers being undertaken as a supplementary aim. The Jesuit college flourished up to 1786, when it was closed in consequence of the suppression of the Society by the Pope. The preparatory school, however, continued its existence to a much later period. At Montreal, the Jesuits had a Latin school dating from 1694. Besides a class for classical studies the Jesuit College had a special class in mathematics and hydrography, which was subsidised by the French Government. In 1668, Bishop Laval founded the Theological Seminary at Quebec, with several *petites écoles* as preparatory schools. At the same time he founded the first *Ecole des Arts et Métiers* in Canada. In 1765, the *Séminaire* was transformed into a college, as the Jesuits were obliged to liquidate their institutions. The Sulpician Brothers opened their first school at Montreal in 1666. The Canadian Brothers (Frères Charon), founded by Jean François Charon in 1692, also maintained schools in Montreal up to 1745.

All these schools were for boys, but there also existed schools for girls. The Ursuline Sisters arrived in 1639 for the Christianisation of Indian girls. In 1642, they opened their first school at Quebec for Indian and French girls. The Sisters of Notre Dame, founded by Marguerite Bourgeoys in France, arrived in Canada with the foundress in 1653. She opened a school at Montreal in 1657. Later they began to open schools even in rural districts. In 1750, there were 32 primary schools for boys, 15 schools for girls, 2 colleges and 5 technical schools in the provinces of Quebec, Montreal and Trois-Rivières. All these institutions were founded and administered by the religious Orders and the hierarchy. The

British régime did not alter the situation very much. The Orders and the clergy continued to found schools without any help or intervention of the Government. The Sulpicians opened a college at Montreal in 1773, and the local clergy established colleges, two at Trois-Rivières in 1804 and 1812, one at Quebec in 1827, and three at Montreal in 1827 and 1832. New Orders arrived from France and Belgium, and the Jesuits returned after the restoration of the Society. The French Christian Brothers, the Sulpicians, the Brothers of St. Joseph, the Brothers of Charity and the Jesuits established many colleges and schools during the nineteenth century. The Brothers of the Christian schools arrived from France in 1837 and opened their first school at Montreal. The schools for girls also increased in numbers, and by 1874 the Sisters of Notre Dame had 50 convent schools in Quebec alone, besides 15 schools in other provinces of Canada. The Quebec Seminary was transformed into the Université Laval in 1852 by two charters, one from the Queen and the other from the Pope.

The Government made an attempt to establish an undenominational public system and founded for that purpose the Royal Institution in 1818. But as the Catholic hierarchy refused to collaborate, the schools of the Institution were actually in the hands of the Church of England clergy, and Catholic parents did not send their children to these schools. The attempt proved a complete failure, and the Government was compelled to establish two separate systems. But whereas the Protestant schools were practically undenominational, the Catholic schools retained their old curriculum and were entirely subordinate to the hierarchy. In 1875, the present organisation of administration was enacted by which the Catholic Committee, composed entirely of bishops and an equal number of Catholic laymen, was entrusted with a full control of the whole public system. Even Laval and Montreal Universities are managed by the hierarchy. However, in spite of this segregation and clerical control, the French Catholic system is gradually changing under the influence of the Protestant schools. A certain tendency towards more uniformity with the rest of Canada and a more liberal curriculum is noticeable. The influence of secular France has also been noticed lately amongst the Quebec intelligentsia, and the seclusion of the French Canadians is coming to an end.

The Maritime Provinces

In the Maritime Provinces the first settlers were the French Catholics, but they were soon outnumbered by English-speaking immigrants from Great Britain and loyalists from America. The Scottish and Irish Catholics who came later served as a mediating link between the French Catholics and the English Protestants. The Catholics were free to build their own schools, but public schools were undenominational. Until the Federation of 1867, the Maritime Provinces were under separate government, and the

legislation of the United Upper and Lower Canada on separate schools did not apply to them. When they entered into the Federation, the position of the Catholic minority was settled by previous legislation, and when the Catholics of New Brunswick tried to obtain the public grants in accordance with Section 93 of the Constitution of 1867, the Privy Council disallowed the petition. Thus the Catholic schools retained their character of private institutions.

The first Catholic school was founded by the French Sisters of the Congregation at Louisbourg even before the British régime. The foundation of the Catholic colleges, however, was of much later date. In Nova Scotia, St. Francis Xavier College at Antigonish was founded in 1854, St. Mary's College at Halifax in 1860, St. Anne's College at Church Point by the Eudist Fathers in 1890 and the Seminary of the Holy Heart, also founded by the Eudist Fathers at Halifax in 1895. In New Brunswick, St. Joseph College was founded at Memramcook in 1864, and in Prince Edward Island St. Dunstan's College in 1855. There are also several Catholic primary and secondary schools, usually connected with the convents. The majority of Catholic children, however, attend the public undenominational schools. The legislation of all Maritime Provinces is very liberal in this respect, and allows the right of entry for clergymen of all denominations. Paragraph 28 of the Nova Scotia regulations, for instance, allows devotional exercises during school hours if there are no objections from the parents; in the case of objections, the exercises are given after the close of the school. With the exception of the famous Bathurst case of 1890 in New Brunswick, which was instigated by two bigoted Protestant clergymen and was decided in favour of the Catholics, there has been little friction, and the school system is working to the satisfaction of all denominations.

The Situation in Ontario

In Ontario, formerly the province of Upper Canada, on the other hand, the question of separate Catholic schools has been in the forefront of political agitation for decades. When the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada were united under one Government in 1840, it became evident that the public school system could only be established on the basis of a compromise between the Catholics and Protestants. As the Protestants of Quebec, being in the minority, demanded separate schools, it was only just to concede the same rights to the Catholic minority of Ontario. Therefore the law of 1841 introduced a uniform legislation for both provinces. This law was modified in 1843 for Upper Canada, and at first the Catholic hierarchy (Bishops Power and Macdonell) worked in full agreement with the Chief Superintendent, Dr. Ryerson. The Ultramontane party, however, was not satisfied with certain limitations concerning separate schools,

and demanded a complete equality of financial and legal provision as between the common public schools and separate schools of the Catholic minority. When the French noble, Count de Charbonnel, became Bishop of Toronto in 1848, the Ultramontanes found in him a champion of their ideals. He took as his standard the decisions of the Baltimore Council of America and made these a condition of his co-operation. He wrote to Ryerson in 1852: "In default of these conditions it is forbidden to our faithful to send their children to public schools, on pain of the refusal of the Sacraments: because the soul and heaven are above everything . . . it is their right, so sacred and inalienable, that every wise and paternal Government has made laws respecting instruction only in harmony with the teaching Church—the Bishops united to their supreme and universal Head, and this right is so inviolable, that of late, as well as in former times, in France, in Belgium, in Prussia, in Austria and in Ireland, the Bishops, with the Pope, have done everything to overthrow, or modify, every school or university system opposed to the mission given by Jesus Christ to His Sacred College: "Go ye, therefore, teach all Nations." Ryerson vigorously repudiated the attempt of the Bishop to coerce him and refused to change the allotment of grants as established by law.

Bishop Charbonnel, in his Lenten Pastoral of 1856, went still further: "Catholic electors in this country who do not use their electoral power in behalf of separate schools are guilty of mortal sin. Likewise parents who do not make the sacrifices necessary to secure such schools, or send their children to mixed schools. Moreover, the Confessor who would give absolution to such parents, electors or legislators as support mixed schools to the prejudice of separate schools would be guilty of mortal sin." Ryerson, on the other hand, tried to uphold the right of individual Catholic parents to decide for themselves to which schools they should send their children. The secularists, and some Protestants, assailed Dr. Ryerson for his conciliatory attitude towards Catholics, whilst the Ultramontanes accused him of persecuting the minority. The controversy raged for years, and was not ended with the retirement of Bishop Charbonnel to France in 1860.

Several attempts were made by the Legislature to satisfy the Catholics, but after the passing of each Act new demands were preferred. However, after the passing of the Act of 1863 the agitation gradually died down, and it was accepted by both parties as a final settlement.

After the Federation in 1867 the legislation on separate schools became one of the conditions of the new Constitution, and Section 93 reads as follows: "Nothing in any law in relation to education shall prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to denominational schools which any class of persons have by law in the province at the union." By this section the provincial legislature has no right to abolish the existing system of separate Catholic schools. On the other hand, the Province is not obliged to extend the grants to Catholic secondary and higher institutions, as they

were not subsidised before 1867. Thus, although all Catholic primary schools are public, Catholic colleges are private institutions. The first Catholic College of St. Michael was founded by Bishop Charbonnel at Toronto in 1852. Later the Catholics established an independent university at Ottawa, developed from an earlier college founded in 1849. The College of St. Michael is now an affiliated institution of the University of Toronto, and has lost its exclusive character.

The Prairie Provinces

The three Prairie Provinces and British Columbia entered the Confederation much later, and the legislation of 1867 could not be directly applied to them. After a continuous legal struggle and contradictory decisions of various courts, the question of separate schools was decided in each province separately. In British Columbia the public system is purely secular, and Roman Catholics have to maintain their schools as private institutions. In Manitoba, the public system is undenominational, but the Roman Catholics, if in a majority, can have religious teaching from 3.30 to 4 o'clock, and if there is a specified number of Catholic children, one of the teachers of the public school should be a Catholic. In Saskatchewan and Alberta the Acts of 1905 introduced the system of separate public schools for Roman Catholics, but only an insignificant number of Catholic communities used their right in this respect.

Summary

Thus, in Canada as a whole, only in Quebec and Ontario is the public system divided on denominational lines, and in all other provinces the overwhelming majority of Catholic children attend the undenominational public schools. This fact proves that the separation of the two bodies was as much a result of national difference as of religious division.

VI. THE CATHOLIC TRADITION IN AUSTRALIA

The first Catholic immigrants to Australia were deported Irish convicts, both political and criminal. Amongst the political convicts were some priests, who began the teaching of their convicted co-religionists. Organised education began with the arrival of two Irish priests, Connolly and Therry, in 1820. Father Therry even founded the Catholic Education Society to defend the Catholics against the monopolising tendencies of the Church of England. Catholic schools received Government grants the same as the other denominational schools, and Catholics favoured at that period the Irish system of mixed education, whereas the Protestants opposed it. Later the position became reversed. With the Governmental grants the denominational system continued to develop. In 1836, the English Benedictines arrived and started their educational activities with the foundation of the St. Mary Seminary at Sydney. In 1838,

the Irish Sisters of Mercy started their first school in New South Wales. The Irish Christian Brothers arrived for the first time in 1843.

In 1848, the Government, by the first Education Act, established a dual system under two Boards: denominational and national. The first controlled denominational schools through various churches, the second national undenominational schools. This dual system proved to be unsatisfactory, and there grew up a movement for national control. In 1862, Cowper introduced a Bill to that intent. The Catholic bishops opposed it vigorously and issued a statement that " We signalise as objectionable especially the non-recognition of the control over education which the Catholic Church holds to have been conferred on Bishops by Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, when He said to His Apostles, ' Go, teach all nations.' No system of education can be accepted which does not recognise the guardianship of the bishops over the education of Catholic children and to the security of such guardianship are essential the ownership of the schools and the control over the teaching by power of appointing and dismissing teachers." Although the Cowper Bill failed to pass, owing to this opposition, the desire for a State system became evident.

The new Education Act of 1866 abolished the dual control, although the denominational character of the previous Church schools was retained. The Catholics were not satisfied with the new law, and redoubled their efforts. The Catholic Association was founded in 1867, and new Orders were invited, especially the Marist Brothers from France. The separation of secular and religious instruction, according to the Irish system, enforced by the new national administration in all public schools aroused a strong protest. The Australian Catholic bishops assembled in Melbourne issued new decrees in 1869. " We condemn that education of Catholic youth, which is separated from Catholic faith, and from the power of the Church, and therefore we shall take care to remove Catholic children from those schools which are called mixed schools, since in them, according to civil law, the Church can exercise no authority, nor have we any power in regulating the studies, selecting the books, or in the choice of teachers."

With the appointment of Archbishop Vaughan the controversy became more embittered. In 1873, he issued his famous Pastoral letter, which indirectly led to the final separation of Church and State. His attack on the public schools as " Godless " and " leading to immorality and national dishonour " was greatly resented by the protagonists of the State system. Paragraph 3 of the letter said: " Let all Catholic parents know that they cannot without serious guilt place their children in proximate danger of perversion. Let them bear in mind that to do so is to set at defiance the teachings of the Catholic Church, and that unless there be exceptional reasons, and the danger be remote, of which things the Church is the judge, no confessor can absolve such parents as are willing to expose their children's souls to the blighting influence of an alien creed or a

secularist system." Paragraph 4 admonished all parents to withdraw their children from public schools. After a long, and at times undignified, controversy, the passing of the new Act of 1880 decided the question in favour of the State secular system. The Catholics withdrew their children from public schools, and have built up an entirely independent and separate system in New South Wales.

The Situation in Victoria

Victoria was constituted a separate province in 1851, and until 1872 continued the dual system inherited from New South Wales. Dual control was abolished by the Common Schools Act of 1862, which unified administration, but the grants to denominational schools were continued. The Royal Commission of 1867 reported adversely on the state of public instruction under the Act. Paragraph 5 says: "The question of the obligation or expediency of communicating religious instruction in the public schools, and the claims of the clergy of the different sects to direct or supervise such instruction, have contributed in this colony, as in other countries, more than all other causes combined to disturb opinion and to raise practical obstructions in the way of public instruction." The result of this report was the enactment of the law of 1872, which introduced the non-sectarian public system. The largest Roman Catholic College, St. Patrick's, was founded in 1854 and renamed Xavier College in 1878 (Melbourne). St. Patrick's remained at Ballarat as a boarding school for boys. The secularisation of education in 1872 led to a strong Catholic agitation against it, and the Government decided to appoint a Royal Commission to consider the Catholic grievances. The Commission reported in 1884 and confirmed the secular system. Since then the Catholics of Victoria, as in New South Wales, maintain their own separate system of schools.

The Situation in Queensland

Queensland became a province in 1859, and, by Acts of 1860 and 1875, established a secular public system, although the grants to denominational schools were continued up to 1880. The largest Roman Catholic school, the Nudgee College, was founded in 1891.

The Situation in Tasmania and South Australia

Tasmania had an undenominational system even earlier by the Act of 1854. The first Roman Catholic College of St. Mary's (Hobart) was founded in 1870.

In South Australia dual control was abolished in 1851 and secularisation was enacted in 1875. The largest college, the Christian Brothers' College at Adelaide, was founded in 1878.

The Situation in Western Australia

In Western Australia the controversy was not so acute and secularisation was introduced much later. The first Catholic school was opened at Perth in 1843 by Father Brody. He went to Rome in 1846 and brought back six Sisters of Mercy, who opened a Day College in 1849 at Perth. Two Spanish Benedictines, Don Serra and Don Salvado, also came with him and founded the Monastery of New Norcia. The first trouble was instigated by a Catholic teacher Farrally, who complained to the Colonial Secretary that the public schools proselytised among the Catholic pupils and that Catholics did not receive their share of the public grants. This complaint was proved to be unsupported by facts, and there was a temporary truce. In 1855, owing to some misunderstanding between the Governor Kennedy and Bishop Serra, the subsidy to Catholic schools was withdrawn. This led to a vigorous agitation amongst Catholics. In 1869, the Catholics presented to the Legislative Council a memorial in which they demanded a proportion of the revenue for the education of Catholic children, as they were unable to attend the public schools. Although the memorial was rejected, the New Act of 1871 gave the Catholics a separate grant of £1 17*s.* 6*d.* per child in regular attendance. The Christian Brothers, who arrived in 1894 and opened a school at Perth, did not accept the regulations of the Government. They were therefore struck off the list of assisted schools. This incident gave stimulus to a renewal of the movement for a national system. By the act of 1895 the dual system was abolished and denominational schools ceased to receive grants. The Catholics of Western Australia followed the example of other Australian states and founded their separate system. New Orders arrived, the Marist Fathers from France, the Oblate Fathers, the Loretto Sisters and the Sisters of Notre Dame, and founded many new colleges and schools.

Summary

Thus in all Australian states the Catholics have built up a separate system. At first it was difficult to provide for all Catholic children, especially in remote rural districts. For decades almost one-half of the Catholic children attended the secular public schools. But gradually the Catholic system developed, and at present almost 80 per cent. of all Catholic children are educated in Catholic schools.

VII. THE CATHOLIC TRADITION IN NEW ZEALAND

The settlement of New Zealand by different denominations was uneven. In Auckland the Irish Catholics formed about 22 per cent. of the total immigration, while in other provinces they did not exceed 9 per cent., and in the Scottish Presbyterian Otago, only 2 per cent. Thus Auckland was the centre of Catholic schools. The first Catholic missionaries were the French. Bishop Pom-

pallier arrived in 1838 and invited the French Marist Fathers. In 1839, seven Fathers arrived, and in 1841 nine more. On the invitation of the Bishop, Father Petitjean opened the first Catholic school in Auckland in 1841. In 1847, the Government issued an ordinance according to which the Anglican, Roman and Wesleyan Churches received State aid for educational purposes. With this grant a second Catholic school was opened in 1849. In the following year Bishop Pompallier went to Rome and brought back Irish and French priests and seven Sisters of Mercy from Carlow, Ireland. Further new schools were opened with their help. In 1851, there were seven schools with 606 European pupils. These schools continued to receive Government grants up to 1867.

From Auckland Catholic schools spread over into other provinces. In 1850, the Marist Brothers and the Sisters of Mercy opened the first schools for Catholics at Wellington. The Sisters opened a school at Nelson in 1870. In Otago and Canterbury the first Catholic schools date from 1864. With the exception of Auckland, the provinces did not subsidise the Catholic schools. The Constitution of 1852 confirmed the denominational character of the Auckland and Canterbury school systems and the undenominational systems in the other provinces. The Catholics continued to receive direct grants in Auckland up to 1857, when the new Act abandoned the denominational principle. The Catholics protested, stating that the new Act was "unjust, especially against the Roman Catholic members of the Colony, placing them in the alternative either to lose their share of the grant for schools or to act contrary to their religious dignity and interests by submitting their teachers to Ministers spiritually opposed to them for examination and authorisation." The Government met this difficulty by appointing the Catholic Vicar General McDonald as special Inspector for Roman Catholic schools under the Act. But Catholics demanded a direct control of their schools. The controversy led to a committee of enquiry in 1869 which proposed a straightforward secularisation. The headmaster of a Roman Catholic school, O'Sullivan, who was a prominent adherent of the secular system, was appointed the first Inspector under the new administration introduced by the secularisation Act of 1877. Since then the Catholics decided to build up an independent separate system.

The first secondary school, St. Patrick's College, at Wellington, was founded in 1884. Other colleges were founded by the Christian Brothers, the Marist Fathers, the Sisters of Mercy and the Sisters of Notre Dame. In 1898, Dr. Pestre founded the Mount St. Mary theological seminary. In 1900, Bishop Verdon opened the Holy Cross College at Mosgiel for the South Island. During the agitation for the introduction of the Bible into the public schools the Catholics joined the secularists and vigorously opposed the undenominational Christianity advocated by the Protestants. Their uncompromising attitude was once more confirmed by the edict of Archbishop Redwood in 1830. "No Catholic child," he said,

" may attend a non-Catholic school, primary or secondary, without permission having been first obtained from the Archbishop, who reserves exclusively to himself the power of granting a dispensation in cases which he considers necessary. Failure to comply prevents the offenders approaching the Sacraments." Catholic teachers, however, are allowed to enter the service in public schools, and many actually teach there.

VIII. THE CATHOLIC TRADITION IN SOUTH AFRICA

The original white settlers of South Africa, whether Dutch, French, German or British, were all Protestants, and it was only in the second half of the nineteenth century that a small number of Catholics emigrated to Natal and the Cape of Good Hope. The Catholic Orders and missions had as their chief aim the education of the natives, and it was only gradually, with the growth of small local communities of white Catholics, that schools for white children were established. The Government always encouraged missionary work among the natives and granted subsidies to all denominations. There was, therefore, no cause for conflict between the State and the Catholic Church. There is only one Ordinance, issued in the Orange Free State in 1877, which might be taken as anti-Catholic. It stated that only those schools whose teachers belonged to some Protestant denomination could receive grants. It is evident, that in the absence of Catholics at that time it had no such character, which view is substantiated by the Ordinance of 1880, which maintained that the confession of the Roman Catholic faith should not be a hindrance for public service.

When the Catholic schools began to be founded, they usually received grants-in-aid on the same lines as all other private schools. With the introduction of an undenominational system in all provinces after the Union, the position of the grant-aided schools has not been changed. Catholics did not take part in the controversy, and all opposition to the undenominational system was borne by the Protestant extremists. At present, Catholics form not more than 4 per cent. of the white population, and their school system is quite sufficient to embrace the whole child population of the community. The Christian Brothers and Marist Brothers established colleges for boys and the Sisters of the Sacred Heart, the Dominican Sisters and the Ursulines established convents for girls. In Natal, Orange Free State and the Cape all the larger schools receive State grants. In the Transvaal they are private. The total number of Catholic schools for white children is 85 for the Union, whereas the number of Catholic schools for the natives is 250.

IX. CONCLUSION

In all the English-speaking countries, with the exception of the Maritime Provinces of Canada, the Roman Catholics have built up separate school systems, and thus have in practice segregated the

population into two water-tight compartments. They have built up a " nation " within a nation with their own legislation and administration in school matters. Two main causes contributed to this result. The first was the change of policy of the Catholic Church, closely connected with the rise of the Ultramontane party and the personality of Pope Pius IX. The second was the introduction of compulsory attendance and the growing State intervention in education. We have noted that in all countries since the emancipation of the Catholics and up to the fifties of last century there was a more or less peaceful collaboration between the civic authorities and the Roman Church. The Cisalpines in England, the old Catholics of Scotland, the Irish hierarchy trained in foreign universities, the Canadian and American bishops and the Catholics of Australasia were all more or less ready to accept the help of the State on the condition of mixed education and separation of dogmatic instruction from the rest of the curriculum. The Irish system was not only approved by the hierarchy in Ireland, but was considered as a model compromise both in North America and in Australasia. The same system of *Simultanschulen* was working well in many European countries, and Catholics as a rule did not protest much against it.

The election of Cardinal Mastai as Pope Pius IX in 1846 changed the situation. The new Pope was considered a Liberal. His election inspired the Italian patriot Vincenzo Gioberti with the hope of unifying Italy under his liberal rule. The Roman revolution, however, and his exile from Rome, embittered him, and Pius IX very soon disappointed the Italian Liberals by unexpectedly becoming the leader of the Ultramontane party. In 1864, he issued his famous Encyclical of December 8th with the appended Syllabus, in which he not only condemned secular education divorced from religion, but equally definitely condemned any intervention of the State and the system of so-called " mixed " education. In 1869, he convened the Vatican Council which resulted in the announcement of the dogma of Infallibility. The way to a compromise with secular Governments was closed, and in all countries we notice an immediate stiffening of attitude on the part of the Catholic hierarchy. Manning in England, Cullen in Ireland and Charbonnel in Canada were among the more prominent representatives of this generation of Catholic bishops. Under their guidance the Catholics in all the English-speaking countries chose the way of segregation.

The second cause was contributed by the State legislation in the second half of the nineteenth century. Under the old English policy of *laisser-faire*, *laisser-passer*, the control of education was left in the hands of the Churches, and in the presence of many conflicting denominations no national system of education could be built up. The necessity for universal education in a democratic country was at last recognised, and the Governments of all countries introduced compulsory legislation. The national system, by force of circumstances, could only be undenominational. Whereas

the Protestants of all creeds could accept "undenominational Christianity" as the basis of a compromise, for the Catholics it amounted to a negation of the claims of their Church and an open revolt against the pronounced decrees of the Pope. The attitude of some Protestant and secular societies and groups was openly hostile, and this still more alienated the majority of Catholics. In these circumstances it is not astonishing that all the efforts of moderate elements were futile. The system of "mixed" education survived only in the Maritime Provinces of Canada, where, in the absence of extremists of both sides, the atmosphere of mutual tolerance prevailed.

There is a noteworthy difference of status of Catholic schools in the following countries: in the U.S.A. and in Australia and New Zealand, the Catholic system is entirely independent and maintained by the subscriptions of the Catholics themselves. In Great Britain, Ireland and Canada, the Catholic separate system enjoys all the privileges of the public system and is inspected by, and subordinated to, the respective secular authorities. Thus in these countries there is more scope for mutual adjustment and a gradual approach towards a truly national system of education.

N. HANS.

CHAPTER THREE

The Anglican Tradition in Education

Introduction

WHEREAS the Roman Catholic, the Puritan and the secular traditions were not limited to the English-speaking countries but were closely connected with similar traditions in other European countries, the Anglican or Episcopalian tradition was the result of the peculiar circumstances of the English Reformation and thus may be considered as the most truly English of the three. If the typical feature of the English-speaking nations of moral responsibility found its best expression in the Puritans, and their love of freedom and fair play in the secular tradition, their aristocratic pride of race and insular tendency towards splendid isolation were more represented by the Anglican tradition. Whereas the Roman Catholics, even after the Reformation, never forgot the universal character of their Church, the Anglican Church, although having inherited the claim for monopoly, never seriously attempted to spread her jurisdiction beyond the national frontiers. At first, the Church of England was identified with the Crown of England, but when the English king became the king of Scotland and of the Overseas Dominions, the Church attempted to establish its monopoly in those countries as well. The policy was the same, but the different circumstances of national development led to varying results in different parts of the English-speaking world.

I. THE ANGLICAN TRADITION IN ENGLAND

The universal basis and logical structure of the mediæval Catholic Church did not on the whole appeal to the individualistic and empirical minds of the English. The centralised hierarchy dominated by a foreign Pope was contrary to old democratic traditions of self-governing communities and the insular pride of a seafaring people. The Lollard and Wycliffe Movements were the first signs of the coming Reformation and subsequent severance from the Latin world. Henry VIII by his legislation split the popular movement and saved some semblance of continuity with the Roman Church. Without his interference it is probable that the Reformation in England would have followed the example of Wittenberg and Geneva. At first the Church of England retained its Catholic character and was more like the Gallican Church of France than the Churches of Luther or Calvin. Under the pressure of popular demand, Cranmer tried to give to the new Church a definitely Protestant stamp. The reaction which followed frustrated his attempt, and later Queen Elizabeth firmly established the Church of England in its intermediate position. The resultant

continuous struggle on two fronts impeded the growth of uniformity within the Church itself. At some periods in its struggle with Roman traditions the Church accepted the help of Protestant dissenters ; at other periods, whilst fighting the Puritans the Church was lenient to Catholic tendencies.

In the Middle Ages, the only existing clerical schools selected their pupils rather in accordance with their abilities than with their birth. The system of grammar schools was intended to educate an intellectual *élite* necessary for professions which used Latin. The elementary schools for the population at large were scarce and the lower classes were illiterate. Thus the pre-Reformation system was not democratic in our sense, but the large number of grammar schools, many of which were free, gave an ample opportunity for the middle classes to enter learned professions. The Church of England inherited the system and the school traditions of the mediæval Church. During the Reformation period, however, many of the endowed grammar schools were closed as ecclesiastical institutions and often the endowments were despoiled by members of the aristocracy. Neither the ruling class nor the newly established Church was eager to spread the light of knowledge among the lower classes. The Commissioners of 1541 were of the opinion that the sons of husbandmen were not called to learning as their labour was needed in the fields, and that " all sorts of men may not go to school." Cranmer replied that " if a gentleman's son be apt to learning, let him be admitted, if not apt, let the poor man's child that is apt, enter his room." It is difficult to say whether Cranmer was influenced by Lutherans in his attitude or simply reasserted the old mediæval custom. The question was only raised in respect of grammar schools, and there was no intention of promoting universal literacy. Even Bible reading was forbidden to labouring classes during the reign of Henry VIII.

The Catholic reaction and the growth of Puritanism compelled the Church to concentrate its attention on religious conformity rather than the spread of learning. The Canons of 1604 established a monopoly of the Church in education. Neither public nor private teaching was allowed unless the teacher was approved by the Church as a man of learning and of sound doctrine. The Acts of Edward VI and Elizabeth ordering the clergy to teach their parishioners to read and write were practically everywhere ignored. After the brief interval of the Commonwealth, the monopoly of the Church was restored by the Uniformity Act of 1662. The Five Mile Act of 1665 definitely forbade dissenters to teach in any school. The Revolution of 1668, successful only through the help of Protestant dissenters, brought some alleviation. The Acts of Toleration of 1689 and 1711 relieved dissenters in the field of elementary education, but secondary and higher education legally remained the monopoly of the Church for another century. We must add that toleration did not embrace Roman Catholics, Quakers or Unitarians. By legal recognition of dissent the Church of

England definitely lost her hold on the middle classes and became the Church of the aristocracy and of the poorest classes. Thus an unbridged gulf grew up between the upper and lower classes within the Church. This fact explains why the leaders of the Church were unable to conceive a national system of education. For them the education of the two classes had to be separate and of different content: for the ruling classes, grammar schools and universities, and for the "deserving" poor, charity schools of very elementary standard.

The old grammar schools, the great public schools and the two mediæval universities continued their life under the new Church authorities with little change. Out of 200 grammar schools inherited from the past, about one-third were closed or despoiled, but the rest were refounded under the auspices of the Church. To the old Colleges of Eton, Winchester and Westminster, new foundations (Shrewsbury, Harrow, Charterhouse and Rugby) were added, and these formed the famous seven great public schools. Winchester and Eton, with their pre-Reformation tradition, served as models for the new schools. Although both grammar schools and the seven public schools were originally intended mainly for the "poor boys," the limited number of aristocratic paying boarders gradually increased until they formed a majority of pupils, and in the eighteenth century entirely ousted the foundation scholars. The dissenting middle classes were precluded from entering these schools, and they became the preserve of the squirearchy and the Anglican clergy. The two universities also lost their former character of open institutions for all able boys, and were changed, instead, into exclusive and expensive colleges for the aristocracy. As institutions of learning they declined to such an extent that they were considered as a definite obstacle to all scientific progress. The religious tests, and the strict orthodoxy of their lectures, excluded all pioneering spirits from their precincts.

As a contrast to this state of affairs, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, founded in 1698, represented the Church policy towards the poor. Its charity schools had the double aim of training children of the poor in the habits of labour and industry and proper humility towards the ruling class. By the middle of the eighteenth century (1742) there were 1,621 charity schools providing for about 40,000 pupils. After that the movement began to decline, funds were mismanaged and a number of schools practically ceased to exist. In the second half of the century, new motives were added to this class policy of the Church. The movement of Enlightenment and subsequent revolutions in America and France aroused a fear lest seditious doctrines and the theory of a political revolution should be disseminated in England. Two quotations will suffice to illustrate this point. A writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* said in 1797: "Industry is the duty to impress on the lower classes. A little learning makes a man ambitious to rise, if he cannot by fair means then he uses foul.

His ignorance is a balm that soothes his mind into stupidity and repose, and excludes every emotion of discontent, pride and ambition. A man of no literature will seldom attempt to foment insurrections or form an idle scheme for the reformation of the State." The Bishop of London in his charge of 1803 affirmed that " men of considerable ability " say that " it is safest for both the Government and the religion of the country to let the lower classes remain in that state of ignorance in which nature has originally placed them."

The Rise of the Methodists

If these views were prevalent among the High Church Party, they were not entirely absent among the Evangelicals. Historically the Evangelical Party traces its origin to Cranmer and to the early Puritans within the Church. But a real impetus to their activities was given by the religious revival started by John Wesley. At first Wesley and the Evangelicals worked together as one group within the Church of England, and it was only an accident that separated them. As the Established Church refused to consecrate bishops for America, and the spreading of the revival needed new ministers, Wesley decided to consecrate ministers for America himself. This act separated him from the Church, and from the Evangelicals, who wanted to preserve the national character of the establishment. Thus the movement was split into a new Methodist Church and a minority party within the Church of England. By their political affiliation and their traditions, both the Methodists and the Evangelicals were Tories, but their missionary and educational activities brought them into close contact with the industrial population and gradually changed their outlook. Their Puritan sense of moral responsibility could not for long maintain an aristocratic attitude in their appeal to poorer classes.

The Sunday-school Movement

At first the Sunday-school Movement, common to Methodists and Evangelicals, had a purely religious aim, its educational purposes being merely subsidiary. When Sunday schools were started by R. Raikes in Gloucester in 1870, and Hannah More at Cheddar, their aim was as limited as that of the Charity Schools founded a century earlier by the High Church Party. Hannah More narrowed down her curriculum to the Bible and the Catechism and " such coarse work as may fit children for servants. I allow no writing for the poor." Even the champion of the slaves, W. Wilberforce, an active supporter of popular education, told the poor in his *Practical View of Christianity* that " their more lowly path has been allotted to them by the hand of God ; that it is their part faithfully to discharge its duties and contentedly to bear its inconveniences." He approved of various schemes for educational reform, but did not press them lest he should embarrass the repressive measures of the Government against the spread of revolutionary ideas.

Attitude of Evangelicals to Popular Education

In contrast to the High Church Party which looked upon the education of the poor as charity, the Evangelicals quite sincerely recognised their obligations to elevate the masses. The Society for Bettering the Conditions of the Poor, founded by them in 1796, was inspired by this sense of moral responsibility. Its secretary, Sir Thomas Barnard, quite definitely advocated the establishment of a national system of education which would comprehend all classes as well as both Churchmen and Dissenters. He says in his *Digest of the Reports*, page 6 : " In the ornamental branches of the fine arts—in painting, sculpture and music, in literary attainments and in professional science, Education must be as various as the condition, situation and talent of man. But in the acquisition of the alphabetic and numerical language, the poor have as good a right to the instruction which illumines and directs their path through life as the greatest and most elevated of their fellow subjects." The schools founded by the Society were comparatively much in advance of the previous charity schools.

The National Society and Lancasterian Schools

However, neither these schools nor the Sunday-school movement could really satisfy the need and the demand for education among the poorer classes. The ideas of the French Revolution did reach the masses and they clamoured for popular education. The Benthamites joined hands with the Quaker Lancaster and started the British and Foreign School Society, which established many schools with undenominational religious instruction. The Church was compelled to take action. Dr. A. Bell, the inventor of the Madras System, for years propagated his method in Church circles. He was hailed as the champion of the Church tradition in his tragi-comical contest with Lancaster. The latter was denounced as a revolutionary and an infidel. Especially vitriolic was Mrs. Trimmer, one of the pioneers of Sunday schools. In answer to her pamphlet on Lancaster, Dr. A. Bell suggested in 1805 a " scheme of education patronised by Church and State, originating in the Government, and superintended by a member of the Establishment." The Government, however, did not move in spite of the battle-cry, " The Church and religion in danger." The Church was left to its own resources. Francis Place (Place Manuscripts, Br. Mus.) thus describes the motives of the new movement : " When the Church did begin to move its unwieldy mass, its first efforts were made in the hope of destroying Lancaster and his schools by setting up and keeping up the howl of Infidelity, not by establishing schools themselves. Could they have destroyed Lancaster and his schools, there would have been none of those schools miscalled National." However true this indictment may be, the National Society was

certainly started with the object of combating the Lancastrian schools. That the aims of the new Society were narrow and strictly denominational there is no doubt. Dr. A. Bell, in an unguarded moment, frankly admitted (in the 1805 edition of his book on the Madras System): "It is not proposed that the children of the poor be educated in an expensive manner, or even taught to write and cypher. . . . There is a risk of elevating, by an indiscriminate education, the minds of those doomed to the drudgery of daily labour above their conditions and thereby render them discontented and unhappy in their lot." Southey wrote that "the children must be instructed according to the established religion—fed with the milk of sound doctrine." The position of the High Church Party was best expressed by Archdeacon Denison: "The Church can never have the 'comprehensive' school, in which the State employs the term. It may indeed 'comprehend' others than Church children in its schools for missionary purposes; but this exclusively upon its own terms only." As late as 1839, it was stated in *Blackwood's Magazine* that "ignorance is the parent of contentment," and that "the only education which could be fitly and safely given to the poor was a religious education, which renders them patient, humble and moral, and relieves the hardship of their present lot by the prospect of bright eternity."

Nevertheless, there was an influential minority, besides the Evangelicals, who sincerely wanted a truly "comprehensive" system. Men like Dr. Whately, later Archbishop of Dublin, Dean Hook, Bishop Stanley and Dr. Arnold of Rugby were as progressive as their adherence to an established Church would allow. Arnold went so far as to advocate a "comprehensive" national Church, which would include all Protestant dissenters with the sole exception of Quakers and Unitarians. The High Church Party, however, monopolised the Church school system and would not hear of any compromise. In May 1811, meetings were held at Lambeth Palace in order to organise a "National Institution." As a result the *National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church according to the System invented and practised by the Rev. Dr. Bell*, was founded under the presidency of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the vice-presidency of all the bishops. The Dissenters were admitted on condition of conformity and Church attendance. In 1812, the Society had 52 schools with 8,620 pupils; in 1813, 230 schools with 40,484 pupils. In 1831, in all schools of the National Society (including Sunday schools) the number of pupils rose to 900,412. Whatever the motives, whatever the limitations, the voluntary efforts of the Church could not achieve such results without wide support from the country, and the term "National" was therefore not entirely a misnomer. But if the Church system satisfied the majority of the nation, it was still unacceptable to an influential minority, and thus could not grow into a truly national system for all classes and all creeds.

Foundations of the Dual System

In 1833, the Government began its annual grants towards education to be divided between the British and National Societies, without assuming any direct responsibility for the actual efficiency of the aided schools. As the control over National schools was thus left entirely in the hands of the Church, there was no protest against the "intervention of the State." But when the Government took the next step in 1839 by creating a Committee of the Privy Council to regulate the administration of the grants, the Church became alarmed. Bishop Blomfield denounced it as a step taken on the advice of the Central Society of Education (Sir Thomas Wyse, the promoter of the Irish system), whose object was the destruction of the Church. To Archdeacon Denison, the formation of the Education Department was a Whig plot for the destruction of the parish school. The Committee, however, started its work, and appointed as its first secretary, Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth. Advised by Kay-Shuttleworth, the Committee proposed, as a first measure, a State normal school for the training of teachers. The opposition of the Church was so great, however, that the Government abandoned the scheme and the money intended for its establishment was divided between the two Societies. As a result, the system of training colleges was built up on denominational lines. The first Church college was founded at Battersea in 1842, which was followed by many National Society and diocesan colleges. Between 1842 and 1850, nine training colleges were founded, and between 1850 and 1860, fifteen more. The next struggle was over the right of inspection. The object of the Church was to obtain the control of inspection. The Church succeeded again, and the Government agreed to appoint inspectors only after an authorisation of the Church, who, in addition, had to report annually to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Thus the foundations of the future dual system were laid and the "religious difficulty" was legalised as a permanent feature of the school system.

F. Adams, in his book on *The Elementary School Contest*, page 99, thus characterises the Church policy: "From the beginning of the struggle to its close, the Church, while doing its utmost to extend education of its own kind, by its own methods, and for its own purposes, has been the grand and chief obstruction to any national system. The National Society prescribed tests and methods, laid down terms of union, and from the sanctuary at Westminster claimed the right to dictate the terms upon which the education of the people should be permitted to proceed." Nevertheless, times were changing, and a new generation of Churchmen was growing. But before proceeding with the history of elementary education, we shall turn our attention to secondary and higher education as reflected in the policy of the Church.

Secondary and Higher Education

The monopoly of the Church in the field of secondary education had already been broken down in the eighteenth century by the establishment of dissenting academies, and later by the repatriation of Catholic colleges. In the field of higher education, on the other hand, the Church control was still effective, and the Protestant dissenters were obliged to go to Scotland for their degrees, whereas the Catholics continued to cross the Channel. All the endowed grammar schools, including the seven great public schools, were under the Church authorities and practically closed to all nonconformists. Professor R. L. Archer thus describes the grammar schools of that period : " In the first three decades of the nineteenth century the public schools were in a parlous state. Their low moral tone, their narrow classical curriculum, their poor intellectual results, their roughness and bullying, their bad feeding and housing, were no longer likely to be tolerated merely because they were established institutions. . . . Outside the circle of parents who were accustomed to send their boys to public schools were utilitarians demanding a *modern* curriculum, nonconformists objecting to clerical control, and democrats looking for schools which should be open to parents of smaller means." From this description it is clear that the Church mismanaged the education of the *élite* entrusted to her by the nation. Instruction based on denominational dogma could hardly be called religious if it led to the immorality prevalent among the boys of those schools. The need of reform was pressing, and fortunately for the Church it produced a leader who succeeded in building up on this defective inheritance the best and most lasting features of the Anglican tradition.

Dr. Arnold of Rugby was not an orthodox member of the High Church Party. For him, the Church of England would only become truly national by the inclusion of all Protestant dissenters (except the Unitarians). Common Christianity he valued more than the Church hierarchy. Without being a Puritan, he had the Puritan's sense of moral responsibility, and tried to introduce into his school that moral attitude which he found was lacking. Assailed by orthodox clergymen on the grounds that " his education was not based on religion," he answered that it was " itself religious." He was the first headmaster of Rugby to be appointed chaplain, and used his chapel successfully for imparting that common Christianity in which he believed. His reform of school organisation based on self-government and games became the model for all public schools, and later influenced even the State system of elementary education. The reformed public schools became once more popular, and the number of pupils increased enormously. Cheltenham College, Marlborough College and Rossall School were added to the original seven just at the end of Arnold's career as a headmaster.

Still the middle classes could not afford to send their boys to these expensive schools. Much cheaper schools built on the same tradition were necessary. The Church once more produced a man who rose to the occasion. Nathaniel Woodard, in 1848, founded Lancing College and the many so-called "Woodard Schools," specially for the middle classes. All these schools, although strictly Anglican, answered the need. It is interesting to note how class distinctions died hard in Church circles. In Lancing College, Woodard built two halls, for the upper and middle classes respectively, because he did not believe in mixing socially members of different classes.

A third Churchman who left his mark on secondary education in this country was Edward Thring of Uppingham. He recognised the value of æsthetic and practical subjects in education, but, on the other hand, he was a stout Conservative and disapproved of any State intervention in the field of education. He stubbornly resisted the Public School Commission of 1865 and the Commission on the Endowed Schools of 1869. He was especially bitter about the introduction of free compulsory education. He said in 1886: "Perhaps the question of the Government providing teaching for all the poor out of the taxes paid by those who can pay, which is miscalled free education, puts the problem of how far law can rightly interfere with private duty, and the solemn responsibility of manhood and life in its most attractive form in favour of interference. My assertion is that it is dishonest, that it is a mistake, that it is deadly for law to interfere." "No law can make it honest to take a good man's earnings and give them to a bad man's sins, or improvidences." "If the drunkard's children are brought up by the State, the State is paying for the drunkenness of the father, and practically is buying his beer for him." If a man of his outstanding abilities could so harshly judge the lower classes, it is no wonder that the Church as a whole had but little sympathy with the principle of equality of opportunity in education.

University Education

As stated above, university education was monopolised by the Church. The two ancient universities were strictly Anglican institutions and were closed to all dissenters. The "poor scholars" who were in the majority in the Middle Ages had almost entirely disappeared. The few poor students who were still admitted were put in the position of "servitors" and were bitterly conscious of their inferior status. The squirearchy and the Anglican clergy monopolised the colleges, which they entered not for learning, but to indulge in the gambling, drunkenness and general extravagance so peculiar to the upper classes of that period. The intellectual level of teaching was very low, and was limited to dry and uninspired drudgery in classics and theology. The examinations were a farce and fellowships a sinecure. Reform was overdue, but the Church, because of its inertia, was unable to secure reform.

The initiative for reform came from outside the Church. The Benthamites and the dissenters, unable to penetrate the precincts of Oxford and Cambridge, started a university of their own in the capital on an undenominational basis. The foundation of London University aroused strong opposition from the Church against this "Godless institution." She recognised the danger to her prerogatives and resolved to counteract the new influence by the foundation of new universities on a strictly Anglican basis. Dr. George D'Oyly, one of the founders of King's College, in 1828 addressed a letter to Sir Robert Peel, in which he maintained that the exclusion of religion from the university was morally harmful and spiritually pernicious, and that theology was so intimately bound up with other subjects that none of them could be satisfactorily taught except on a theological basis. "As the Church of England presents Christianity in its most pure and perfect form, it is necessary therefore for the State to recognise Anglicanism officially and found a university in London under the auspices of the Church." His appeal led to the meeting of June 21st, 1828, when in the presence of the hierarchy and members of the Government, under the Chairmanship of Wellington, the scheme was launched. The new King's College received its Royal Charter on August 14th, 1829.

At Durham, another Anglican university was founded. In 1820, *The Black Book, or Corruption Unmasked*, was published. This enumerated all the pluralities and sinecures of the Church, and stirred up much bitter feeling against the establishment. It was believed in clerical circles that the Reform Movement might end in the disestablishment of the Church and subsequent confiscation by the State of the Church endowments. The Chapter of Durham was one of the wealthiest ecclesiastical bodies in England. Rather than allow the money of the Church to be secularised, the Chapter decided to divert it to educational use under the control of the Church. Thus another Church university was founded. On September 28th, 1831, the Chapter resolved unanimously to establish an academic institution under the name of Durham College. The Act was passed in 1832, and received the royal assent on July 4th. The new university was modelled on Oxford and Cambridge and excluded dissenters. In spite of the narrow denominational reasons for the foundation of King's College and Durham College, they both developed later into well-equipped modern university institutions which have played an important rôle in the progress of science and the diffusion of knowledge.

The two older universities were nationalised by the State not without a struggle. The university dons were against the abolition of the religious tests. Among the Churchmen the voice of Arnold was an exception. Arnold, in 1834, circulated a memorandum for signature by Oxford and Cambridge men expounding his view that all Christian dissenters, except Unitarians, should be admitted at all the colleges, and that a separate hall should be opened for Unitarians alone. He received little response from Oxford, but

at Cambridge a petition for the admission of dissenters to all degrees, except in divinity, was signed by about one-third of the residents, including two heads of houses and nine professors. The House of Commons, in spite of powerful opposition led by Sir Robert Peel and Gladstone, passed the measure by a large majority, but the Bill was rejected in the House of Lords. The Bishop of Exeter opposed it most vigorously. He said: "Religion must be the foundation of sound education, and religion could not be taught except in some definite form. Universal comprehension would be universal exclusion. . . . I proclaim my firm conviction, that if the House shall pass the Bill—you will not at Oxford find a man—certainly very very few men, who would not submit to be penniless and homeless, to be outcasts on the world, rather than to be parties to the desecration of what they hold to be most sacred." Gladstone said: "The Universities were undoubtedly national institutions, but only in so far as they were connected with the National Church." The reform was abandoned for a decade. But after the Report of the Royal Commissions in 1852, the restrictions and religious tests were removed by two Acts of 1854 and 1856. The final legislation in 1871 removed the last vestige of religious restrictions concerning the dissenters.

The Rise of Christian Socialism

The Chartist Movement, and social disorders connected with it, aroused the Church from its lethargy. Something had to be done for the poorer classes. The Evangelicals found an outstanding leader in the Earl of Shaftesbury (Lord Ashley), who was already known for many reforms in social legislation. In 1843, he started the "Ragged Schools" for desitute children in London, providing for children neglected by all other educational bodies. Gradually his new schools were absorbed in the general Church system, and it was an important move in Church policy. More influential was the movement of "Christian Socialism" started in 1848. The term itself had been used before by various Chartist groups. But its influence, both in education and social problems, is closely connected with the names of F. D. Maurice and Charles Kingsley, both Anglican clergymen.

Maurice combined a warm humane impulse with the ideas of university leadership and the national character of the Church. Being both a clergyman and a university professor, he was not a democrat, but deeply felt social injustice and sincerely wanted to find a Christian solution for social problems. His desire to educate the working class led to the foundation of the Working Men's College in London in 1854. The education offered was to be humane rather than technical, because the workman was "a person, not a thing, a citizen and not a slave or even a wage-earning animal." He gathered around him as lecturers, John Ruskin, Charles Kingsley, D. G. Rossetti and Thomas Hughes. The influence of his institution led later (indirectly) to the University

Extension and Settlement Movement. His chief idea was "the union of labour and learning." In 1848, in collaboration with the Governesses' Benevolent Society, he founded the first institution of higher learning for women.

Queen's College, London, was destined not only for the training of governesses, but for the higher education of young ladies generally. Among its early students were Octavia Hill, Dorothea Beale and Frances Mary Buss, all three later becoming pioneers of girls' education. The college was incorporated in 1853, and has since been controlled by the Church. Maurice's lectures at Queen's aroused opposition from many orthodox clergymen and he was accused of "modified Pantheism." In spite of his spirited defence before Bishop Blomfield, the heresy hunt was started in earnest, and he was deprived of his chair of divinity at King's College, although he continued to lecture at Queen's. Miss Beale later became the Principal of Cheltenham Ladies' College, the first girls' public school on the lines of the Anglican boys' schools. The Church did not move until the Girls' Public Day School Company had founded many schools on an undenominational basis. In 1883, the rival Church Schools Company was founded.

The ideas of Maurice were shared by another clergyman, S. A. Barnett, who, as vicar in the East-End parish of St. Jude's, conceived the plan of mixing socially university men with the slum population of his parish. As a result of his untiring efforts, Toynbee Hall was founded in 1884 as the first university settlement.

Although both Maurice and Barnett believed in the aristocratic control of society, they demanded a fellowship between the upper and lower orders as a basis of national unity. The majority of Churchmen, however, were little infected by their enthusiasm for the poorer classes, and even looked upon them as dangerous agitators. Every concession from the Church party in favour of a national system of education controlled by the State was gained only after an embittered struggle.

The Education Act of 1870

In 1868, a new movement for a comprehensive system was started. A year later, the National League was founded in Birmingham to secure a national public system on a non-sectarian basis. The Church was at once alarmed, and founded in opposition the "National Union" under the leadership of the Anglican hierarchy and members of the aristocracy. Because of their strong opposition and great influence, the scheme of the League was not adopted and Mr. Forster's Bill thus became a mere compromise between two contradictory principles. The denominational Church system was taken over by the State, and henceforward was maintained out of public funds. The struggle was not ended by the passing of the Act of 1870. The hierarchy and the National Society strained all the resources of the Church in order to prevent the formation of School

Boards in accordance with the Act. When the Boards were formed in spite of this opposition, the struggle was continued within the Boards. This " religious difficulty " impeded the normal growth of the system. In time, however, the antagonism between the parties lost its acuteness, and the Act of 1902 solved the problem in a more or less satisfactory way.

Summary

At present, the difference between the Church schools and undenominational provided schools is gradually disappearing with the introduction of the agreed syllabus of religious instruction. As a result, the number of Church schools is continually decreasing, whereas the number of provided schools is increasing.

In the field of secondary education the majority of Anglican grammar schools accepted Government grants-in-aid and inspection and have lost their previously exclusive denominational character. In university education, even King's College and Durham University are at present undenominational, and with the exception of a few faculties of theology, restricted to Anglican colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, the Church has lost entirely its previous control of higher education.

II. THE ANGLICAN TRADITION IN SCOTLAND

It is usual for educationists to distinguish the Scottish tradition in education from the English because of the difference between the democratic character of the Presbytery and the aristocratic character of the Episcopacy. But whilst this division is true as a general statement, it would be wrong to suppose that Episcopalian influence and tradition were entirely absent in Scotland or the Presbyterian influences were lacking in England.

The Struggle between Episcopacy and Presbyterianism

For more than a century, from 1560 to 1688, there was a struggle for supremacy in Scotland between Episcopacy and Presbytery. There were no fewer than seven alterations between the two forms of Church government. After 1688, the Episcopalian Church of Scotland continued to exist as the Church of a minority, but its influence on education was still considerable. During the period of struggle, the party in power claimed the right of appointment of masters for all institutions, whether parish, burgh schools or universities. Thus the Act of 1584 commanded the masters to obey the bishops under pain of deprivation. The universities were also under the jurisdiction of the bishops. When, in 1562, the Edinburgh Town Council wished to establish a college, the bishops opposed because they " were jealous of the reputation and prosperity of the seminaries placed under their own official protection," says a Scottish historian. Bishops were again restored in 1606, and the

General Convention of 1609 decreed that they should be examiners of all tutors who accompanied the sons of noblemen out of the country. In 1610, teachers in all institutions were made subject to the supervision of the bishops. In 1616, it was ordained " that neither man nor woman teach young ones till they be tried and have the approbation of the bishop of the diocese." In 1620, Bishop Forbes established a chair of theology at King's College, Aberdeen. The bishops and their adherents were deposed in 1639, and until the Restoration, the Presbytery was supreme. In 1662, Episcopacy being again established, an Act was passed by which teachers had to sign a bond declaring against the League and Covenant. Many teachers who declined to yield to the demands of " black prelacy " were dismissed. Another Act of the same year forbade anyone to teach in a public school, or be a tutor to the children of persons of quality, without a licence from the Ordinary of the diocese. The next Act of 1681 was still more oppressive, suppressing the personal liberty of teachers.

With the Revolution of 1688, the Presbytery was restored as the established Church and the tests were respectively changed. Whereas in England the settlement of 1688 alleviated the position of dissenters, in Scotland the Episcopal Church was proscribed along with the Roman Catholics. This abnormal position of the Episcopalians, who across the border had all the privileges of the State Church, forced them into opposition in Scotland and almost to a man they joined the Stuart cause. In 1712, Queen Anne allowed a certain freedom to the Scottish Episcopalians, which in normal circumstances would have led to legal equality. The rebellion of 1715, however, set back the emancipation of the Episcopalians, and in 1719, all the restrictions were again enforced. Prince Charles's campaign of 1745, in which Episcopalians took an active part as a body, resulted in a new persecution. Only in 1788, with the death of the last Stuart Pretender, did the Episcopalian bishops pledge themselves to be loyal to the Hanoverian dynasty. Soon after that, the Toleration Bill was passed in 1792, whereby the Episcopalian Church was able to resume its normal life.

The participation in two rebellions, and the consequent persecutions, weakened the Church enormously. From being a Church of the upper class, with considerable popular support, at the end of the seventeenth century the Church emerged from the persecution as an insignificant minority community.

The first Episcopalian schools were founded only after the Toleration Act of 1792. One school was opened at Perth, evidently in 1792, and another in Forfar in 1798. During the first decade of the nineteenth century only two more schools were added. From 1810–1820 seven more were established. Almost all these schools were private ventures without any official connection with the Church. Only the Royal Artillery Regimental School at Leith (1816) and the Scottish Naval and Military Academy of Edinburgh (1820) were officially under the Church auspices.

The first Church parochial schools were of a later period, being started at Aberdeen in 1825, Aberdeen county in 1831 and 1835, Inverness in 1830 (the Gaelic Episcopalian School) and Renfrew in 1834. In 1840, there were altogether 33 schools under Episcopalian teachers with about 2,000 pupils, many of whom were Presbyterians. The Theological College at Edinburgh was founded in 1810.

When the Government began to subsidise the denominational schools in Scotland, the number of Episcopalian schools gradually increased. A Training College of St. Andrew was founded at Edinburgh in 1848. In 1853, there were 76 schools, the following year 95 schools with about 8,000 pupils, and in 1870, 135 schools with 14,773 pupils. After the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872, which for the first time established local education authorities (school boards), almost one half of Episcopalian schools were transferred to the new authorities and so lost their denominational character. Only 68 schools remained under Church management. After the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918, all denominational schools were transferred to the local authorities; only 31 schools retained for a time their Episcopalian character. This fact clearly shows that religious intolerance is a thing of the past, and that the Episcopalians find no reasons at present to separate their children from the rest of the nation.

Secondary Education

In the field of secondary education the first Episcopalian school was founded by an Englishman, Dr. Langhorne of Loretto, in 1827. Up to 1862, the Loretto school was the preparatory school for Trinity College, Glenalmond. In 1862, Loretto was reformed by the new headmaster, Almond, on the lines of the English public schools. To-day it consists of the preparatory and secondary departments and is one of the greatest Scottish schools, and is attended by all Protestant persuasions in spite of the Episcopalian service in the chapel.

The second Episcopalian school, Trinity College, Glenalmond, was founded in 1841 to introduce into Scotland "a combination of general education, with domestic discipline and systematic religious superintendence" which was absent in the old burgh academies. In 1848, the Edinburgh Theological College was transferred to Glenalmond as a higher department affiliated to Durham University. In 1876, the Theological Department was returned to Edinburgh, and Trinity College again became a typical public school of English tradition.

The two Episcopalian public schools influenced some boarding schools of Presbyterian establishment and thus introduced the English tradition into Scotland. Apart from that, Scottish Episcopalians have influenced the development of education in other English-speaking countries, as for instance, Dr. A. Bell in England, and Bishop Strachan in Canada.

III. THE ANGLICAN TRADITION IN IRELAND

By the Supremacy Act of 1537, the lands of great abbeys and religious houses were vested in the Crown, and the Roman Catholic Church was deprived of its wealth in favour of the Episcopalian Church of Ireland. But whereas in England the reformed Church inherited from the past a system of grammar schools and two universities, in Ireland the new Church had to build up the whole school system from the start.

There were several attempts to establish a university in Dublin, and three separate Bulls were obtained from Rome in 1311, 1320 and 1475, but each time the university perished in its infancy, and at the time of the Reformation, nothing remained except the tradition connecting St. Patrick's Cathedral with lectures of university standing.

There were no grammar schools, although in some religious houses a kind of secondary education was imparted. Thus the nobles of the Pale petitioned the King that six houses, three monasteries and three convents should escape confiscation as "in them young men and children, both gentlemen's children and other, both of mankind and of womankind, be brought up in virtue, learning, and in the English tongue and behaviour, to the great charges of the said houses." There is also some evidence that the Dominican Friary, Dublin, kept a school of theology and philosophy, before the Reformation. However, all these beginnings of an educational system disappeared entirely with the dissolution of the religious houses, and the Church of Ireland did not inherit a single educational institution from the old Church.

The Establishment of the Parish Schools

The basis of the new school system was laid in the same year as the confiscation of the Church lands was decreed. In 1537, an "Act for the English order, habit and language" was passed, according to which the Church incumbent was obliged by oath, on pain of forfeiture of his benefice, "to endeavour to learn, instruct and teach the English tongue to all and every being under his rule, and also to keep or cause to be kept within the place a school for to learn English . . . taking for the keeping of the same school such convenient stipend or salary as in the said land is accustomably used to be taken." Although this Act did not include any of the pronounced anti-Catholic features so common in later legislation, its aims were definitely social and political propaganda of English customs and language amongst the native Irish.

How far the provisions of this Act were enforced during the first period of the Reformation is difficult to say. The Commissioners of the Board of Education in Ireland in their Reports, 1809–1812, state that the measure met with opposition from some leading members of the Church, and that the English language had made so

little progress in Ireland that many of the Clergy of the Reformed Church were unable to officiate in English. "It is not therefore very probable," says the Commissioners, "that under such unfavourable circumstances any considerable number of parish schools could have been established in Ireland at that period." It is evident, also, from the necessity of enforcing this measure by a special Act of William III in the seventh year of his reign, that the parish school legislation "should from thenceforth be strictly observed and put into execution." How little this Act was enforced can be seen from the State of parish schools in 1788. In that year, in the twenty-nine dioceses (out of thirty-four) comprising 838 benefices, only 361 effective schools existed, with about 11,000 pupils. In 1808, in 736 benefices which furnished the returns, there were 549 parish schools with 23,000 pupils. In 1825, out of 1,242 benefices, only 782 had parish schools.

Although these schools were always open to all creeds, and many Roman Catholics sent their children to them, they were not popular among the native Irish because the majority of teachers were clergymen of the Established Church. In many districts the clergy could not fulfil their statutory obligations because of the absence of pupils wishing to attend these schools. On the other hand, it seems that in many cases the clergy were not eager to divert a part of their income to the maintenance of parish schools. After the establishment of the National system in 1831, the parish schools lost their identity and were merged in the National schools.

The Establishment of the Diocesan Schools

The second attempt at the propagation of the English language, connected this time with an explicit religious purpose, was made in the field of secondary education by Elizabeth in 1570. The Act for the erection of free diocesan schools has the following preamble: "For as much as the greatest number of the people of this realm has of long time lived in rude and barbarous states . . . whose ignorance in points touching their damnation, proceeds only of lack of good bringing up of the youth of this realm, either in public or private schools, where through good discipline they might be taught to avoid these loathsome and horrible errors; it may be enacted, that there shall be from henceforth a free school within every diocese of this realm of Ireland, and that the schoolmaster shall be an Englishman, or of the English birth of this realm, and that the lords Archbishops and Bishops shall have the nomination, institution and appointment of the schoolmasters within their several dioceses. . . . The school house for every diocese to be built and erected in the principal shire town of the diocese at the cost and charges of the whole diocese. . . . And that the Lord Deputy shall appoint to every schoolmaster such yearly pension, stipend or salary as he shall think convenient, whereof the Ordinaries of every diocese shall bear yearly the third part, and the parsons, vicars, prebendaries

and other ecclesiastical persons shall pay yearly the other two parts by an equal contribution."

The clergy, however, as in the case of the parish schools, were not very eager to shoulder this new obligation and only a few dioceses worked the Act. In 1583 the Queen ordered the Archbishop and Lord Deputy, Sir Henry Wallop, "to sequester so much of the living, tithes and other commodities as belong to the Bishop of Limerick and other ecclesiastical persons of that diocese," in order to pay the salary of the schoolmaster of the diocesan school at Limerick. The enforcement of the Act was enjoined several times, by William III in 1694, and by all four Georges, and even by William IV as late as 1830, but in spite of that many dioceses never had any such schools at any time.

The Commissioners of 1808 say that "it appears that free schools were actually established under this Act in most, if not all, of the dioceses of Ireland, but at no time do they appear to have fully answered the purposes of their institution." Further on, however, the Commissioners state that in 13 out of a total of 34 dioceses no school existed at any time, and that in 1808 there were only 17 diocesan schools with 420 pupils, and only 13 schools were effective. In 1826, there were only 10 schools with 422 pupils, and in 1858, 16 schools (12 effective) with 304 pupils. Although these schools from the beginning were open to scholars of all denominations, and teachers of any creed could be legally appointed, in practice the teachers were usually clergymen of the Established Church and the overwhelming majority of pupils were Anglicans. In 1858, out of 304 scholars only 38 were Roman Catholics and 32 Protestant dissenters. The diocesan schools very soon lost their public character as free schools, and if any free scholars were admitted they usually were the sons of the clergy. The Commissioners of 1858 reported: "We do not recognise that the payment of the diocesan school tax by the clergy gives them claims to direct benefits from the schools in priority to other inhabitants, as the tax was intended to be a charge on their income for the benefit of the inhabitants of the district generally." After the disestablishment of the Church in 1869, the remaining diocesan schools were either closed or lost their identity, as for instance, the Foyle College at Londonderry. The two diocesan schools at Dublin are new foundations not connected with the Elizabethan legislation.

The Establishment of the Royal Schools

After the confiscation of lands in the six northern counties, James I made an order in council in 1608 that one free school should be established in each of the six counties. The purpose was again political and religious. "To stir up and recall the province of Ulster from superstition, rebellion, calamity and poverty, to the true religion of Christ and to obedience, strength and prosperity," as his charters say. The schools were destined

" for the good education of the youth of the realm of Ireland in literature and knowledge of true religion ; to the end that they may learn their duty towards God and true obedience towards us." Lands were granted, trustees appointed and the royal schools were opened, the first in 1614, the second in 1618, the third in 1620 and the remaining four schools during the reign of Charles I between 1629 and 1633. The patronage of all royal schools was vested in the Crown, with the exception of those of Armagh and Dungannon, in which the masters were usually appointed by the Archbishop of Armagh. These schools, like the previous foundations, completely failed in their purpose. Roman Catholics very seldom attended these institutions, and they soon became the preserve of the Established Church. With regard to free scholars, the Commissioners of 1791 found that out of a total number of 211 only 38 were free scholars. In 1868, there were in the 6 schools, 311 pupils, out of which 3 were Roman Catholics and 23 Protestant dissenters, the number of free scholars being only 47. With the introduction of State grants in 1879, the royal schools were merged in the general system of intermediate education.

Establishment of Schools on Private Initiative

The next large foundation was of private initiative, and originally intended to educate Catholic and other children in the Presbyterian faith. Erasmus Smith, who received a grant of lands under the Commonwealth, provided in 1657 for the free education of poor children on his estates. The original Indenture says that " for the great and ardent desire which the founder has that the poor children inhabiting upon any part of his lands in Ireland should be brought up in the fear of God and good literature and to speak the English tongue. . . . And that the schoolmasters shall catechise the scholars once every week in the catechism published by the Assembly of Divines." After the Restoration, however, Smith had to change the Presbyterian catechism to that of the Anglican Church and to put his foundation under the supervision of the Church, which was effected by the charter of 1669. Gradually the number of schools on his foundation grew to 5 grammar schools and about 150 English primary schools. In 1809, in the 4 grammar schools there were 277 pupils, and in 4 English schools, 468 pupils. Catholic children attended at first in large numbers, but when in 1712 new rules were issued, trying to enforce instruction in the catechism on all pupils, Catholics left in a body. In Galway School, for instance, 85 Catholic scholars left in one day. In 1858, in 4 grammar schools there were only 23 Catholics out of 160 pupils. In the English schools in 1858 there were 4,293 children of the Established Church, 875 Catholics and 1,467 Protestant dissenters. Other private foundations, as that of the Earl of Cork (4 grammar schools since 1610), Duke of Ormonde (Kilkenny College, 1684) and others, were also in

practice under the Church supervision and attended almost exclusively by Anglican pupils. In 1858, in 14 Endowed schools out of 313 boys only 27 were Catholics and 31 Protestant dissenters. In all these foundations, whether State or private, the Church played rather a passive rôle, undertaking the administration of schools only because it was enjoined to do so by statutory obligations.

The only foundation which was the result of the direct initiative of the Church was the Charter Schools. In 1731, the Primate, Boulter, conceived an idea of converting the Papists by means of special schools, established for that purpose. In 1730, he wrote to the Bishop of London: "The Papists here are so numerous that it highly concerns us in point of interest, as well as out of concern for the salvation of these poor creatures, who are our fellow subjects, to try all possible means to bring them and theirs over to the true religion, and one of the most likely methods we can think of is, if possible, instructing the young generation." The charter of 1733 for establishing Protestant schools says: "If some effectual method be not made use of to instruct these great number of people in the principles of true religion and loyalty, there is little prospect but that superstition and idolatry and disaffection to us and our royal posterity will from generation to generation, be propagated amongst them. Amongst the ways proper to be taken for converting and civilising of the said deluded persons . . . has always been thought to be erecting and establishing of a sufficient number of English Protestant schools."

The original scheme contemplated day schools only. Very soon it was found, however, that the conversion of Catholic children living with their parents was almost impossible. It was decided, therefore, to take them from their parents and transplant them to boarding schools in remote localities. No Catholic priest or any relatives of that persuasion were allowed to converse with the children, except in the presence of the master. When it was found that few Catholic parents could be induced to part with their children, nurseries were opened in 1757 to serve as feeders for the schools. In spite of all these measures the schools could not be filled with Catholic children, and the Society decided in 1803 to accept Protestant children as well. In 1808, in 39 institutions of the Society, there were 646 Protestant children, 1,518 Catholic and 555 children of mixed marriages.

After 1825, it was very difficult to induce Catholic children to attend, and from that time the nature of the schools was changed. From being schools for the conversion of Roman Catholics, they became schools for the education of members of the Established Church. In 1858, in 8 boarding schools of the Society there were 445 pupils of the Established Church, 5 Catholics and 1 dissenter. In 11 day schools, 249 pupils of the Established Church, 49 Catholics and 81 dissenters. Intended originally for "poor Papists," the schools became fee-paying boarding institutions for the Anglican clergy and gentry.

The Church's Changed Attitude to Education

In the nineteenth century, with the emancipation of the Catholics, the previous monopoly of the Church disappeared and its policy in education required a new attitude. All the attempts of the State and the Church at the conversion of the Catholic population had ended in failure, and the Government, by introducing the National system in 1831, openly admitted the futility of new attempts. The minority of Churchmen, led by the Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Whately, recognised the changed situation and sincerely collaborated with the National Board in trying to establish an undenominational system free of any suspicion of proselytism. In a private letter, however, Dr. Whately expressed the hope that the National system would " gradually undermine the vast fabric of Popery in Ireland." Yet the Primate, the bishops and three-quarters of the clergy could not reconcile themselves with the new situation and still maintained that the Established Church was the national Church of Ireland and that it was its duty to convert Catholics through education and legislation. They bitterly opposed the National system, and in 1839 founded the Church Education Society for establishing a denominational system on a voluntary basis. They succeeded at first, and in 1849 the Society had 1,868 schools with 111,887 scholars, among whom were several thousands of Catholics. In 1845, the bishops petitioned the Government and claimed State grants for their schools. As they would not abandon the policy of proselytism Sir Robert Peel could do nothing but reject their claims. Gradually the attitude of the Church was changing, and in 1866 the new Primate, five bishops, 733 clergymen and about two thousand representative laymen signed a Declaration against the denominational principle and for the continuance of the National system. In 1867, there were only 1,266 schools under the Church Society with 63,549 pupils on the roll, the average attendance being only 31,833. With the disestablishment of the Church in 1869 all pretence of monopoly had to be abandoned, and the Church reconciled itself with the position of a minority community.

The Church and Higher Education

In the field of higher education the Church also assisted in the political purposes of the Government. The reasons for the foundation of Trinity College, Dublin, were more political than educational. The letter of Elizabeth in 1591, establishing the college, says in the preamble: " Whereby knowledge and civility might be increased by the instruction of our people there, whereof many have usually heretofore used to travel into France, Italy and Spain to get learning in such foreign universities, whereby they have been infected with popery and other ill qualities, etc." The Church itself, in the person of the Primate, Archbishop Loftus, was not very helpful and even obstructed the plans of the new university so long as they were connected with using the funds of the Col-

legiate Church of St. Patrick for the purpose. All the previous plans of Archbishops Browne and Sidney were based on the transformation of the suppressed Collegiate Church of St. Patrick into a college. These plans were thwarted by Loftus and office-holders of St. Patrick, and thus a propitious moment for furthering the cause of the Reformation was lost. When Trinity was finally founded, the Roman Catholic counter-reformation was at its height, and there was hardly a chance of its political purpose succeeding.

At first the new college accepted Catholic students, no religious tests being instituted, and many Roman Catholics contributed liberally to the original endowment. With the accession of James I, however, the political aim of conversion was insisted upon and the early Puritan provosts and fellows were gradually substituted by more orthodox followers of the ecclesiastical policy of proselytism. The educational disabilities of the Roman Catholics were not removed until 1793, but since then many leaders of Catholic Ireland have graduated from Trinity College. In 1873, all tests were abolished, and with the exception of the divinity school, the University of Dublin became an undenominational institution open on equal terms to all creeds.

Conclusion

Although the legal position of the Church of Ireland was the same as that of the Church of England, it could not justly claim the same privileges. Whereas in England, the Church as a whole, including both the clergy and the laity, accepted the Reformation, in Ireland the overwhelming majority remained faithful to the old Church and was hostile to the new order. The Church of Ireland, therefore, could never claim the status of a national Church and had no historical right to impose monopoly or to use national income for its own purposes. Certainly the Church was not a free agent, but a tool in the hands of the Government, the idea of integration of State and Church being prevalent at that time among all creeds and parties. The whole policy of the combined Church and State was wrong, both in its conception and its execution, and the only thing which can interest us now is its results in education.

The policy had three supreme aims: (1) To make Ireland an English-speaking country; (2) to convert it to Protestantism; and (3) to make Irishmen "loyal" citizens of the British Commonwealth. It seems that the first aim was successfully achieved, although there is at present a strong movement towards the renaissance of the old language. The second aim proved to be a complete failure and led only to an embittered feud between the creeds. The third aim has up till now ended in failure, and, if in future the position might change, the success will be due to the abandonment of the previous policy. It is a matter of opinion whether the change from the Irish to the English language is a loss or a gain for Ireland, but there is no doubt that this result was brought about largely through the efforts of the Church and its schools. Through

the medium of English, Ireland became subject to a strong cultural influence from England in legislation, literature and education, and it is open to question whether the result of the historical development can be eradicated by any measures of the Government.

IV. THE ANGLICAN TRADITION IN THE U.S.A.

American colonies were not homogeneous from the religious point of view. State reasons prompted the Home Government to relax the strict monopoly of the Church in America, and even to allow in some colonies the establishment of dissenting churches. Thus the school policy of the Church of England could only be manifested in those colonies where the Church was established with the foundation of the colony, or was later imposed by force.

The Church was established in the southern colonies of Virginia and in both Carolinas. Virginia was a typical reproduction of English society and legislation of that period. The monopoly of the Church was introduced by the first Royal Charter of 1606, and dissenters were persecuted and expelled. The ruling class was similar in composition and way of living to the English upper class. The educational policy, therefore, of the Colonial Government and Church did not vary much from that of the mother country.

The Anglican Tradition in Virginia

Two different systems of schools were founded under the auspices of the Church for the two classes of the white population. For the planters, associated groups of the clergy, merchants and professional men, grammar schools were founded, the whole edifice being crowned by the College of William and Mary. For the poor whites, many of whom were transplanted orphans and indentured labourers, charity schools were established. The first grammar schools of Virginia, endowed by Symms in 1634 and Eaton in 1659, were in every way a reproduction of the earlier English grammar schools. They were founded by gentlemen for the children of poor freeholders, and their management was usually left to the vestry of the respective parishes. As in England, the intended "free schools for poor pupils" very soon became fee-paying schools for the well-to-do planters. Thus the Act of 1759 for the better regulating of Eaton's Charity School says: "The said foundation has been abused, by admitting a great number of children into the said school, whose parents are well able to pay for their education." In 1762, the parish clergyman wrote: "I had a charity school, where the gentlemen's children were many years educated, and the objects of charity disdained"; the details of the letter prove that the school in question was Eaton's school. However, this class character of the few endowed schools developed in the eighteenth century, whereas in the seventeenth century the planters educated their sons at home under the guidance of clergymen, and then usually sent them to England.

The idea of founding a colonial university in Virginia originated with Sir Edwin Sandys, the president of the Virginia Company, in 1619. It was realised only at the end of the century. In 1691, the Commissary of the Bishop of London, James Blair, was sent by the Colonial Assembly to England to secure a charter for the proposed college. The charter was granted in 1693 with land endowments, and the right to collect taxes and receive profits arising from the office of surveyor-general. The aims of the new college were expressed as follows: "To the end that the Church of Virginia may be furnished with a seminary of ministers of the gospel, and that youth be piously educated in good letters and manners, and that the Christian faith may be propagated amongst the Western Indians, to the Glory of Almighty God." To these ends were added also the revenues of the bequest made by Robert Boyle by which a school for Indians attached to the William and Mary College was maintained. According to the charter, J. Blair, the Church Commissioner, was appointed the first President, and the Bishop of London the first Chancellor. The trustees continued to unite the posts of the Church Commissioner and of the President of the College down to the time of the American Revolution. The college included a grammar school, a school of philosophy and a school of divinity. Although the Church was established by law in Virginia and the college was practically administered by the Church, the early students included dissenters as well as churchmen, which proves that the monopoly of the Church was not strictly enforced. After the revolution, under the influence of Thomas Jefferson, one of its graduates and trustees, the college lost its official connection with the Church and the divinity school was closed in 1779. After the Civil War, the college was transferred to the State and became a purely secular institution. The divinity school of the Church of England was established as a separate college at Alexandria in 1823.

The attitude of the colonial Church and Episcopalian governors towards the education of the lower classes can be seen from the famous report of Governor Berkeley in 1671: "But I thank God there are no free schools nor printing; and I hope we shall not have these hundred years: for learning has brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world and printing has divulged them and libels against the best government. God keep us from both." Evidently Berkeley opposed only the schools for the lower classes, as he subscribed money for the grammar schools for the upper class.

The first Acts for the education of poor children were the Apprenticeship Laws of Virginia of 1643, 1646 and 1672. They concerned the orphans transplanted to the colony and children of destitute and vagrant parents. The Acts enjoined all guardians and overseers of these children "to educate and instruct them . . . in Christian religion and in the rudiments of learning and to provide for their necessaries according to the competents of their estate." The second Act provides that the children should be brought up

in good and lawful trades. There were also a few parish schools managed by clergymen. But on the whole, Virginia in the colonial period did not attempt to found anything resembling a public school system. Virginia was the most Episcopalian of all American colonies. Although the Church was originally established also in both Carolinas, Georgia, and for a period in Maryland and New York, Virginia was the only colony where the Episcopalians were in a majority during the first century of its existence.

The Anglican Tradition in the Carolinas and Georgia

In the Carolinas and Georgia the churchmen were outnumbered by dissenters, and therefore the monopoly of the Church was here enforced in practice. In South Carolina, the first educational Acts of 1710 and 1712 provided for a grammar school with a principal "of the religion of the Church of England." In 1722, Richard Beresford left six thousand pounds as an endowment for a grammar school under the trust of the vestry of the Episcopal Church of the parish near Charleston. For the lower classes the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel established a charity school at Charleston in 1711. The College of Charleston, founded in 1785, was put at first under Episcopalian control, but after the resignation of the first principal, Dr. Smith (afterwards bishop), it became undenominational. In North Carolina, Queen's College, founded in 1771, was, according to the charter, under the supervision of the Church of England. The public school in Newbern, founded in 1766, was provided with an Act, which said: "No person shall be admitted to be master of the said school but who is of the Church of England."

The Anglican Tradition in New York and Maryland

The position in New York and Maryland was different. In New York the Dutch Church was originally established, and after the conquest of the colony by the English the monopoly of the Church of England was enacted by administrative measures, although the Church was not legally established. As the overwhelming majority of the population were dissenters it was difficult to enforce the restrictive measures against the combined opposition of the dissenting Churches. Although the Royal instructions to the governors absolutely forbade the admission of any person to keep a school without the licence of the Bishop of London, the Dutch and Presbyterian teachers continued to teach. Cornbury, the governor, however, succeeded in breaking up some of the dissenters' schools.

The policy of the Church was the same as in other colonies: for the upper classes, grammar schools and colleges, and for the lower classes, charity schools. The Church Party tried twice to found grammar schools under the control of the Bishop of London. The first attempt in 1702 led to the temporary existence of a school and the first scheme for a college. The Society for the Propagation

of the Gospel in a report of 1705 states: "A Latin free school is likewise established at New York by the influence of His Excellency Lord Cornbury, by which means sound Religion visibly gains ground there. There are also proposals going on for building a College on the Queen's Farm by subscription." In 1703, the Churchwardens and Vestry of Trinity Church resolved "that the Rector and Churchwardens should wait upon my Lord Cornbury to know what part of the King's Farm His Lordship did design towards the College which His Lordship designs to have built." In 1732, there was a second attempt to found a grammar school, and it was opened with Rev. A. Malcolm as teacher, but after a few years the school disappeared. The King's College, on the other hand, was duly founded in 1754, the farm of Trinity Church being the basis of the endowment. The Royal Charter provided that the president must be a churchman and that a collection of prayers from the liturgy of the Church of England should be read in the college. Owing, however, to the strong opposition of all dissenters it was added "that the exclusion of any person from any privileges, degrees, etc., on account of his particular tenets" is expressly prohibited. The trustees included also the representatives of the dissenters, but the churchmen formed the majority. The Rector of Trinity Church, Barclay, in a private letter, wrote on that occasion: "To do the Governor justice he has given us a good majority of Churchmen, no less than eleven of the Vestry being the number. There are but eight of the Dutch Church, most of them good men and true, and two dissenters." The first president, Dr. A. Johnson, a converted Presbyterian, proved to be a very tolerant and enlightened churchman and the apprehensions of the dissenters were gradually allayed. The new King's College could claim as one of the founders the famous philosopher, Bishop Berkeley, as he had planned the University of Bermuda. His friend Johnson used his scheme and ideas in establishing King's College. In 1784, after the revolution, the college was refounded as Columbia University and lost its official connection with the Church.

In Maryland, the revolution of 1688 changed the original character of the charter granted to the Catholic Lord Baltimore by establishing the Church of England in the colony. The new Protestant masters passed in 1694 "An Act for the encouragement of learning and the advancement of the natives of this province." The encouragement of learning meant grammar schools for the upper class, and for the natives religious conversion, but for the lower classes of whites elementary schools were not mentioned. At the same time, the representatives of the colony dispatched a letter to the Bishop of London, in which they said: "Under so glorious a reign wherein by God's providence His true religion has been so miraculously preserved, should we not endeavour to promote it, we should hardly deserve the name of good Protestants or good subjects. . . . We have therefore in assembly attempted to make learning a handmaid to devotion and founded free schools in

Maryland, to attend the college in Virginia (William and Mary). We are confident you will favour our like pious designs in this province, wherein in instructing our youth in orthodox religion, preserving them from the infection of heterodox tenets and fitting them for the service of the Church and the State . . . are our cheerful end and aim." The second part of the Act concerning Indians was never realised, but the first object aimed at was provided by the Act of 1696, by which King William's School was finally established. It was opened in 1701. This Act created a corporation with the usual powers controlling the free schools of Maryland on the condition that no rules were made contrary to royal prerogative, to the laws of England or Maryland, or to the canons and constitutions of the Church of England. Dr. Bray, the Commissioner of the Bishop of London, wrote in 1700 : " And that a perpetual succession of Protestant divines of the Church of England may be provided for the Propagation of the true Christian religion in the said colony his excellency has, by the consent of the assembly, promoted a law for instructing the youth of the said province in arithmetic, navigation, and all useful learning, but chiefly for fitting such as are disposed to study divinity." However, with the exception of King William's School at Annapolis, no other school was founded under this law. After the revolution, King William's School was merged in 1785 into St. John's College and gradually lost its previous denominational character.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel

We have seen that both the colonial clergy and the Episcopalian governors and assemblies concentrated their attention on establishing grammar schools and colleges and did very little if anything for the education of the lower classes. The few charity schools which existed during the colonial period owed their foundation to the initiative of the Metropolitan clergy. One of the most active and influential churchmen of the period, Dr. Thomas Bray, founded in 1698 the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. When Dr. Bray was appointed commissary for the province of Maryland by the Bishop of London, he transferred the activities of the Society to America. The work of the Society in England, however, had so largely increased that it had become necessary to found a separate society for overseas dominions. Accordingly, Dr. Bray obtained from the King in 1701 an act of incorporation for the " Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts." The aims of the Society were twofold : firstly the conversion of the Indians and the Negroes, and secondly the strengthening of the Church of England in America by instructing the colonists in the principles of true religion and thus stopping " the spreading of atheism and infidelity and of Popish superstitions." The second aim of proselytism aroused embittered opposition, and even hatred, from all dissenters. Its missionary work among the dissenters

was of doubtful value to America. Although the Society succeeded in converting hundreds of Presbyterians and Quakers, and though some of its best missionaries, the ex-Quaker George Keith for example, were converted dissenters, these facts themselves engendered a denominational animosity which became an obstacle to any educational progress.

The first school of the Society, " the catechising school for the coloured slaves " was opened in New York in 1704. Subsequently charity schools for the poor whites were also founded. The first instructions for the schoolmasters of the Society were drawn up in 1706. The aims of charity schools were the same as in England. The curriculum included reading, writing, " as much arithmetic as shall be necessary for useful employments," and Church catechism and Church attendance under the supervision of the parish minister. Only persons conforming to the doctrine of the Church were appointed masters, after an examination by three members appointed by the Society. Very few schools were actually founded. In New York City only one school worked permanently from 1710. In the colony of New York during the period 1710–1776, the Society supported, on the whole, between five to ten charity schools. Some schools were supported in Pennsylvania and Delaware, and a few more in the Southern colonies.

Effects of the Revolution of 1688

With the revolution and the disestablishment of the Church, the work of the Society lost all its importance. The revolution entirely changed the position and the influence of the Church. The majority of the clergy and many of the Episcopalian laity were staunch loyalists and often fought on the side of the English. The Declaration of Independence and the defeat of the English army led to a mass emigration of loyalists to Canada and to England. Many parishes of the Church of England lost, not only their ministers, but most of the parishioners as well. In Virginia, for instance, from 95 parishes with 164 churches and 91 clergymen before the revolution only 36 parishes with 36 clergymen remained after the end of the war. The Church could not remain any longer a branch of the Church of England, and had to be reorganised as an independent Protestant Episcopalian Church of America. With the consecration of the first American bishops this end was achieved, and the new Church entered a new period as the Church of an insignificant minority without any of the privileges and endowments of an established institution. All the colleges and grammar schools founded by the Church and maintained from public grants were taken over by the States and became undenominational public institutions. The Church was left with the School of Divinity which was finally settled at Alexandria in 1827. Gradually colleges were founded. The first was at College Point (Long Island) under Dr. Muhlenberg. Then, in 1842, the

College of St. James was founded by Bishop Whittingham in Maryland; also St. Mary's School in North Carolina. In the sixties there were about a dozen colleges and theological seminaries.

Conclusion

At present, the Church controls about a hundred of the parish schools, with about 5,000 pupils, 90 secondary schools with about 7,000 pupils, 5 junior colleges, 14 theological seminaries and 1 training school. In 1913, the General Convention of the Church established a general Board of Religious Education, organised in four departments: (1) That of Parochial Education; (2) of Secondary Education; (3) of Collegiate Education; and (4) of Theological Education. Within each of the hundred dioceses there is a diocesan board which applies locally the principles and methods recommended by the General Board.

V. THE ANGLICAN TRADITION IN CANADA

The educational history of English-speaking Canada really begins with the removal of 70,000 United Empire loyalists in 1783 from the newly born United States to the Maritime Provinces and Upper Canada. The emigrants were mostly Episcopalians and included clergymen and many graduates of American colleges. Although the Church of England never had a legal monopoly of education in Canada, its position, as the Established Church of the country which conquered Canada from France and provided an asylum for American loyalists, gave it many privileges which other Churches did not possess. Later, to the original stock of the united loyalists many emigrants from the United States and from Great Britain were added, but as the majority of newcomers were either Presbyterians or Methodists, and were supposed to be in sympathy with their republican co-religionists across the border, they were looked upon at first with suspicion, both by the Government and by the Episcopalian loyalists. This growing immigration of dissenters, coupled with the secession of the Methodists, very soon put the Episcopalians in a definite minority. Nevertheless, the Episcopalian minority formed the ruling class, which tried to dominate the dissenting majority both in politics and religion. The policy of the Church of England in education only reflected this general tendency. We shall follow it first in the province of Upper Canada, later known as Ontario.

Church Policy in Upper Canada

The first school among the loyalists of Upper Canada was opened by Dr. John Stuart, himself a refugee, at Kingston in 1785. In 1792, another Episcopalian school was founded at Newark. A more comprehensive scheme was launched by the Governor, Simcoe, immediately after the passing of the Quebec Act of 1791,

by which Upper Canada was constituted a separate province. State reasons prompted him to promote the establishment of grammar schools and " a Protestant Episcopal University." In his letter to Bishop Mountain of Quebec, April 1795, he says: " I most earnestly hope that . . . by giving means of proper education in this province . . . that from ourselves we may raise up a loyal, and a learned clergy which will speedily tend to unite, not only the Puritans within the province, but the clergy of the Episcopal Church, however dispersed . . . and on all sides, to bring within the pale (of the church) in Upper Canada a very great body of sectaries, who, in my judgement, as it were, offer themselves to its protection and re-union. . . . The Episcopal clergy in England, from pious motives as well as policy, are materially interested that the Church should increase in this province. I will venture to prophesy its preservation depends upon a university being erected therein."

Thus the conversion of dissenters and the spread of loyalty to the King's authority were the chief aims of the proposed university. Upon the suggestion of Bishop Mountain, the legislature of Upper Canada petitioned the King in 1797, who, through the Duke of Portland, instructed the Governor, Russell, to give practical effect to the petition. As a result, 550,000 acres of Crown lands were set apart for the establishment of district grammar schools and " other seminaries of a larger and more comprehensive nature for the promotion of religion and moral learning, and the study of the arts and sciences."

A principal for the proposed University was invited from Scotland, Dr. Strachan of Aberdeen. He came to Canada in 1799, but nothing was done for the realisation of the plan, and he was compelled to make his living by opening a private school at Kingston in 1800. In 1803, he entered the Episcopalian Church and was ordained by Bishop Mountain. He was appointed to the parish of Cornwall, where he founded the first grammar school of Upper Canada in 1804. On his initiative the legislature granted subsidies in 1806 and 1807 to his two schools and to the other six district grammar schools which were just opened. The schools were, in practice, under the control of the Church. In 1812, Strachan was appointed Rector of York (Toronto), where he came into close contact with the ruling group of Episcopalian loyalists known as the " Family Compact." He became their leader in religious and educational matters. They were not averse to education as such, as they were all educated men, but their zeal took form in the direction of higher education and education of the upper class. In 1829, a Board of Education was established, and Strachan was appointed its president. The question of the university was again raised. Strachan devoted all his energy to the establishment of the university with classical district schools as feeders, but he practically ignored elementary schools, or rather made no provision for them. Only nine years after the grammar schools were founded

was the progressive party able to insist on Strachan helping in the passage of an Act for the establishment and maintenance of common schools. In 1826, he went to England to procure the charter for the proposed university, and obtained it in 1827, in which year the charter for the University of King's College in Upper Canada passed the Great Seal on March 22nd.

His ideas and reasons were clearly expressed in his appeal on behalf of the university in 1827. He said: "It is indeed quite evident that the consequences of a university . . . possessing in itself sufficient recommendations to attract to it the sons of the most opulent families, would soon be visible in the greater intelligence and more confirmed principles of loyalty of those who would be called to various public duties required in the country, i.e. the governing class." His other reason was that Canadians often completed their education in the States across the border, and thus imbibed disloyal feelings and notions, both in politics and religion.

According to the charter, the new university was to be distinctly a Church of England institution. The Anglican bishop of the diocese was to be its visitor; the Archdeacon of York (Strachan) was to be *ex-officio* its president; all the members of its council were to be members of the Church of England and to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles. It is true that, except in divinity, no religious tests were to be imposed on undergraduates or graduates, but to give an exclusive control of a university to the Church in Upper Canada, where the majority were dissenters, was at any rate short-sighted. Unfortunately, Strachan in his appeal quite frankly stated that the university was to be "a missionary College of the Church of England," and that he hoped that by means of it "the greater portion of the population of Canada might through the Divine blessing be brought up in the communion of the Church of England."

This open aim of proselytism aroused a bitter opposition from all other denominations. The dissenters, especially, resented his letter to the Under-Secretary of the Colonies in which he gave wrong information as to the numerical strength of the Church and hinted that non-Anglicans were not loyal to the British throne. In these circumstances, the foundation of King's College could not be proceeded with, and the charter was challenged, not only in Canada, but also in the House of Commons. As a result, the Colonial Secretary instructed the Governor, Sir John Colborne, that proceedings under the charter of King's College should be stayed. Strachan, however, was a stubborn fighter, and when, two years later, the Colonial Secretary asked for the surrender of the charter, the College Council flatly refused to comply. The Colonial Secretary, therefore, left the question of the amendment of the charter in the hands of the provincial legislature. The House of Assembly, composed mostly of dissenters, wanted a complete elimination of the Church of England control of the college. In Legislative Council, however, Strachan and the "Family Compact"

had a majority and did not want to surrender their privileges. After the new elections in 1836, both Houses came to an agreement, according to which the official control of the Church was abolished, but in practice Strachan and his party remained entrenched in the College Council.

The dissenters did not trust the provisions of the amended charter and started to found their own denominational colleges. The Catholics founded the Regiopolis College in 1837, the Methodists established the Upper Canada Academy in 1836, which received the status of a university in 1841 under the name of Victoria College; and in 1839, the Scottish Presbyterians took steps towards the foundation of Queen's College, which was actually opened in 1842. Thus the development of higher education was diverted into denominational channels and the whole problem was complicated for generations to come.

King's College was duly opened in 1842, but its existence as a Church institution was very short. In 1849, the Baldwin ministry introduced a Bill of which the two leading features were a complete secularisation of the college and full Government control. The Act was passed and came into effect in 1850. King's College was transformed into the University of Toronto. Strachan, now the first Bishop of Upper Canada, promptly started a campaign for the foundation of a new and purely Anglican university. He went again to England and obtained a Royal Charter for the University of Trinity College in 1850. Although it was a voluntary institution, he succeeded in gathering in England and Canada, money, stocks and land equal to £100,000 and Trinity College was opened in 1850.

The new university was a replica of Oxford University with residential staff and students. Every professor had to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles and the college reserved to itself the right to require their resignation if any of them should marry. These features have never been abandoned, even when Trinity College became affiliated to the University of Toronto in 1903. In 1888, St. Hilda College for Women was founded as a branch of Trinity. In 1925, Trinity College was removed to a new building in the proximity of the University of Toronto on the property of the University and the federation of the two institutions founded by Strachan became effective.

In 1873, the Evangelical Party formed "the Church Association of the Diocese of Toronto" in order "to maintain the principles and doctrines of our Church as established at the Reformation and to preserve the simplicity of her Protestant worship and the purity of her Scriptural teaching." With this object in view, they founded in 1877 a Protestant Episcopal divinity school, later known as Wycliffe College. In contrast to the Trinity College of Strachan, Wycliffe College had no objection to the "Godless" University of Toronto and was in close relations with it, which in 1885 developed into a formal affiliation.

The attitude of the Church towards the common schools system

was manifested during the struggle with the Roman Catholics for separate schools. Bishop Strachan strongly opposed the Act of 1843 on separate schools. He petitioned the Legislature in 1841 and in 1843, " praying that the sum appropriated by the Legislature for the use of Common Schools might be divided among the recognised denominations in proportion to their respective numbers," in this way demanding a purely denominational system under the control of the Churches. Later the Anglican Church always claimed equal rights with the Roman Catholics, i.e. separate schools for their members. The Synod of 1862 discussed the question again, and by a majority of 74 votes to 21 decided to demand separate schools for the Anglicans. The minority was led by the assistant of Dr. Ryerson, G. Hodgins, and voted for an undenominational system. Soon Hodgins succeeded Ryerson as superintendent, and gradually persuaded his co-religionists to accept the common school legislation.

Church Policy in the Maritime Provinces

Whereas in Upper Canada the Church was never established but was only endowed by the English Government with lands, called the *Clergy Reserves*, in the Maritime Provinces the establishment was enacted by Provincial legislatures—in Nova Scotia in 1758, and in New Brunswick in 1784 after the partition of the two provinces. Before the arrival of the loyalists, the few schools which existed were under the auspices of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The Society began its work in Canada in 1728, when it gave a yearly salary of £10 to the schoolmaster, R. Watts, at Annapolis in Nova Scotia. In 1736, a second schoolmaster, Peden, at Canso, was also granted a similar salary. With the foundation of Halifax in 1749, the Society granted salaries to six schoolmasters for the new colony. With the coming of the loyalists a new impetus was given to education. In 1783, the loyalists, still gathered at New York, held a meeting and empowered five clergymen with Dr. Charles Inglis, late rector of Trinity Church, New York, as the chairman, to draw up " A Plan of a Religious and Literary Institution for the Province of Nova Scotia."

The motives as expressed in the plan were as follows : " Experience has shown the conformity or eligibility of certain modes of worship to particular forms of government, and that of the Episcopal has been thought peculiarly adapted to the British Constitution." The experience of the American War has shown that " the considerable majority in every Episcopal congregation were loyal subjects, and some were found which scarcely produced one disaffected germ of character, whilst the clergy were permitted to exercise their functions." Dr. Inglis was appointed the first Bishop of Nova Scotia in 1787, and after his appointment said : " One great object of my appointment is to supply vacant churches with clergymen.

But if there is no seminary we cannot expect any to be educated and qualified for orders."

Thus the purposes of the Church were the chief reasons for the foundation of the college. Bishop Inglis obtained a grant from the legislature for an academy at Windsor, which was opened in 1788. Then an Act was passed for the permanent establishment of the King's College, which was opened in 1790. The first President was W. Cochran, late professor of King's College, New York. The Royal Charter was issued in 1802. By the regulations all students were required to sign the Thirty-nine Articles on matriculation. Bishop Inglis was against this restriction and appealed to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The latter compromised by withdrawing the test for matriculation, but requiring it of all who were admitted to degrees. The amendment, however, was not published, and the tests were not removed until 1829. In 1846, the imperial grant was withdrawn, and the college became a voluntary Church institution, governed by a board elected by graduates. Later the college was transferred to Halifax and became affiliated to the Dalhousie University.

In New Brunswick, King's College, founded in 1800 at Fredericton, lost its Church character in 1860 and was transformed into the Provincial University of New Brunswick. Other Church institutions of higher learning were established in 1845 at Lennoxville, Quebec (Bishop's College), at Winnipeg, Manitoba, in 1849 (St. John's College), at London, Ontario, in 1878 (Western University) and theological colleges at Montreal (1873), London (1863), Saskatoon (1879), Regina (1907) and British Columbia (1912 incorporation). Besides colleges, the Church founded ten boarding schools for boys and ten for girls on the lines of the English public schools. The Church was disestablished in the Maritime Provinces in 1867, and in Upper Canada the Clergy Reserves were confiscated and secularised in 1854. The last link connecting it with the See of Canterbury was broken in 1876, and the Canadian Church became quite independent and elected its own Primate.

VI. THE ANGLICAN TRADITION IN AUSTRALIA

New South Wales was founded as a British Colony in 1788, and the Church of England was recognised as the Established Church of the Colony without any special act, according to the provisions of the Union of England and Scotland in 1707. Two years later, in 1790, King George III issued an act by which " provision was made for the Church by allotting in each township 400 acres for the maintenance of a minister and half that quantity for the maintenance of a schoolmaster."

Educational Plan for New South Wales

The first schools were Church parish schools under the auspices of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. In 1797, there

were six such schools. In 1809, the Governor, Lachlan Macquarie, began to assist schools irrespective of religious affiliation, and thus laid the foundation for the public school system. The Church, however, considered that the Act of 1790 granted lands on the supposition that the schools would be controlled by the Church. When Bigge, the Royal Commissioner, investigated the school situation in the Colony, he submitted, in 1824, a Report in agreement with the desires of the Church. His secretary, Thomas Scott, later Archdeacon of Sydney, wrote a comprehensive plan for the establishment of all kinds of educational institutions in the new Colony. His plan had only one defect, i.e. that the whole system should be put under the control of the Church of England.

The plan was approved, and in 1825, George IV issued "Letters Patent for erecting a Corporation for the management of the Church and school lands in the Colony of New South Wales." Thus the Church and School Corporation came into being. It included all the chief magistrates of the Colony and ten senior clergymen of the Church, who were the real managers. Part of the income from these lands was directed to be "applied towards the maintenance and support of the clergy of the Established Church of England in the Colony and the maintenance and support of schools and schoolmasters." The schools were made subject to the order, superintendence and control of the clergymen of the Church. The Bishop and in his absence the Archdeacon (Th. Scott), was made *ex-officio* the visitor.

The public system established by Macquarie was handed over to the Corporation, and Archdeacon Scott became the virtual director of education. He took over 20 schools with 1,035 pupils in 1827. In 1831, the system grew into 40 schools with 2,426 pupils. The influential minority of dissenters strongly opposed this monopoly of the Church, and the Home Government revoked the charter in 1833. The property of the Corporation reverted to the Crown, and the control of the schools was taken over by the Colonial Government. The plan of Archdeacon Scott provided also for grammar schools, but their foundation took place only after the arrival of Bishop Broughton in 1829. He drew up a plan of proposed institutions, which was adopted by the Church and School Corporation and was forwarded through the Governor to London.

In 1831, the plan was approved by Goderich, the Colonial Secretary, and was later confirmed by the Legislative Council of the Colony. According to this plan "no test or subscription be required from the Scholars." "Religious instruction shall be sedulously and systematically combined with the course of study." The Bishop (Broughton) "be requested to draw up a scheme of religious, moral, classical, scientific and general instruction such as he may conceive best adapted to the circumstances of the Colony." "The Masters and Scholars shall attend Divine Service in the Established Church every Sunday morning and afternoon and on all great Festivals; reservation being made that the parents or

guardians of any scholar may obtain for him exemption from this Regulation, by certifying at the time of his admission, their desire that he should attend at some other place of worship." "The books of a religious character are intended to embrace, as far as is possible, only those points of belief on which there is an accordance throughout the greater part of the Christian Church." In addition, Church catechism and doctrines of the Established Church shall be taught. But the scholars, or their parents, again may obtain exemption from this denominational part of the curriculum.

Two King's Schools were duly founded according to this plan, one at Sydney and the other at Parramatta. The Sydney King's School, owing to the competition of the undenominational Sydney College and Presbyterian Australia College, was soon closed, but the Parramatta School developed into a typical public school of the English tradition. The school was a boarding institution available only to the "wealthier part of the community" as the Governor, Sir Richard Bourke, complained. Because of this character of the school and its denominational control, the Government withdrew its grant in 1838. Since then the King's School has become a voluntary institution of the Church.

Sir Richard Bourke was an opponent of denominationalism in education. He started a campaign in 1836 for the introduction of a national system on the lines of the Irish system. The opposition of all denominations led by Bishop Broughton and the Anglican clergy frustrated his plans. He succeeded only in passing the Act of 1836 by which all Christian Churches were put on an equal footing concerning State support. Thus the Church of England was practically disestablished. Bourke's successor, Governor Gibbs, again tried the establishment of the undenominational system in 1839 and again was defeated by the opposition of the Church. The struggle continued for fifty years, and finally in 1883, all State grants to denominational schools were withdrawn and the Church had to build up a voluntary system. The Protestant communities accepted the public system and directed their efforts to the support of denominational boarding schools and theological seminaries only.

Bishop Broughton founded Moore College at Sydney in 1856, and St. John's Theological College was founded at Armidale in 1899. Victoria was separated from New South Wales in 1851 and up to that year shared the history of the older province. One Church of England grammar school was founded at Melbourne in 1849 and reorganised in 1858. With the separation, the Anglicans of Victoria did not oppose the establishment of a national system, and Bishop Perry, in the Educational Commission of 1852, even advocated a public secular system with facilities for denominational instruction. Thus the Church collaborated with the State, and, except with the Roman Catholics, there was no denominational struggle. In 1872, the Church schools ceased to receive State grants, and the clergy concentrated their efforts on founding secon-

dary schools. There are several boarding schools on the lines of the English public schools, e.g., two grammar schools for boys, at Melbourne and Geelong (1858), and two for girls at the same places. Later some smaller grammar schools were founded.

The Anglican Tradition in the other States

In Queensland, the development was on similar lines. The oldest school, with a separate preparatory school, is at Southport. In Brisbane there are two Church grammar schools, one for boys and one for girls.

In South Australia the first Collegiate School of St. Peter was founded in 1847, and a second at Pulteney in the same year. Two secondary schools for girls were established much later.

Western Australia and Tasmania, on the other hand, had a history independent of the developments in New South Wales. In Western Australia, the first Colonial Chaplain, J. Wittenoom, collaborated from the start with the Governor and was the leader of all educational endeavour. He started the first school in 1829, and in 1834 he opened a grammar school The first public grammar school was established in 1843, and Wittenoom was appointed its visitor. When the Education Committee was formed in 1847 for the organisation of a public school system, Wittenoom was its Chairman and remained so up to his death in 1854. The Committee succeeded in establishing an undenominational system. The first Bishop, Hale, founded a Church college in 1857, but in 1876 it was taken over by the Government and lost its denominational character. Later, a few boarding schools were founded by the Church on a voluntary basis. There are four such schools, two for boys and two for girls.

In Tasmania the first schools have received grants from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel since 1810. All schools were under the supervision of the Anglican clergy as the overwhelming majority of the population belonged to the Church. In 1839, the undenominational system was adopted, but the Church vigorously protested and Archdeacon Hitchins submitted several petitions against it. In 1846, the denominational control was restored on the advice of Gladstone. In 1853, the Government again took over control. The oldest Church grammar schools at Launceston and Hobart were founded in 1846 and a collegiate school for girls was opened in 1892.

VII. THE ANGLICAN TRADITION IN NEW ZEALAND

The settlement of New Zealand resembled that of America. As in the American colonies each settlement had its own religious character, so in New Zealand each part had its distinctive feature. The first two settlements, at Wellington in 1840 and Nelson in 1842, were colonies of the New Zealand Company, and although consisting largely of members of the Church were free from any

Church patronage. Auckland, the seat of the governor, was settled in 1841 by all three races of Great Britain representing Catholics, Churchmen and dissenters alike. Otago was settled in 1848 predominantly by the Scottish Presbyterians, and Canterbury in 1851 by the English Episcopalians.

The Anglican Tradition in Canterbury

As Canterbury was settled under the auspices of the Church it represents best the Anglican tradition in education. The promoters of the settlement had a comprehensive scheme of Church schools headed by a college. For this purpose, both religious and educational, one-third of the proceeds of the sale of Canterbury lands were to be reserved. Unfortunately, in 1853, the Canterbury Association, being in a tight financial corner, decided to pay the money over to itself for the purchase of an endowment of land for the objects of the trust. Thus the capital was placed beyond the reach of the settlers for the provision of either churches or schools. The schools had to rely on voluntary support.

The first "college and grammar school" was founded by Dean H. Jacobs in 1851 at Lyttelton, and transferred to Christchurch in 1852. In 1853, it was endowed by the Provincial Council out of acquired lands. The purpose was clearly expressed in the act of incorporation: "We do hereby found the said College to the honour and glory of the eternal and ever blessed Trinity for the propagation of the Most Holy Christian Religion as it is now professed and taught by the United Church of England and Ireland, and for the promotion of sound piety and useful learning." It was a boarding institution on the lines of the great English public schools with a preparatory school attached.

The next advance was made by the Canterbury Education Ordinance of 1857, which established a denominational system under the control and supervision of the respective Churches. For this purpose an annual grant was made out of public revenues: to the Bishop of Christchurch £1,700; to the acting head of the Wesleyan body £250; and to the acting head of the Presbyterian body £250. The schools were "placed under the entire management of the denominational head, who shall have the appointment and removal of the teachers and the entire control over all instruction, both religious and secular," but children of objecting parents might be withdrawn from the doctrinal instruction. Bishop Harper, besides being the head of Christ's College, became virtually a Director of Education of most of the schools in the settlement.

However, some churchmen, including the Superintendent, J. Fitzgerald, were greatly dissatisfied with denominational control. A commission was set up in 1862 to report on the working of the system. The report was unfavourable to denominational control and recommended the institution of a public system under State control. The Provincial Council established a Board of Education in 1864, and took over the schools in spite of the protest of the Dio-

cesan Synod. In denominational schools, the parish authorities retained the exclusive right to provide for religious instruction, but in all schools under the new Act religious instruction was undenominational and given exclusively by lay teachers. This dual system continued till 1871, when religious instruction in all public schools was reduced to Bible reading only, and by an amendment in 1873 was abolished completely and all grants to denominational schools were withdrawn. Christchurch College and grammar schools became voluntary institutions.

The Anglican Tradition in Auckland

At Auckland, the Church of England was first in the field of education with its missionary schools for the Maoris, and in 1843 with the Collegiate Institution of St. John's, founded by Bishop Selwyn. He hoped that it would be "the nursery of the ministry and the centre of all sound learning and religious education." It includes a theological college and a grammar school. In 1855, another grammar school was opened in Auckland City. The State grants to denominational schools were withdrawn in 1867. At Wellington and Nelson the public systems were from the beginning undenominational and the Church founded a few schools on a voluntary basis. In Otago, at Dunedin, the Selwyn Theological College was founded by Bishop Nevill in 1893. We do not mention here the missionary primary and secondary schools for the Maoris, as their historical development and legal position are quite different from the schools for the whites.

VIII. THE ANGLICAN TRADITION IN SOUTH AFRICA

The Cape Colony was settled by the Dutch adherents of the Reformed Church, and when England finally took possession of the Colony, the rights and privileges of the Reformed Church were confirmed. The English had a colonial chaplain, who administered the religious needs of the garrison and the few English settlers. Dr. Halloran, the chaplain in 1807, was the first schoolmaster for the English. He was also appointed a *Rector Gimnasii*, a Latin School inherited from the Batavian regime. As he was an impostor, not being a priest, he was sent away from the Colony after being a chaplain and schoolmaster for two years.

The British settlers only began to arrive in 1820, when the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel also started its work in the Colony. The Society recommended in 1819 "the division of the inhabited districts into parishes and the appropriation of land for endowment, the erection of churches and schools." The plan was favourably received by the Cape Government, which undertook to pay £100 a year to any clergyman sent by the Society for the religious instruction of the natives and for the superintendence of schools. The first missionary of the Society, W. Wright, arrived in 1821, and started two schools at Wynberg, near Cape Town. Real advance

in the Church system was made by Bishop Gray in 1848. He founded the Diocesan College at Rondebosch in 1849, and a grammar school at Grahamstown in the same year. In 1855, Bishop Armstrong founded St. Andrew's College for boys at Grahamstown. Next year, St. Mark's Grammar School was opened at Cape Town. The next two institutions were founded for the natives, the Kaffir College, Zonnenbloem, in 1858, and the Kaffir Institution, Grahamstown, in 1860. New colleges for whites were founded only in the seventies: two Diocesan schools for girls at Grahamstown and Pretoria in 1874, St. Andrew's College for boys at Bloemfontein in 1874, St. Anne's Diocesan School for Girls, Natal, in 1879, St. Michael's at Bloemfontein in 1877 and St. Cyprian's Theological College at Bloemfontein in 1874. In 1887, Sister Fanny founded the teaching order of St. John the Divine in Natal, which established four boarding schools for girls. During the nineties and in the twentieth century about ten secondary schools and colleges were added. The Church schools in the majority of cases receive provincial grants-in-aid, although they are not included in the public system.

IX. CONCLUSION

The theory of integration of Church and State was inherited by the Church of England from the Middle Ages, and, as a matter of fact, was shared both by Catholics and Calvinists alike. Therefore, the policy of monopoly in education was not a peculiar feature of the Church, it was a common policy of all parties of that period. In those parts of the Empire where other churches were previously established, the Church did not attempt to monopolise education. Witness Catholic Quebec, Puritan New England and the Dutch Reformed Cape Colony. Ireland, alone, is a striking example of an extreme application of the general theory contrary to the wishes and beliefs of the population. And only in Ireland did the intolerance of the Church lead to the most deplorable results. Aristocratic in its origin, and intimately connected with the ruling class, the Church inevitably developed an aristocratic policy in education and tended to neglect the masses. The education of the élite was always the main aim of the Church, and in this respect one cannot say that it failed. The great public schools of England, and similar Church institutions in all parts of the English-speaking world, have successfully trained generations of statesmen and leaders in all fields of public activity. Reformed by Arnold and Thring, the English public school tradition is an original and important contribution to the theory and practice of education, and has influenced, not only the public systems of all the English-speaking nations, but the systems of many foreign countries as well. We should rather judge the Church policy by its positive results than by the spirit of intolerance and persecution of dissenters which was a common feature of the age.

N. HANS.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Puritan Tradition in Education

Introduction

PURITANISM is not necessarily connected with any specific religious creed, but is more of an attitude of mind towards problems of life based on the moral responsibility of the individual. There were not only Puritans within the Church of England, but it is conceivable to speak of some Roman Catholics as Puritans. But in the historical development of the English-speaking countries Puritanism was usually a common feature of those religious communities which were connected with Calvinism or derived their origin from a Calvinistic stem.

In our sketch of the Puritan tradition in education we have, therefore, to limit ourselves to the dissenting Protestant churches. These include the three larger bodies of Presbyterians, Congregationalists and Baptists, the original Dissenters from the Church, the two smaller bodies of Quakers and Unitarians which have developed from them, and the later Nonconformists, the Methodists, who have branched off from the Church of England. In spite of their different origin, their diverging policies in education and at times an embittered struggle and mutual persecutions, all these Protestant churches have a common outlook, and a Puritan tradition which sharply distinguishes them from both the Roman Catholics and the Anglicans. They all accepted the democratic principle of universal literacy arising from the influence of the Reformation, and they all paid more attention to the practical side of education than to the classical tradition. In contrast to the educational conservatism of the Roman Catholics and Anglicans, the Puritans were innovators and reformers, and in this respect more often allied with the secular tradition in education. Further, many outstanding representatives of the secular tradition were Puritans by their upbringing and beliefs, and sometimes it is difficult to decide whether men like Sir William Petty, S. Hartlib, J. Priestley, J. Lancaster, G. Birkbeck or even Horace Mann, should be described as representatives of the Puritan or secular tradition. It seems that the best dividing-line between them could be drawn by the respective emphasis on religious training or secular education. We shall see that the influence of the Puritan tradition was similar in all English-speaking countries.

I. THE PURITAN TRADITION IN ENGLAND

The division of the Reformation Movement into two definite religious groups had already begun at the time of Henry VIII. During the reign of Edward VI, John Knox preached at court and

was at variance with Cranmer and the official Church party. But he and the first Presbyterian congregations were still within the fold of the Church, being content to endeavour to reform it from within. The Catholic reaction under Mary, however, had driven many English Protestants abroad, where some of them quite definitely joined Calvinism or were influenced by German Baptists. Thus, when Elizabeth restored the Anglican Church and insisted on conformity, a powerful group of Puritans was unable to join the national Church. Dissenting congregations came into being, and a Presbytery was inaugurated at Wandsworth.

Divisions among the Dissenters

The Dissenters were divided from the start. The Presbyterians chiefly opposed everything in the Elizabethan Prayer Book that savoured of the " childish and superstitious toys " of Popery. They agreed with the principle of national establishment, and, at first, did not even oppose Episcopacy as contrary to Christian tradition. Only later did differences in dogma become more pronounced. Influenced by the organisation of the Genevan Church, the Presbyterians favoured a more democratic national Church than the King and the bishops could accept. Gradually the religious cleavage developed into political opposition. When King James I at the conference at Hampton Court angrily exclaimed that " Presbytery as well agreed with Monarchy as God with Devil ! " and repeated loudly : " No bishop, no king," the Presbyterians had to draw their conclusions. The Church became identified with the King, and the Presbyterians sided definitely with Parliament. But both parties agreed on the necessity for uniformity, and both were against the policy of toleration. Indeed, the Presbyterians even outstripped the Anglicans in their intolerant attitude towards the minor sects.

Side by side with the main stream of Calvinistic opinion a group of Calvinists, influenced by German Baptists, developed different ideas. They went a step farther than the Presbyterians and denied even a democratic centralisation of the Church. The Brownists and the Baptists, known as Separatists or Independents, relied entirely upon a spiritual idea of a Church and affirmed the private nature of communion with God. Beyond the organisation of a voluntary congregation they would not go, and, therefore, vehemently opposed any interference of the State in religious matters. Only during the Civil War, when the persecutions and intolerance of the Presbyterians goaded them into revolt, did they play false to their principles and abuse their military power.

Some groups of Baptists and other sectaries were organised by George Fox, and became known as Friends or Quakers. They were the only sincere adherents of religious tolerance at that period. They extended toleration even to Papists and Jews. From their point of view, any organised religion, theology or ritual were mere inventions of man. To them, the only true Church is the mystical

union of believers. Divine knowledge is not withheld from any, whether Papist or Protestant, Jew or heathen. Such views were heretical in the eyes of all, and Quakers were cruelly persecuted by Anglicans and Puritans alike.

Conditions during the Seventeenth Century

This difference in religious ideas influenced the attitude of the Dissenters towards education. The Presbyterians of the seventeenth century had always the example of Scotland in their minds, and strove to establish a national system of education under the control of presbyteries. They accepted the principle of universal compulsory education so long as they controlled it. It was certainly an advance on the Anglican policy, which demanded conformity without universal education. The Independents, including Baptists, and the Quakers, on the other hand, were jealous of their denominational self-government, and would not brook any central supervision of education. There was another difference: the Presbyterians retained the rite of ordination, and considered a sound theological knowledge based on a liberal education necessary for their ministers. The Independents, later known as Congregationalists, used the ordination rite occasionally and agreed with the Presbyterians in the necessity for a sound education for the ministry. The Baptists and the Quakers, however, distrusted theological learning and believed in the Inner Light, which could qualify a person for the ministry who might be entirely lacking in a knowledge of ancient languages and of theology. Hence their different attitude towards university studies.

Being in a minority, the Puritans could not direct the national policy in education. The only chance of doing so was given them during the period of the Commonwealth, when, at first, the Presbyterian Church was officially established by Parliament, and later, when the Independents had the upper hand during the Protectorate of Cromwell. The Presbyterians endeavoured to establish a national system of education based on the principles of monopoly. In 1641, the House of Commons resolved to abolish all deans, chapters, canons and other Church institutions, and that "all lands taken by this bill from deans and chapters shall be employed for the advancement of learning and piety." Thus they forestalled by a century the practice of continental Governments, which, by confiscating the Jesuit funds, were able to build up national systems of education. Unfortunately the ensuing Civil War absorbed the major part of the income from the confiscated lands, and little was used for the purpose of education. That the desire for a national system was genuine is witnessed by Comenius himself, who in his letter from England to his friends at Leszno (October 1641), says: "They are eagerly debating on the reform of schools in the whole kingdom, namely that all young people should be instructed, none neglected." Samuel Harner published in 1642 the *Gloucestershire Desire*, in which he advocated the "setting up of schoolmasters in

every parish throughout the land generally." He demanded the education of *all* children "as well as the poor as the rich." The central supervision of schools was entrusted to a Committee, established in 1643, which "shall have power to enquire after malignant schoolmasters." The purpose was more political and religious than educational. In 1645, the schoolmaster of Canterbury, Ludde, was tried by the Committee, but was able to keep his place. The schoolmaster of Bury St. Edmunds was not so fortunate and was removed for "Malignancy." Later, under Cromwell, Commissioners were appointed in 1655 to "eject scandalous, ignorant and inefficient ministers and schoolmasters," thus exercising a purely educational supervision. When Commissioners in 1655 ejected a good schoolmaster (R. Mossom) solely for his Episcopalian tendencies, the Protector ordered his immediate reinstatement.

During the whole period of the Commonwealth, the Government granted subsidies to many schools and schoolmasters (Carew, Pembrokeshire; Sarum School, Wiltshire; Grimston, Huntingdon; Cheshire and many others), and in 1657, £1,200 was granted to Scotland for schools. The most important was the Act of 1649 (Chapter 31), by which the first-fruits and tenths created by Henry VIII were vested in trustees upon trust "to pay yearly, all such salaries, stipends, allowances and provisions, as have been limited or appointed for preaching the Gospel, preaching ministers, or schoolmasters or others in England and Wales." If the revenue from these sources for educational purposes did not reach £20,000 per annum, the Treasury should provide to make up this deficiency. £2,000 of this sum was allotted to the universities. All the grants to schools during the fifties were made out of this fund. Another important Act was the Welsh Education Act of 1649, setting up a Commission: "And to the end that godly and painful men, of able gifts and knowledge for work of the Ministry, and approved conversation may be employed to preach the Gospel. . . . And that fit persons of approved Piety and Learning may have encouragement to employ themselves in the education of children in piety and good literature, be it enacted that the said Commissioners be and are authorised and enabled to grant Certificates." The Commissioners were empowered to use the profits of all ecclesiastical livings at the disposal of Parliament "to provide the yearly maintainance of a schoolmaster not exceeding £40." The Act was provisional for three years, and some existing schools in Wales (including a grammar school) owe their foundation to it.

How many schools were actually established during the Commonwealth period is difficult to say. The table on the next page is compiled from the Charity Commission (1818–37), which includes only schools still existing in 1818–37.

This table, not unfavourable to the period of the Protectorate, does not include parish schools (unendowed) and private ventures.

Higher education was also encouraged both by the Presbyterian Parliament and Cromwell. The commissions and visitations

NUMBER OF ENDOWED SCHOOLS FOUNDED IN SEVENTEENTH CENTURY IN ENGLAND AND WALES

TYPE OF SCHOOLS	PRE-CIVIL WAR		CIVIL WAR	PROTECTORATE	RESTORATION	POST-RESTORATION
	1601–20	1621–40	1641–50	1651–60	1661–80	1681–1700
Grammar Schools .	85	55	16	33	56	52
Non-Classical Schools	43	61	28	40	105	132
Total . .	128	116	44	73	161	184
Schools per annum .	6·4	5·8	4·4	7·3	8·0	9·2

appointed by them had ejected many royalist professors and fellows, but the new men who took their places were in no way inferior to them. John Owen, the new Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, proved to be not only a man of sound learning but a very able administrator who put university affairs into better order than they had been before. The new professors of Puritan tendencies, such as Seth Ward, John Wallis, John Wilkins, Johnathan Goddard, Laurence Rook and Sir William Petty, were the leading men of science of that time, and it was in the Oxford of the Commonwealth that the new science was born. Cambridge always had Puritan leanings, and the changes were not so drastic. Among the new appointments at Cambridge were Whichcote and Cudworth, the prominent Cambridge Platonists. Apart from an attempt to instil new life into ancient universities, Cromwell founded a new University at Durham, and it was not his fault that it ended in failure. In 1656, the Protector appointed a committee to consider the petition from the town of Durham for the establishment of a College. The plan was approved, and the Letters Patent were issued in May 1657. The rent from the confiscated lands of the Durham Chapter (£900) was transferred to "the Provost, Fellows and Scholars of the College in Durham of the foundation of Oliver Lord Protector." Philip Munton, of Wadham College, Oxford, was appointed as Provost, four scholars from Oxford and Cambridge as senior fellows or professors, four as fellows and tutors and four more as fellows and schoolmasters. Owing to the resistance of the older universities, Richard Cromwell postponed the opening of the College, and the subsequent Restoration reinstated the Chapter in all its former possessions and put an end to the first University of Durham.

The Restoration of Charles II, effected only through the help of Presbyterians, very soon destroyed all hopes of compromise. The negotiations between the Anglicans and Presbyterians proved futile, the promises of the King were broken and the Uniformity Act of 1662 was passed. About 2,000 ministers were ejected for refusal to subscribe. The Presbyterians against their wishes and

inclinations were grouped together with Independents and other Dissenters. Deprived of the supervision of the General Assembly, they gradually lost their cohesion, and circumstances compelled them to approach the Congregational model. It is difficult, therefore, to distinguish at this and later periods between the Presbyterians and Independents. The ejected ministers were not cruelly persecuted, and in many cases continued to preach quite openly, and sometimes even in the chapels of the Established Church. About 150 of the ejected schoolmasters opened private schools, and in this way made their livings. Many were only private tutors in rich dissenting families, but some of them had large schools, as, for instance, Samuel Shaw, who had 160 boys in a free school at Ashby-de-la-Zouch in 1668. Another ejected minister and schoolmaster, Adam Martindale, continued to teach in Cheshire, but the Conventicle Act made him move to Preston, and later to Manchester. In the grammar school at Manchester he taught mathematics, including logarithms, and was a pioneer in teaching mathematics.

The Government passed the Five Mile Act in 1665, which definitely forbade Dissenters to teach in any school. However, the Bates Case of 1670 established that if a founder and paying patron of a school nominated a person to be a schoolmaster, he could not be deprived of his post, even if he had no licence. Thus many Dissenters were enabled to teach in endowed schools quite legally. In 1672, Thomas Gouge, an ejected minister, started schools in Wales. The Bishop did not disturb him, and even in 1672 Archbishop Tillotson made a certain agreement with Baxter, the Presbyterian leader, to carry on the work, known as " The Healing Act," to promote education. The Presbyterians even endowed their own schools before the Toleration Act of 1689. Thus a school was endowed in 1685 at Mancetter, Warwickshire, another in 1687 at Southwark, and a third at St. Helens, Lancashire. The Quakers also quite openly established their schools, in spite of official persecutions which resulted in the imprisonment of 4,200 Friends in 1670. In 1667, George Fox recommended the setting up of two boarding schools, one at Waltham for boys, and another at Shacklewell for girls, to be instructed " in whatsoever things were civil and useful in creation." Both schools were forthwith established. At Waltham the scheme included both classical and modern languages. The headmaster was Christopher Taylor, an ex-clergyman of the Church. Special textbooks were written and approved by G. Fox. In one it is said : " We deny nothing for children's learning that may be honest and useful for them to know." In 1671, there were at least 15 boarding-schools kept by the Friends.

The Baptists started their educational activities much later, and it seems that their first school was founded only in 1699. Higher education, too, was not neglected during this period of persecution. Many fellows, lecturers and heads of Oxford and Cambridge colleges, having been ejected from their posts, started private

academies of higher learning in all branches of university study. The first two academies were founded in 1663, by John Woodhouse, of Trinity College, Cambridge, at Sheriffhales, and by John Bryan, of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and Obadiah Grew, of Balliol, Oxford, at Coventry. Then followed the Academies at Bromsgrove (1665, by Henry Hickman, Magdalen College, Oxford), Nettlebed (1666, Thomas Cole, Christ Church, Oxford), Newington Green (1666, Theophilus Gale, Magdalen College, Oxford), Dartmouth (1668, John Flavell, University College, Oxford), Carmarthen (1668, Samuel Jones, Jesus College, Oxford), Rathmell (1669, Richard Frankland, Christ's College, Cambridge), Tubney (1668, Henry Langley, Pembroke College, Oxford). During the seventies, six more academies were founded, and during the eighties another six. Altogether eighteen Oxford and seven Cambridge men continued their lectures in the academies during this period.

With the change of the dynasty and the passing of the Toleration Act in 1689, the Puritan Dissenters could openly endow their institutions and were not compelled to change the place every year. The Presbyterians and Independents came together and as " United Brethren " established a common fund for higher learning. In 1693, they separated, and the fund continued solely as the Presbyterian fund. The Independents established the Congregational Fund Board in 1695. With the aid of these funds new academies were founded and many students maintained, and some were even sent to the Scottish and continental universities. The Common Fund of the United Brethren maintained 100 students in the English academies, 8 students at Utrecht University, 6 at Glasgow and 1 at Edinburgh (1689–1695). The Presbyterian Fund maintained 270 students at the English academies, 2 students in Holland and 1 at Halle University, 28 students at Glasgow, 12 at Edinburgh, 1 at Aberdeen and 6 in an unspecified Scottish university (period 1695–1760). The Congregational Fund maintained at least 15 students in the English academies. Besides these national funds there were many local funds for higher learning—for instance, the Exeter Union maintained one student at Leyden and two at Edinburgh, and the Cornwall United Brethren maintained several students in England.

Progress during the Eighteenth Century

In the eighteenth century, new funds were established by private individuals, such as the Lady Hewley Fund (1707), The Coward Trust (1738), Dr. Williams' Fund (1734) and public funds, such as The King's Head Society (1730), The Northern Education Society (1756), The Bristol Baptist Educational Society (1770), The Societas Evangelica (1776) and the General Baptist Educational Society (1794). Dr. Williams' Fund during the period 1734–80 sent to the University of Glasgow 44 students for six years each.

The academies, even of the early period, were not narrow sectarian institutions; students were accepted without any tests,

and many Churchmen attended them in preference to Oxford and Cambridge. They not only taught theology, but prepared students for the legal and medical professions as well. The methods were more up to date and scientific apparatus was used. The liberal ideas of the ejected Oxford men had a considerable influence. For instance, Charles Morton of Oxford, the founder of the second Newington Green Academy in 1667 and later the Vice-President of Harvard College, wrote that he was " willing to have knowledge increased and not confined to the clergy or learned professions, but extended or diffused as much as might be to the people in general." " This securing of the Key of knowledge and tying it fast to some men's girdles, or making it too hot and heavy for others to touch on any terms, might well enough comport with popish designs, to keep people in the dark." Frankland's methods and breadth of view at Rathmell well accorded with his family motto : *Libera terra, liberque animus.*

If we remember that the Puritans of all denominations could count at the end of the seventeenth century only about 200,000 members, and that they were persecuted, their achievements in the field of education were considerable. In the eighteenth century their position was much more assured. In 1700, a decision of the Court of Justice declared that the Bishops have no jurisdiction beyond the grammar schools and that elementary schools required no licence. The Hanoverian dynasty could not dispense with the support of the Dissenters in view of the Jacobite risings, and the Kings used to grant subsidies to Dissenters out of their own purse. In 1727, the Presbyterians, Independents and Baptists united under the general description of the " Protestant Dissenting Ministers of the three Denominations " and received a right of petition in order to protect and defend their constitutional rights. In 1734, George II personally intervened to prevent proceedings against Philip Doddridge, the famous Academy lecturer, in spite of the unrepealed Five Mile Act. In this freer atmosphere the Dissenters could openly endow non-classical schools (but not grammar schools), and after the case of Doddridge, the academies. The Presbyterians and Independents endowed about forty schools during the century, the most notable case being the endowment of five schools by Dr. Williams in Wales in 1711. The Baptists and the Friends also endowed about fifteen schools for their own members.

The first grammar school, endowed by Dissenters, it seems, was the Pearsall's School at Kidderminster, Worcestershire, in 1795. It was founded for teaching children of inferior tradesmen piety and learning and so much of the arts and sciences as might be useful to them. The schools were mostly charity schools, but the curriculum was broader than in the Church charity schools. Besides endowed schools, there were hundreds of parish and private-venture schools kept by Dissenters. The Baptists alone had about sixty such schools in the middle of the century.

The most interesting development of elementary education was started by the Society of Friends. The Friends always tended to practical aims; they did not wish to encumber the mind with learned and theological reflections, but rather to rouse it to the problems of this world. Their aim was industrious and virtuous living, and the syllabus of their schools was devised accordingly. In 1695, the Yearly Meeting "advised that schoolmasters and mistresses, who are faithful Friends and well qualified, be encouraged in all counties, cities or other places, where there may be need, and that care be taken that poor Friends' children may freely partake of such education as may tend to their benefit and advantage in order to apprenticeship." One of the Friends, John Bellers, submitted to the House of Commons a scheme for a co-operative community, which he called the "College of Industry" and which included a plan of agricultural and industrial education. The Yearly Meeting accepted his scheme in 1697 and issued an appeal to Friends to subscribe to it. Bellers' plan was really a scheme of labour education, combining manual work with instruction. A school was founded on this plan at Clerkenwell in 1702. This new experiment of combining productive work with school instruction, it seems, proved to be unsatisfactory, and the plan was abandoned in 1790 and the school was run on ordinary lines. During the century, the Friends tried to establish a network of schools, which would embrace all children of their community. Nearly every Yearly Meeting repeated "that no poor Friends' children may be excluded from necessary learning." In 1760, a special Committee was appointed to present a scheme. It was drawn up by Dr. John Fothergill, in which he had to defend the liberal education from the attacks of some extreme Friends, but he pointed out at the same time that Latin is useful but to a very few. The attempt to establish a system of day schools was fruitless, and in 1777, the Yearly Meeting decided that a few large boarding schools would better answer their needs. In 1779, the Ackworth boarding school for poor Friends' children was founded through the efforts of Dr. Fothergill. The object of the school was "Labour and Learning properly intermixed." Besides the free school at Ackworth, twenty other boarding schools for fee-paying pupils were kept by Friends at that period, and a few day schools also existed.

The development of dissenting academies entered its third stage. Started as private ventures by ejected Oxford and Cambridge men, they became semi-public institutions aided by funds. In the middle of the eighteenth century, the process was completed, and the academies were maintained and fully controlled by public dissenting bodies. The most famous of the academies of that period was the Warrington Academy, founded in 1757. At that time, the earlier academies at Kendal and Findern were closed, owing to the death of their respective principals, and the Minister at Warrington, John Seddon, conceived the idea of founding a public institution maintained by a fund

administered by trustees and thus made independent of individual teachers.

The subscriptions were collected mainly at Liverpool and Manchester, and the Academy was opened. The plan of the Academy aimed "to unite in the best manner the advantages of the public and more private methods of education," and to provide "for the extensive learning of our youth and the security of their morals." Students would gain "some knowledge of the more useful branches of literature" and leading "to an early acquaintance with the true principles of religion and liberty." For the future ministers, too, "it will be an invaluable advantage to have them educated where they may freely follow the dictates of their own judgments in their enquiries after truth, without any undue bias imposed on their understanding." The appeal for help was addressed to all "friends of Religion, Liberty and Learning." The appeal and plan show quite clearly the new attitude amongst the Dissenters towards dogmatic religious teaching. It was evident in the lectures of Dr. Taylor, since he always addressed his students at the beginning of his course on theology thus: "That you keep your mind always open to evidence. That you labour to banish from your breasts all prejudice, prepossession and party zeal. That you study to live in peace and love with all your fellow Christians; and that you steadily assert for yourselves, and freely allow for others, the inalienable rights of judgment and conscience." Still more explicit was another famous tutor of the Academy, Dr. Joseph Priestley, who lectured there in 1761–7. He claimed a complete freedom for all, "whether Christians, Papists, Protestants, Dissenters, Heretics or even Deists, the same liberty of thinking, debating and publishing." "Can we think," said he, "wisdom will die with us? No: our creeds, could we be so inconsistent with ourselves as to draw up any, would, I make no doubt, be rejected with equal disdain by our posterity." He introduced two new subjects into the curriculum: Civil History and Civil Policy. In his *Essay on a Course of Liberal Education for Civil and Active Life*, 1765, Priestley advocated "observation and experience as the only safe guides." Science was also taught in the Academy, and students were prepared for the medical profession. Fourteen students of Warrington Academy proceeded to Edinburgh to complete their medical education there. The Academy was closed in 1786, after having been a successful rival of the older universities for twenty-nine years.

This change of attitude towards dogmatic instruction was not sudden, but grew gradually during the period of persecution. Even during the Commonwealth many Puritans, including Cromwell, were against any monopoly in religious matters. The Restoration, by persecuting the Presbyterians and by grouping them together with Independents, Baptists and Quakers, compelled them, often against their inclinations, to champion the freedom of conscience for all. As mentioned above, lecturers of the early academies,

such as Charles Morton (Newington Green) or Richard Frankland (Rathmell), were noted for their liberal outlook.

The next generation were often educated in Holland and Scotland, where they came under the liberalising influence of such famous scientists as Boerhaave at Leyden, or philosophers such as Hutcheson at Glasgow. The works of Locke, Shaftesbury and Newton were available in the English academies and were popular among the Presbyterian students. To what results in some cases these influences led can be inferred from the case of John Toland. As an exhibitioner from the Presbyterian Fund, Toland studied at Utrecht, and in the end refused connection with any form of organised Christianity and became the leader of the English Deists. The influence of Dutch Arminians led the English Presbyterians away from rigid Calvinism, and in the eighteenth century, the Independents became the defenders of the orthodox faith, whilst the Presbyterians more and more tended towards Arianism. At the Salters Hall Synod in 1719, where Presbyterians, Independents and Baptists met to decide the case of the two Exeter Arians, Mallet and Peirce, the majority of the Presbyterians refused to sign any confession of faith, thus leaving the door open to progressive thought. The majority of the Independents and Baptists, however, held a separate meeting and decided to sign a subscription to the first article of the Church of England and the fifth and sixth articles of the Westminster Catechism. Priestley relates that whilst he was a student at Daventry Academy "the academy was in a state peculiarly favourable to the serious pursuit of truth, as the students were about equally divided upon every question of much importance, such as Liberty and Necessity and all the articles of theological orthodoxy and heresy; in consequence of which all these topics were the subject of continued discussion. Our tutors also were of different opinions; Dr. Ashworth taking the orthodox side of every question, and Mr. Clark that of heresy." Thus gradually the Presbyterian divines through the influence of Arminianism and Arianism arrived at a completely heterodox interpretation of Christianity akin to that adopted by the Unitarians. Not all of them, however, took the last step—the famous Dr. Richard Price, for instance, remained an Arian and disagreed with Priestley, who became the leader of the Unitarians.

This process of emancipation from the rigid dogma of Calvinism was greatly furthered by the intimate association of Puritan leaders with the representatives of the secular tradition—the Deists and Freemasons. Toland became a deist, Price and Priestley, Kippis and Rees, were members of clubs and societies started by Freemasons. The Dissenting College of Hackney, where Price, Priestley, Kippis and Rees lectured, became the hotbed of radical opinions both in religion and politics, and even went so far as to hold a dinner party to honour the famous Thomas Paine. The Puritan Academies were thus the pioneers of religious and political freedom, and as such were far in advance of the orthodox sterility

of Oxford and Cambridge. In science, the works of Price and Priestley introduced new methods and new subjects and made the academies the precursors of modern universities, whereas Oxford and Cambridge were still steeped in the mediæval classical atmosphere.

Changes during the Nineteenth Century

In the nineteenth century, the abolition of tests and the foundation of a secular university in London deprived the academies of their previous importance as places of scientific learning, and they became purely theological institutions. The majority of the academies did not survive the change, but about a dozen still exist as separate denominational colleges. The Warrington Academy continued as Manchester College during the period 1786–1803. After spending thirty-seven years at York, thirteen years again at Manchester, and thirty-six years at London, the College was finally transferred to Oxford in 1889 and became part of Oxford University. During these changes, the College has definitely become Unitarian, and during the London period was closely connected with Martineau, the famous Unitarian divine and philosopher. From the start, the College was dedicated "To Truth, to Liberty, to Religion," and the influence of its professors was not only felt in the dissenting circles. Three smaller academies of the eighteenth century were united in 1850 into New College, London (Homerton, 1730; Wymondley, 1754; and Hoxton, 1776). The Trevecca Academy (1768) continues its existence as Cheshunt College, Cambridge, and Abergavenny Academy (1757) as Brecon College. The two Yorkshire Academies of Idle (1800) and Rotherham (1785) were united in 1886 and transferred to Bradford. Only one of the oldest Independent academies at Carmarthen (1668) can prove a continuous existence, although it is now known as a college. Of the Baptist academies, that of Bristol (1690) still exists, and the newer Academy of Horton (1805) was moved in 1859 and is now the Rawdon Baptist College. Thus the tradition of Puritan academies is not extinct, but is still a living force in English education.

In the field of secondary education the contribution of Puritans was not so important. Debarred by legislation from founding grammar schools, they could not establish their own tradition, and when the way was open they followed the example of the Anglican public schools. The first Dissenting Public School was founded at Mill Hill in 1807, and for forty years was the only school of that type. Taunton Public School was founded in 1847, and later several others. The boarding schools of the Society of Friends cannot properly be included in this category, although gradually the difference is disappearing. The Quaker schools at Croydon (1825), Wigton (1815) and South Wales (1808) were founded on the model of Ackworth, and not of Eton or Winchester.

In the field of elementary education the majority of Dissenters

joined the Benthamites, and thus lost their identity. As a separate group they were most active in establishing infant schools, and up to 1836, when the Home and Colonial Society was founded, almost all infant schools were kept by Dissenters. In their attitude towards State intervention the Nonconformists of the nineteenth century were not united. The Presbyterians and the Unitarians wholeheartedly supported the efforts of the Benthamites and later secularists in establishing an undenominational State system. The Congregationalists and the Baptists, on the other hand, were faithful to their old principles of Independence and started the party of Voluntaryists. The Bill introduced by Sir James Graham in 1843 aroused their especial opposition. In 1843, the "Congregational Board of Education to promote the advancement of Popular Education, upon strictly religious principles, free from all magisterial authority," and "The Baptist Voluntary Education Society" were founded. The leaders of the movement were Edward Baines and Edward Miall. They contended that all education must have a religious basis, and that the State not only cannot educate, but that its influence is necessarily pernicious, since the diffusion of education depends primarily upon self-help and competition. However, this Manchester doctrine of *laisser-faire*, *laissez-passer* applied to education was entirely out of date and could not solve the problem of universal education. Gradually the "voluntaryist" Dissenters abandoned their position and joined the movement for a national system. The Congregationalists, who founded about 400 schools during the period of controversy, transferred all their schools to local authorities after 1870.

Conclusion

In conclusion, we have to consider the attitude towards education of later Nonconformists of Puritan tradition—the Methodists. As stated above, the Methodists at first remained within the Church of England, and it was difficult to distinguish them from the Evangelicals. Gradually, however, the rift widened and Methodists approached more and more the Puritans of the old Dissent. In education they were more akin to Congregationalists and Baptists. Like the Baptists and Quakers, they placed more emphasis upon useful knowledge and industrial training than academic learning, and in common with Congregationalists opposed State intervention. They promoted the Sunday School Movement, which, however, had more influence on the Evangelicals than themselves. Day schools were seldom founded, and as late as 1836 there were only nine infant schools and twenty-two week-day schools under the control of the Wesleyan Conference. An Education Committee was set up in 1838 which recorded that "it is a duty of every section of the Church of Christ to educate their own children in their own way." Thus they adopted the "voluntaryist" position and a period of expansion followed. They joined the controversy in alliance with other "voluntaryists," but, like the Congrega-

tionalists, gradually changed their attitude. In 1870, they had about a thousand elementary schools, but with the establishment of School Boards almost all their schools were transferred to local authorities. At the end of the century they definitely joined other Dissenters in demanding an undenominational State system. In the sphere of secondary education, Methodists did not make any particular contribution beyond founding a number of boarding schools for the middle classes.

II. THE PURITAN TRADITION IN SCOTLAND

In Scotland, as in England, the beginning of the Reformation was a mixture of political and religious motives. The Scottish nobility sided with the reformers for selfish reasons and were interested in Church organisation in so far as the general upheaval helped them to despoil the riches of the old Church. The question of the final adoption of Presbytery or Episcopacy was decided only after a century of strife. But from the beginning, strict Calvinism imbibed by Knox at Geneva gave a strong Puritan tendency to the Scottish movement. When the Reformation was adopted by Parliament in 1560, Knox was the acknowledged leader, and his ideas moulded the policy of the new Church. Both the democratic organisation of the Church and the theocratic claim to monopoly in spiritual matters were transplanted wholesale from Geneva. The policy of intolerance and persecution was likewise adopted, but was not followed with the same rigour. One of the Acts of the Reformation Parliament of 1560 inflicted heavy penalties, with death on a third conviction, on any person celebrating Mass or even being present at it. It seems, however, that nobody was executed under this Act, although some heretics were burned, as, for instance, a teacher, John Cunningham, in 1591, for witchcraft.

The Reformed Church and Education

In education the Reformed Church claimed the sole right of administration and control from the start. All the institutions inherited from the Middle Ages were taken over as a matter of course. Besides the three universities (St. Andrew's, 1411; Glasgow, 1450; Aberdeen, 1494) the Reformed Church received some grammar schools and the basic outline of the parish school system. However, the whole educational system of the old Church was disorganised by war with England and civil strife, and the Privy Council appointed a Commission in 1560 "to draw up the policy and discipline of the Kirk," including schools. The selected divines, known as the Six Johns, Knox, Douglas, Rowe, Spottiswood, Willock and Winram, produced the famous *Book of Discipline*, of which Knox seems to have been the chief author. One chapter, entitled "Of Schools and Universities," is devoted to education. It envisaged a complete system of education far in advance of the period.

Education was to be universal and compulsory, irrespective of social position. "The rich and potent may not be permitted to suffer their children to spend their youth in vain idleness. . . . They must be exhorted, and by the censure of the Church compelled to dedicate their sons, by good exercise, to the profit of the Church and to the Commonwealth. . . . It must be carefully provided that no father, of whatever estate or condition he be, use his children after his own phantasy, especially in their youth, all must be compelled to bring up their children in learning and virtue." Every parish had to have an elementary school, and in towns, teachers should be appointed "as are able to teach Grammar and Latin tongue." Special examiners should select pupils from elementary schools for continued education in the grammar schools. Again, at the end of the grammar school course, future university students should be selected after an examination. The examiners should be "the ministers and elders with the most learned men in every town. . . . In every course the children must either proceed to further knowledge, or else they must be sent to some handicraft, or to some other profitable exercise. . . . Provision must be made for those that are poor, and are not able by themselves, nor by their friends, to be sustained at letters, especially such as come from landward. . . . The children of the poor must be supported and sustained at the charge of the Church, until trial be taken whether the spirit of docility be found in them or not. If they be found apt to letters and learning, they may not, neither the sons of the rich nor the sons of the poor—be permitted to reject learning. They must be charged to continue their study, so that the Commonwealth may have some comfort by them." Bursaries should be established at the universities, seventy-two at St. Andrews and forty-eight each in Glasgow and Aberdeen. The universities should have eight-year courses, of which three years should be devoted to the arts and five to the professional studies of medicine, law or divinity. The admittance to the arts course was to be on presenting a certificate as to "learning, docility, age and parentage" from the master of the school and parish minister.

The financing of the whole system was to be based on the patrimony of the old Church. The administration and control of all institutions had to be entrusted to the Church. The system thus comprised: (i) Rural elementary schools in every parish (2 years); (ii) Grammar schools in towns (4 years, age 8–12); (iii) Ten colleges in larger towns (seats of Protestant bishops), (four years, age 12–16), and (iv) Three universities (arts 16–19, and professional faculties, 19–24). Religion and dogmatic instruction in the tenets of the Reformed Church were compulsory and the most important parts of the curriculum in all stages.

This ambitious scheme could only be realised if the patrimony of the Church remained intact. However, the aristocracy would not part with the spoliated estates and opposed the plan, so that the Parliament did not pass the measure. Thus the scheme

was never put into practice, but the grandeur of the whole conception undoubtedly moulded the whole subsequent history of Scottish education. The Church repeatedly requested the Regent Murray and Queen Mary to stop the spoliation of Church lands and to apply the revenues to schools, but to no avail. The next Regent, Morton, even tried to reduce the Church to a mere department of State and administered the Church revenues in the interests of the aristocracy.

The Church found a new champion in Andrew Melville, who successfully maintained the independence of the Church, but unfortunately for education could not force the aristocracy to disgorge their booty. By his *Second Book of Discipline* he gave to the Church a definite Presbyterian character which still exists to-day. In this book the Church was exalted above all secular power with such clarity as to rival the Ultramontane conception of the Roman Curia.

The spiritual monopoly of the Church was recognised by Parliament in 1592, but the Church came out of the struggle much poorer than its predecessor, and the educational provisions of the first book remained on paper. The monopoly of the Church in schools was established by the Act of 1567, which says that " in all schools to burghs and land none be admitted to have charge and care thereof in time coming, nor to instruct youth privately or openly, but such shall be tried by the superintendents or the visitors of the Kirk." Private tuition at home and education in Catholic countries abroad were expressly prohibited. Parents who sent their children to countries where there was danger of infection from the " leprosy of popery " were ordered to bring them home on pain of excommunication. After a period of Episcopacy, the Presbytery was reinstated in 1638 and new prohibitive measures were issued. By the Act of Parliament of 1640, parents who refused obedience to the demands of the Church were deprived of their children, for whose education in the true faith alternative means were provided. Peer and peasant were subjected to the same treatment. The General Assembly even dealt earnestly with King Charles I for allowing his daughter to live in company of Lady Livingstone, an " obstinate papist." During the period 1640–60 each student of Aberdeen University had to subscribe to the Covenant before the Principal on entrance, before the Rector on matriculating, before the Dean of Faculty on graduation and at least once a year. During Cromwell's rule there was a certain relaxation in these regulations, and with the exception of Roman Catholics, the Scots had a liberty of choice in the exercise of their religion.

The rights of the General Assembly in school matters were confirmed by Act of Parliament in 1646. After a brief period of restoration of the Episcopacy, the Presbytery was finally reinstated by the Revolution settlement of 1690. The repudiation of the National Covenant by the Church led to the first secession of strict

Covenanters, known as "Cameronians," who later organised themselves into the Reformed Presbyterian Church. Although the unity of the Church was thus broken, the monopoly of the Established Church was maintained. The Act of 1693 declared that "all schoolmasters and teachers of youths in schools are and shall be liable to the trial, judgment and censure of the presbyteries of the bounds for their sufficiency, qualifications and deportment in said office." The Act of Union, 1707, ordained that "no Professors, Principals, Regents, Masters or others bearing office in any University, College or schools within the Kingdom be admitted or allowed to continue in the exercise of their functions, but such as shall subscribe the Confession of Faith and conform themselves to the Church and submit themselves to the Government thereof . . . by whatsoever gift, presentation, or provision they may be thereto provided." The monopoly was much stricter than in England, and no Episcopalian or dissenting teacher was allowed to teach under any pretext. The towns contested this right of supervision in their own burgh schools. As early as 1631, the Perth town council attempted to appoint a schoolmaster without a previous examination by the Church. The ministers immediately complained "that great prejudice might come to the seminary and religion," and the town council had to give way. A century later, in 1727, a similar case occurred at Dunbar, which also ended in the victory of the Presbytery.

A real advance towards the ideal set up by Knox was made by the Act of 1696. Before this, Parliament had enacted a measure for promoting parish schools in 1633, but it had little influence. The Act of 1696 "For Settling of Schools," on the other hand, can be looked upon as the Educational Charter of Scotland. It ordained that in every parish "there be a school settled and established by advice of the heritors and minister of the parish." Hundreds of parish schools were founded under this Act during the first decade. The system of parish schools proved to be insufficient, however, and Parliament was compelled to establish the so-called "side" schools in 1803, and later, the Parliamentary schools in 1838. All these schools were supervised by the Church of Scotland. In the Highlands and Islands, the Church of Scotland was not yet universally organised into parishes and, therefore, the parochial system did not exist. For establishing schools and the propagation of the Reformed faith a "Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge in Scotland" was founded in 1709. Although the Patent laid down the condition that members must be Protestants, not necessarily Presbyterians (many London members were Episcopalians), the Society was, in fact, closely bound up with the established Church of Scotland. All teachers of the Society's schools were members of the Church, and were tried and examined by the five clerical directors, and none could be appointed without the certification by the judicatories of the Church. The schools were charity

schools, but up to 1738, when a second Royal Patent was granted, did not include industrial training. In 1781, there were 180 schools with 7,000 pupils.

Beginning of Breakdown of Church Monopoly

In spite of this legal monopoly of the Established Church, the continuous secession of Dissenting Presbyteries undermined it, and schools independent of the Church began to appear in the middle of the eighteenth century. As mentioned above, the "Cameronians" seceded in 1690. In 1732, a much larger body seceded on the question of patronage of livings which was taken away from the heritors in 1712 and restored to the gentry. Ebenezer Erskine led the opposition to this undemocratic measure and formed the Secession Associate Presbytery. In 1747, the Secessionists disrupted into two camps of Burghers and Anti-Burghers over the question of whether the Burghers' Oath could be taken by their members. In 1752, another body of Dissent was formed under the name of the Presbytery of Relief, organised in 1761. This sect, unlike the original seceders, was a tolerant and moderate body, who repudiated State intervention in Church matters. In these circumstances, when whole presbyteries dissented from the Church, the monopoly in education could not be maintained in practice in spite of the claim of the Church. During the second half of the eighteenth century, the Secessionists founded 24 schools, and the Relief and Reformed Presbyteries 8 schools. In the period 1801–20, the Secessionists added 58 schools and the smaller Presbyteries 15. In the period 1820–40, the Secessionists founded 213 schools and the Relief and Reformed Presbyteries 46 schools. Thus, in 1840, the Dissenting Presbyteries had 364 schools practically independent of the Church of Scotland. The monopoly was broken, and non-Presbyterians began increasingly to establish their schools.

We have mentioned already the Catholics and Episcopalians; now other Dissenters appeared in the field. The Independents founded 50 schools, the Baptists 36, the Methodists 9, and even the Quakers and the Unitarians had a school each. The Church of Scotland, itself, was divided into parties of Evangelicals and Moderates, and the Evangelical missionaries, led by the brothers Robert and James Haldane, travelled throughout Scotland opening Sunday schools. The Church, controlled by Moderates, tried to curb their activities, and passed the Act of 1799, directed against the movement, but the Act was unpopular and had no effect.

The final disruption of the Church occurred in 1843, and ended all pretence of monopoly. The same question of patronage of livings which led to the original Secession was the chief cause at this time, but it was coupled with the discontent of the Evangelicals with the policy of the Moderates. About one-third of the clergy seceded from the Church of Scotland and formed the Free Church; 360 teachers of parish and other Church schools joined the new

body, and in 1847, the Free Church had as many as 573 schools. In 1850, it had 657 schools with 60,000 pupils. The Free Church claimed those schools of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge which seceded, but the Court of Session decided that the Society was indissolubly associated with the Established Church, and that only members of it could be appointed as teachers in those schools. Just before the disruption, the Church began to supplement the parish school system with schools directly maintained by the Church. In 1825, the General Assembly set up a Committee for "increasing the means of education and religious instruction in Scotland." The so-called Church sessional schools were founded of a higher type than the schools of the S.P.C.K. In the first three years 85 schools were founded. In 1843, the number of these schools rose to 146 with 13,000 pupils. In 1847, the Relief Church and part of the original seceders formed the United Presbyterian Church, whereas the other part of the seceders joined the Free Church in 1852. The Reformed Presbytery joined the Free Church in 1876. Thus, as the schools were definitely allocated to each Church, gradually the multiplicity of Presbyteries was becoming less confusing. The Church of Scotland retained its control of the parish, side and parliamentary schools, maintained out of public funds, and directly administered the Church sessional schools and schools of the S.P.C.K. The Free Church and the United Presbyterians had their own schools systems. However, the membership of different Presbyteries was so intermingled territorially that a strict denominational division of schools was impossible. In fact, all schools accepted pupils irrespective of their Church membership, and all types of schools were gradually growing into one national system. The grants of the Council of Education, distributed irrespective of denomination, greatly helped in this process.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF SCHOOLS IN 1865

		PERCENTAGE OF PUPILS BELONGING TO THE CHURCH
	UNDER THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND:	
Public Schools	917 Parish Schools	62
	189 Side Schools . .	59
	27 Parliamentary Schools . .	45
Church Schools	579 Sessional Schools	54
	202 S.P.C.K. Schools	40
617	*Free Church Schools* . .	58 (F. Ch.)
45	*United Presbyterian Schools*.	43 (U. P.)
74	*Episcopalian Schools* .	31 (Episc.)
61	*Roman Catholic Schools*	92 (Cathol.)
882	*Undenominational Public Schools* .	all denominations
910	*Private Venture Schools* . .	all denominations

This table clearly shows, that with the exception of Roman Catholic schools, all schools were, in fact, undenominational.

Finally, it was recognised by legislation. Between 1852 and 1859, several Bills were introduced into the House of Commons for the abolition of religious tests for parish school teachers, but they were defeated in the House of Lords. In 1861, the Act was passed by which the teacher was no longer required to sign the Confession of Faith and the Formula of the Church of Scotland, but to make a general declaration that he would not teach anything opposed to the authority of the Bible or Shorter Catechism. The examination of teachers was transferred to the universities.

The Position of Secondary Education

In secondary education, the grammar schools inherited from the mediæval Church, and the burgh schools founded by the towns had lost their original connection with the Church even before the Reformation. Since then, the patronage of these schools had been completely transferred from the Church to the burgh. The burghs were even impatient at the right of examination retained by the Church, but their attempts to free themselves from this supervision of the Church were unsuccessful up to the middle of the eighteenth century. From that time, however, the burghs began to appoint teachers without requiring the signing of the Confession of Faith. During the first sixty years of the nineteenth century less than twenty masters signed the Confession. The Act of 1861 finally abolished a law which had so largely fallen into disuse. In 1861, out of 113 burgh school teachers, only 50 were members of the Church of Scotland.

The Position of Higher Education

In higher education, all universities, including the municipal foundation of Edinburgh, were subject to the provisions of the Act of Union of 1707, which prescribed the signing of the Confession of Faith and the Formula of the Church. In the first half of the eighteenth century, all professors complied with this regulation, but many of them could hardly be considered orthodox members of the Church. The Professor of Divinity at Glasgow University, John Simson, was even suspended in 1729 from lecturing by the Presbytery for his openly Arian opinions. He remained, however, a member of the Senate and continued to receive his salary. Professors of other subjects were left unmolested, even if they adhered to unorthodox views. Such Professors of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow as Francis Hutcheson, and his successor, Adam Smith, by their liberal views helped many students, including English and Irish Nonconformists, to free themselves from the rigidity of orthodox Calvinism. The rise of Arianism in England and Northern Ireland is closely connected with the University of Glasgow. In the second half of the eighteenth century the tests were often omitted, and in Edinburgh, after 1762, they were seldom insisted upon. After the Disruption, the universities could not exclude the Dissenters, who formed half the nation, but

the first Bills for the abolition of the tests were defeated in 1845 and in 1852. The next Bill, however, was passed in 1853, and since then the prevalent practice became legal. The final remnants of religious tests were only abolished in 1889.

With the creation of local School Boards in 1872, the Church lost the last vestige of control of parish schools and the schools established by various Churches of Scotland were gradually transferred to local authorities. In 1929, the two remaining Churches united into a single body.

III. THE PURITAN TRADITION IN IRELAND

The established Church of Ireland from the time of Elizabeth up to the drastic measures of Strafford and Laud was actually Puritan in its tendencies, and in practice made little difference between the Presbytery and Episcopacy. Trinity College was in the hands of Episcopalian Puritans, and Archbishop Usher introduced a catechism different from the English and acceptable to the Presbyterians. During the Civil War, Usher proposed a scheme of comprehension which was a compromise with the Presbytery, but it was not accepted by Parliament. In these circumstances, the Scottish Presbyterians, who since 1610 had colonised Ulster, were comprehended within the Church of Ireland, and both the Scottish ministers and the English Puritans enjoyed Episcopal endowments. The first clash occurred in 1626 when the Bishop of Down, Echlin, suspended two of the most eminent Presbyterian ministers in his diocese. Although Archbishop Usher reinstated them, it became evident to both sides that the position required a clarification. It was brought suddenly by the appointment of Wentworth (Strafford) as Lord Deputy. Urged by Laud, Wentworth demanded unequivocal submission of Presbyterians to the established Church and persecuted all Dissenters. The Irish Presbyterians were driven into opposition and sided with the Parliamentary party in England. In 1641, they presented a petition to Parliament complaining against the persecution. Section 9 of the petition speaks about the schools : " Lest those who could not be admitted into ministry, undertaking to teach school, should there lay impressions of piety and good learning, they urge on the very schoolmasters a subscription beyond what is enjoined by their own canons, and punish by excommunication and otherwise the refusers thereof : so as the schools formerly much frequented are now utterly desolate to the spoyle of youth, and promoting of prophaneness and ignorance." This petition shows that before Strafford many of the parish schools were in the hands of Presbyterian teachers.

Re-establishment of the Presbytery

In 1642, the Presbytery was re-established with the help of the Church of Scotland and Scottish regiments stationed in Ulster.

The banished ministers came back from Scotland and the Scottish General Assembly sent special envoys to organise the Church in Ulster. The Synod, convened in 1642 in Ulster, urged each minister to commence a regular course of examination and instruction in the catechism in his parish. It is doubtful, however, whether it led to the establishment of regular schools at that time, owing to the continuous disturbances of the Civil War. A general measure was passed by the Commonwealth Parliament in 1650 under the influence of John Owen, who had just returned from Ireland. According to this Act for "the better advancement of the Gospel and learning in Ireland," the estates of the archbishopric of Dublin, and of the bishopric of Meath, together with those belonging to the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's Cathedral, were vested in fifteen trustees "for the support of Trinity College, and the endowment of its professors, to establish another College in the metropolis, and to erect a free school and support masters and scholars." Owing to the Civil War, the measure was ineffective, but it showed clearly the intentions of the Puritans.

With the Restoration, the position of the Presbyterians was again changed, although the Uniformity Act was not rigorously applied to them as a reward for their loyalty to the monarchy. In recognition of their help, Charles II, by giving £600 to the Presbyterian ministers, started the so-called "Regium Donum," which placed the Presbytery of Ulster on a semi-established basis. The schools and Academies of Dissenters were tolerated, although the teachers had no legal licence. In 1674, the Presbytery "encouraged the erection of a school for philosophy at Antrim." A Divinity school, on the lines of dissenting academies in England, was duly opened in the following year with John Howe as principal. That this Academy was not an exception we know from the fact that Francis Hutcheson was educated first in a classical school of Mr. Hamilton at Saintfield (in the meeting house), and later in a dissenting academy of James MacAlpine, Killeleagh, from which he proceeded in 1710 to the University of Glasgow. When he came back to Ireland he opened an Academy at Dublin (1717–29) in which several of the higher branches of study were taught and which was attended both by Dissenters and Churchmen. He had no licence, but Archbishop King, being personally intimate with Hutcheson, did not prosecute him.

Influence of the "Belfast Society"

In 1710, "the General Fund" was established "for the support of religion . . . and for the education of youth designed for the ministry among Protestant Dissenters." From these scanty facts it seems that the Presbyterians of Ireland followed their English co-religionists in their educational policy. Many of the Irish Presbyterian ministers completed their education at Glasgow University and were influenced by the Arian Professor of Divinity, Simson, who was later suspended for heresy. Some of his

students and friends founded the "Belfast Society" in 1705 to promote theological knowledge. They opposed subscription to the Confession of Faith and started the movement later known as the "New Light." Reinforced by the next generation of Glasgow graduates, trained by Hutcheson, the Society included the most influential ministers, six of whom were successive moderators of the Synod. The orthodox members of the Synod tried to keep them within the fold by concessions, but in spite of that the "New Light" ministers seceded in 1726 and formed a more liberal Arian branch of the Presbyterian Church. The secessions in Scotland were also reflected in Ireland, and besides the Arian Presbytery of Antrim, a Secession Synod was organised separately from the Synod of Ulster. Whereas the main Presbyterian body tolerated Arian opinions within its fold, the Secession Synod was strictly orthodox.

The Position of Schools in the Eighteenth Century

There is very little information about schools at this period. It is certain that Presbyterians had no endowed schools in the eighteenth century. That some academies and elementary schools maintained by subscriptions and fees existed is almost certain, although no direct evidence can be found. Only in one instance is there sufficient information. In 1785, the Belfast Academy was founded for the education of young men for the Presbyterian ministry. It was maintained by subscription and a fund of the Church. The first principal was Dr. Bruce, a known Arian. The curriculum was very modern, including natural sciences, commerce, French and other subjects. Students were accepted irrespective of denomination and some were even Catholics. That this Academy was an exception at that time is seen from the petition of the Presbyterians in 1786–7, by which they requested the Dublin Government for "a separate system of education" for Ulster. However, the Chief Secretary, Orde, declared in debate that the State could not allow schools not conforming to the established Church of Ireland. The Friends, on the other hand, in spite of being a very small community, succeeded in founding endowed schools for their members. In 1764, the Lisburn School was founded; in 1786, the Mounmellick School; in 1796, the Clonmel School; and in 1798, the Newtown School. All these schools had an industrial or agricultural bias in conformity with the Friends' ideas of education.

Progress during the Nineteenth Century

It appears that the first endowed school for Presbyterians was founded only in 1813 at Ballymena (Guy's School). In 1808, the undenominational Belfast Royal Academic Institution was founded by men of various creeds. But the Governors of the Institution offered to the two Presbyterian Synods to endow two chairs of Divinity which would be filled and maintained by the respective

Presbyteries. Both the Secession and Ulster Synods appointed a Professor of Divinity, and thus took part in the new institution of higher learning. The Ulster Synod, however, was not content with this participation and tried to control the appointment of professors of secular subjects, especially as among the latter were several avowed Arians and one Episcopalian. The attempt proved unsuccessful and the Institution retained its independence. In 1830, owing to new divisions among the Presbyterians, the General Assembly decided to open a separate Theological College at Belfast, in consequence of which the Institution suffered. With the foundation of Queen's Colleges, the collegiate department of the Institution was closed, but the school still exists as a secondary school.

A new influence of Puritan character was added in the nineteenth century by the foundation in 1814 of "the Baptist Society for Promoting the Gospel in Ireland." The Society established many schools in which the Irish language was taught and about ten thousand pupils of all denominations attended them.

With the establishment of the national system the number of Baptist schools decreased considerably. The attitude of the Presbyterians to the new undenominational system was at first decidedly negative. In 1832, the Presbyterian Synod passed resolutions condemning the national system. Sect. 4 said: "That it is our deliberate opinion and decided conviction that in a Christian country the Bible, unabridged and unmutilated, should form the basis of national education . . . and that, consequently we never can accede to any system that in the least degree interferes with the unrestricted possession and use of the Scriptures in our schools." Sect. 8: "That for reasons embodied in the four preceding resolutions, the Metropolitan Board has not received the approbation, and does not possess the confidence of this Synod; and that our ministers and people are earnestly entreated to keep themselves totally unconnected with it." Sect. 9 quite clearly enunciated the principles of "voluntaryism."

In 1834, the Synod repeated the rejection of the national system by 81 votes to 74 votes. The majority of the ministers voted against the rejection, but the laity outvoted them. After that, the Synod broke off negotiations with the Board and decided to establish an independent system. The intolerant spirit prevailed, and in some places Presbyterian mobs attacked and burned national schools. In 1839, the Government removed the offending regulations by conceding the points asked by the Presbyterians, thus making, in fact, the non-vested schools quasi-denominational with a conscience clause. On this condition the Presbyterian schools were brought within the national system. Gradually the majority of the laity changed their attitude, and in 1881, R. Whitty, a convener of the General Assembly, giving evidence before the Endowed Schools' Commission, said on behalf of the Presbyterians: "The Presbyterian Church has desired to see established, on the non-sectarian

principle, a complete system of schools, bringing the advantages of secondary education within the reach of the entire population, and, by the superior instruction given in them, elevating the standard of education in all departments."

The General Assembly of this period was as definitely against public grants to denominational schools as previously they had demanded them. Since the establishment of the separate government for Northern Ireland, the Presbyterian schools have been gradually transferred to local authorities as undenominational schools.

IV. THE PURITAN TRADITION IN THE U.S.A.

When Americans speak of the Puritan tradition in America, they have in mind the Congregational establishments of New England. According to our plan we shall broaden the issue and include not only the English Congregationalists of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay, but the Swedes of Delaware, the Dutch of New York and the Irish-Scotch of the Alleghenies, which all could be called Presbyterian, and the Quakers of Pennsylvania. They were all Puritans in the wider sense, and their educational ideals and practice had common features which later moulded the school system of the United States.

The Early Colonial Period

The Congregational Church of New England was the most influential factor among the Puritans of America, and its school system served as a model for other kindred communities. In all New England colonies, with the exception of Rhode Island, the Congregational Church was established by law of the colonial legislature at the plantation of the colonies. There was a substantial difference, however: in Massachusetts and New Haven the identification of Church and State was understood in its mediæval sense as a theocracy, in conformity to which all civil rights depended. The colonists of Plymouth and Connecticut, on the other hand, looked upon the established Church only as a means conducive to religious and social stability, but recognised the claims of other people to civic equality. Rhode Island alone accepted from the start the principle of separation of Church and State.

The first colonists of Massachusetts Bay were not Separatists, as the Plymouth colonists, but adopted Independency only on arrival in America. The first acts of the people of Salem were the election of a minister and a teacher and the pronouncement of monopoly in religion. Although the first governor, John Winthrop (senior), was a broad-minded and tolerant man, the influence of Dudley and other fanatics was stronger, and the new colony developed on theocratic lines. John Cotton, their minister, argued that "theocracy, i.e. God's government, might be established as the best form of government, wherein the people that chose rulers are God's people in covenant with Him, that is, members of the Churches."

In accordance with this principle, the colonists passed an Act in 1631 admitting to citizenship only members of their churches. Neither Episcopalians, Presbyterians nor Baptists could be freemen, only members of a Congregational Church "in good and regular standing." In 1646, the Act against Heresy demanded the banishment of all heretics. The Act of 1697 against "Blasphemy and Atheism" prescribed most cruel punishments for such offences. Papists were forbidden the entry into the colony, but especially cruel were the persecutions of the Quakers. Four of them were executed in 1659 after a voluntary return from banishment, and many were flogged.

Not all Congregationalists were so intolerant. The colonists of Plymouth were influenced by their sojourn of ten years in Leyden, where they enjoyed complete freedom. When they settled in America they did not make membership of their Church a condition of citizenship. In 1646, the General Court resolved "that something be done to maintain the liberties of the Churches without intermingling or wronging each other that they may live in peace." A proposition was even made for a full toleration of religion to all men, without exception against "Turk, Jew, Papist, Socinian or any other." However, it was too advanced even to the tolerant brethren. The founders of Connecticut—Hooker and others—did not feel themselves quite happy under the Massachusetts theocracy, and when, in 1638, they organised themselves into a new colony, they accepted the principles of toleration and religious liberty as the basis of the constitution. Citizenship was acquired irrespective of membership in any Church. The Dutch in New Amsterdam (York) and the Swedes of Delaware, although accepting the principle of an established Church, were on the whole tolerant towards Dissenters, and their tradition helped the liberal English-speaking Puritans to influence the more intolerant part of the Congregationalists.

Rhode Island was an exception among the colonies founded by Congregationalists. Roger Williams, who arrived at Massachusetts Bay in 1631, was elected a minister at Salem, and soon displeased the General Court by his preaching of religious freedom. He fled to Plymouth, where he was made a teacher, but was recalled to Salem in 1633. He continued to preach the separation of Church and State, was tried by the General Court, and banished in 1635. He went to Rhode Island and founded the colony in accordance with his principles of complete freedom of conscience. Pennsylvania was another Puritan colony which adopted the principle of toleration. The Friends, who founded the colony, did not go so far, however, as Williams. They gave full freedom to all "who shall confess and acknowledge one Almighty God to be the Creator, Upholder and Ruler of the World." Although this definition comprised the Papists and the Jews, it definitely excluded the atheists and the heathen.

Thus the Puritan colonies can be divided into three groups.

(i) Massachusetts, including New Hampshire, later separated from it, and New Haven, which established a theocracy in the mediæval sense; (ii) Plymouth, Connecticut, New Amsterdam (York) and Delaware, which, adopting the union of Church and State, afforded certain freedom to Dissenters, and (iii) the two colonies of Rhode Island and Pennsylvania, which proclaimed an almost complete freedom of conscience.

The First Educational Laws

In these circumstances the development of school systems varied considerably. We must remember that the idea of secular education divorced from religion was entirely foreign to all Puritans. The training of the rising generation was the task of the Church, and it depended on the position of the Church whether the State should intervene in education. The conquest of New Amsterdam and Delaware by the English deprived the Dutch Reformed and the Swedish Lutheran Churches of their previous position as State institutions, and their educational policy was therefore similar to other Puritan Churches which did not enjoy a monopoly. Like the German Lutherans, Irish-Scotch Presbyterians and English Friends, the Dutch and the Swedes established parish schools maintained by voluntary support of their congregations. The Dutch Collegiate School at New York dates from 1633. The same happened in the two free colonies where the State did not interfere in Church matters.

Quite different was the position in the colonies where the Congregational Church was established by law. Here the educational ideas of the Puritans were backed by the whole force of the State and were compulsorily introduced as State legislation.

Massachusetts, as the largest colony, led the way. The first Act of Massachusetts concerning education was passed in 1642, and had all the features of compulsory legislation. It enjoined that select men "shall have the power to take account from time to time of all children, concerning their calling and employment . . . especially of their ability to read and understand the principles of religion . . . and to impose fines on all who refuse to render such accounts to them when required." The famous law of 1647 was still more explicit: "It being one chief project of that old deluder, Satan, to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures. . . . It is therefore ordered by this Court . . . that every township within this jurisdiction, after that the Lord has increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall then forthwith appoint one within their town to teach all such children as shall resort to him, to write and read; whose wages shall be paid either by the parents or masters of such children, or by the inhabitants in general. . . . And it is further ordered, that where any town shall increase to the number of one hundred families or householders, they shall set up a grammar school, the masters thereof being able to instruct

youth so far as they may be fitted for the University : and if any town neglect the performance hereof above one year, then every such town shall pay five pounds per annum to the next such school till they shall perform this order."

The first education Act of Connecticut, passed in 1650, combined the two Massachusetts laws into one. It ordered parents and masters to give their children and apprentices an instruction in " grounds and principles of religion " and " as may enable them perfectly to read the English tongue, and knowledge of the capital laws, upon penalty of twenty shillings for each neglect therein." Then follows the repetition of the " old deluder " law word for word.

New Hampshire, after the separation from Massachusetts in 1680, re-enacted the law of 1647 and followed the same lines as the other two Congregationalist colonies. We must mention that Plymouth was incorporated in Massachusetts in 1691 and New Haven was incorporated in Connecticut in 1665, and therefore they lost their identity as separate colonies.

That these laws were followed in practice can be seen from many cases of fines imposed on delinquent towns. The majority of New England towns complied with the provisions of the law, and many had schools supported by rates or by land endowment even before 1647. Thus public schools existed in Boston since 1635 ; Charlestown, 1636 ; Dorchester, 1639 ; Cambridge, 1638 ; Newbury, 1639 ; Ipswich, 1643 ; New Haven, 1644 ; Roxbury, 1645 ; Salem, 1644 ; Dedham, 1644 ; Plymouth, however, complied with law only in 1693 after incorporation, although it had had public schools since 1670. Grammar schools were also founded almost in all towns subject to law—in Boston since 1636 and in six other towns of Massachusetts before 1647. The schools were free only for poor families ; the well-to-do usually paid fees.

As mentioned above, the Rhode Island colony did not enact compulsory legislation and left education entirely to the initiative of local communities. But even here, separate towns provided for schools quite early. Newport voted in 1640 that " one hundred acres should be laid forth and appropriated for a school, for encouragement of the poorer sort, to train up their youth in learning." Providence agreed in 1663 to lay out one hundred acres for the maintenance of a school. The town of Barrington founded a school in 1673, and that of Bristol in 1682.

The Friends of Pennsylvania also adopted the policy of non-intervention in education, although the first Charter, procured by Penn in 1682, provided that " the Governor and provincial council shall erect and order all public schools." The provincial assembly introduced in 1683 compulsory instruction in reading and writing by parents and guardians, who " shall cause the children to be instructed in reading and writing so that they may be able to read the Scriptures and to write by the time they attain to twelve years of age and that they be taught some useful trade or skill." The law imposed fines of £5, but was never put into action. It was omitted from the

revision of 1696, and no compulsory legislation was introduced until the nineteenth century. The Friends, however, established public schools for their own community. The first Friends' Public School was opened in Philadelphia in 1689, later known as William Penn Charter School. A second free school was opened at Darby in 1692, and a third at Philadelphia in 1697. All these schools, whether established by the State in New England or by Puritan communities in the Middle States, were under constant and vigilant supervision of the ministers. When, for instance, the Boston people in 1710 chose five lay inspectors to visit the Latin school with the ministers, the latter protested vigorously at the innovation.

The Beginnings of Higher Education

Institutions for higher education were also provided from the earliest period. The first, and the most famous, was the Harvard College, founded in 1636. In that year the General Court of Massachusetts agreed to grant £400 towards a college. In 1637 the court ordered the new College to be at Newtown, renamed the following year Cambridge, after the English University where the majority of the ministers were educated. John Harvard endowed it in 1638, and the new College was named after him. The aim was twofold: to advance learning and to perpetuate the ministry. Although neither the Charter nor the regulations mentioned any religious tests, in practice the College was under the control of the Congregational Church. About 52 per cent. of graduates proceeded to the ministry. In the eighteenth century, Harvard began to develop Unitarian tendencies, and the denominational control of the Church was weakened to such an extent that students were allowed to attend any Protestant church. In 1805, a Unitarian was elected to the Chair of Divinity, and the department became Unitarian. In 1806, a Unitarian was elected as President, and since then Harvard has become practically undenominational.

A second Congregational College was founded at New Haven, Connecticut, when, in 1701, "ten of the principal ministers in the colony were nominated and agreed upon by a general consent both of the ministers and people to stand as Trustees to found, erect and govern a college." The General Court granted a Charter in 1701, stating the aim of the institution as "for public service to both Church and Commonwealth." The College was strictly denominational, and when, in 1722, the President, Timothy Cutler, the senior tutor, S. Johnson, and five others went over to the Episcopal Church, they were dismissed and a test was imposed. Since 1722, the rector and tutors had to give satisfaction "of the soundness of their faith in opposition to Arminian and prelatic corruptions or any other dangerous consequences to the purity and peace of our Churches." In 1744, two students (the brothers Cleaveland) were expelled from the College for attending Methodist preachers. Since 1792, the State has been represented on the cor-

poration, and Yale College gradually lost its denominational character.

The change of attitude among the Congregationalists was reflected in the founding of the third College of Dartmouth, New Hampshire, in 1769. The Charter stated "that the College would not exclude persons of any religious denomination whatsoever . . . on account of their speculative sentiments in Religion and of their being of religious profession different from the Trustees of Dartmouth College." From the start the College functioned as an unsectarian institution.

The Irish-Scotch Presbyterians of the Middle States and Alleghenies, with the growth of immigration, soon felt the need for a separate college. Besides the parochial schools, their ministers started the so-called "Log Colleges," where future ministers could receive a higher education. The earliest and best-known "Log College" was founded by Mr. Tennent at Neshaming (N.J.) in 1727. As Tennent had somewhat heterodox opinions, the Presbyterian Synod at Philadelphia decided in 1739 to found "a school or seminary of learning," wherein candidates for the ministry might be academically trained. The subsequent schism in the Presbyterian Church in 1745 in a way furthered the project. Members of the New York Synod (*New Side*) applied to the Governor of New Jersey for a charter, which was granted in 1746 to the "College of New Jersey." Although the trustees were all Presbyterians and the majority were ministers, the Charter stated "that no person be debarred any of the privileges of the said College on account of any speculative principles of religion; but those of every religious profession having equal privileges and advantages of education in the said College." The two aims were science and religion. The next charter of 1748 underlined the undenominational character of the institution by appointing two Episcopalians, two Quakers and one Dutch Reformed among the trustees in addition to the twelve Presbyterian ministers and six laymen. The College was finally located at Princeton, and from the start was open to all denominations. The Dutch Reformed Church also founded a college, Rutgers in New Jersey in 1766, for "the education of youth in the learned languages, liberal and useful arts and sciences, and especially in divinity." The Baptists founded the Brown College in Rhode Island in 1764. Both these institutions were under the control of their Churches, but were open to all.

The Growth of Undenominationalism in the Eighteenth Century

We have seen that in the middle of the eighteenth century the control of the Church began to weaken and the schools and colleges became gradually undenominational. The American Revolution completed this evolution by separating the Church from the State. Although religion was still an integral part of the curriculum, it

had lost its exclusive sectarian character. State institutions were founded on a strictly unsectarian basis, and the Churches felt that their denominational interests could not any more be furthered by education in public schools. The public grammar schools entered a period of decay and the compulsory legislation was not enforced. The Churches began to found private academies as a substitute, and at the end of the eighteenth century the American system had lost its previous democratic character. The poorer classes continued to attend the public schools, but the richer parents sent their sons to private expensive academies. Only gradually was the old character of the Puritan school system regained in the nineteenth century through the influence of the secular tradition.

The Nineteenth Century and Religious Education

At first the academies and colleges were founded by private members of some church or by local societies. The educational service of the churches was not yet organised on a national basis. The first theological college established by the Calvinist Churches was the Andover Seminary, opened in 1808. In 1814, the Bangor Seminary was founded by the Society for Promoting Theological Education. But the first nation-wide organisation for denominational education was the American Society for Educating Pious Youth for the Gospel Ministry, which was founded in 1815 by a compact between the Congregationalists and Presbyterians. The aim was stated as follows: "Taking into serious consideration the deplorable condition of the inhabitants of these United States, the greater part of whom are either destitute of competent religious instruction or exposed to the errors and enthusiasm of unlearned men, we do hereby form ourselves into a society for the benevolent purpose of aiding, and of exciting others to aid, indigent young men of talents and hopeful piety in acquiring a learned and competent education for the Gospel Ministry." The Presbyterian Education Society was founded by the General Assembly in 1819, and for a period worked as a branch of the American Society. In 1843, the two Churches (Congregational and Presbyterian) founded the "Society for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education at the West." The five theological seminaries founded by New England congregations in Ohio, Illinois and Indiana during the period 1826–34 were taken over by the Society. It is interesting to note that a new reason, the fear of the Society of Jesus and its influence on the originally Puritan communities, was added in support of the necessity for religious education. The Annual Report of 1853 says: "There are those who are ready to take this business of providing seats of education at the West out of our hands entirely. . . . The Jesuits are willing, nay, longing, nay, plotting and toiling, to become the educators of America. . . . In our associate capacity, in conjunction with kindred organisations, we meet the Society of Jesus to decide the question, whether Protestant

evangelical institutions or the institutions and influences of Rome shall cover that field and mould the forming population." In 1874, the American Society (1815), and the Society of 1843, merged into one Congregationalist body—the American College and Education Society. The Presbyterian Society continued its existence as a separate body. The United Presbyterians (Separatists) established their own Board of Education in 1859. The Northern Baptist Church started its Education Society in 1814. The Reformed Dutch Church in 1828. The Methodist Episcopalian Church in 1864, and the Lutheran General Synod in 1885 each established its Board of Education. The number of students aided by these Societies can be seen from the table showing the figures for the two largest Churches for each fifth year :

	1817	1822	1827	1832	1837	1842	1847	1852	1857	1862
Congreg.	138	195	300	807	1,125	615	389	413	332	324
Presbyt.	—	90	230	270	562	300	403	372	383	375

In the second half of the nineteenth century the Puritan Churches modified their policy. The aid to individual students was continued as before, but after 1843 the Churches began to subsidise institutions, whether purely theological or general. The number of colleges and academies grew enormously. Every local community wanted to have a college, and usually a local benefactor could be found, who would leave a fund for establishing a denominational institution in that particular place. This denominational and territorial rivalry led to the foundation of many weak institutions which had no future. During the period 1820–65, 167 purely sectarian colleges were founded (31 Roman Catholic), and in addition, 71 colleges with religious aims on undenominational lines.

The Churches had to do something to bring order and system into this mushroom growth. The Puritan Churches established denominational boards of education with nation-wide powers. The policy of different denominations is, however, varied. The Methodist Episcopal Church adopted the policy of centralisation, by which the board of education controls, not only the grants to individual colleges, but the curriculum and the inner life of Methodist institutions. The Presbyterians and Lutherans adopted the federation policy by which the boards established general principles and conditions of federated bodies, but giving a wide scope for individual variation. The Congregationalists and the Baptists adopted the affiliation policy, giving an almost complete freedom for assisted colleges and schools to develop on their own lines.

The attitude of different Puritan Churches towards the secular State systems and religious doctrinal instruction varied in accordance with their historical character. The Congregationalists and the Methodists, whilst upholding the principle of Christian

education, did not insist upon propagating a particular form of doctrine, but encouraged a greater freedom of thought than some State institutions. As the annual report of the Methodist Board of Education of 1926 puts it: "It makes no difference what the nature of the pressure may be, institutions fostered on behalf of the Kingdom of Christ must not consent to be driven into the betrayal of truth in the interests of traditions, prejudices or platforms, religious or political. There is no promise that propaganda will make us free. The truth only will make us free. Devotion to the truth as we are able to know the truth is the only justification for the support of Christian education." The Congregational viewpoint was reflected in the Moderator's address in 1921: "If I read the Congregational consciousness aright, it does not desire in the colleges a narrow denominationalism. It would rather support a broadly Christian college, that has an appeal to all denominations. It does not desire to herd all Congregational students by themselves, nor that all teachers should be of the same stripe. Congregationalists believe in individuality, in mental and spiritual independence."

The Presbyterians and Lutherans, having an historical Confession of Faith, insisted more on uniformity of belief. In 1923, the General Assembly decreed that "Synods and Presbyteries . . . are hereby to exercise careful oversight over the instruction given in institutions, and that they should withhold their official approval (with a loss of financial assistance) from such academies and colleges where any teaching or instruction is given which seeks to establish a materialistic evolutionary philosophy of life." The Baptists were divided, the majority following the policy of the Congregationalists, the minority being strictly fundamentalist. This group is represented by the Baptist Bible Union which has made Des Moines University (since 1927) "an ultra-conservative school in which certain fixed formulæ of faith will govern the teaching of all the vital subjects found in the curriculum," as the liberal group expressed its opinion in the journal, *The Baptist*.

The attitude towards the secular system reflects these views. In the eyes of the fundamentalists it is a "Godless" system; in the opinion of the liberal Puritans, on the other hand, "to denounce State universities or normal schools as irreligious does measureless harm to Christianity by alienating from it many of the cultivated minds of the country." The famous case of Dayton, Tennessee, when a teacher was dismissed for teaching Darwinian theory, did more harm to Christian tradition in America than the propagation of materialistic views.

Interdenominational Tendencies of the Twentieth Century

A certain tendency for interdenominational co-operation between various Puritan Churches became evident in the twentieth century. In 1911, seven denominational unions met in New York to form a Council of Church Boards of Education.

The two Methodist, two Presbyterian, Congregational and Lutheran Churches combined with the Friends in order "to promote the interest of Christian Education through the interchange of ideas, the establishment of fundamental educational principles held in common by the Churches of evangelical faith, and co-operation in the work upon the field wherever practicable and necessary." So far, only a few colleges have been established under the auspices of the Council on undenominational lines, but there is a promise of a closer collaboration in future.

Summary

The educational activity of the Puritan Churches is mainly directed towards secondary and higher education. The Lutherans are the only denomination which has built up a school system of elementary standard. In 1933, the Lutherans had 1,062 schools with 67,114 pupils, whereas all other Puritan Churches together had only about 200 elementary schools with about 7,000 pupils. In the field of secondary education all denominations have been equally active, although, during the last decade, the number of schools has considerably decreased.

NUMBER OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS AND PUPILS

	BAPTISTS	CONGREGATIONALISTS	FRIENDS	LUTHERANS	METHODISTS	PRESBYTERIANS	TOTAL FOR SIX DENOMINATIONS
1895							
Schools	109	56	57	36	111	102	471
Pupils	7,424	2,882	3,851	1,908	9,829	4,654	30,548
1933							
Schools	39	20	22	35	34	48	198
Pupils	3,674	1,804	2,490	2,081	3,474	4,534	18,057

This decrease is explained partially by the transforming of the academies into the junior colleges which has been going on during the last years. In 1934, the Baptists had 34, the Congregationalists 2, the Lutherans 22, the Methodists 33, and the Presbyterians 14 junior colleges. The Friends also had two or three. The number of universities, colleges and theological colleges was as follows: (1933), Baptists, 46; Congregationalists, 12; Lutherans, 36; Methodists, 52; Presbyterians, 58. The comparatively small number of Congregational institutions is the result of their policy, since many institutions established by Congregationalists have become undenominational.

V. THE PURITAN TRADITION IN CANADA

The Puritan Churches derived their strength from three sources: America, England and Scotland. In 1758, Governor Lawrence

invited the Puritans of New England to settle in Nova Scotia. The invitation was accepted on condition that full religious liberty should be granted. As a result, the Charter of Nova Scotia was enacted establishing full freedom for Dissenters, and the Congregationalists of New England came in large numbers to the Maritime Provinces. After the War of Independence part of them returned to the United States, and the majority of those who remained joined the Baptist Church following a revivalist movement of "New Light" Congregationalists led by Henry Alline. The Baptists received reinforcement partly from America and partly from England. As a result, the Maritime Provinces became the centre of a strong Baptist community with a sprinkling of Congregationalists. A second migration of Puritans from America was the result of the American War of Independence. Among the loyalists who settled in the Maritime Provinces were many Presbyterians, and among those who settled in Upper Canada a strong community of Methodists. The Presbyterians were reinforced by Scottish immigration and the Methodists by English immigrants and converts from the Church of England. Thus three influential Puritan communities were formed, and the Church of England could no longer claim the majority of inhabitants as its members.

The first Puritan institutions were founded in the Maritime Provinces, where the Church of England had had no monopoly since 1758. The Scotch Presbyterians founded in 1816 the Picton Academy in Nova Scotia under Dr. McCulloch. As an offshoot of the Academy, a theological college grew up in 1820, which later was transferred to Halifax and became the Presbyterian College of Nova Scotia. In 1817, Governor Lord Dalhousie endowed a College at Halifax, which, however, was not opened until 1838. The Scottish Presbyterians obtained control of it and elected Dr. McCulloch as principal and other Scottish Presbyterians as professors. The Baptist candidate, Crawley, was rejected solely on the ground of his creed. This rejection encouraged the Baptists to open their own college. In the eighteenth century the Baptists were rather suspicious of higher learning, and only in exceptional cases had the Baptist ministers a theological training. During the revival movement many educated members of the Church of England joined the Baptist community. These new converts, including some able representatives of the legal and medical professions, persuaded the Methodist preachers of the necessity for a liberal education for future ministers. In 1828, they founded the Baptist Education Society with two objects in view: "to establish a suitable seminary of learning, and secondly to afford pecuniary assistance to indigent young men called to preach the Gospel." In the following year the Society opened the Horton Baptist Academy. In 1832, the Academy received a provincial grant, which was afterwards frequently repeated. The Academy, however, did not include theological training and the Baptists hoped that the Dalhousie College would give them an ample oppor-

tunity for higher learning. The rejection of Crawley compelled them to found a separate college. In 1838, as an extension of Horton Academy, the Acadia College, was opened. Although the College was under the control of the Baptist Church, it was open to all creeds. In 1861, the Baptists established the first Ladies' Seminary in Nova Scotia. The Methodists were not so numerous in the Maritime Provinces as the Presbyterians or Baptists, but they also founded in 1843 their own college at Mount Allison, New Brunswick, which became a university in 1858.

The Position in Upper Canada

In Upper Canada, on the other hand, the Methodists played the leading rôle in opposing the Anglican claims for monopoly. They had produced an outstanding educational leader in Dr. Egerton Ryerson. We have related in the chapter on Anglican Tradition the struggle for a Provincial University. It is quite probable that if Strachan had not insisted on Anglican control of King's College, Toronto, the Dissenters would have accepted the unsectarian Provincial University. However, as matters stood, Ryerson became the defender of higher denominational institutions, and started in 1836 the Upper Canada Academy as a Wesleyan Methodist College. In 1841, it received its charter and became the Victoria College with university rights. The Episcopalian Methodists followed suit and founded their own Albert College at Belleville, Ontario, in 1857. It was subsequently amalgamated with Victoria in 1871, and the latter federated with the University of Toronto in 1890. That the attitude of Ryerson was the result of Anglican claims is seen from his policy as the first superintendent of Upper Canada. During his long and distinguished service he successfully defended the common school system from the attacks both of the denominationalists and extreme secularists. He can rightly be considered the builder of the Ontario school system, and in his struggle he had his own Methodist community always behind him. The Presbyterians also founded their own higher institutions. The Church of Scotland Presbyteries founded the Queen's College in 1842, and the Free Church Presbyteries the Knox College in 1844. The attitude of the two wings towards denominationalism was different. The orthodox Presbyterians of Scottish origin were in favour of a denominational university and refused to affiliate the Queen's College with the University of Toronto. The Free Church, on the other hand, always defended the undenominational system and affiliated their college to the Provincial University in 1885. The Baptists were a smaller community, but they, too, started a separate college at Toronto in 1860 under the name of the Canadian Literary Institute, later known as Woodstock College. The theological department remained at Toronto and developed into the McMaster University in 1887. In the seventies the Dissenters

founded the so-called Ladies' Colleges, the Methodists (Hamilton, Belleville and Whitby), and the Presbyterians (Ottawa and Brentford).

The Position in Quebec

In Quebec, owing to special circumstances, the Dissenters joined the Anglicans in establishing a common system for all Protestants. There was a small Congregationalist College at Montreal, affiliated to McGill, but that was an exception.

In the twentieth century a movement for consolidation among the Puritan Churches was started by the Methodists. Many Canadians felt that the historical division of Puritan Churches was connected with circumstances of English or Scottish history, which had no basis in Canada. The Methodists, Congregationalists and Presbyterians came together and founded the United Church of Canada in 1925. The Baptists remained outside, and the Scottish Presbyterians also declined to merge their identity in a larger body. As a result there was a redistribution of colleges and schools according to the new lines of division.

VI. THE PURITAN TRADITION IN AUSTRALIA

Since the majority of Australian settlers were Churchmen, the Scottish Presbyterians and the English Methodists could not prevent the establishment of the monopoly of the Church in 1829. However, they protested and demanded a share in public grants. Dr. Lang, a leading Scottish minister, went to England and published articles denouncing the monopoly. He even succeeded in getting a charter for the Australia College founded by him at Sydney in 1831. It was an institution for "the education of youth in literature, philosophy and science, and open, like the Scottish colleges, to youth of all religious denominations." Nevertheless, it was in the hands of Scottish Presbyterians. The College prospered for a while, but was closed in 1854. When, in 1834, the Government took over the Anglican and Catholic schools, it was decided to give a grant of £500 to the Church of Scotland as well to help the maintenance of Presbyterian parish schools. One of Dr. Lang's assistants seceded from him and opened in 1835 a Normal School "to enable a pupil to undertake the task of educating himself, and thus becoming, on religious, as well as all other topics, the framer of his own opinions."

In 1836, during the struggle for a national system, all the Puritan Churches joined the Anglicans in their opposition to the introduction of the Irish system of mixed schools. It was a misguided move, caused chiefly by the attitude of Catholics, who, at that time, supported Governor Bourke. During this period of denominational control in 1838, Dr. Lang brought from Scotland eighteen teachers, and was thus able to found twenty Presbyterian schools. The Methodists had only three schools. All these schools received 50 per cent. grant-in-aid on equal terms with the Anglicans and Catholics.

The Puritan Churches, however, soon discovered their mistake in opposing the national system, and changed their attitude completely. In 1843, Dr. Lang announced a proposal for a national unsectarian system. Methodists and Baptists supported him, but the Anglicans and the Catholics refused to give up their denominational control. During the long period of struggle the Puritans solidly supported Sir Henry Parkes in his efforts to build up a non-sectarian national system. In 1874, the Baptist minister, Greenwood, went even farther than Parkes and became the leader of the openly secularist party. He founded the Public School League, which by its propaganda led to a complete secularisation of public schools in 1880. The Churches were left to their own resources and concentrated their attention on secondary education. Both Presbyterians and Methodists founded many colleges for boys and for girls. The oldest Presbyterian institution was the Scottish College at Melbourne, founded in 1857. The Methodist College of Wesley was founded at Melbourne in 1865. At a later period, and especially at the beginning of the twentieth century, Presbyterian and Methodist Colleges were founded in all States of Australia. The only Friends' College was founded in Tasmania in 1887.

VII. THE PURITAN TRADITION IN NEW ZEALAND

As mentioned in a previous chapter, the only province settled by Scottish Presbyterians was Otago. In other provinces Puritans formed small communities which enabled them to establish voluntary schools. At Auckland, the Wesleyans have been active since 1844, when the first school was founded. In 1898, they opened a college.

The Presbyterians had their first school in 1856 and the first high school in 1863. At Canterbury, the Wesleyans opened their first school in 1853, and the Presbyterians in 1858 (high school).

But if we wish to see the working of the Puritan system in New Zealand, we have to turn to Otago. When the Scottish Presbyterians received the charter to settle in Otago, they decided by the "Terms of Purchase" to set apart one-eighth of the entire proceeds of the sale of lands in Otago for "religious and educational purposes" under the control of trustees for the Presbyterian Church of Otago. The money thus received was invested as an endowment. As soon as the Scots arrived at Otago, they erected a school house in 1848. At first the school was free, but in 1849 the Kirk Session introduced fees of two to three shillings per quarter. Schools were opened in each district, "so that every child be taught to read and write" as the public meeting of colonists decided in 1850. The schools were controlled by the Kirk Session. Even when, in 1856, the provincial legislature established a Board of Education and enacted a School Ordinance, thus starting a public system, the schools preserved their strictly Presbyterian character.

No one could be appointed a teacher unless he presented a certificate from his minister guaranteeing his fitness to give religious instruction. Any two male parents might impeach the soundness of a teacher's doctrine before the school committee and the Board, with the penalty of dismissal without appeal in the event of the charge being sustained. Only in the sixties was the control of the Church weakened by the immigration of non-Scottish settlers. Gradually the schools were secularised and merged in the national system.

VIII. THE PURITAN TRADITION IN SOUTH AFRICA

The Early Dutch Influence

The Afrikaans-speaking population of South Africa is descended from three main stocks: the Dutch (50 per cent.), the German (27 per cent.) and the French (17 per cent.). The Dutch were all Calvinists of an orthodox type, the Germans were either Lutherans or Calvinists, and the French were Huguenots. Thus in their religious traditions they were homogeneous, and very soon were moulded into one community with a distinctive Puritan outlook. The Scottish ministers appointed by the Government in the nineteenth century to the Dutch congregations were of the same tradition and soon were assimilated. The original tradition of the Dutch Reformed Church was thus hardly changed by the various non-Dutch elements. The institutions, the ideas and the customs of the seventeenth-century Calvinist Holland were transferred to Cape Colony without modification and formed the basis of its cultural tradition. As in Holland the identification of Church and State led to Church control in education, so in Cape Colony the same principle was accepted. The resolutions of the Synod of Dort (1618–19) concerning schools governed the policy of the Church, and as the Classis of Amsterdam was the highest authority in education, they were applied also in Cape Colony. The Synod ordered that "schools must be instituted in country places, towns and cities. Religious instruction must be given. The Christian Magistracy should see to it that well-qualified persons taught with suitable compensation. The children of the poor should be instructed free. In all schools only orthodox Christians might teach. . . . The duty of the ministers with an elder was to visit all the schools, private as well as public." Certainly in African conditions these resolutions could not be carried out with the same effect as in Holland, but they served as a model for the Church policy.

When the first school for white children was opened in 1663 there were less than two hundred colonists in the Cape. A school for coloured children in Cape Town was opened in 1676; a school at Stellenbosch in 1683, an infant school in Cape Town in 1690 and a French school for Huguenots at Drakenstein in 1700. The early teachers were servants of the Church and were called *Sieken-*

trooster (comforter of the sick), who helped the minister, and in outlying districts, where no regular ministry was possible, were allowed to conduct the service and read a prepared sermon. They were prohibited, however, from " arrogating to themselves under any pretext whatever anything which properly belonged to the ministerial office." The local educational authority, as in Holland, was the Church Court, or *Kerkeraad.* It consisted of one representative of the Government (Council of Policy), the clergyman, the deacons and the elders as the representatives of the congregation. The final authority was the Classis (Presbytery) of Amsterdam, whose licence was necessary both for ministers and *Siekentroosters* before they could perform their duties at the Cape. The *Kerkeraad* examined the teachers, supervised the schools and had the power to close a school if not satisfied with the teaching offered. In 1714, a new authority was introduced, the Scholarchs, comprising the Vice-Governor (Secundus), clergyman and a member of the *Kerkeraad*, which, however, began to function only at the end of the eighteenth century. In 1779, there were in Cape Town eight public schools with 686 pupils. In the country districts schools evidently existed in Stellenbosch, Paarl, Malmesbury, Tubbagh, Smellendam and Graaf-Reinet.

The Period following Annexation by England

After the annexation by England the Government tried to Anglicise the Reformed Church by appointing Scottish ministers to vacant pulpits. Many educated Scots arrived in the Colony and soon identified themselves with their Dutch-speaking congregations. Their contribution to education and Church administration was considerable. The names of Murray, Robertson, Fraser and McGregor are still held in esteem by the Boers.

The attempt of the Government to establish Church schools (*Koster Scholen*) as a means of Anglicising the population failed, and the schools made little progress. The further growth of the Education Department gradually deprived the Reformed Church of its leading rôle in education, and the increasing immigration of the English-speaking settlers changed the previous character of Cape Colony.

As a result, the discontented Boers started the great Trek from the Cape in 1836 and formed independent republics in the North, beyond the British influence. The ministers of the Dutch Church were against the emigration, and the *Voor trekkers* were practically left to their own devices both in religious and educational matters. The tradition of intimate connection between the Church and the school was transferred to the new States. The Synod of Cape Colony only began to take an interest in the new communities in 1848, when the first ministers were sent. Through the co-operation of the Church, teachers from Holland were invited, and the first regular schools were opened in the Transvaal in 1851. The

regulations passed in 1852, on the advice of one of the Hollanders, Van der Linden, practically gave the control of the schools to the local *Kerkeraad*. Only the members of the Dutch Reformed Church were allowed to teach. At that time two definite parties developed in the two republics. One was more liberal, with a tendency towards the emancipation of education from the Church control, and the other an orthodox party, known as *Doppers*. The liberal party found its best exponent in the President of the South African Republic, Burgher, and his school legislation. The *Doppers* found a stout leader in President Kruger, who was elected in 1881, after a brief period of British sovereignty. The Education Act of 1882, introduced by Kruger, was the antithesis of Burgher's legislation. One of the main principles was that religious instruction forms an integral part of the curriculum and belongs to the Church and not to the State. Paul Kruger in the debate declared : " School education must be under the guidance of the Church. The Government does not want to establish State schools ; they must be Church schools." The Church was enjoined by the Act to take the initiative in founding schools and in the election of school committees. A system of grants-in-aid was established which practically left the control in the hands of the Church. Bible history and the Catechism remained the crucial subjects, as in the eighteenth century. Under the new Superintendent, the Hollander, Mansvelt, appointed in 1891, the State Department gradually assumed the supervision and control of schools. Thus, even before the Boer War, the Church had lost its previous position in education. After the war the school system became secular.

The Orange Free State and Natal

In the Orange Free State the development was similar. The college founded by Sir George Gray in 1859 was originally under the control of the Dutch Church, but in 1882 it became a State institution. Local education committees were set up in 1872, including, besides the minister, four representatives of the Government. Under the Scottish Superintendent, Dr. Brebner, the control was gradually centred in the State Department. After the Boer War the system was secularised.

In Natal the Puritans were hardly represented and had no influence on the development of education.

IX. CONCLUSION

In all English-speaking countries we have noticed two tendencies among the Puritan Churches. One, the orthodox Calvinist tradition, accepting the general principle of identification of Church and State, intolerant towards Dissenters whilst in power. The other, more liberal, drew the logical conclusion from the principles of the Reformation of individual responsibility and defended freedom

of conscience for all. Under the influence of the liberal wing and the secular tradition the orthodox party changed their attitude and abandoned the policy of monopoly in education in favour of a national comprehensive system. However, the old tradition of strict Calvinism was revived in the nineteenth century in the form of fundamentalism, which, without trying to enforce monopoly, interfered in the curriculum adopted by the public schools. But the overwhelming majority of Puritans of all denominations helped the State in all countries to surmount the religious divisions inherited from the past. Their own policy from the earliest time was democratic in all countries, and wherever the Puritans went they brought with them the school available to all classes. The principle of universal compulsory education was adopted by Puritan Churches far in advance of their time. In their attitude towards higher education they had a policy which did not place much faith in academic education, but emphasised more moral training and useful knowledge. But, as we have seen, it was a temporary policy, which soon gave way to the foundation of higher institutions. In spite, however, of all their mistakes and temporary aberrations, typical of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Puritans were the pioneers and reformers in education, and the public school systems of the nineteenth century have grown from the seeds planted by them. The liberal wing of the Puritans allied itself with the secular tradition and gave to the few philosophers and radical statesmen that popular support without which no reform would have been possible.

N. HANS.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Secular Tradition in Education

THE secular tradition in education was the outcome of two main sources : the national philosophy of England and Scotland and the international movement of Humanism, which started in Italy. Both movements were closely connected with, and often were represented by, the same men. Developed in England in the seventeenth century by philosophers and members of Humanistic circles, known as Rosicrucians, the theory of secular scientific education was disseminated in the eighteenth century by the Society of Freemasons throughout Europe and America. Thus started in England, the movement of Enlightenment found its practical application in the American and French Revolutions, events which were to have subsequent repercussions on the country which inspired the original ideas. It is difficult to say, therefore, which of the three countries—Great Britain, America or France—contributed most to the development of secularism in the nineteenth century. The difference of religious background and of racial temperament led to the division of the secular movement into two varieties. In France the mediæval traditions of the Roman Church gave rise to an embittered attack on Christianity and often resulted in atheism. In England, the Puritan upbringing of many representatives of the secular tradition instilled into them a deep reverence for religion in general and Christianity in particular. This alliance of Puritan and secular traditions preserved the English-speaking countries from the division of culture into traditional Christianity and anti-clerical secularism, which proved to be the bane of all Latin countries.

I. The Secular Tradition in England

English Philosophy

The empirical genius of the English people found its expression in a definite school of philosophy, which was mainly based on observation and experiment. The deductive speculations of continental rationalists did not appeal to English minds. It is true that the empirical solutions of English philosophers lacked the character of absolute truth and tended to relativism, but at the same time it prevented them from becoming fanatical adherents of some dogma, whether political or religious. This empirical attitude is already evident in the works of the father of English philosophy, Francis Bacon. He was one of the first to deplore the struggle between the rival creeds and to point out the danger to the State of fanatical distortions of pure religion. Hobbes quite definitely

accepted the relative value of religious dogma. He advocated State supremacy in religious matters and the subordination of the Church to State needs, at the same time, however, maintaining the principle of liberty of conscience. He says, for instance (*Leviathan*, part I, cap. 11): "This fear of things invisible is the natural seed of that, which every one in himself calleth religion, and in them that worship or fear that power otherwise than they do—superstition." Or part I, cap. 6: "Fear of power invisible feigned by the mind or imagined from tales publicly allowed—religion; not publicly allowed—superstition." No wonder that Anthony à Wood said: "Hobbes' Leviathan has corrupted the gentry of the nation, has infused ill principles into them—atheism." The next philosopher, Lord Herbert of Cherbury (*De Religione Gentilium*, 1645), by his attitude to revealed religion, founded the English School of Deists. Locke continued the emancipation of conscience from religious dogma and demanded separation of Church from State. He still accepted revelation as the second source of morality side by side with the laws of nature. But a natural conclusion of his opinion was the policy of tolerance for public worship of various religious communities, which he defended in his *Letters on Tolerance*. His pupil, Shaftesbury, made the next step and divorced religion from morality. For him morality was innate in human nature and independent from religious revelation. Other pupils of Locke, John Toland, M. Tindal and Anthony Collins, quite openly refuted the revelation of Christianity and professed frankly the deistic creed. These philosophical speculations gave the theoretical foundation for practical policy, but the conclusions of philosophers could be disseminated among the educated classes only in a more popular and accessible form. This task was performed by numerous societies founded for diverse scientific and educational purposes during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and were directly or indirectly connected with the Rosicrucian and masonic traditions.

Influence of the Rosicrucians

The origin of the fraternity of the Rosy Cross is legendary, and its history and influence still a problem for historians. There is no doubt, however, that in the seventeenth century in western Europe many groups of scientists and public men existed which pursued the aims of universal brotherhood and general diffusion of scientific knowledge. They formed secret lodges and were known under many names, of which the name of Rosicrucians was most widely accepted. It is doubtful whether they ever had a definite international organisation with a central organ. It is more probable that separate groups were formed in Italy, Germany, Holland and England, which came into contact through the travels of individual members and correspondence. It is possible that Robert Fludd (1574–1637) was the first English Rosicrucian, whose mystic philosophy so much influenced Milton. It is not improbable, however, that Sir Thomas Gresham was connected with some

group of Rosicrucians in Holland, as he spent many years in that country just when the Rosicrucian *Rederikerkammers* were flourishing, and we have evidence that he was interested in their activities. Among the English masons of the eighteenth century he was always mentioned as the benefactor of mankind, and it was even believed by them that he was connected with their Order.

Gresham made the first attempt to found a London University on more modern lines. In his will he endowed seven professorships with a stipend of £50 each and enjoined them to lecture daily. Parliament confirmed his will in 1581, and the first professors were appointed in 1587. They lectured up to the Fire of London, in 1666. In 1669 the salaries were temporarily stopped and Gresham's money was used for the rebuilding of the Exchange. In the middle of the seventeenth century Gresham's College was the meeting-place of the Rosicrucians, who founded the Royal Society. Whether Francis Bacon was directly connected with Rosicrucian circles is still debatable, but his works on the *New Atlantis* and the *Advancement of Learning* influenced the development of Rosicrucian ideas considerably. His idea of a Solomon's House as a clearing-place for scientific research was adopted by all subsequent Rosicrucian schemes, and he was always mentioned as the founder of the tradition (" The Advancer of Learning ").

As these Rosicrucian groups were secret societies, which have left no written minutes or published records, it is sometimes impossible to prove that a particular group or society was directly connected with the Rosicrucians. We shall refer, therefore, to Rosicrucian tradition rather than to the Society of the Rosy Cross itself. There were several groups in the seventeenth century which were inspired by Rosicrucian ideas, although not necessarily belonging to the secret fraternity.

One of such groups was the secret " Society for Free and Candid Enquiry," founded by Sir Hugh Myddelton, the famous engineer, who built the New River, and thus supplied London with fresh sources of water for consumption. On October 15th, 1613, Myddelton and thirteen other gentlemen of education and good position signed the articles of this secret society, in which religious and political questions were prohibited. The first question discussed was educational reform. Benjamin Jervis, a lawyer, delivered an address, which was singularly advanced at that time, and his theses were accepted by the Society. Jervis' address is a small tract of twelve pages, which deserves to be republished in full. He said : " The true end of education is both grossly neglected and manifestly perverted by the Professors of it, not duly considering the difference of genius of boys, the different conditions of life in which they are placed and the different professions and trades they are designed for. Education is like a vast bason of fine waters, which belongs to a large town and to which every inhabitant has an equal right. . . . But if our Professors of Education do not duly consider the capacities of those intrusted to their care, but

furnish the heads of intended taylors, barbers, and shoemakers with such branches of learning, as are not only ornamental, but absolutely necessary in divines, lawyers, physicians or gentlemen of rank, then Education may be truly said like water running waste. . . . Since then substances, not shadows, things not sounds deserve the attention of a wise man, it is highly necessary, that wisdom and real learning should be taught in our public schools. . . . A schoolmaster should endeavour to discover the particular genius which every boy possesses ; for there is no boy but has a genius for some Art or Science more than another ; and it ought to be cherished and cultivated to the utmost."[1]

We see here a plea for vocational differentiation of education and a recognition of the principle of equality of opportunity. Jervis also wanted to introduce State supervision in education, and advocated the establishment of a Commission for examining teachers and issuing to them certificates of proficiency. This Society very often returned in its discussions to the question of educational reform. Another problem which attracted their attention was the general diffusion of scientific knowledge. A certain Dr. Richard Read published the first Encyclopædia in English in 1660 (*Eighteen Books on the Secrets of Art and Nature, being the Summe and Substance of Natural Philosophy*), which was the first attempt to popularise the progress of science for the general public. The portraits and signs on the title-page indicate that Read belonged to Rosicrucian circles.

In 1667 the Society made its meetings public and included religion and politics as subjects of discussion. The grandson of one of the founders says in his *History of Robin Hood Society* (1764) : " Then for the diffusion of useful knowledge it was thought expedient to admit every person that chose to come and for that purpose to assemble at a Public House." The Society rented the Essex Head Tavern, and invited everybody to attend on paying 6*d*. for entrance. This Society, under the name of the Robin Hood Society, existed up to 1773.

Another group of educational reformers was represented by Edmund Bolton, who wrote the project of *Academ Roial*, an institution for scientific research and diffusion of knowledge, published in 1620. He says in it " that the common may not be defrauded of the use of the good parts or abilities of any sort of people, no adversities of opinions, no odds of fortunes, no difference of nation is to be a bar to admission here." John Selden, a friend of Comenius, Hartlib and other reformers, one of the Commissioners in Oxford during the Civil War, evidently was connected with Bolton's project.

A third group, under the protection of the Royal family, founded in 1636 the *Museum Minervæ*, a scientific Academy for nobility. The initiators were Sir Francis Kynaston and Sir George Peckham, a friend of the Rosicrucian astrologer Lilly. Seven professors were appointed, but the Academy perished during the Civil War

[1] See *History of the Robin Hood Society*, 1764.

with the death of Kynaston in 1642. A similar Academy was opened at Bethnal Green in 1648 by a Belgian adventurer, Sir Baltazar Gerbier, who lectured there for several years on scientific subjects.

The most important of these circles was the group of scientists, who began to meet regularly in 1641 as the " Invisible College." Originally there were two groups, one at Oxford and another in London. The Oxford group included Robert Boyle, Seth Ward, John Wilkins, John Wallis, Jonathan Goddard, Thomas Willis, Ralph Bathurst, Sir William Petty, Sir Christopher Wren, Laurence Rook, Edmund Dickinson and Charles Scarburgh. They were all eminent as scientists and some of them known as Rosicrucians. For instance, Dr. Edmund Dickinson published the *Quintessentia Philosophorum*, one of the Rosicrucian books of the century. Robert Boyle, according to John Evelyn, " was initiated among Spagyrists in Oxford." He introduced into Oxford, in 1659, the noted German Rosicrucian, Peter Stahl (or Sthael). Stahl opened a school of chemistry with a laboratory at Oxford, and among his students had John Wallis, Christopher Wren, John Locke, Ralph Bathurst and Anthony à Wood. The German Rosicrucian, Johann Wülfer, lived in Oxford for seven months with John Wallis in 1675. Seth Ward, John Wallis, Charles Scarburgh, Laurence Rook, Christopher Wren, and Thomas Henshaw were pupils of the mathematician, W. Oughtred, a member of a Rosicrucian Lodge in London, who taught everybody free.

The original members of the London group included Lord Henry Brouncker, Sir Peter Neil, John Evelyn, Thomas Clark, Thomas Henshaw, John Pell and the German refugees, Dr. Ent, Samuel Hartlib, Theodore Haak, J. Hübner, and later Henry Oldenburg and G. R. Weckherlin. John Evelyn used Rosicrucian signs in his diary, and in a letter to R. Boyle says that Solomon's House will hardly be founded in their time, and advocated the foundation of a mathematical college instead. Hartlib and Weckherlin belonged to continental Rosicrucian circles. There is a strong probability, therefore, that the Royal Society, into which the " Invisible College " had developed, was of Rosicrucian origin. It is interesting to note that the first President of the Royal Society, Sir Robert Moray, a later President, Sir Christopher Wren, and some members, such as Elias Ashmole and Robert Samber, were among the first known Freemasons in England. The Society received the Royal Charter in 1662, and many of the returned emigrants joined it, among others, Sir Robert Moray, Sir G. Talbot and Erskin.

The educational activities of these circles centred in the person of Comenius, who came to England, in 1641, on the invitation of Hartlib, or possibly of the Long Parliament itself. Samuel Hartlib wanted to establish a central scientific clearing house, modelled on Bacon's idea of Solomon's House. He called it the *Agency of Learning*, or *Office of Public Address*. He invited many eminent men of that period to write tracts on educational

reform, which he edited and published. Milton's tract *Of Education*, 1644; John Dury's *Reformed Schools*, 1649; and Sir William Petty's *The Advice of W. P. to Mr. Samuel Hartlib for the Advancement of some Particular Parts of Learning*, 1648, were the result. Hartlib was the most untiring of the reformers, and nearly every year proposed some new scheme. Thus he wanted to found a College of Higher Learning, under the name *Atlantis* (Bacon's title), or an agricultural school, under the name of College of Husbandry. All these tracts and projects emphasised scientific and even technical education, and relegated classical studies to a secondary place. Interesting is the suggestion of Petty that " all children, though of the highest rank, be taught some gentile manufacture in their minority," and his enumeration of manual work suitable for that purpose reminds us of Froebel. He was, perhaps, the first of educational reformers to advocate manual work as a means of general education, and not as preparation for some handicraft. Dury, on the other hand, being very keen on the reunion of Christian Churches, emphasised undenominational Christianity as a basis for his reformed schools. All these reformers quite clearly advocated a public system of education in contrast to private or Church schools.

The Royal Society, itself, was a centre of scientific research and educational reform. It was international in its membership and its scope. According to Bishop Spratt, who published the first history of the Society in 1667, " no difference of country, interest or profession of religion " was taken into account by the Society in choosing its members. The title of the Society " for the improving of natural knowledge " showed its purely secular character. As mentioned, the Society did not limit its activities to research and experiments, but was interested in the general diffusion of knowledge and in the reform of education. Joseph Glanvill in his books *Plus Ultra*, *Progress of Science*, 1668, and *On Modern Improvement of Useful Knowledge*, 1675, points out the Royal Society as the best means of diffusion of scientific knowledge in general. It is interesting to note that he uses the sentence " the omniscient Architect of the Great World," which reminds us of the terminology of the Freemasons. He says on page 87 : " That which had usurped the name of philosophy and obtained in the schools was but a combination of general theories and notions, that were concluded rashly without due information from particulars, and spun out into unprofitable niceties, that tend to nothing but dispute and talk and were never like to advance any works for the benefit and use of men." He, it seems, was first to employ the expression—" the diffusion of useful knowledge." One of the first Fellows of the Society, the famous poet, A. Cowley, published in 1661 *A Proposition for the Advancement of Experimental Philosophy*, which was written under the direct influence of Bacon (Cowley mentions Solomon's House). He suggested the foundation of a college with twenty professors and sixteen scholars, who should work experimentally in all branches of pure and applied science. A secondary school of 200 boys should

be attached to it. The boys should be selected according to their abilities from all classes and should be educated free. The college should be undenominational and impartial in politics and religion. Besides Greek, Latin and English authors, the curriculum should include the study of animals and plants from nature. Perhaps the reflexions of Dr. Spratt on education could be taken as representing the views of the Society. He says in his *History* (pages 329–31): "It could be no hindrance to the minds of men if besides those courses of studies which are now followed, there were also trial made of some other more particular ways, to prepare their minds for the world and the business of human life. It is apparent that nothing more suppresses the genius of learners, than the formality and the confinement of the precepts, by which they are instructed. To this purpose I will venture to propose the consideration of wise men, whether this way of teaching by practice and experiments would not at least be as beneficial as the other by universal rules. . . . Whether it were not as profitable to apply the eyes, and the hands of children, to see, and to touch all the several kinds of sensible things, as to oblige them to learn and to remember the difficult doctrines of general Arts? . . We load the minds of children with doctrines and precepts to apprehend which they are most unfit, by reason of the weakness of their understandings; whereas they might with more profit be exercised in the consideration of visible and sensible things, of whose impressions they are most capable because of the strength of their memories and the perfection of their senses."

From the address of Benjamin Jervis, and through all these works, we see the same line of reasoning, which clearly shows a general source of origin, common to all these reformers. In all these circles, however, only one was definitely known as a Rosicrucian lodge. In 1646, Elias Ashmole, William Lilly, the astrologer, William Oughtred, the mathematician, Thomas Warton, a physician, Dr. John Harwitt and Dr. John Pearson, later Bishop of Chester and author of *Biblia Polyglotta*, founded the lodge "Solomon's House," in Mason's Hall, Basinghall Street. Ashmole at the same time was a Freemason, which explains the place of the lodge. As mentioned, beside Ashmole, Sir Robert Moray, Sir Christopher Wren and Robert Samber were both Rosicrucians and Freemasons. Sir Isaac Newton also was a connecting link between the seventeenth century and the Freemasonry of the eighteenth century; whilst he was the President of the Royal Society it became practically a scientific extension of Freemasonry, as not less than forty-three Fellows were masons in 1723.

Freemasonry in the Eighteenth Century

The origin of Freemasonry is as legendary as that of Rosicrucianism. The mediæval guilds of operative masons furnished the historical tradition of their organisation and the name, but the "speculative" character of the Order cannot be explained by a simple development

of craftsmen's lodges. The pansophic ideas and the educational aims were undoubtedly the result of Rosicrucian influence. The individual Rosicrucians, who joined the operative masons in the seventeenth century, introduced these tendencies and brought out the changes in the constitution of masonry adopted by the Grand Lodge of England in 1723. The Czech mason, Vonka, proved the similarity of expressions used in the Constitutions of 1723 and the works of Comenius, and there is hardly a doubt, therefore, of the continuity of the tradition. In Germany and Holland some of the Rosicrucian circles later developed directly into masonic lodges. For instance, the " Crucis Amicorum," founded in the Netherlands by Comenius, accepted the constitution of the English masonry in the eighteenth century. A member of this group, the Bohemian Count Spork, on his return to Prague in 1726, founded the masonic lodge of the " Three Stars." In Germany, the Rosicrucian " Palmorden " (1616) developed into the masonic lodge of " Indissolubilis " of the eighteenth century.

The Constitution says concerning God and Religion : " A Mason is obliged to obey the moral law ; and if he rightly understands the Art, he will never be a stupid Atheist nor an irreligious Libertine (later addition : " nor act against conscience "). But though in ancient times Masons were charged in every country to be of Religion of that country or Nation, whatever it was, yet 'tis now thought more expedient only to oblige them to that Religion in which all men agree, leaving their particular opinions to themselves ; that is to be good Men and true, or Men of Honour and Honesty, by whatever Denominations or Persuasions they may be distinguished ; whereby Masonry becomes the Centres of Union, and the means of conciliating true Friendship among Persons that must have remained at a perpetual distance." In politics masons ought to be loyal citizens, " so that if a Brother should be a Rebel against the State, he is not to be countenanced in his Rebellion, however he may be pitied as an unhappy man ; and if convicted of no other crime, though the loyal Brotherhood must and ought to disown his rebellion, and give no umbrage or ground of political jealousy to the Government for the time being ; they cannot expel him from the Lodge and his relation to it remains indefeasible." The " Religion in which all men agree " is evidently the religion of the English Deists, of whom many were connected with masonry or masonic tradition. It is a known expression of Shaftesbury, that his religion was " in which all wise men agree." John Toland in his *Pantheisticon, seu formula celebrandae Societatis Socraticae*, 1720, describes the rites of his society, which are similar to masonic rites.

The scientific tradition of Rosicrucians was also passed on to Freemasons, and during the eighteenth century they were the pioneers of secular scientific education. The aim of " diffusion of knowledge " was adopted by masons, and this particular expression of Comenius was always used in masonic circles.

Although the masonic Constitution enjoined neutrality in politics

and religion, the masonry of the eighteenth century took sides in both. The minority of masons were Jacobites and Roman Catholics, the majority Whigs and Protestants. After an unsuccessful attempt of the Duke of Wharton, who was irregularly elected Grand Master, to make English masonry a tool of the Jacobite party, and his banishment, the Grand Lodge of England became a stout supporter of the Protestant succession and of Whig politics. The neutrality was only enforced in the nineteenth century, after many individual masons, and even some lodges, were entangled in the Radical movement, connected with the French Revolution and in Ireland even took part in an open rebellion. In education, however, both the Jacobites and the Whigs followed faithfully the Rosicrucian tradition. Both the leader and Grand Master of the Blue Masonry of England, Desaguliers, and the leader of the Jacobite masonry of the Scottish rite, Chevalier Ramsay, supported the new science and influenced the movement of enlightenment considerably.

Groups associated with Masonry

Masonic circles and lodges existed in London even before the Grand Lodge was founded in 1717. Some of the masons never joined the new organisation, but continued to exist as independent lodges. For instance, the *Philo-Musicæ et Architecturæ Societas*, founded in 1724 by the composer Francesco Geminiani (he came to London in 1714), was a masonic organisation, independent of the Grand Lodge. There were twelve lodges connected with this Society. Handel and Count Kielmansegge belonged to this group, which contributed much to the development of music in England.

There was another group, evidently with masonic connections, which petitioned the Lord Mayor, Sir Thomas Rawlinson (father of a well-known mason, Dr. Richard Rawlinson), for the continuation of lectures at Gresham College. The Committee said in the petition: "And although the Royal Society therein residing have contributed very much by their learned labours and discoveries to the benefit of mankind; yet being as it were confined to a narrow compass, and chiefly suited to those of a superior class (spirits of the most exalted nature) and not so well adapted to those of a lower orb, whose capacities cannot suddenly attain to speculations of so sublime and abstruse a nature, as those wherein they are conversant; yet doubtless this excellent Person's (Gresham) Design was, that Learning and Ingenuity should be propagated in a more diffusive manner, and so as it might be insinuated into the meanest capacity, who by a frequent attendances and application, might insensibly imbibe those principles of good literature." The petitioners were granted the greater part of their demands and the lectures were resumed, and continued up to 1768, when the building was sold to the Government for the Excise Office.

Another group of undoubtedly masonic connections founded the famous Kit-Cat Club in 1700. It included the Lord Chancellor, John Somers, President of the Royal Society, and personal friend of

Locke, Tindal, Toland and Sir Isaac Newton. He and another Fellow of the Royal Society, Sir Samuel Garth, M.D., were connected with Rosicrucians of the seventeenth century. Among the younger members of the Kit-Cat Club were two future Grand Masters of Masonry, John, Duke of Montague, and Thomas, Duke of Wharton. Most influential, however, were the two other members of Kit-Cat Club, Sir Richard Steele and Addison. Their famous periodicals, *The Tatler*, *The Spectator*, *The Guardian* and others, were the mouthpiece of that group. The aim of these weeklies was moral and political education of the public. Steele says in *The Spectator* (July 27th, 1711) that he " could heartily wish that all honest men would enter into an association for the support of one another against the endeavours of those whom they ought to look upon as their common enemies whatsoever side they may belong to." Addison says in the tenth *Spectator* : " I shall be ambitious to have it said of me that I have brought philosophy out of closets and libraries, schools and colleges, to dwell in clubs and assemblies, at tea-tables and in coffee-houses." Addison often returned to the subject of educational reform (*Spectator*, N.N. 157, 168 ; *Guardian*, N.N. 62, 73, 94, 155), where he criticised the contemporary methods and advocated individualisation of instruction and a more utilitarian bias. The two editors gathered around these periodicals a group of like-minded people, of whom Jonathan Swift, Alexander Pope, Eustace Budgell (Addison's cousin) and Dr. John Henley were known as masons. Dr. J. Henley, the famous eccentric divine, founded the " Oratory," where he lectured from 1726 to 1756 to the general public on miscellaneous subjects. He also criticised the educational methods and advocated individualisation and vocational bias. At the same time Jonathan Swift, Dr. J. Arbuthnot, A. Pope and the well-known statesman and Deist, Lord Bolingbroke, founded the Brothers' Society " in 1709, later known as the " Scribblers Club." This group founded a " Society for the Encouragement of Learning " (1710–14). The principal Fellows of the Royal Society of this time (1709) used to meet every Thursday at a tavern in Cornhill as a secret club of *Virtuosi* for advancement of learning and experiment. One of the masonic writers (Knapp, *The Genius of Masonry*, 1828) mentions that during the reign of Queen Anne many of the lodges had lecturers, who " were learned men and gave exhibition of skill in the arts and sciences."

All these activities happened before organised masonry came into being in 1717. The organisation of separate lodges into the Grand Lodge, which became the centre of the international masonry, was the work of Dr. John Theophilus Desaguliers, a French Huguenot by origin. He was educated at Oxford and in 1710 was appointed a lecturer in natural philosophy at Hart Hall. Here he followed the experimental method of his predecessor, Dr. J. Keil, and perfected it. In 1712 he moved to London and was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1714, and evidently at the same time was initiated into Freemasonry. Intimate contact with

Sir Isaac Newton, and other representatives of the Rosicrucian tradition, directed his attention to the idea of diffusion of knowledge. He started a course of public lectures in 1713, for the general public for the first time in Europe. In his advertisement of 1725 he says : " Whereby any one, although unskilled in mathematical sciences, may be able to understand all those phenomena of Nature, which have been discovered by geometrical principles or accounted for by experiments. . . . The experiments made at the first lecture prove the precepts given at the second, and so on ; things which otherwise would be merely speculative, being by this means rendered objects of the senses, and better understood in a month or six weeks, than in a year's close application to books only." He lectured on all branches of physics, astronomy and pure and applied mathematics. The lectures were delivered in English, French and Latin, and his audiences included all classes of society from the King and his courtiers to craftsmen and clerks. In 1739, Desaguliers moved to a lodging in Bedford Coffee House, Covent Garden, which for years was a meeting-place of the Fellows of the Royal Society and Freemasons. Here he continued his lectures up to the time of his death in 1744. As a Grand Master of Masonry, and its intellectual leader, he imparted to the Society that speculative character which made it the centre of the movement of enlightenment. His example was followed by others, and the Cambridge professor, William Whiston, expelled from Cambridge for heresy, also started public lectures in London with the help of Steele and Addison, probably in 1725. A personal friend of Sir Isaac Newton and Desaguliers, the famous mathematician, James Stirling, gave public lectures at the same Coffee House, during 1725–35. His lectures were connected, however, with the Academy in the Little Temple Street, which was quite a new venture.

This institution of secondary and higher learning was not connected with any religious body, and, in contrast to many dissenting Academies, had purely secular aims. It was started in 1715, by a teacher of mathematics, Thomas Watts, as a school for young clerks. In 1720, Watts was joined by Benjamin Worster, a Cambridge M.A., who gave to the school a more scientific character. In 1722, Worster published *The Principles of Natural Philosophy*, following closely Desagulier's lectures. From his Preface it is evident that lectures on experimental lines encountered strong opposition from universities and the clergy (W. Whiston was expelled from Cambridge, and probably Desaguliers migrated from Oxford because of this opposition). Worster says : " The great objection against all enquiries into nature is, that they are dangerous, and many times prejudicial to religion. . . . It is industriously propagated by many persons, who ought to know better." This opposition of scientific education to the prevalent classical curriculum of the grammar schools and universities is also evident from the advertisements of the Academy, which said : " Young gentlemen are completely qualified for business after a new and approved

method free from the interruptions and loss of time in common schools." The curriculum included mathematics, physics, book-keeping, French, drawing and English, and later Latin. After the death of Worster new lecturers were invited, among whom were W. Vream, the assistant of Desaguliers, and James Stirling, F.R.S. It is interesting to note that Stirling was appointed through the offices of Sir Isaac Newton and Desaguliers. The famous poet, James Thomson, a mason, was also a tutor of the Academy, when, in 1726, he resided there with his pupil, Lord George Graham, son of the Duke of Montrose, who later was the Grand Warden of the Grand Lodge of England. The students were of various ages. Watts says in his advertisement of 1722: "The proper age for education here is from about thirteen or fourteen upwards; and the young gentlemen are not only such as are immediately designed for trades, merchandise, the sea, clerkships in offices or to attorneys, or any other employment in business at home or abroad; but those in general who are not designed for the Universities, or while they study there intend to spend their vacations in learning accounts and mathematics or in getting through the courses of experimental philosophy." We see that the Academy combined vocational education with general scientific aims and consciously avoided any imitation of university curriculum (Latin was taught, however). It was the first secular organised institution on modern lines, and it had evident masonic connections. It flourished for about twenty years.

In the middle of the eighteenth century masons were responsible for several schemes for the advancement of knowledge. Thus, in 1735, a "Society for the Encouragement of Learning" was founded at Rainbow Coffee House "to institute a republic of letters for the promoting of Arts and Sciences." In 1765, some masons petitioned the King for permission to establish an Academy of Arts. Both these schemes were abortive, but the third took root. In 1755, William Shipley founded the "Society for the Promotion of Arts." The first meeting of the founders took place in the Masonic Bedford Coffee House, and the first President of the Society was the Grand Master, the Earl of Morton. Among the members were Franklin, Desagulier's son and other masons. The Society developed into the Royal Society of Arts and Crafts and had a great influence on the subsequent progress of education, not only in England but abroad.

Another movement, which also was sponsored by masons, was the publication of Encyclopædias. Ephraim Chambers, the editor of the Chambers Cyclopædia in 1728, was a mason. The French Encyclopædia was started by French masons in 1751 on the initiative of Chevalier Alexander Ramsay, the Grand Orator of Masonry, after his famous oration of 1738 on scientific enlightenment. The *Encyclopædia Britannica* was started with others by Andrew Bell, a mason, in 1768.

The last scientific institution of the eighteenth century had also masonic connections. In 1799, the Royal Institution was founded

by the American Benjamin Thompson, known as Count Rumford. In his letter of February 7th, 1799, he speaks about the " scheme for forming a new Establishment in London for diffusing the knowledge of useful mechanical improvements, etc." In the prospectus of 1800 Rumford says : " The two chief purposes of the Institution were speedy and general diffusion of the knowledge of all new and useful improvements in whatever quarter of the world they may originate : the application of scientific discoveries to the improvements of arts and manufactures in this country and the increase of domestic comfort and convenience." Among the first patrons were Sir Joseph Banks, the President of the Royal Society, and the Earl of Morton, both masons. The first professor of the Institution was Dr. Thomas Garnett, who had been a lecturer on natural philosophy in the Glasgow Andersonian Institution, which also had masonic connections.

We should mention also the two provincial societies, which propagated the ideas of enlightenment in the eighteenth century. In 1768, the Lunar Society at Birmingham was established ; among its members were Joseph Priestley, Erasmus Darwin, Matthew Boulton, James Watt, Josiah Wedgwood, R. L. Edgeworth and others. The Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, 1781, it seems, was of Unitarian origin and was founded by the members of Warrington Academy (A. Aiken and Dr. Thomas Percival ; the latter was a mason).

New Forces in the Nineteenth Century

In the nineteenth century masonry did not play such an important rôle in educational movements as in the eighteenth. As mentioned above, the neutral position in politics and religion was enforced on the lodges, and masons could only take part in educational controversies in their individual capacities. Secondly, new forces emerged which were absent in the eighteenth century. At first, Unitarians, Quakers and Presbyterians and, later, the remaining dissenters, went over from the camp of denominational education to that of a State national system. Without that defection of the dissenting Churches the secular party was too weak to achieve any reform in education. The secular movement itself was considerably changed. Represented in the eighteenth century by a few deistic philosophers and the masonic intelligentsia, the secular movement at the end of the century reached the masses. The aristocratic clubs, like the Kit-Cat Club in the beginning or the Whig Club in the middle of the century, gave way to organisations of working men, such as the Corresponding Society, at the end of the eighteenth century. According to the testimony of Francis Place, many members of that Society were deists, or even atheists. For them no compromise with the Churches was possible, and they demanded a purely secular public system. The activities and publications of Robert Owen, the father of British socialism, consolidated the vague aspirations of the working men into an organised movement which

boldly adopted Socialism as its aim. Thus, three definite groups were formed which demanded an undenominational State system. The intelligentsia, led by Jeremy Bentham Brougham and the two Mills, known as the " education-mad party," continued the tradition of the eighteenth century and demanded State action and non-sectarian education from general humanitarian reasons. The Unitarians, the Quakers and, later, other dissenters, demanded it as the only safeguard against the domination of the Church. The Labour Movement, as a protest against the inequality of educational opportunity, demanded a democratic national system free from any Church control, which always tended to a class policy in favour of the privileged groups. These three currents of the secular tradition can be distinguished quite clearly, although in practice their representatives often joined forces, and many of them belonged to two or even all three groups. It is difficult, therefore, to treat each group separately, since much repetition would result. We shall, instead, follow the development of secular tradition chronologically, distinguishing elementary, secondary and higher education.

The Secular Tradition in Elementary Education

Joseph Lancaster was a dissenter, and at first was supported by dissenters, especially Quakers, whose community he joined. His movement was of Puritan origin, and acquired a definitely secular character later when the Benthamites took the lead. In 1808, Lancaster, Fox, a Baptist, and Corston, a Moravian, started a Society with vague philanthropic aims, of which the education of the poor formed only a part. In 1810, however, the Duke of Bedford, Brougham, Whitbread, Romilly and James Mill, formed a Committee which took the management out of the hands of Lancaster, who had proved incompetent. In 1814, Lancaster resigned, and the Society adopted the name of the *British and Foreign School Society*, which propagated Lancasterian methods and unsectarian education in all countries of Europe and America. It was supported by Puritans, including even Evangelicals of the Established Church, by Benthamites and masons, and by Radical representatives of the incipient Labour Movement, such as Francis Place and Robert Owen. While the Puritans insisted on the religious and Christian character of the schools, the Benthamites and the Radicals wanted to make them secular. In 1813, Francis Place and James Mill founded the West London Lancasterian Society as a branch of the parent body. There was, however, a noticeable change in regulations. The original Lancasterian Society had a rule, that no reading lesson whatever should be given, except from the Bible. This rule was now changed and a statement submitted that " of religious books the Bible alone without gloss or comment written or spoken will be read." Another rule that all children were to be taken to some place of worship on Sundays was also omitted. This attempt to

secularise the movement caused a bitter opposition from the Puritan partners, and in the end Place resigned and his regulations were rescinded. Place, with the help of Bentham, wanted to develop the schools on national lines into a complete system of primary and secondary schools and with a more modern curriculum. After his resignation, the Society accepted undenominational Christianity as the basis and limited its activities to elementary schools and the training of teachers. In 1816, it had 205 schools for boys and 74 for girls, and in 1851 the number of schools rose to 852. After the Education Act, 1870, the British and Foreign Society's schools were gradually transferred to the School Boards.

Another important move towards a secular public system was the result of Robert Owen's activities and writings. Owen, in his *New View of Society*, 1815, gave a complete scheme for a national system of education. He advocated Government control of schools and teachers' training. The national system should be undenominational and should " train children in good practical habits," preparing them for future vocations. His own school in New Lanark served as a model for the infant schools established in England. A Committee was formed in 1818, including James Mill, Brougham and Zachary Macaulay, which promoted the establishment of undenominational infant schools throughout England. Robert Owen, unfortunately, spoiled his chances of becoming an educational leader by his public declaration at a City meeting in 1817, in which he denounced all religious denominations. He lost the support of Puritans and went to America to try a Socialist experiment there. Owen's ideas found a fertile soil among the working men. The trade-union movement was not only concerned with the amelioration of the economic position of manual workers, but demanded a national system of education. It found its best expression in William Lovett's address on education, prepared for the Working Men's Association of London, in 1837. He demanded a State-controlled and publicly maintained school system. In 1839, however, he repudiated Government control and advocated the syndicalist principle of co-operative administration. In 1848, Lovett opened a secular school at National Hall, in Holborn. Another similar school was opened by William Ellis at the London Mechanics' Institute. Both schools introduced scientific branches into the curriculum. William Ellis opened several more secular schools in London and in the provinces. In 1878 four of these schools still existed; later they were absorbed in the Board's schools.

In 1848 the Working Men's Association for promoting secular Education published a pamphlet under the title " Not Charity, but Justice," in which it demanded the equality of opportunity for the children of the working class.

The importance of State control was emphasised by Sir Thomas Wyse, the promoter of the Irish National system. In 1830, he founded the Central Society of Education which advocated the establishment of a national system similar to that of Ireland.

Wyse wrote, in 1837, that " the great defect of English education . . . is the total want of national organisation. . . . The voluntary system of public instruction, with no central power to guide, aid or control, has not only not worked well, but worked nearly as ill as any system well could." In 1837, Brougham introduced a Bill for setting up an Educational Department and was supported by Wyse, but the Bill was lost by four votes. As a compromise, the Special Committee of the Privy Council was created in 1839 " for the consideration of all matters affecting the education of the people." Although the new Committee had very limited powers, and practically left the Churches in control of education, it was an important measure as a starting-point for subsequent State intervention in the administration of schools.

After London, Manchester was the most important centre of the secular movement. As mentioned above, in 1781 a Literary and Philosophic Society was founded by Aiken and Dr. Thomas Percival. Percival, a Unitarian and a mason, set up the Manchester Board of Health in 1796, which drew public attention to the unhealthy conditions in the factories and the need of education for the child workers. Robert Owen was also associated with Percival in this work during his stay in Manchester. In the nineteenth century the Philosophic Society continued its philanthropic work and gave rise to other societies. The Unitarian family of Gregs had been connected with the Philosophic Society since 1817, and all three brothers, Robert, Samuel and William, were pioneers in philanthropy and education.[1] In 1837, the Gregs, Dr. James Kay (afterwards Sir J. Kay-Shuttleworth), W. Langton and Sir Benjamin Heywood, grandson of Thomas Percival, founded the Manchester Statistical Society and the *Society for Promoting National Education*. W. Langton was the founder of the Manchester Athenæum in 1836, and Sir Benjamin Heywood was the founder and the first President of the Manchester Mechanics Institute, opened in 1825. The Reports of the Manchester Statistical Society on all social questions and education drew the attention of the Government to the unsatisfactory state of affairs. The Society for Promoting National Education on the basis of these reports advocated a national non-sectarian system. In 1838 the Society opened three schools to which children of all creeds were admitted. The Society presented to the House of Commons a petition for the reform of education signed by 24,000 persons. In 1847, a new Society was formed in Manchester. The Scottish educational reformer, Dr. W. Hodgson, who since 1839 had been the Secretary of the Liverpool Mechanics' Institute, went to Manchester and started the movement for secular rate-supported education. He was joined by a group of Puritans, William McKerron, a Scottish minister, Samuel Lucas, a Quaker, and John Watts, who was educated at Glasgow in the Andersonian Institute.

[1] Robert Greg was one of the founders of the Royal Manchester Institution.

They founded the *Lancashire Public School Association* for the promotion of secular rate-supported education. In 1850, two members of Parliament, R. Cobden and W. E. Forster, took an active part in it and the Association became a national organisation. They advocated free schools, supported by rates and managed by local committees elected by rate-payers. The schools were " to impart secular instruction only, leaving to parents, guardians and religious teachers the inculcation of doctrinal religion." The Society prepared a Bill, which was introduced into the House of Commons in 1852. The Government, in 1853, appointed a Select Committee " to inquire into the state of education in the municipal boroughs of Manchester and Salford." The Bill was introduced for a second time, but without any immediate result. In connection with the movement secular schools were opened at Manchester. The first was founded by the Order of Oddfellows in 1851. The second was started at Salford in 1853. The Association, itself, opened the Model Secular School in 1854, where physiology and social science were taught. The school applied for State grants, but was refused on the ground that the Bible was not read to the pupils. In 1861, the Committee, having no funds, was compelled to include the Bible in the curriculum, received the grant, and the school became a State-inspected public school, under the name of Manchester Free School. In 1871 the Code was revised and secular schools were made eligible for grants as the compulsory reading of the Bible was no more required. The Association practically ceased to exist in 1854, but a Committee continued to work and prepared the two Bills, introduced in 1867 and 1868 by Bruce and Forster. In this way the Association prepared the way for the Act of 1870.

A new impetus to the secular movement came from the Continent. In 1863, Jean Macé founded the *Ligue de l'Enseignement* in France and Belgium. Similar associations were formed in other continental countries. They started a vigorous campaign for a secular system of education controlled by the State. In 1867, a similar group was formed in Birmingham by the Mayor, George Dixon. In 1869, Dixon, in association with Joseph Chamberlain, Jesse Collings and other Radicals, founded the National Education League, with the object of establishing a national undenominational system, maintained by rates, supplemented by State grants, and under the management of local authorities. They proposed to give the local authorities the power to introduce free and compulsory education. In the same year (1869) a Trades Union Congress was held at Birmingham, which passed the following resolution : " That this Congress believes that nothing short of a national, unsectarian, and compulsory education will satisfy the people of the United Kingdom." When, after the reform of 1867, a Liberal Government gave charge of educational legislation to W. E. Forster, the Radicals thought that their hour had arrived. Forster, however, in spite of his previous support of secular schemes, had to take into account the existing denominational system which was educating about one

and a half million children. The League represented only a section of the population; the rival organisation, the National Union, had the solid support of the Anglicans and Catholics and of the House of Lords. In these circumstances, the Act of 1870 was necessarily a compromise. The Church system continued to develop under the old conditions, but new local authorities, School Boards, were created, which could found undenominational schools, maintained by rates and State grants. The League fought bravely against the principle of dual control, but all the efforts of Dixon were defeated in the House of Commons. Embittered by the change of attitude in the ranks of the Liberal Party, the League adopted in 1872 a purely secular platform, excluding even the Bible from their programme, and agitated against any public support of denominational schools. The struggle was vigorously conducted in every School Board, and although the secularists did not succeed in their chief aim, they promoted the activities of the new Boards and the public undenominational system came into being, side by side with the Church system. With the passing of compulsory attendance in 1876, the League was disbanded and the dual system was accepted by the nation as a permanent feature of the educational system. The efforts of the secular party were directed now to a new goal—secondary education for all.

Secondary Education

We have seen that the secular tradition tended towards a more scientific and practical secondary education in contrast to the usual classical curriculum of the traditional grammar schools. The Academy in Little Tower Street was the first organised school on these lines. We could not trace any other modern secondary school of secular origin up to the third decade of the nineteenth century. In the twenties of the last century a new movement for popular education resulted in the foundation of hundreds of so-called Mechanics' Institutes, in connection with which day schools were often started. To all intents and purposes these schools were secondary, and not elementary, institutions.

Perhaps the first secular secondary school at Liverpool could be traced as far back as 1819. In 1814, the Liverpool Royal Institution was founded "to diffuse literature, science and arts." A school was founded in 1819 by the proprietors, which included subjects of a secondary school curriculum. The President of the Royal Institution, Sir Benjamin Heywood, founded in 1825 the Liverpool Mechanics' Institute, where classes in science, languages, drawing, etc., were held. In 1835, Heywood and the Director of the Institute, the Scottish scientist, Dr. Traill, founded a commercial day school for boys. Brougham laid the foundation-stone, and Sir Thomas Wyse took an active part. In 1837, another school of a more definitely secondary standard was opened in Mount Street. Both schools were unsectarian. "It should be the leading object

with the masters to infuse into the minds of the boys a truly Christian and philanthropic spirit, to teach them notwithstanding all differences in religion or politics to look upon all men as their brethren," said the prospectus. Dr. Hodgson, later a professor at Edinburgh, was the principal of the school from 1844 to 1847, when he went to Manchester. The school prospered, and still exists as one of the best secondary schools in Liverpool.

A similar school with commercial and scientific subjects was established in connection with the Manchester Mechanics' Institute, practically by the same group of men, Hodgson being the headmaster from 1847 to 1856. After 1857, the school became an organised secondary school, and later was included in the national system. Many other Mechanics' Institutes had classes which at a later period grew into science classes subsidised by the Government and included in the local authorities' system. Another well-known secondary school was founded in connection with the establishment of the University of London. Among the founders were Place and Brougham and other Benthamites. It was opened in 1830 as the first secular school in London. There was no religious teaching, but science, modern languages, drawing and other new subjects were included. The methods were based on experiments and the boys were allowed a certain choice of subjects. The school still exists as the University College School, and during the last century its modern curriculum and methods served as an example in the struggle for the reform of secondary education. In 1848, the example of the unsectarian University College led to the foundation of the Bedford Square College, which later developed into Bedford College for Women.

In the middle of the nineteenth century the secular movement was closely allied with the movement for the introduction of scientific subjects into the school curriculum. George Combe, Herbert Spencer, Thomas Huxley and many lesser lights were leaders of both movements. On one side were aligned the old public schools and the High Church party, on the other the secularists and scientists. The Puritans held the balance, and by joining forces with the scientists they decided the issue. New secondary schools which grew out of science classes were both unsectarian and scientific. The later development of secondary education under the Local Authorities, created in 1902, followed the same lines.

Higher and Adult Education

The development of higher and adult education in the nineteenth century owes its origin to the secular tradition. The University of London and most of its colleges, the modern English universities, and many institutions for adult education, were all initiated by men who openly deplored the denominational strife among the Churches and wanted to free education from religious control. All three groups mentioned above, the Benthamites and their successors,

the Puritans and the representatives of the working class, took an active part in the movement for higher education.

The Mechanics' Institutes Movement had its origin in Scotland. Professor Anderson started his lectures to an " antitoga " class in the seventies of the eighteenth century. In 1796, according to his bequest, the Andersonian Institution was founded, and Dr. George Birkbeck was appointed as Professor of Natural History in 1799. That institution is the acknowledged parent of all later Mechanics' Institutes. If we consider that Birkbeck was in Paris in 1802 and in the same year was visited at Glasgow by a professor of the Paris Lyceum, and that the French example of naming such institutions *Lycée* or *Athénée* was followed in England, we can suggest a close connection between the two movements. We shall return to this question in the section on America. Birkbeck left Glasgow in 1804, and after lecturing in many towns settled in London. Here, in 1809, he became one of the founders of the London Institution " for the diffusion of science, literature and arts," where he lectured in 1820 and 1823. In co-operation with Francis Place, Brougham, and other Benthamites, Birkbeck founded the London Mechanics' Institute, which served as a model for hundreds of similar institutions under various names as Lyceum, Athenæum, Institutes, etc. In 1825, about forty English towns followed the example of London. Later regional associations were formed. The Yorkshire Union of Mechanics' Institutes, established in 1837, embraced no less than 133 institutions. Lancashire and Cheshire formed their own Association of Mechanics' Institutes. East Lancashire, with its twelve institutes, formed an independent union. The Southern Counties Adult Education Society united about thirty institutes and many schools. The institutes started classes in all possible subjects for adult workers, and later started day schools for boys. We mentioned above their activities as pioneers of secular secondary schools in England. Usually the institutes were closely connected with Literary or Philosophical Societies, which were founded at that period in all large towns. Thus, in London, the City of London Literary and Scientific Society and the Western Literary and Scientific Society, both founded in 1825, were closely connected with the Mechanics' Institute. Their object was the diffusion of useful knowledge amongst persons engaged in commercial and professional pursuits." The poet Thomas Campbell was the President, and both Birkbeck and Place took an active part in their work.

The most famous and influential of these societies was the " Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge," organised by Brougham in 1826. Its object was " the imparting of useful information to all classes of the community, particularly to such as are unable to avail themselves of experienced teachers." Religion was banned. Brougham said : " We avoid direct part in Church and State, but we openly profess to preach peace, liberty and absolute toleration." The Society published many valuable tracts on scientific subjects and issued a popular *Penny Magazine*, which

appeared first in 1832, under the editorship of Charles Knight, and lasted till 1845. Next the *Penny Cyclopædia* was published. Among many other publications, the *Quarterly Journal of Education* (1831–6) was important as the first attempt at a scientific and statistical study of education in England. In 1833, Brougham started the Society for the Diffusion of Political and Moral Knowledge. His associates were the group of Benthamites, including Goldsmid, Lord John Russell, J. Mill, Lubbock, G. Grote and S. Romilly. They wanted to publish a periodical called *Citizen*, but, apart from a few lectures delivered by Brougham, the activities of the second Society did not continue. The Society was dissolved in 1836.

The majority of the Mechanics' Institutes, after a period of initial success, gradually lost the support of the workers, and many disappeared. But some of them grew into recognised institutions of university standing, the most notable cases being the Birkbeck College in London and the Technological College in Manchester.

The same group of men—Thomas Campbell, Place, Birkbeck, Brougham, Goldsmid and others—started the movement for the establishing of a university in London. They were joined by a group of Puritan dissenters, and the result was the foundation of the University in 1826. The University was based upon the principle that there were not to be " any religious tests, or doctrinal forms, which would oppose a barrier to the education of any sect among His Majesty's subjects." In 1827, the Council, after " many long and anxious deliberations," declared that it " found impossible to unite the free admission to persons of all religious denominations with any plan of theological instruction, or any form of religious discipline." The example of the London University was followed by many institutions for higher learning. In London, Bedford College for Women, when incorporated in 1869, clearly stated its object to be " to provide liberal education for women, such education not to extend beyond secular subjects."

The Owens College of Manchester, opened in 1850, in accordance with the will of the founder, John Owens, was also secular. " Nothing was to be introduced into the teaching of a theological or religious character," said Owens. The Liverpool University College, founded in 1881, also stated " no theological teaching shall be given."

Mason's College at Birmingham, founded in 1875 and opened in 1880, and Yorkshire College, founded at Leeds in 1874, were at first purely scientific institutions. The charters and constitutions of all new universities when granted adopted fully the principles of unsectarian education and freedom from any clerical connection.

II. Secular Tradition in Scotland

Higher Education

The Scottish school of philosophy is usually distinguished from the English, although the relation was very intimate and the influence

of both schools extended throughout the whole of the English-speaking world. Francis Hutcheson, the founder of the Scottish school, follows Shaftesbury in his main conclusions and separates morality from religion. As a teacher in his own Academy at Dublin, and later as a professor of Glasgow University, he advocated undenominational education, and, as mentioned above, influenced not only the next generation of Scottish divines, but the English and Irish dissenters as well. His pupil and successor, Adam Smith, shared Hutcheson's aversion to religious dogma and intolerance of the Churches and advocated a State-controlled system with compulsory legislation. The last representative of the Scottish School, David Hume, arrived at a still more radical conclusion. For him religion is a disturbing factor which only distorts the moral vision of the practical reason or common sense. His sceptical opinions concerning the existence of God, however, were of little influence in Puritanical Scotland. The speculations of Scottish philosophers were debated in masonic clubs and societies and thus became the property of the nation. In the eighteenth century several societies promoted secular education in Scotland. The Philosophical Society, instituted in 1731, with Lord Kames as its chief inspiration, was responsible for Adam Smith's public lectures at Edinburgh during the years 1748–51. The Select Society, to which both Kames and Smith belonged, was started in 1752. The most important, however, was the Speculative Society in Edinburgh, founded in 1763. All the leading lights in law, politics and literature belonged to it. The official aim of the Society was the encouragement of literature and science, but questions concerning religion, politics and educational reform were also discussed. Lord Brougham was one of the eminent members; Benjamin Constant, the French reformer, took an active part, and Lord Jeffrey, the editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, was one of its leaders. Perhaps the views of the Society were best reflected in the articles of the *Edinburgh Review* in the thirties, which by their merciless criticism of the antiquated syllabus and methods furthered considerably the reform of higher education.

As mentioned above, the movement of Mechanics' Institutes was started in Scotland. John Anderson, Professor of Natural Philosophy at Glasgow University, was a Radical and a secularist, who even presented his invention of a new cannon to the French National Assembly. He died in 1796, and according to his will, the Andersonian Institution for the education of mechanics was founded. Birkbeck, as its professor, reorganised the courses and attracted the attention of the working class to scientific education. The Andersonian Institution had close connections with the Paris Lyceum, and the influence was mutual. Baron Charles Dupin, member of the French Academy of Science, visited it twice, in 1817 and 1824, and later started a similar movement in France. Benjamin Constant, a professor of the Paris Lyceum, was also interested in the Institution. In 1823, the mechanics seceded from the Andersonian In-

stitution and founded an independent Mechanics' Institute. Later they again were combined and developed into the Glasgow Royal Technical College.

Nature of the Undenominational Issue

The struggle for an undenominational State system was not so acute as in England. Scotland had possessed a national system of parochial schools for more than a century. The control of the system by the established Church did not prevent the dissenting Presbyterians from making use of it. We have seen that the differences between the various Scottish Churches were not doctrinal but purely administrative, and that the school systems of various Presbyterian bodies were in practice undenominational. In the Scottish religious dissensions there was nothing resembling that deep rift such as existed between the Church of England and the English Puritans. In these circumstances, the demand for an undenominational State system could not arouse such bitter enmity by the established Church as was the case in England. And the demand for a purely secular system could not find a large following among the Puritan Scots. It might even be said that the Scottish reformers found readier response in England than at home. A professor of Edinburgh University, James Pillans, who since 1826 in his lectures and addresses had advocated a reform of educational methods and an undenominational State system, used to come to Manchester and Liverpool to deliver his addresses. W. Hodgson, as we have seen, was active in Liverpool and Manchester before he was appointed to a chair at Edinburgh, and it was not until 1875 that he was elected President of the Educational Institute of Scotland and thus became recognised as the leader of the Scottish teachers. Brougham spent all his energy in England, and only occasionally intervened in Scottish affairs. The most active propagator of secular education, George Combe, influenced England and America more than Scotland. Mechanics' Institutes, started first in Scotland, found a more fertile soil in England. Thus, if we wish to appreciate the results of the Scottish secular movement, we must look for them outside Scotland, since secularism did not take root there, in spite of the tireless energy of G. Combe.

The Foundation of a National Secular System

Combe began his lectures on phrenology and education in 1830. In 1832, these led to the foundation of the Philosophical Association or Institution, a society for the popularisation of science. In 1835, he and James Simpson founded the "Edinburgh Society for diffusing moral and economical knowledge." In 1848, Combe and Simpson opened the Secular School in Edinburgh. A Mr. Williams was selected as head teacher and the school was known as Williams' School. It existed only for six years, although its success was

pronounced. The removal of Williams to another school, and the death of Simpson in 1854, led to its closure. Combe, however, continued his campaign up to his death in 1858. In Glasgow, the Western Academy was founded in 1842, but, after an original success, had to be given up owing to a strong opposition. Combe, however, founded the Glasgow Sunday Education Association in 1849, which opened a secular school. Another association, the Glasgow Secular School Society, was formed in 1850, and founded the first Day Secular School. In 1853, the Society opened another secular school in Carlton Place. A third group, the Glasgow Public School Association, presented, in 1854, a Memorial to the Government requesting the establishing of a national secular system. All these efforts, however, led to no lasting results, since, although the Scottish system had become undenominational, it had retained its religious Puritan character. Of all Scottish religious bodies, the most liberal was the United Presbyterian Church, which grew out of the earlier secessionists. Whereas the established Church retained the lairds and the poorer rural population, the United Presbyterians were largely the burgher class which was closely connected with the rise of the Watt Institutions and the spread of literary and scientific knowledge. Without being secularists they advocated a State undenominational system. One of their leaders, a Presbyterian divine, Dr. James Taylor, had been active in this respect in Glasgow since 1847. In 1872 he was appointed the Secretary of the Scottish Board of Education, and it is owing largely to his labours that the Act of 1872 has worked so smoothly and resulted in the present national undenominational system. As we pointed out above, the Burgh schools were secularised gradually, and the last connection with the Church was abolished in the sixties. The universities were also secularised gradually and without the kind of struggle which resembled the English fight for the non-secularisation of Oxford and Cambridge.

III. The Secular Tradition in Ireland

Perhaps the Academy of Francis Hutcheson at Dublin at the beginning of the eighteenth century can be considered as the first undenominational institution in Ireland. But it existed for a short period only, and did not influence the Irish educational system. The beginning of the undenominational system of Ireland is connected with the family of La Touche. They were of Huguenot origin and played an important rôle in Dublin at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. The eldest brother, David La Touche, was a Member of Parliament for many years and the head of a family banking firm. In 1767, he was Deputy Grand Master of the Irish Freemasonry; in 1772, he was the founder and treasurer of the Kildare Street .Club and in 1801–17 the President of the Royal Dublin Society. His brothers, Peter and John, were both Grand Wardens of the Grand Lodge of

Ireland, and both took a prominent part in Irish affairs. In 1786, the brothers La Touche founded the first undenominational school in Dublin, which later developed into the West Dublin Model School. More than thirty thousand pupils of all creeds attended this school during the first twenty years of its existence. It served as an example for the later Kildare Place Society.

Influence of the Kildare Place Society

In 1811, a group of Dublin citizens, led by the La Touches and a Quaker, Samuel Bewley, organised a meeting for the formation of a society for the education of the poor. The resolutions of this meeting resulted in the foundation of the so-called Kildare Place Society (officially known as the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor of Ireland), with the aim of establishing schools on an undenominational basis open to all creeds. All denominations were represented, including the Roman Catholics. Joseph Lancaster was also present, and thus his method was associated with the new society. At that time the Catholics expected the speedy grant of emancipation and therefore were not yet hostile to the Government. Daniel O'Connell, himself a prominent and active mason, still believed in conciliation and furthered the mutual approach between the Catholics and Protestants. He became one of the active members of the Kildare Place Society and supported its undenominational system.

The Society petitioned Parliament for building grants in 1815 and received the first grant of £6,980 in the same year, which was spent on the new building in Kildare Place (hence the usual name). The aim of the Society was stated in the petition as " education for all classes of professing Christians, without interfering with the peculiar religious opinions of any . . . the Scriptures without note or comment to be used, excluding all catechisms and books of religious controversy." The vote of Parliament promoted by Sir Robert Peel opened the way for State support of education and served as a precedent for later English practice. The Society took the West Dublin School as a model, and invited from England J. Veevers, on the recommendation of the British and Foreign Society, to organise its schools and the training of teachers according to Lancaster's methods. When Catholics were disappointed in their expectations and the Government refused to enact the emancipation, the connection of the Kildare Place Society with the Government became an obstacle to Catholic support. Unfortunately the Society subsidised schools of other Societies, which were openly proselytising and used the name and prestige of the Kildare Place Society for their denominational purposes. This led to the defection of O'Connell and other Catholics, and O'Connell started an embittered campaign against the schools of the Society.

In these circumstances the system of the Society was doomed, as it was forced to support, against the intentions of the Society, a

system restricted to the Protestant minority. The Government recognised the failure and withdrew its support. However, the Kildare Place Society had shown the way, and the new national system, inaugurated in 1831 by Lord Stanley, was built upon the same principles of undenominational instruction and the reading of the Bible without note or comment.

The Foundation of a National System

The real initiator of the national system was Thomas Wyse, the Member of Parliament for Waterford. In 1830, he submitted to the Government a plan for national education in Ireland which comprised primary, secondary and university stages. The main principles were the following: Catholics and Protestants should be educated in the same schools in order to prepare future citizens for a common country. Religious instruction should be given separately to each persuasion by their respective clergymen in a separate building or room and on a specified day. A national Board of Education, composed of representatives of all creeds, should administer the whole system. The Government should support the schools by regular grants. Lord Stanley took the plan of Mr. Wyse as a basis for his Bill, which was enacted in 1831. Thus the national system of Ireland supplanted the Kildare Place Society, whose schools were gradually absorbed. The only important innovation was the separate religious instruction, which was absent in the Society's schools. We have seen in a previous chapter that the Catholic hierarchy at first supported the national schools and later changed its attitude. In spite of the declared boycott, however, the Catholics attended the national schools in large numbers and the system took root and became the basis of all later developments. The undenominational character of the schools, however, has gradually disappeared, as both the Catholics and the Protestants preferred schools under the management of their respective clergymen. With the exception of a few model schools, the whole system became denominationally segregated, and in practice, the parish priests as school managers appointed and dismissed teachers. The principle of separation of secular and religious instruction was officially retained, but the main aim of teaching Catholics and Protestants in the same schools was not realised, and the two communities are as segregated at present as before.

The Irish Revival Movement

A new secular tradition has grown gradually from the movement started at the end of the eighteenth century by the United Irishmen. The leaders of this Society were both masons and Protestants, whereas the majority of members were Catholics. Religious questions were relegated to a secondary place, and in the forefront of their policy was put the ideal of national independence. This republican and national tradition was taken over by the Fenians in

nominational Schools which any class of persons have by law in the Province at the Union." Thus Ontario and Quebec were both prohibited from secularisation of separate schools. The position of the Western Provinces was different. At the time of Union they were not yet organised as provinces, and did not possess a separate school system. This fact enabled British Columbia to introduce a secular public system on the lines of the American States. It also enabled Manitoba, after a prolonged struggle, to insist on a secular system. Only Saskatchewan and Alberta have a small number of separate Catholic schools. In this struggle against denominationalism an important rôle was played by Canadian Orangemen. They supported Brown and his party, and they led the secularists of the Prairie Provinces.

VI. The Secular Tradition in Australia

In Australia we have to distinguish two periods of secular tradition. At first there was a struggle mainly with the Church of England for undenominational schools ; in the second half of the century the struggle was mainly with the Catholics for a purely secular system.

Early System of Dual Control

We have mentioned in previous chapters that the first move towards an undenominational system was made by the Governor, Sir Richard Bourke, in 1833. He suggested the establishment " of schools for the general education of colonial youth, supported by the Government, and regulated after the manner of the Irish schools, where approved extracts from the Scriptures are read, but no religious instruction is given by the master." In 1834, the Church and Schools Corporation was dissolved and the funds were divided between Anglicans, Catholics and Presbyterians. This was entirely unsatisfactory to the adherents of the undenominational system. They started, in 1835, the Australian School Society as a branch of the British and Foreign School Society. Its declared object was " to diffuse amongst the children of the labouring classes an education which shall fit them for filling, with credit to themselves and benefit to the community at large, the various stations in life." Their schools were to provide " sound scriptural instruction which tends to destroy sectarian differences by inducing an appeal to the only infallible standard of religious truth." The School was duly opened and received grants from 1836 till 1842, when it was discontinued. As we have seen, the denominational principle was not abandoned, even with the establishment of national schools in 1848, because side by side with the General Education Board a Denominational Board was set up and a system of dual control was instituted.

A new period in education is closely connected with the name of Sir Henry Parkes. In 1850, he became editor and proprietor of

Society and participated in its publications. Together with Robert Boyle he endeavoured to found scientific and educational institutions in America. Especially they wanted to diffuse knowledge among the Indians. In 1691, Boyle left a sum of money, which was invested in an estate at Brafferton, Yorkshire. The income was used for the maintaining of a school for Indians, Brafferton Hall, at Williamsburg. A number of Indians were boarded and educated there down to 1776.

Foundation of a Philosophical Society

The real founder of secular tradition in America was Benjamin Franklin. In 1724, he went to London and met Sir Hans Sloane, the Secretary of the Royal Society and other men associated with masonic clubs. On his return to Philadelphia in 1726 he founded " A leather-apron club," or *Junto*, which was an imitation of Freemasonry (Franklin became a mason only in 1731). The aims of the club were to enquire into the problems of Morals, Politics and Natural Philosophy. The library of the club was the first public library in America and gave birth to the later movement of public libraries. In 1743, Franklin founded a Philosophical Society in which many American masons participated. One of the first Presidents was James Hamilton (in 1747), the Governor of Philadelphia and a prominent mason. In 1769, Franklin was elected President, and he merged his club with the Society. During his Presidency in 1780 the Society was incorporated, and the Act was evidently written by Thomas Paine, who was clerk of the General Assembly of Congress at that time.

The Act says : " 'The experience of ages has shown that improvements of a public nature are best carried on by Societies of liberal and ingenious men, uniting their labours, without regard to nation, sect or party, in one grand pursuit, alike interesting to all, whereby mutual prejudices are worn off, as humane and philosophical spirit is cherished and youth are stimulated to a laudable diligence and emulation in the pursuit of Wisdom." As an incorporated American institution, the Philosophical Society, under the guidance of Franklin and Jefferson, directed its attention to the propagation of a national secular system of education. One of Franklin's friends and collaborators in the Philadelphia College—Benjamin Rush, a mason and a member of the American Philosophical Society, produced in 1786 a plan of education in a democracy, " Thoughts upon the mode of Education proper in a Republic." He advocated in it an undenominational Christian national system which should be based on utilitarian knowledge, and not on classical languages. " 'The excellence of knowledge would then be obvious to everybody, because it would be constantly applicable to some of the necessary and useful purposes of life, and particularly to the security and order of wise and just government." In 1795, the American Philosophical Society offered a prize of one hundred dollars for the best

plan of public education to be proposed to the Society, or, as it said, " the best system of liberal Education and literary instruction, adapted to the genius of the Government of the United States ; comprehending also a plan for instituting and conducting public schools in this country, on principles of the most extensive utility." The premium was divided between the two best works : Samuel Knox's *Essay on Education* (published 1799) and Samuel Harrison Smith's *Remarks on Education* (published 1798). Both were members of the Society and closely connected with the leading men of America. Knox was the President of the Frederick Academy, Maryland, and Smith, editor of Jefferson's organ, *Intelligencer*. Both advocated a secular national system. Knox said that education has " two great leading objects—the improvement of the mind and the attainment of those arts on which the welfare, prosperity and happiness of Society depend." In 1788, James Sullivan, the Governor of Massachusetts and one of the founders of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, published his *Thoughts upon Political Situation in the U.S.*, in which he gave a plan of a national secular system based on democratic principles.

Influence of the French Encyclopædists

The influence of the French Encyclopædist Movement penetrated America in many ways. American statesmen, such as Franklin or Jefferson, by their long residence in France and intimate relations with French masons and Radical leaders, were influenced directly, and on their return disseminated their ideas. English reformers, such as Richard Price, Joseph Priestley or the famous Thomas Paine, by their influence on American thought, disseminated those views indirectly. And the French officers and reformers who lived in America for long periods during the War of Independence formed later French lodges in American cities and thus directly influenced American masons. The first French lodge of Perfect Union was founded at Boston in 1781, the lodge La Sagesse at Portsmouth in 1786, L'aménité at Philadelphia and the Grand Orient at New York in the nineties.

Many Frenchmen joined the American Philosophical Society and participated in its labours. Chevalier Quesney de Borepaire, son of the famous French reformer, submitted his plan for an Academy of Sciences, patterned after the French Academy, and raised 60,000 francs for the purpose. On June 24th, 1786, the foundation of the building was laid at Richmond with masonic ceremonies. Quesney went to France to invite professors for his Academy, but the Revolution intervened and nothing came of his scheme. Jefferson, his personal friend, favoured the project at first, but later doubted its possibility. In 1797, Lafitte de Courteil submitted his plan for a national system of education, but it had little influence. The plan of another Frenchman, Du Pont de Nemour, published in 1800 under the title *Sur l'éducation nationale dans les Etats Unis d'Amér-*

ique, had larger circulation in the English translation and influenced the later schemes of Jefferson. Du Pont was Secretary of the Council of Public Instruction in Poland in 1766–72, during the reform in that country, and was an intimate friend of Turgot and other French Encyclopædists and a friend both of Franklin and Jefferson. All these French schemes advocated a secular system and strengthened the native tendency towards secularism.

Spread of a Deistic Movement

Side by side with the secularist opinions expressed in all these projects a deistic movement spread over America during the last decade of the eighteenth century. Many of the leaders of the Revolution tended to deistic views, and Franklin, for instance, did not hide his opinions. But men like Franklin or Jefferson would not propagate those views publicly and were reluctant to be associated openly with deistic clubs. On the other hand, Thomas Paine quite openly attacked historical Christianity in his *Age of Reason* and was therefore accepted by American deists as their leader. In 1790, a deistic club, the Universal Society, was founded in Philadelphia by the inventor of the steamboat, John Fitch. A prominent member of this club, Elihu Palmer, became a travelling organiser of similar clubs, the most important of which was a deistic society in New York, founded in 1796. De Witt Clinton was evidently connected with it. At Newburgh a masonic lodge was opened in 1788 which later developed into a deistic society. Similar societies existed at Baltimore and other towns. In 1803, Palmer and Paine founded in New York a "Theistic Church." However, the connections of many freemasons with the French revolutionaries and deists led to a popular movement against the lodges after the famous publication of John Robinson's *Proofs of a Conspiracy*, *etc.*, and an agitation was started by J. Morse in 1798 in America, which was based on defective information, and the supposed identity of Freemasons with the Illuminati.

Another prominent deist and mason was the revolutionary general Ethan Allen.

Progress of Secular Movement in the Eighteenth Century

The movement towards secularisation was not, however, limited to the propagation of deism. Secular institutions were founded and legislative measures enacted. Franklin was again the pioneer. In 1743, he drew up a proposal for establishing an unsectarian academy, but owing to the war the matter was left in abeyance. In 1749, at the conclusion of peace, Franklin secured the assistance of a number of his friends, many of them members of the Junto, and launched his "Proposals relating to the education of Youth in Pennsylvania." The result was the organisation of a board of trustees who subscribed to the scheme of the Academy, with Franklin as President. The

Academy of Philadelphia was formally opened in 1751. From the start it was undenominational, and included in its curriculum scientific and technical subjects. The Charter was granted in 1753. In 1765 professors of anatomy, surgery, botany and chemistry were appointed and the institution became practically a university. In 1791, by a special Act, it was transformed into the University of Pennsylvania.

The next secular institution of national importance was founded in Virginia. Before the War of Independence the leader of the Radical patriotic party in Virginia was Patrick Henry. He and his younger friend Jefferson were the initiators of all legislation in Virginia leading to the secularisation and democratisation of the semi-feudal colony of the planters. In 1775, Henry was the Governor of Virginia and gathered around himself a group of similarly minded friends in order to establish an institution of learning free from the domination of the Church. The College of Hampden-Sydney was thus founded as an undenominational institution. The announcement said: "The public may rest assured that the whole shall be conducted in the most catholic plan. Parents of every denomination may be at full liberty to require their children to attend any mode of worship which either custom or conscience has rendered most agreeable to them." The College was founded on a new idea—it was not for the service of the Church, but for the purpose of preparing citizens for the service of the State. The charter was written by Patrick Henry. The College later developed into a degree-granting institution and educated many leaders in all walks of life. Later the College took a leading part in the reform of the general public school system. In 1824, a Literary and Philosophical Society was organised at Hampden-Sydney, which in 1831 developed into the Institute of Education with the object "to collect and diffuse such information as will be calculated to improve the character of our common schools and other literary institutions." Jefferson collaborated with the men of Hampden-Sydney and together they promoted the reform of the school system of Virginia.

In 1779, Jefferson succeeded his friend P. Henry as Governor of Virginia and submitted his famous "Bill for the more general Diffusion of Knowledge." It provided for a complete system of secular education publicly maintained. The two leading principles were: the selection of the ablest boys for continued free education and the differentiation of curricula in accordance with abilities and future vocations. His chief idea was expressed in a letter to Peter Carr, dated September 7th, 1814, thus: "It is the duty of our country's functionaries to provide that every citizen in it should receive an education proportioned to the conditions and pursuits of his life."

Although his Bill was not accepted by the Assembly, it influenced the later development of American education and very possibly served as a model for the famous scheme of Condorcet in

France. In his turn Jefferson was influenced by Condorcet and other reformers of the Revolutionary period and continued his efforts on his return from France. He succeeded in establishing the Central College in 1816, which later, in 1819, grew into the University of Virginia, and was formally opened in 1825. However, it was not the first State secular university in America. North Carolina was the pioneer among the States in this respect, and issued a charter for a State secular university as early as 1785, although it was opened only in 1795. The second State university was opened in Georgia in 1800, and the third in South Carolina in 1805. Jefferson's University was therefore the fourth.

The Secular Movement during the Nineteenth Century

After Franklin and Jefferson, the Governor of New York, De Witt Clinton, should be considered as the most influential of educational pioneers of the first period of American Independence. He was a prominent mason and took part in all movements for popular enlightenment. As mayor of New York he organised in 1805 the " Public School Society of New York," which played an important rôle in the secularisation of education in America. The Society was constituted at first under the name, " The Society for establishing a free School in the City of New York for the education of such poor children as do not belong to, or are not provided for by any religious society." Later the name was changed to the better-known " Public School Society." It was chartered by the legislature " to provide schooling for all children who are proper objects of a gratuitous education."

Many schools were founded, and in 1818, Lancaster came to New York and associated his name and method with the Society's work. Since 1807, the Society was aided from public funds and its schools formed the nucleus of the later State secular system. The activities of De Witt Clinton were not limited to the promotion of the common school system. He fully recognised the importance of the less formal educational agencies. He was an active member of many learned societies, and especially furthered the growth of the Lyceums. The origin of the Lyceum movement is again connected with the name of Franklin. The Junto of Franklin was really a club for the education of adults through lectures, debates and the use of public libraries. It was, in fact, the first " Lyceum " in America. However, the names " Lyceum " and " Athenæum " are derived from institutions connected with a later period of Franklin's activities. The famous French encyclopædist, Helvetius, conceived an idea of gathering all prominent masons into one lodge, which would become the centre of the whole movement of enlightenment. After his death the idea was realised by Laland in 1780 when he founded the lodge *Les Neuf Sœurs* in Paris. Among its members were all the ***élite*** of the period : Voltaire, Condorcet, Romme, Sieyès, Camille Desmoulins, Danton, Pétion, Brissot, Fourcroy, and foreign members

included Count A. Stroganov, Paul Jones, J. R. Forster and Benjamin Franklin. Franklin was elected the Venerable Master of the lodge, and on his initiative *La Société Apollonienne* was founded with the aim of scientific research and general diffusion of knowledge. At first the institution was called *Le Musée de Paris*, but in 1785 it was renamed *Le Lycée de Paris*. Lectures were regularly delivered by famous scientists, such as La Harpe, Condorcet, Marmontel, Garat and Fourcroy, who were all masons. In 1793, it was renamed *Le Lycée Républicaine*. In 1802, Fourcroy adopted the name *lycée* for new secondary schools, and the institution was renamed *L'Athénée de Paris* (later *Royal*). In its later period amongst its professors were Cuvier, Saint-Hilaire, Benjamin Constant and Auguste Comte. This Paris *Lycée* or *Athénée* served as an example for numerous lyceums and athenæums in all countries, including England and America. We already have mentioned the close connection of the Mechanics' Institute in Glasgow, started by Anderson, with the French movement and their mutual influence. These two sources served as models for the similar American institutions. One of the first institutions of this kind was the Athenæum of Philadelphia, opened in 1814. One of the initiators was the well-known Pennsylvanian reformer Roberts Vaux, who was associated with all educational movements of his time. These institutions became very popular during the period 1820–40, and their "systematic efforts for the purposes of popular instruction" are thus described by one of the active members of the movement [1]: "In the principal cities, and in many of the larger towns and villages, the business of giving instruction of this kind is carried on in regularly organised societies. The method of teaching, which is chiefly by lectures, resembles essentially that employed by the Mechanics' Institutes and other popular societies of Europe. Among us these establishments are known by the names of 'Lyceums,' 'Societies for the Promotion of Useful Knowledge,' 'Mechanics' Institutions,' 'Franklin Institutions,' etc., and their influence . . . has been highly useful. . . . There are, it is believed, not less than one thousand of these institutions . . . in the United States." That was in 1832. In 1828, influenced by Owen and his Union in England, a Working Men's Party was organised. His son, Robert Dale Owen, in 1829 proposed to the Party a system of free public education based on manual labour. The new labour movement joined forces with the older tradition in promoting the "diffusion of useful knowledge" through the Mechanics' Institutes. Many States organised State Lyceums, and in 1831 the State of New York called a convention to organise a National Lyceum. The result was the foundation of the American Lyceum, in which many States were represented. Thus gradually the ideal of a public non-sectarian school system was disseminated among the masses, and the second quarter of the nineteenth century witnessed an embittered struggle

[1] By Walter Rogers Johnson, quotation taken from J. McCudden, *Education in Pennsylvania*, 1937, page 73.

between the vested interests of various denominations and private schools and the representatives of a secular democratic system. The two most outstanding leaders of this " awakening " movement were Horace Mann, of Massachusetts, and Henry Barnard, of Connecticut.

The battle was joined on four main issues : (1) the tax support of schools; (2) free education for all; (3) State supervision of schools ; and (4) non-sectarian character of public schools. All these questions were closely connected and formed the programme of the secular tradition even before the Independence. In 1837, Massachusetts created a new post of Secretary of the State Board of Education, and Horace Mann was chosen. In 1838, Connecticut followed suit and chose Henry Barnard. In 1842, however, the Connecticut legislature reversed its policy and abolished the post of Secretary. Barnard went to Rhode Island and was appointed the first Secretary of the Board of Education of that State in 1843. The influence of the two pioneers of State supervision was not limited to these three New England States. They started a concentrated campaign of propaganda throughout the country, and by means of meetings, lectures and publications gradually convinced the general public of the necessity for reform. The denominationalists attacked them vigorously : they were against the publicly maintained free schools, against the State supervision and especially against the " Godless " schools, as they called the public unsectarian institutions. It should be mentioned that neither Mann nor Barnard (nor their forerunners), advocated secular schools on the French model. The reading of the Bible was required by them in the public schools, and religion was considered as one of the most important agencies in education. But they were against any doctrinal teaching or denominational interpretation of the Bible ; the latter, they maintained, should be read without note or comment. The issue was complicated by the demand of the Roman Catholics for a proportionate share of public funds for their schools. Anti-Catholic riots occurred in a number of cities. The Native American Party was formed in 1841 " to prevent the union of Church and State" and to " keep the Bible in the schools." In 1855, the national council of the Know-Nothing Party met in Philadelphia and adopted resolutions favouring public schools and the use of the Bible, but opposed sectarian schools. New York was the first State which passed, in 1842, an Act prohibiting public grants to any school in which " any religious sectarian doctrine or tenet should be taught, inculcated or practised." Other States soon followed, and at the end of the Civil War the question was decided in the majority of the original States. New States formed later adopted the secularisation clause when admitted to the Union.

Conclusion

The later legislation of many States is sometimes contradictory. The constitutions of many States even now announce that " Religion

being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools shall forever be encouraged," which implies that schools have to impart religious education. At the same time, however, in some States, not only is sectarian education prohibited, but often even the reading of the Bible. The decisions of the Supreme Court in some cases declared the Bible a sectarian book, and therefore prohibited the use of it in schools, whereas in other States the reading of the Bible is obligatory.

V. Secular Tradition in Canada

The Maritime Provinces

As we have already seen from previous chapters, the history of education in Canada was closely connected with the racial and religious character of different provinces. In the Maritime Provinces, where all three great groups of denominations—Roman Catholics, Anglicans and Protestant Dissenters—were equally represented, the monopoly of any Church was impossible and an undenominational system a necessity. The Roman Catholics, the descendants of the French Acadians and of Scottish and Irish immigrants, were different from their co-religionists in French Quebec. They were more tolerant towards the Protestants and mixed with them socially more freely than the French of Quebec. They did not insist on separate public schools, and therefore the public system of the Maritime Provinces included all denominations from the start. In New Brunswick since 1858 the Catholic minority enjoyed the privilege of giving religious instruction in their schools. In 1871, this privilege was revoked and all schools aided by Government were made non-sectarian and free. In Nova Scotia the common schools were undenominational from the start, but religious exercises could be held if no parents objected. Under these regulations all Catholic schools are affiliated with the public system and receive grants.

The Province of Quebec

In Quebec the French Catholic majority was dominated by the Church and until quite recently there was no secularist party. In 1902, however, the French lodges of Grand Orient founded the Ligue d'Enseignement on the model of the French Ligue, founded by Jean Macé, and started a campaign for undenominational schools. The Protestant minority was quite satisfied with its separate undenominational English school system and did not interfere with the system of the majority. In the circumstances the Protestant character of their schools is an important feature which, as a minority, they have to preserve.

Ontario and the Prairie Provinces

A real struggle for secularisation occurred only in the province of Upper Canada (Ontario), and later in the Prairie provinces. In

Upper Canada the struggle began for the secularisation of King's College in 1829. The leaders of the Assembly, M. Bidwell and Dr. J. Rolph, both masons, allied with the secularist Radical W. L. Mackenzie and recommended the secularisation of the College, but the Legislative Council, led by Bishop Strachan and the " Family Compact," opposed the measure. In 1832, Mahlon Burwell introduced a Bill for a reform on democratic undenominational principles. In 1834, Bidwell, Rolph and Mackenzie continued their attacks, but could not break the resistance of the Legislative Council. In the end the Government of Baldwin succeeded in 1849 in enacting the secularisation of the University of Toronto. During this period the Mechanics' Institutes, promoted by masons and reformers, began to be opened in many Canadian towns and received the first Government grants. With the solution of the King's College question the ground was shifted to the common schools.

The Period following the Union of 1841

The Union of the two Canadas in 1841 inevitably led to a compromise between the French Catholics and English Protestants, which resulted in the recognition of the principle of separate schools for denominational minorities. The Protestants of Lower Canada (Quebec) could not enjoy separate schools without conceding the same right for Catholics of Upper Canada (Ontario). In these circumstances all the efforts of the Chief Superintendent, E. Ryerson, were directed to preserve the undenominational character of instruction in the Protestant schools and to limit the growth of the separate Catholic system strictly within the legal clauses. He was assailed, as we have seen, on both sides, by Catholics and by secularists. George Brown, one of the leaders of the Radical group, founded, in 1844, the Toronto *Globe*, and vigorously, sometimes even unscrupulously, attacked Ryerson. In 1849, the secularist party succeeded in enacting the Bill of M. Cameron, which excluded all clergymen from schools and repealed (by omission) all clauses on separate schools. Ryerson protested and threatened to resign if the Act were given effect. The Government disallowed the Act and separate schools remained. Mackenzie and Brown several times introduced measures for the secularisation of schools, but were always defeated by solid Quebec votes. The majority of Upper Canada deputies, on the other hand, voted for secularisation. In 1858, Brown even formed a Ministry, but was forced to resign after a short period. In the sixties the secularists were confronted with two alternatives: either a federation of all provinces with the continuance of separate schools, or secularisation of education and no federation. Mackenzie, Brown and other members of the Radical group chose the lesser evil, and thus the Federation Act of 1867 (the British North America Act) embodied the Section 93, which in part reads as follows: " Nothing in any law in relation to Education shall prejudicially affect any Right or Privilege with respect to De-

nominational Schools which any class of persons have by law in the Province at the Union." Thus Ontario and Quebec were both prohibited from secularisation of separate schools. The position of the Western Provinces was different. At the time of Union they were not yet organised as provinces, and did not possess a separate school system. This fact enabled British Columbia to introduce a secular public system on the lines of the American States. It also enabled Manitoba, after a prolonged struggle, to insist on a secular system. Only Saskatchewan and Alberta have a small number of separate Catholic schools. In this struggle against denominationalism an important rôle was played by Canadian Orangemen. They supported Brown and his party, and they led the secularists of the Prairie Provinces.

VI. The Secular Tradition in Australia

In Australia we have to distinguish two periods of secular tradition. At first there was a struggle mainly with the Church of England for undenominational schools; in the second half of the century the struggle was mainly with the Catholics for a purely secular system.

Early System of Dual Control

We have mentioned in previous chapters that the first move towards an undenominational system was made by the Governor, Sir Richard Bourke, in 1833. He suggested the establishment "of schools for the general education of colonial youth, supported by the Government, and regulated after the manner of the Irish schools, where approved extracts from the Scriptures are read, but no religious instruction is given by the master." In 1834, the Church and Schools Corporation was dissolved and the funds were divided between Anglicans, Catholics and Presbyterians. This was entirely unsatisfactory to the adherents of the undenominational system. They started, in 1835, the Australian School Society as a branch of the British and Foreign School Society. Its declared object was "to diffuse amongst the children of the labouring classes an education which shall fit them for filling, with credit to themselves and benefit to the community at large, the various stations in life." Their schools were to provide "sound scriptural instruction which tends to destroy sectarian differences by inducing an appeal to the only infallible standard of religious truth." The School was duly opened and received grants from 1836 till 1842, when it was discontinued. As we have seen, the denominational principle was not abandoned, even with the establishment of national schools in 1848, because side by side with the General Education Board a Denominational Board was set up and a system of dual control was instituted.

A new period in education is closely connected with the name of Sir Henry Parkes. In 1850, he became editor and proprietor of

The Empire, in which he expressed his views on education. He declared, in 1850, that " in education we shall be for that system, or unity of systems which, by being most fitted to the circumstances of the colony, shall be most diffusive in its blessings, because we cannot conceive it justifiable for differences of doctrinal points among the well-informed to interfere between the light of knowledge and the utterly uninstructed." From 1850 up to 1866, when he succeeded in reforming the system, Parkes continuously propagated his views and took part in every effort connected with education. In 1866, as Colonial Secretary, he introduced his famous Public Schools Act. Although the Act introduced a single central authority and limited the support of denominational schools to exceptional cases, the problem of dualism was not solved, and secularists accused Parkes of compromising his principles. Parkes got in the same position as Ryerson in Canada—he was assailed from two sides and had to defend his Act from denominationalists and secularists alike. In 1872, Forster moved that a Bill should be introduced which " should provide for the extension and stricter enforcement of the principle of secular education, and for the discontinuance . . . of assistance from public funds for denominational schools." This was the beginning of the secularist attack. In 1874, the Public Schools League was founded under the direct influence of the English League. William Greenwood, a Baptist minister, became its leader. The object of the League was to make education national, secular, compulsory and free. Under the League's pressure Parkes introduced some amendments, but was not prepared to change the principle of aiding denominational schools. In 1875, Sir George Dibbs, a member of the League, again introduced a motion similar to that of Forster in 1872. Parkes won the division again, but when a similar motion was introduced next year by Sir John Robertson, Parkes was defeated. As some friends of denominational schools voted against him, Parkes declared that he is " now relieved from any obligation to maintain the cause they have betrayed." Thus the way for secularisation was laid open, and Greenwood moved, in 1878, for a new Act embodying the principles of the League.

The Secularisation of the School System

The subsequent Act of 1880 completely secularised the State system, and laid the foundation for the present legislation. Whilst New South Wales was still discussing the defects of the Act of 1866, the neighbouring Colony of Victoria introduced secularisation without any great struggle. Immediately after separation from New South Wales the Governor appointed an Education Commission in 1852, which came to the conclusion that the dual system should be abolished and a single centrally controlled system common to all creeds should be built up. The Common Schools Act of 1862 tried to embody these recommendations without abandoning

the principle of aiding denominational schools. The secularists were dissatisfied, and redoubled their efforts. Strengthened by the writings and statements of the English League, which were republished by the Governments of Victoria, the secularists, under the leadership of James Stephen, introduced a straightforward Bill demanding secular, compulsory and free education. The Governor's assent was given on December 17th, 1872, and the present secular State system came into being. South Australia and Queensland followed suit in 1875, Tasmania in 1885 and Western Australia in 1895.

VII. Secular Tradition in New Zealand

As we have mentioned before, in New Zealand each tradition was represented by a different province. The secular system before becoming national was a characteristic feature of the province of Nelson. Within a few months of the arrival of the first ships at Nelson in 1842, a meeting of settlers was held for the purpose of establishing " an elementary school, to be open to the children of all, without regard to the religious opinions of the parents, in which no sectarian views whatever should be taught ; and that the Bible, when read, should be read without note or comment." The moving spirit was a Quaker, F. Tuckett, a member of the British and Foreign School Society. The school was opened the same year, and Alfred Domett, who played an important rôle later, was elected an honorary inspector. In 1844, the Nelson School Society was founded which opened several schools in the Colony during the first two years. In 1847, the Governor, Sir George Grey, made an annual grant to the Society of £35, and the Society adopted formal rules and regulations, almost wholly taken from those of the British and Foreign School Society. Rule III said : " All schools connected with this society shall be open to children of parents of all religious denominations. The sacred Scriptures, in the authorised version, or extracts therefrom, shall be read and taught daily. No catechism or peculiar religious tenets shall be taught in the schools, but every child shall be enjoined regularly to attend the place of worship its parents prefer." The original British and Foreign School Society's school early merged into the larger scheme, and Tuckett as agent for the Home Society gave its buildings to the Nelson Society. In 1857, the first college was founded on the same unsectarian principles, and one of its Governors was Alfred Domett, who became later the national leader of the secularists.

The New Zealand Constitution Act became law in 1852, and the first provincial councils met in 1853. The Nelson Council set up a Commission to consider a scheme of education for the Province. The Commission adopted a resolution " that, as every settler was to be called upon to pay for its support, whatever his religious opinions might be, the basis on which the scheme ought to rest must in equity be a secular one." The system of schools established by the

Nelson Society was taken over by the Province and a public secular system was thus founded by the passing of the Nelson Education Act in 1856. Of other Provincial Councils, only that of Wellington followed the example of Nelson. The Commission set up in 1853 advised the adoption of the Irish system. The secularists, led by W. Fox, the provincial secretary, W. Fitzherbert, and the Superintendent, Dr. Featherston, in a series of meetings assembled in the Athenæum carried the resolution "that this meeting cordially concurs in the condemnation of the Denominational System expressed in the Report, and is of opinion that . . . no opening should be afforded for . . . its adoption in any way, however modified or partial." In spite of the opposition of the Churches, the Provincial Council adopted the secular clause. Owing to the resistance of all denominations, the Act was not enforced at once in all districts of the Province. In other provinces, the denominational principle prevailed, although there were responsible leaders, as the Superintendent of Canterbury, Fitzgerald, who advised the introduction of a secular system. Before passing to the establishment of the national secular system, we shall give a table comparing the achievements of various provinces, which all worked under different traditions. We select the four leading provinces for this comparison: (1) Nelson—Secular; (2) Otago—Scottish Presbyterian; (3) Canterbury—Anglican; and (4) Auckland—Catholic, Anglican and Wesleyan. Figures for the year 1862:

PROVINCE	PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN OF SCHOOL AGE ATTENDING		TOTAL	EXPENDITURE	
	PUBLIC SCHOOL	PRIVATE SCHOOL	PERCENTAGE INCLUDING SUNDAY SCHOOLS	PER HEAD OF POPULATION	PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL REVENUE
				s. *d.*	
Nelson	49·7	19·8	80·8	8 1	8·2
Otago .	35·2	17·8	59·8	4 2	1·5
Canterbury	24·1	22·2	56·7	2 4	1·4
Auckland	16·6	29·6	52·2	1 5	1·0

These results proved to many in all provinces that the denominational system cannot solve the problem of universal education and cannot make many provinces into one nation.

The dissatisfaction was strongest in Auckland, and that Province was the first to inaugurate a purely secular system in 1869. Otago and Canterbury resisted the secularist attack until the provinces were abolished and the national Parliament took action. The first motion for a national system was introduced in 1869 by T. Ball. In 1871, W. Fox, then Premier of New Zealand, introduced a Bill for a national system with a central Ministry of Education, based on non-sectarian principles. The denominations opposed it vigorously, and the secularists formed in 1872 an association to

promote a national and non-sectarian system. In 1875, the provinces were abolished and the new Parliament of 1876 had a free hand. In 1877, the New Zealand Education Act was passed, which made the school system national and secular.

VIII. Secular Tradition in South Africa

The Cape of Good Hope

The secular tradition in South Africa is closely connected with the Society of Freemasons. The first South African Lodge De Goede Hoop was founded in the Cape in 1772 under the Dutch jurisdiction. In 1794, the lodge founded a club or society, where all the Dutch intelligentsia used to meet. In 1802, J. A. De-Mist arrived at the Cape as Governor under the Batavian Republic. De-Mist was the Deputy Grand Master of the Netherlands, and under his leadership, De Goede Hoop revived its activities. As Governor, De-Mist introduced a secular public school system, which was far ahead of his period. His scheme envisaged a complete State system, including secondary schools and a training college. Instead of " membership of the Church " as the aim of education, De-Mist put " national efficiency." Nevertheless, religious instruction was not banned from the schools and was to be given according to the denominations of the parents. The Dutch masonic association, " Maatschappy tot Nut van het Algemeen," which played such an important rôle in the history of education in Holland, transferred its activities to the Cape. In 1802, a similarly named association was founded at the Cape, and in 1805, the School " tot Nut van 't Algemeen " was opened. For two decades it was the leading educational institution in the Colony, and even with the founding of the South African College, continued to be its rival. In 1838, it had three hundred students, and it flourished up to 1870. Many of the Dutch leaders were educated there. It was under the Board of Directors and received a Government grant of £75 per annum. The Cape became British again in 1806, De-Mist departed and his far-reaching plans were shelved. The Chief Justice, Sir John Truter, succeeded De-Mist as Deputy Grand Master of Dutch-speaking masonry, the educational activities of the De Goede Hoop were continued, and a special Lodge Education Fund was started in 1813. In 1811, the English-speaking lodges began to work in the Cape in close co-operation with De Goede Hoop. Later they established a separate Masonic Education Fund.

The next important fact in South African education was the foundation of the South African College or Athenæum in 1829. A group of English and Dutch masons combined their efforts and convened a meeting under the chairmanship of Sir John Truter on October 14th, 1828, inviting the representatives of the four Churches —Dutch, English, Scottish and Lutheran. A circular was sent to all Churches and the Masonic Education Fund. The Dutch Reformed Church offered £100 for the scheme and the masons

promised to contribute annually £50. An appeal was made for shareholders of £10 each and for donations. As soon as two hundred shares had been taken up, a meeting of subscribers was called and a Committee of fifteen was elected as managers of the institution. Sir John Truter was elected as President, and Justice Burton as Vice-President. The College or Athenæum was opened on October 3rd, 1829, and soon a serious dissension took place on the question of religious instruction. The representatives of the Churches demanded the inclusion of the denominational teaching by respective Churches, the lay members wanted to exclude it. The disagreement led to a temporary resignation of Sir John Truter, Justice Burton and two of the three professors. However, after the heat of the religious fervour cooled down, Sir John Truter was re-elected as President in 1830 and the College was established firmly as an undenominational institution, which included general religious exercises, but excluded any dogmatical teaching. After many years of struggle the College won the recognition of the Government and later grew into the University of the Cape of Good Hope. During its long career many eminent masons, both English-speaking and Dutch-speaking, served on its council as chairmen and members.

The public schools of the Cape Colony, as we have seen, were under the Bible and School Commission and were denominational. The attempt to impose on the Boers the English school and the English Church was unsuccessful and partially contributed to the "Great Trek" beyond the frontiers of the British Colony. The important change was made in 1839, when the Education Department was established under a Superintendent. The origin of this quite new departure in educational policy can be traced to the memorandum of the Secretary of the Colony, Colonel Bell, who sent it in 1837 to Sir John Herschel for his opinion. Colonel Bell argued that "to ensure the proper working of the system" it was necessary to appoint "a sound, clear-headed man, either not belonging to the ministry, or so untinctured with prejudice in favour of this or that form of Christian Protestant Faith, as to constitute him an impartial Director General of Public Schools in this Colony." Sir John Herschel answered that "to make the profession of Education truly respectable it must be made an independent profession," i.e. independent of any Church.

John Fairbairn, the editor of the *Commercial Advertiser*, and an ex-schoolmaster, also sent a letter to the Governor in which he gave a complete scheme for reform. According to him, the new Superintendent should be a man "able to estimate at their practical value, or rather at their real nothingness, with respect to his office, the microscopic differences of colour, Nation, Language, Rank and the Sectional distinctions of Religion."[1] With the creation of the Education Department the basis of the undenominational State

[1] All the quotations are taken from Dr. Malherbe's book *History of Education in South Africa*.

system was laid. The next Act of 1865 established the principle of 50 per cent. Government grant for all undenominational public schools. The later reforms were concerned with administrative and financial problems.

The Province of Natal

In Natal two years after it had become a distinct Colony a " Chief Central Board of Education " was appointed which presented a Report in 1858. Among other recommendations the Report stated that the members were " decidedly of opinion that a secular system, combining the inculcation of such religious and moral truths as are commonly and universally received amongst all sects of Christians, is the only system which could be established in Government schools that would be satisfactory to the inhabitants of the Colony generally." The first Superintendent was appointed in 1859, and the State system came into being.

The Transvaal

In the Transvaal, as we have seen, the first attempt at secularisation of education was made by the President, T. F. Burgers, in 1873. He was a Cape Colony man educated at the University of Utrecht, Holland, and distinguished for his liberal views. He proposed a State system which should be truly national and impartial with regard to religion, since " the adoption of any one form of Christian belief as the distinctive religion of the scholastic system would make the introduction of any State system . . . so unpopular and difficult to carry out, that the education development of this country in a truly National sense would become an impossibility for a long time to come." [1] His scheme was enacted in 1874, but, as we have seen, owing to the opposition of the orthodox Calvinists (Doppers) was reversed to a denominational system in 1882. Final introduction of the State undenominational system was achieved only after the Boer War under General Smuts in 1907.

The Orange Free State

In the Orange Free State the State school system was founded by Superintendent J. Brebner, appointed in 1874. After the War the religious question was settled by the Hertzog School Act, 1908, on undenominational lines.

Thus already before the Union the undenominational principle was accepted by the legislation of all four provinces and the Union legislation did not introduce any new feature in this respect.

IX. Conclusion

The secular tradition in all the English-speaking countries, as we have seen, has the same sources of origin and similar lines of develop-

[1] Malherbe, *op. cit.*

ment. Started in England by the representatives of the Humanist movement and disseminated through masonic lodges in all countries where English was spoken (or even Dutch in the Cape), the ideas of secular enlightenment, independent of any Church, were accepted by most educational reformers and pioneers as early as the middle of the eighteenth century. The opposition of the Churches retarded the application of those principles in State legislation for a century. Two new factors which emerged in the first half of the nineteenth century helped to break the resistance of denominationalism in education. Firstly, the Puritan communities gradually changed their attitude, and secondly, the new Labour movement was strongly secularist from the start. The Unitarians were the first amongst the Puritans who advocated unsectarian education and supported a State system. The Quaker pioneers followed them, and in the second half of the nineteenth century, the Calvinists and the Methodists joined the ranks. Only two Churches opposed the State undenominational system to the last, i.e. the Church of England and other branches of the Anglican communion, and the Catholic Church. The Labour movement started in the eighteenth century by the Corresponding Society and associated groups was greatly furthered by the writings and activities of Robert Owen, and soon spread into America and the Colonies. Against the united efforts of secularist intelligentsia, Puritan dissenters and the Labour movement, the two great Churches could not resist for long, and all countries, one after another, adopted the undenominational principle as the basis of their respective State systems. In spite of the diversity of geographical position and racial composition we observe a strong similarity in the development of secularist tradition in all the English-speaking countries. The origin of all ideas and institutions can be traced back to the British Isles, which gives a certain unity to the whole movement and clearly distinguishes it from the secular movement in the Latin countries and the rest of Europe.

N. HANS.

CHAPTER SIX

The Resultant Variation of Educational Systems

THE four preceding chapters have given a short historical survey of educational traditions in all the English-speaking countries. We have seen that in each of them the four great influences—the Catholic, the Anglican, the Puritan and the Secular—were at work. The sources of origin and the subsequent development of these traditions were the same everywhere. But the difference in relative importance of each tradition, and the differences in racial composition and geographical circumstances in each country, resulted in a great variation of the respective school systems. The system of administration and finance, the influence of private initiative, the system of grading and the attitude towards religious instruction vary so much from country to country that at first sight they seem to have little in common. In this chapter we shall attempt to find the causes of this variation.

Five Factors making for National Unity

An ideal nation is the result of a combination of five factors: (i) unity of race, (ii) unity of religion, (iii) unity of language, (iv) compact territory and (v) political sovereignty. One of the factors might be lacking without seriously endangering the unity of national culture. Belgium, for instance, lacks linguistic unity, having two State languages, Flemish and French, but is nevertheless a nation. Holland lacks religious unity, the South American Republics lack racial unity, and Poland for a century lacked political sovereignty, and yet all these countries are nations in the full sense of the word, as the other four factors are present. In certain circumstances, even two factors might be absent, as in Switzerland, where there is neither linguistic nor religious unity, yet the nation might be formed. But if any three of the five factors are absent there is hardly a hope of building up a nation. If, for instance, there is a difference of race, language and religion together, the unity of territory and political government can hardly make a single nation of the two groups. Let us see how these five factors were reflected in the development of educational systems in the English-speaking countries.

(a) The Racial Factor

The white population of all English-speaking countries is mainly a mixture of two European racial stocks: the Nordic and the Mediterranean. The English, the Scots and the Irish are all mixtures of these two races, and therefore cannot be considered as peoples of different origin. The French of Canada and the Boers of South Africa are of the same racial stock (mainly Nordic) as the

three British nations. The European immigrants of North America, besides including Nordic and Mediterranean stocks, have a certain admixture of Alpine, European and Oriental races. For our purpose, however, these small differences can be disregarded, since racially the white population is sufficiently homogeneous to form a cultural unit. The difference between the French and British Canadians, or between the Britons and Boers, is not racial, but linguistic and traditional. There are many British families which became French-speaking in Canada or Afrikaans-speaking in South Africa: there are likewise French and Boer families which became English-speaking. In the U.S.A., the third generation of later European immigrants is indistinguishable from the original stock. The racial factor only begins to play an important rôle, then, when the whites meet coloured races. There is, therefore, no racial question in Great Britain.. In the U.S.A. and British Dominions, on the other hand, the presence of coloured populations complicates educational problems considerably. The following table gives the racial composition of the U.S.A. and Dominions :

	EUROPEAN WHITES PERCENTAGE	OTHER RACES PERCENTAGE	ABSOLUTE FIGURES OF COLOURED PEOPLE	CHIEF COLOURED RACE
U.S.A.	89	11	13,000,000	Negro
Canada	98	2	200,000	Indian
Australia .	98	2	100,000	Aboriginals
New Zealand	95	5	85,000	Maori
South Africa	24	76	6,500,000	S.A. Black

The Racial Factor in the U.S.A.

The American Republic has the largest absolute number of coloured population, which is chiefly composed of the descendants of the Negro slaves and half-castes. Eighty per cent. of them are congregated in the fifteen Southern States, where they form from 7·2 per cent. of the total population in Oklahoma, to 50·2 per cent. in Mississippi. The 20 per cent. of the Negro population who migrated to the North are educated in common schools (sometimes in separate classes) and are treated in the same way as the white race. The fifteen Southern States, on the other hand, have enacted special legislation on the segregation of coloured children, and have built up a separate school system for them. The result of this legislation is to produce a great inequality of opportunities as between the races. In 1930, for each white pupil in the Southern States the public funds expended $44·3, whereas, for each Negro pupil, only $12·6. Secondary and college education of the Negro was greatly neglected in the Southern States, and the majority of such institutions were started and maintained by the private initiative of Northern philanthropists and churches. The

Negroes take no part in administration and public control, and thus could not raise themselves to a higher standard. It seems that without Federal help the Southern States are unable to solve the problem of Negro education, and the National Conference on Negro education recognised this fact in 1934, when it recommended Federal grants on condition that there should be equality of races. The presence of the large Negro population in the South influenced also the system of administration and finance. Whereas in New England local districts furnish 80 per cent. (Massachusetts even 90 per cent.) of total public expenditure on education, and in administration are almost independent, in the Southern States the local units contribute only 37 per cent. of total public expenditure, and are subordinated to the State and County Boards of Education. Although all leading American educators condemn the system of racial segregation in the South, it is questionable whether in present conditions a common system for both races would be practicable. Racial prejudice, and sometimes open antagonism, cannot be abolished by a simple act of the Legislature. Therefore the problem of Negro education will complicate the American system for a long time to come. Quite different is the position of the American Indians. They are recognised by law as wards of the Federal Government, and their schools are administered and maintained by a Federal Department of Indian Affairs. Those Indians who receive full civic rights are educated in common schools.

The Racial Factor in Canada

The Indians of Canada are also wards of the Federal Government, and their schools are under the Federal Department of Indian Affairs. The Eskimos are under the Federal Department of the Interior. The few thousands of Negroes and half-castes who migrated across the frontier from the U.S.A. are educated in common schools, although, lately, the Ontario province established a few separate schools for them.. On the whole, the proportion of the non-European population is so small that it does not present a serious problem.

The Racial Factor in Australia

The aboriginals of Australia are divided into two main groups. The majority live in the Northern Territory as nomads and hardly come in contact with the whites. This small minority are under the protection of the Federal Government. Special camps are reserved for them, and a few schools of an elementary character are maintained. The small number of settled natives does not influence the educational system.

The Racial Factor in New Zealand

This Dominion is the only country where the colour line between the natives and the whites does not exist. In native villages the

Government has established special schools for Maoris, which, however, are also attended by the resident white population. About 60 per cent. of the total school population of Maoris attend common schools, and there is no difference made between the races whatever. Maoris enjoy full civic rights and elect four members reserved for them. As a matter of fact, only half of them are of pure blood ; the rest are half-castes.

The Racial Factor in South Africa

South Africa is the only British Dominion where the white population is greatly outnumbered by coloured races. The problem is still more complicated by the presence of large numbers of Indians and half-castes. The natives themselves are divided into many tribes with different languages and traditions. South Africa has definitely decided on the policy of segregation, and, therefore, a common school system for all races is impossible. Under these conditions, four separate systems were established—for the whites, for the Indians, for the half-castes (coloured) and for the natives. The legislative provisions, the system of administration and finance, and even the organisation of schools and curricula, are different for the four racial groups. Inequality of opportunity is unavoidable, as it will take a long time for the natives to become assimilated to the white man's civilisation by developing their own professional and middle classes. The natives have no influence in the administration of schools or the formulation of policy, since the white man has assumed full responsibility. Only in the Transkeian and Ciskeian territories have the general Native Councils a certain influence by the granting of scholarships. Although the native schools are administered by provincial authorities, they are largely financed by the Union or missionary societies. The Union Department on Native Affairs has a general supervision of all measures concerning natives.

Conclusion

From this survey we see that certain features are common to all Dominions with non-European populations. With the partial exception of New Zealand, there is a racial segregation in education with separate systems for coloured races. Again, with the notable exception of New Zealand, it leads to a marked inequality in educational opportunities and a differentiation of educational aims. Whereas the white population mainly follows the academic tradition of Europe, schools for the coloured races have an industrial or agricultural bias. Another common feature is a tendency to centralise the administration of non-European education. Coloured races are recognised, either legally or by public opinion, as the wards of the national Government; and even in North America, where the tradition of extreme decentralisation is still very strong, the Indians are directly administered and educated by Federal

authorities, and the education of the Negroes has come lately to the forefront of national policy. The exceptional position of New Zealand is explained, first, by the small numbers of Maoris; secondly, by their proven ability of assimilation to the white civilisation; and thirdly, by a total absence of slave-trade tradition. Maoris were always warriors and landowners, and even during the period of racial wars were treated as respected enemies or allies. Racial intermixing is not looked upon as a crime, and the proportion of half-castes is increasing.

(b) The Religious Factor

The historical chapters have shown that the three great religious traditions have influenced each of the English-speaking countries. But the relative importance of each division of Christianity was different in various parts. The following table shows the approximate percentage of each denominational group at present. According to the dominant religious tradition, the countries may be divided into three groups: (1) the Irish Free State and Quebec, which are Roman Catholic; (2) England, Australia and New Zealand where the Church of England has the strongest influence; and (3) all the remaining countries where the influence of Puritan churches is predominant.

Catholic Countries

The influence of the Catholic tradition in the two countries of this group is evident in every respect—in legislation, administration, curricula and organisation of schools. Quebec, for instance, is the only province which did not enact compulsory-attendance legislation, owing to the negative attitude of the Catholic Church. In administration, Quebec, alone, has included official representatives of the Church in its central government. Actually all Catholic schools in Quebec are controlled by the Church. In the Irish Free State, the central administration is secular, but the local control is in the hands of the Catholic Church. In curricula, the Catholic tradition is evident in the greater attention paid to Latin, which in Quebec is started even in primary schools. In the organisation of schools, the principle of separation of sexes is generally accepted. The facilities for secondary and higher education, on the whole, are lower than in similar Protestant provinces or countries, since the Catholic tradition always concentrated its efforts on the education of an *élite*, which also explains why the percentage of girls in secondary schools is lower than in Protestant countries.

Anglican Countries

The influence of the Church of England on the present systems in England, Australia and New Zealand is not so evident as the influence of the Catholic Church in Quebec and Ireland. It is explained partly by the presence of large and influential groups of

RELIGIONS IN PERCENTAGES

COUNTRY.	R. CATH.	ANGLICAN	PURITAN CHURCHES	OTHER CHRISTIAN	NON-CHRISTIAN	DOMINANT TRADITION
England	6	70	16	7	1	Anglican
Wales .	4	28	60	7	1	Puritan
Scotland	12	3	78	6	1	Puritan
Northern Ireland	33	27	40	—	—	Puritan
Irish Free State	92	5	3	—	—	Catholic
U.S.A. .	20	5	60	11	4	Puritan
Canada (excl. Quebec) .	22	20	47	10	1	Puritan
Quebec	85	5	6	3	1	Catholic
Australia	22	44	25	8	1	Anglican
N. Zealand .	13	42	39	6	—	Anglican
S. Africa, White	4	20	70	2	4	Puritan
S. Africa, Black	2	8	28	2	60	Heathen
Total, without S.A. Black	20	20	50	8	2	Puritan

dissenters, and partly by the growth of a secular tradition among the Anglicans themselves. In England, alone, the public elementary system still embodies the old Church schools as a remnant of the historical past, whereas in Australia and New Zealand they were secularised and the few remaining Church schools became private institutions. But even in England, Church schools have lost their exclusively denominational character, and the majority can hardly be distinguished from the provided undenominational schools. The Anglican tradition, however, is still dominant in the field of secondary education, and many leading grant-aided schools, both in England and the two Dominions, are connected with the Church. In the past, the influence of the Church of England tended to the same ends as of the Catholic Church, i.e. the education of an *élite*, with inevitable concentration on the secondary education of boys. Although the subsequent development of a secular tradition changed the situation considerably, it is still seen in the smaller percentage of girls in secondary schools compared with countries where the Puritan tradition was dominant. The following table shows the variation between the three groups of countries. It would obviously be untrue to ascribe the marked difference entirely to religious factors—undoubtedly there were other contributory causes. Nevertheless, the table is very suggestive, since it shows that the equality of opportunities for girls exists only in those countries where the Puritan tradition was dominant. In Canada and the U.S.A. girls show an even larger percentage than boys.

The following table shows the percentage of boys and girls of 12–18 years in secondary schools to total population of these ages :

COUNTRY	BOYS	GIRLS	PERCENTAGE OF PROTESTANTS OF PURITAN TRADITION	NOTE
1st Group :				
Quebec, Catholic .	17·0	6·0	0	Approximate
Quebec, Protestant.	25·0	25·0	60	Approximate
Irish Free State	10·9	7·6	3	
Northern Ireland	7·9	7·8	40	Many pupils attend secondary schools outside Northern Ireland
2nd Group :				
England	11·2	9·8	16	
Wales .	17·0	17·0	60	Approximate
Australia .	11·7	8·0	25	
New Zealand	17·5	13·5	39	
3rd Group :				
Canada, without Quebec .	20·8	25·2	47	
South Africa	23·7	23·0	70	
Scotland	18·0	18·0	78	Approximate
U.S.A.	21·0	22·0	60	Approximate

Similar figures can be obtained for university education, Quebec having only 13 per cent. of women students, England 22 per cent., Scotland 28 per cent., New South Wales 23 per cent., New Zealand 26 per cent., Canada 31 per cent. and U.S.A. 36 per cent.

The Puritan Countries

As mentioned above, the Puritan tradition has influenced the democratisation of secondary and higher education. With the exception of Northern Ireland, where other causes were effective, the countries with a Puritan population have twice as many pupils in secondary schools and higher institutions. As we have already seen, the Puritans very easily allied themselves with the secular tradition, and therefore did not consider it necessary to maintain independent secondary schools such as those of the Anglicans and Catholics. The overwhelming majority of all private and independent schools in all English-speaking countries are either Catholic or Anglican. Another influence of the Puritan tradition is seen in the system of administration. The Puritans were always individualists and against State centralisation. The extremely decentralised system of district administration still survives in the Puritan parts of the U.S.A. and Canada. The different attitude towards women is reflected in the larger percentage of women teachers than in Catholic or Anglican countries, combined with a greater percentage of certificated teachers, which, in Scotland, Canada and South

Africa, is almost 100 per cent., whereas in Quebec it is only 53 per cent., and in England 72 per cent.

Conclusion

In spite of the secularisation of education and the continuous growth of State intervention, the religious factor is still very important and influences the differentiation of school systems. With the growth of the secular movement, it seems that the difference between the Anglican and Puritan countries is gradually disappearing; this, however, cannot be said about Catholic Quebec and Ireland. The external organisation and the methods and curricula of Catholic schools are influenced by their Protestant neighbours, but the internal organisation and the participation of the Catholic Church in administration make the Catholic school systems a thing apart, and there is no evidence that a change is forthcoming.

(c) The Linguistic Factor

With the exception of Australia and England (without Wales), each of the countries has a linguistic problem of its own. Scotland and New Zealand have the minor problems of anglicising the Gaelic Highlands and Maoris respectively, which do not, however, disturb the smooth working of their systems, and, with time, seem to be assured of solution. The U.S.A. has the very important problem of Americanising European immigrants, and this appears to be proceeding successfully. The Lutheran communities, which were originally German and Scandinavian-speaking, have already become English-speaking. The Catholic community still includes enclaves of Italians, Poles, Lithuanians and other Europeans, which have parochial schools in their mother tongues. Gradually, however, these Catholic schools adopt the English language and the number of non-English schools continuously decreases. With the cessation of mass immigration this problem will disappear in the near future. Of greater difficulty is the problem of Americanising the million Spanish-speaking Mexicans, who congregate in large communities in the four border Southern States. But as the American States do not recognise the principle of bilingual education, there is no hope for the Spanish-speaking population to have a separate school system. Compelled by legislation to attend English schools, and being too poor to maintain a separate school system of their own, they will be gradually Americanised. The linguistic problems of the U.S.A. are, therefore, of a temporary character, and that country will soon become unilingual. The problem of bilingual systems exists in those countries where two languages are recognised by legislation, and where the non-English population tenaciously clings to its native speech. These countries are Wales, Ireland, Canada and South Africa. The situation in each country is different.

The Report of the Departmental Committee on "Welsh in Education and Life" made the following recommendations concerning bilingual teaching: "(1) That in Infants' Schools, the

language of the hearth, whether English or Welsh, be the medium of instruction, and that no second language be introduced at this stage. (2) That in schools for older scholars (*a*) where the population is predominantly Welsh-speaking, Welsh as a first language be used as the medium of instruction, and English be taught as a second language. (*b*) Where there is a fairly strong proportion of Welsh speakers in a district, the children be divided on the only natural basis, that of home language. (*c*) Where English predominates, English as a first language be used as the medium of instruction, and Welsh be taught as a second language." These recommendations impose additional difficulties on the local authorities in comparison with unilingual countries. Although the relative number of Welsh-speakers decreased from 50 per cent. in 1901 to 37 per cent. in 1931, the absolute number of Welsh-speakers has even slightly increased, which proves the permanent character of the problem. In order to fulfil the purposes set up by the Committee, the organisation of schools, the methods, curricula and the training of teachers have to be different from those of England, thus giving to the Welsh system peculiar features of its own.

The linguistic problem of Ireland is different from similar problems of other Dominions. With the exception of a few districts of Gaeltacht, the whole country was Anglicised and used English as the home speech for nearly a century. The problem is, therefore, to resurrect a lost speech, which, at present, to the majority, is almost a foreign language. The principle of home speech as the medium of instruction adopted by other Dominions would not greatly assist the renaissance of Irish. The Government of the Irish Free State was forced by circumstances to introduce a policy of compulsory teaching of Irish with gradual transition into teaching through Irish. Although such legislation is contrary to recognised pedagogical principles, it is justified by the general demand of the parents. The introduction of Irish as the second (or, rather, the first) national language complicated the educational problems of Ireland considerably. Curricula and methods had to be adapted to the new situation. Even the system of organisation, administration and finance was influenced by the new aims. In time this policy is bound to produce a marked differentiation from the rest of the English-speaking world. Northern Ireland has not followed the policy of its Southern neighbour, but has retained English as the medium of instruction. If this divergence in policy continues, the possibility of welding Ireland into one nation will be permanently endangered, since the English-speaking Irishman from the North will be considered a foreigner by the Irish-speaking people of the South.

The position of the French language in Canada is peculiar. By the Federal Constitution it is recognised as a second official language for all Federal purposes, but it is not recognised as such by the provincial legislation of the eight English-speaking provinces.

In Quebec, on the other hand, French is the first official language. The Federal clause on separate schools is based on the religious difference and does not mention the French language at all. In these circumstances, the principle of home speech as the medium of instruction was not accepted as a guide. Manitoba tried for a few years to build up a system of bilingual schools for all non-English minorities. The experiment, however, proved unsuccessful, and since 1916, English has been compulsory as the medium of instruction in all schools. The French-speaking minorities in the English provinces receive consideration only as Catholics, and as such may have separate schools. Even in Quebec the dividing line is denominational and not linguistic, so that a French Protestant is taught through the medium of English, whereas the English-speaking Catholic is taught through the medium of French. Usually, especially in the past, the divisions on denominational and linguistic lines coincided, and the Canadians of Quebec were perhaps not fully conscious of the difference. There is, however, an ever-increasing number of English-speaking Catholics in Quebec who would like an English school, and a number of French-speaking Canadians who would prefer an undenominational French school on the lines of the English Protestant schools. The problem of bilingual instruction is actually absent, since the second language is taught as a foreign language in the same way as foreign languages are taught in all schools. The educated French Canadians speak English well because of necessity, but the English-speaking Canadians seldom speak French.

Since the Union in 1910, the position of Afrikaans as a second (or first) official language has been assured, and the necessity for bilingual instruction recognised for both the Britons and the Boers. Both languages have to be learned by all South Africans, and candidates for teaching posts must attain a high standard of proficiency in each. The mixed character of the white community excluded the possibility of establishing territorially separated English and Africaans school systems. The solution, therefore, had to be based on the individual child rather than on some unit of local self-government. The principle of home language as the medium of instruction was adopted in the Cape, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, whereas in Natal the parents decide the medium of instruction they wish for their children irrespective of their home speech, which in general practice leads to the same results. In such circumstances, almost every urban school, except in Natal, has to provide two parallel courses in every subject, which greatly complicates the organisation, the methods and curricula. Only in Natal, and in rural areas of other provinces, can one find homogeneous communities, which do not require such duplication of instruction. In Natal the second language (Afrikaans) is not compulsory, but in the other three provinces, English for the Boers and Afrikaans for the Britons are equally compulsory, unless the parent expressly objects, which seldom

happens. Thus, with the exception of Natal, the whole educational system is actually bilingual.

Conclusion

All four countries, Wales, Ireland, Canada and South Africa, which have two national languages, have had to differentiate their school systems from those of unilingual countries. The necessity for an adequate knowledge of a second language leads to changes in organisation, methods and curricula. It is interesting to observe the different approach to the problem of bilingualism in the countries of Puritan and Catholic traditions. Wales and South Africa approach it from the viewpoint of an individual child, for whom it is more natural and easier to learn through the medium of his home speech. Quebec and Ireland approach the problem from the viewpoint of the community as a whole, and only indirectly consider the interests of the individual child. For Quebec, the French language is important more as a means of preserving the Catholic tradition than as the natural speech of the children. They would sooner lose their Protestant compatriots as Frenchmen than allow French-speaking Protestant schools. In Ireland the necessity for the nation as a whole to recover her cultural independence overrules the needs of children for whom Irish is a foreign language. The different attitudes have resulted in different legislative provisions for bilingual instruction.

(d) The Factor of Territory and Population

The following table gives the difference in population and density per square mile :

COUNTRY	TOTAL POPULATION IN 000's	DENSITY PER SQUARE MILE	PERCENTAGE OF RURAL POPULATION	DENSITY OF RURAL POPULATION PER SQUARE MILE	APPROX. NO. OF PEOPLE PER 3 SQUARE MILES
England and Wales	40,000	690	20	120	3,200
Scotland .	4,900	165	20	30	850
Northern Ireland .	1,300	250	50	110	3,000
Irish Free State	3,200	120	70	85	1,400
U.S.A.[1]	125,000	42	44	20	560
Canada[1]	10,400	6	46	3	90
Australia[1] .	6,800	3	36	1	30
New Zealand	1,500	16	40	6	180
South Africa	8,500	15	75	11	300
S. Africa, Whites .	2,000	4	39	2	60

[1] For Canada (nine provinces only) and Australia (the six states only) and for U.S.A. exclusive of Alaska.

This table shows the enormous difference between the countries, which is reflected in the variation of the systems of administration and finance, and in school organisation. Even if we exclude the unpopulated parts of the Canadian provinces and Australian states,

the density of rural districts would increase in both Dominions to about 6 persons per square mile, whereas in England it is 120 persons. The urban population presents similar problems in all countries, and all urban centres, whether in the old countries, as London, Edinburgh or Dublin, or in the new countries, as Melbourne, Ottawa or Cape Town, have highly differentiated and well-organised school systems which show many features in common. But in rural areas the difference of organisation is great. Whereas in England the rural population (20 per cent.) is, as a rule, within easy reach of some borough or urban district with all the amenities of higher education, in the U.S.A., Canada, Australia and South Africa about 40 per cent. of the total population lives in outlying farms or villages, where a proper organisation of higher education is very difficult. This has resulted in different systems of grading, organisation of secondary schools and provision for compulsory attendance. The English secondary schools, even in rural districts, are separate well-organised institutions, whilst the secondary grades of rural schools in America, Australia or Africa are small annexes to primary schools, with all the ensuing disabilities. The policy of consolidation which started in America surmounts the difficulty to a great extent, but up till now it has only affected a small percentage of rural areas. In Great Britain, owing to short distances and a mild climate, it was possible to start school attendance at the age of 5, whereas in the new countries it was impossible, and compulsory attendance is enforced only from the age of 7. This resulted in the later beginning of post-primary education, and subsequently of university education. The different ratio of the rural population also affects the school systems. In this respect, the Irish Free State is the only country where the rural population outnumbers the urban, and where the interests of farmers should outweigh the interests of the industrial and trading centres in the formulation of a national policy in education. The system of administration and finance is necessarily influenced by the territory and population. It is possible in England to establish a centralised system of inspection, where every inspector is within easy call of the Board of Education. It would be hardly practicable to have a centralised inspectorate in America or Australia, where personal contact between the distant centres takes too much time and money.

(e) The Factor of Political Independence

The last factor to be considered is that of sovereignty. Whilst America and the Dominions were British colonies, their educational policies were largely influenced by the home country and duplicated more or less its merits and defects. With the attainment of sovereignty, or political independence, each country tried to establish its own national policy more in agreement with its peculiar circumstances and needs. This was clearly shown in the eighteenth century when the United States changed its educational policy

after the attainment of national sovereignty. It was strikingly evident, too, in the policies of the Union of South Africa and the Irish Free State after they received Dominion status. Although less evident, political independence had its influence in Canada, Australia and New Zealand as well. The different ways of attaining independence were bound to influence the attitude towards the former mother country. America, South Africa and Ireland attained their present status after an embittered struggle with England, and a certain jealousy of their particular national features distinguishing them from the English was even fostered by the Governments in the initial stages of their independence. With the attainment of an unquestioned political parity with Great Britain the common heritage of all the English-speaking countries will come again to the forefront. . . . Canada had no conflicts with England (except the conquest of French Canada, which was a Franco-English war), but her peculiar position alongside of the United States and the presence of the French Canadians make her educational policy more differentiated than otherwise would have been necessary. Australia and New Zealand, populated by purely British stock, resemble the old country more than any other of the English-speaking countries, but even in these Dominions the national policy in education has diverged from the English.

Conclusion

We have followed briefly all the factors which differentiate one nation from the other, and we have seen that the first two factors, race and language, have a unifying influence among the English-speaking countries. The third factor of religion has had a more complex influence. Whilst in some countries, notably in Scotland and South Africa, it had a unifying influence, in others, notably in Ireland and Canada, it was the principle cause of division. Taking, however, the whole group of nations together, it can be said that the presence of all the three divisions of Christianity in all English-speaking countries makes the religious influence a factor of unity and mutual understanding. Separate territory and political independence are necessarily factors of differentiation, but are not in themselves strong enough to outbalance the combined unifying influence of the other three.

N. HANS.

PART XII

A Survey of Educational Problems in Europe

CHAPTER ONE

The New Trend of French Education [1]

1. A Changing Tradition

IN the conception of many educationists France is still regarded as a country with a rigid and bookish educational system, strictly centralised, and with State-controlled schools, governed by an abstract intellectualism.

In this picture the Ministry of Education in Paris takes the place of a General Staff, with the powers of a High Command even in details of lessons, or of a central power house, with a press-the-button mechanism that controls every moment in the power system, or schools.

The student of education will soon have to abandon this conception. French education is changing rapidly from a mediæval scholasticism to a new humanism. Rigid centralisation is giving place to a growing responsibility on the part of the teacher wherever opportunity occurs ; intellectualism, pronounced defunct, is being replaced by new combinations of life-experience and intelligence ; manual training is being introduced in surprising quarters ; physical fitness, once greatly neglected, is being promoted ; and some of the recent schools are amongst the best examples of the art of modern school building.

It is the fact that a new team of educators, elder and younger, is rapidly changing the face of French education, and thereby of

[1] Sources : I have used for this study, beside the literature quoted, many newspaper reports and a great mass of those pamphlets, programmes, manuscripts of speeches and drafts of new plans, which always prepare for, and accompany the beginnings of, a new movement. I have been much helped, during my travels in France, by friends and many others interested in the enquiry ; and the following have put me under obligations which I wish to acknowledge by name : M. H. *Luc*, General Director of Technical Education in the French Ministry of Education, and one of the authors of the new movement ; M. J. *Julien*, Minister, Secretary of State for Technical Education, M. L. *Lagrange*, Minister, Secretary of State for Leisure ; M. J. *Fontègne*, General Inspector of Technical Education ; M. A. *Lomont*, General Director of the International Bureau of Technical Education ; M. P. *Bertaux*, Chef du Cabinet of the Minister of Education ; M. J. *Luc*, Chef du Cabinet of the Secretary of State for Technical Education. I may add that an impressive description of the new plans was given during the Conference of the International Bureau of Education, Geneva, July 1937, by the French delegate, M. P. Barrier, General Director of Primary Education in the French Ministry of Education.

French life. It is a renascence, not of pretentious programmes and proclamations, but of undeclared organic change. The student may even have difficulty in putting his finger on the facts and phenomena producing this new atmosphere. But the longer he observes and studies the details of the system, the stronger will be the impression he obtains.

In this new movement the Ministry of Education appears as no longer static, but as a centre of progress. Free personalities are at work in it, and they live in a new and favourable atmosphere. It is one of educational personalism, freed from bureaucratic tradition. For more than a hundred years one great educationist after another has been contributing to its development, and periods of reaction have only been able to slow down the movement, never to kill it. Some of their names are continuously revered. They looked upon education as a mission. They lived a simple, scholarly life. They resisted the temptations of wealth, they sometimes even cultivated poverty. The "two hundred families" who, as the foreigner is often told, control the finances of France, find their opposite number in the families with whom education is a tradition passing from father to son and even to grandson.

2. The "First Man" of the Country

This development is supported by the high esteem in which the educationist and the educated are held in France. In public estimation they take precedence of the aristocracy, the officer and the financier alike. To quote, not from an educational magazine but from the *Moniteur de l'Exportation*, Nr. 226, Novembre 1936: "Every close observer of the French people must admire its spontaneous curiosity, its love of clarity, of lucidity and of logical thinking, its common sense and elegance of thought and expression. This passion for culture and refinement is far from being satisfied by the present system of education." France is, we may admit, exceptional in that, in the balance between supply and demand in education, the demand is still the greater. A foreigner might well have noted with surprise this year, that in the great demonstration to celebrate the French revolution on July 14th the socialist party marched behind a big poster with the name "Descartes." It was a strange name to appear in the struggle between contemporary political parties.

But Descartes was in truth the originator of the new aristocracy of educationists. A large number of party leaders and parliamentary representatives are now drawn from its ranks. Some of the largest parties rely, in their constituencies, mainly on the teachers. Even in the Cabinet and in the diplomatic service education is at times predominantly represented; and the future diplomats of other countries will be meeting often diplomats from France who are, by tradition, inclination, and perhaps even by profession, educationists. It will be seen that, in France, education has never become a profession apart, or a side track for ambition. It

has retained its confident place, and has been fostered by the best elements from decade to decade. As one looks back upon the past, one might say that step by step, during these years, French education has been freeing itself from the Napoleonic tradition. One might use one of his own phrases, and say that " the spirit has proved stronger than the sword." On the other hand, another great figure of the past is growing steadily more influential, that of Condorcet. That is to say, the military conception, as applied to everything, even to education, is definitely passing away ; and, with it, arbitrary methods of control, the suppression of liberty and individualism, and the rigid centralisation which is itself an entirely militaristic conception. Its place is being taken by those ideas for which Condorcet stood, that education implies the belief in a better nature in man, a seed dormant in winter, but to be awakened by spring, the spring of a more humane atmosphere, whether of school or of home and circumstance.

In the new French conception of education, therefore, a new tendency is frequently met. School and home life, or different types of school, are no longer separated in idea. They are associated, in a happy union, wherever there may be a chance of doing so. The French Minister of Education, M. Jean Zay, has emphasised this aspect of the new Reform.[1] The Republican State, he writes, should work unceasingly to create unity and fraternity in its youth, to prepare youth for its careers with genuine prevision, and to establish closer connection between the different types of school.

3. The Test of Life

General theories are best studied in their relationship to certain of the acute problem-units of our time.

The word " problem-unit " is used to describe groups of conditions common in most Western countries, where modern developments have produced situations insoluble by traditional educational systems and demanding new measures.

Every teacher is in touch with many such problem-units. An educational administrator or legislator has to keep himself informed of them with greater difficulty. On the other hand, the educator is himself an indirect legislator, in that he must prepare the right atmosphere, so that the next steps in legislative and constructive action may be undertaken. Common sense has here again its part, and educational common sense is often better guided than political discretion. We may note how such educational common sense in France has proved itself in dealing with certain urgent problem-units, particularly with the prolongation of school life, the selective process between primary and secondary school, the introduction of humanism into technical education, and the use of leisure time.

[1] *L'Action Laique, Bulletin Mensuel de la Ligue Française de l'Enseignement*, Nr 49, Juin-Août 1937, page 110.

4. The Raising of the School Age

In most Western countries the question has been urgent. In France the limit of compulsory school attendance was lower than in many other countries. Until 1936, primary school ended at 13, and bright children could leave earlier, by passing the lowest grade of the many French certificates. In July 1936, the age was raised to 14. No exceptions were granted. As in other countries, the decision involved many special difficulties. To mention a few: The years between 13 and 15 form a period of transition. Children leaving school during this period have two gaps to bridge; an inner breach between their receptive school attitude and the romantic attitude of the adolescent, and an external transition from their school environment to that of "life" and of occupation.

Both were conspicuously marked in France. The transition from childhood to adolescence is no easy step for the emotional racial temperament; and traditions that once helped to bridge the gap are weakening year by year, the tradition of religion, of patriotism, of class consciousness, and even of the cult of the family, although this is still vigorous. Similarly, the transition from school to life has not grown easier. Since 1750, there has been growing complaint that the crafts and trades were failing in their duty as educational units. Apprentices were being neglected, or badly treated, and, since 1789, the tradition of handicraft, of the guild and the workshop, has been breaking down. Long hours and over-heavy tasks have overtaxed the young workers entering industry or agriculture at 13.

Thus the raising of the school age had a number of problems to solve, some of which were peculiar to France. We will cite another, and by no means the least.

French schools, even the primary school, after a period of encouraging manual ability, had become heavily biased upon their abstract or intellectual side. Cramming, and the pressure of examinations, had grown excessive. "The evil that has ruined school life for forty years has been an incessant preoccupation with examinations. When an examination looms, every child loses its wits in fear of the test. They stop learning, and concentrate only upon examination cramming."[1] Similar statements could be quoted *ad infinitum*.

Such conditions produced a high degree of school fatigue. The children recoiled from learning; they longed to enter life and some sort of reality. The aim of the "abstractists," learning for its own sake, was thus entirely defeated. And France was rich in these abstractists, who saw in the raising of the school age to 14 only the first step towards raising it farther to 16 or even 18, and towards opening to everyone "secondary education" in this abstract sense.

It is significant that the Left-wing government, under the leader-

[1] Joseph Bertrand, *Enquête*, page 84, quoted in L. Zoretti, *Education* Paris, 1918, page 158.

ship of a socialist, Léon Blum, pronounced definitely against the abstractists. On July 2nd, 1936, the Minister of Education stated : " We do not refuse to put general cultural subjects first, in the additional year's curriculum (13–14) ; but we shall adjust them to the rules governing technical education. And, while we shall prevent this new year developing into vocational education, we intend it to take the form of a type of prevocational study. . . . Manual activity shall be universally practised, either in the experimental fields attached to the rural schools, or in the workshops which we purpose shall form part of every school." He added that physical exercises, games, visits to museums, and open-air activities were also to find place in the new curriculum.[1] In short, the government accepted the idea of pre-apprenticeship education for the additional school year.

5. Pre-apprenticeship Education

What is the programme of pre-apprenticeship education ? It is best expressed in the book written by the two men who have fathered the new plan—H. Luc, Director-General of Technical Education in the French Ministry of Education, and J. Fontègne, Chief Inspector of Technical Education.[2] The authors are as effective writers as they have shown themselves to be active initiators.

They begin by saying that the pre-apprenticeship idea is to act as an inspiration, and not as a rigid rule, for the teacher. He is to have even more liberty than is usual in interpreting directions. He is to interpret them intelligently, because " there is no liberty except in intelligence."

Pre-apprenticeship, in practice, is to be the bridge between study and career, between childhood and adolescence. At present children leave school deficient both in mental and manual ability, with vague notions, and with no inward discipline behind their surface attention. The idea postulates a new atmosphere in school life, one of activity, of individuality, and humanity. It had its origin in the Infant school, and has been propagated thence by the New Education movement. It implies the recognition that all education is self-education, that none can progress except by exercising the individual faculties and the aptitudes that may issue in invention and creation. It insists that all education is personal and individual, as between teacher and pupil acting as a team.

Since man is body, spirit and will, true education must be of the whole. Pre-apprenticeship envisages both the intellectual and the physical faculties, the theory in learning and the practice. It is to prepare for a life both individual and collective, both free and corporative ; a life devoted equally to thought, to the arts and to the career.

[1] Comp. H. Luc et J. Fontègne, *Généralités sur le Préapprentissage*, Paris, 1936, page 62.

[2] See above, *Généralités sur le Préapprentissage*, *Le Travail Manuel*, Paris 1936.

The pre-apprenticeship year has for its aim to deepen and to confirm, to adapt and to precisionise school knowledge, and to render it mobile by relating it to the first experiences of practical life. Every aptitude, physical, intellectual, social and manual, will be brought into play, as it bears upon the first elements of vocational activity.

The connotations of the word "pre-apprenticeship" become clearer from its history. The first practical school of the kind, without using the name, seems to have been the predecessor of the Ecole Diderot, 60 Boulevard de la Villette, Paris. In 1875, Gréard writes of this school, that every pupil spends a year in each of the different workshops. In 1909, there were ten workshops. The same was true in 1900, of the famous Ecole Boulle in Paris. Fouvrier's phrase "papillonage professionnel," to flit like a butterfly from one work to another, is made in connection with it (*op. cit.*, pages 18–19). We should note in passing that the combination of school and workshop on the one hand, and of the instruction of the apprentice-pupil in different branches of industrial activity on the other, were points in the interesting educational proposals to be found again and again in Proudhon's writings (1809–1865). He demands that the apprentice shall pass through "the entire series of industrial exercises without distinction of the specialities," and that he shall "embrace the totality of the industrial system." (Edouard Dolléans, "Pour une culture vivante et libre," *Semaine d'études*, Pontigny 6, pages 105 ff.) The word itself was used for the first time in 1909, by Vaillant, as applied to an institution intended to be a transition between school and workshop. After many private and semi-official experiments, towards the end of the war, some of the most important economic and educational organisations agreed to this definition: "Pre-apprenticeship is a special form of education, intended to discover the child's special aptitude, and to further it by the test of manual labour; while at the same time perfecting its intellectual and cultural training. By it all the qualities of the true craftsman, indispensable for a modern worker, will be released and emphasised." [1]

A wider extension was given to the idea by the rapid growth of a new idea, and of its description—vocational orientation. This new development, thanks to the existence of the pre-apprenticeship system in France, was at once naturally associated with the school and the teacher. It inevitably became an integral part of the pre-apprenticeship school movement. By its adoption into the programme of the additional school year, the connection between school and vocational guidance was made definite and legalised.

Since the War, the practical realisation of pre-apprenticeship training has steadily progressed. Paris, alone, and the Departement of the Seine, have more than 100 schools, with nearly 4,000 pupils, entirely devoted to this idea, and the Ateliers Ecole of the Chamber of Commerce of Paris are based upon it. We may add that the

[1] *Op. cit.*, page 6.

YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION, 1937 edition, pages 707–21, contains the first detailed analysis in English of this successful system. It should be read in conjunction with the present survey, and especially page 717, where it is stated that in these schools more than 12,000 " have voluntarily raised the school age, to take part in this kind of pre-apprenticeship training."

Similar movements have been started in many other countries, and they are known by not less than nine different names. Belgium has experimented widely in the field; and Switzerland has its " Anlernschulen."

The pre-apprenticeship school has the following characteristics:

It stands between the primary school (or the first part of the primary school) and the vocation.

Half of its time-table is given to handicraft, or non-intellectual training.

Handicraft is taught in fully equipped school workshops, as like as possible to the workshops of the crafts.

Every child may change, after a period, from one handicraft to another, and to yet a third.

The training is not a particular preparation for one or the other craft, it is a general preparation for all.

The individual aptitude for one or the other craft is aroused, and tested, during the periods of different manual activities.

The general mental training of school is continued, with the intention of deepening and confirming its teachings by its association with the new centre of interest, and with the new child activities, the many-sided manual work.

6. The Technique of Pre-apprenticeship Education

The following time-table has emerged as the best, from the experience of the existing schools in France (*op. cit.*, pages 55 ff.).

The thirty hours weekly are divided between the intellectual and the non-intellectual training.

The intellectual comprises:

Mother tongue . .	5 hours
Arithmetic and geometry	4 ,,
Applied sciences . .	2 ,,
History and geography . .	2 ,,
Moral, civic, and social subjects	1 ,,
Writing .	1 ,,

The practical or active side includes:

Manual work (increased for those who are only inclined to the practical side of life)	6–8 hours
Physical education	2½ ,,
Design . .	2 ,,
Group singing	2 ,,
Visits to factories, workshops, banks, and so on	1½ ,,

In general, the morning hours are given to the intellectual, the afternoon to the practical training.

The morning hours should not resemble ordinary school teaching. So many French 13-year-olds are weary to death of books, writing and studies, that they dream only of tools, instruments, motors and action in any form. Even the morning hours should borrow something of the atmosphere of the workshop school, the farm school or the Secretariate school (*op. cit.*, pages 55 ff.). It should be not only an external form ; the balance of interior interest must be similarly changed. Every subject must centre round an interest, action or material of practical life. The happy expression is used that the teaching of every period should radiate from an " Idée mère," a matrix giving out warmth and life (page 56). For example, during a period in the carpenters' shop, wood, its uses and limitations as a material, form the ' 'mother idea." Later, a house, its construction and all the work and life connected with it, can form the living idea for the children, in their practical and their theoretical work. The building, its furnishing, its many functions, all form part of the idea, and for the girls, especially, the functioning of the household and the family.

In detail, it works in this fashion : In " preparation outside school hours," the pupil is advised to observe individually the different stages in the erection of a building.

" In preparation in school," follow descriptions of different fashions of building houses, with lectures on the building trade.

Then, in " school work," there is reading of matter illustrative of questions under discussion, and essays are written containing the results of the personal observations. In history lessons older building traditions are examined ; and in geography, the different types of national building, and the places of origin of the different woods and of other building materials. The same method holds good for arithmetic, geometry, design, writing and so on.

As it proceeds, the line of treatment leads on to always larger subject-matters : to the organisation of the building trade, their trades unions and their significance, the solidarity of the workmen, and the appropriate forms of apprenticeship for the building trade. After these come the question of the drift from countryside to big town, and the bias in favour of particular employments, for the moment in fashion, as viewed in the light of the claims of every genuine work. In this way the house and the building trade, or for the girl the kindred domestic careers, are made a plastic core, and serve to help the pupil to form his own decision (*op. cit.*, pages 55 ff.).

The following changes are proposed for the manual activities of the workshop :

October and November	Metalwork
December and January .	Woodwork
February and March	Metal-in-sheet work
April . .	Paper and pasteboard work, book binding
May and June	Stone, bricks, pipes and other building work
July	Printing

In rural centres, organisation is to centre round the school garden and farm, with special attention to rural buildings and local crafts.

Saturday afternoon is to be devoted to cleaning out workshops and classrooms and to training boys in household pursuits (*op. cit.*, 42 f.).

After the boy or girl has decided on a career, the second part of the pre-apprenticeship training begins, called the "special pre-apprenticeship training." This shall accustom them to the tools and instruments, the materials and the customs of their future vocation, and leads on to the first steps of full apprenticeship.

In giving the theoretical side of the training, importance is attached to what are called "vocational monographs." In these monographs the history and development of each trade are described, in addition to the description of its present form and conditions, and their social significance. Twenty of these monographs are announced to appear.

Further, a sociological outline of the different trades and professions is to be given, with a general history of the trades and crafts, of banking and industry. Teachers are advised as to how to make such history clearer by graphic illustration. Special emphasis is laid on historical crafts and trades, on costumes and songs and games appropriate to them, and their revival is strongly supported.

It will have become clear by now that all this programme constitutes an effort to replace the traditional subjects by a new atmosphere and new material. Nothing except the classification is borrowed from the former school. The traditional "scholasticism" has yielded to a constructive realism. It is significant of a new atmosphere of social understanding and service, of a higher respect for humanity in work and labour. Art, in every form, is accepted as an essential part of life and of labour, not excluding the old songs and customs of the crafts. M. Jean Luc expresses this well in saying that the future working class needs a culture adapted to the world it lives in (*La Formation Professionelle*, April 1937 page 46). He goes on to say that technical education was mistaken in dreaming of a new Higher certificate and University Entrance examination; it had looked too long on its neighbour, the old secondary school. M. Luc is resolved, with wide support in France, to fight for the reconstruction of education from bottom to top, founding the new structure upon "technical" education traditions, that is to say, upon the association of practical and manual experience with each new stage, and upon the centring of all training in knowledge, art, science, or even philosophy, around the work each man is called upon to do with his hands. The ideal is man as both worker and producer—producer materially, socially, artistically and intellectually.

Himself the product of the highest form of classical training in France, perhaps on the Continent, the Ecole Normale Superieur, M. Jean Luc speaks with authority when he goes on to criticise

the old form of higher education in France on one main count, that its education led on too quickly into specialisation, before the adequate "technique" was mastered. Technique is here used as meaning the "fundamental rules upon which the work of the intellect and spirit must depend." [1] He attacks, further, and harshly, the influence of Encyclopädism, as being the tendency to omniscience in school, and the pressure of examinations in secondary schools, and continues: "We see in our youth, under pressure of the present secondary school curriculum, an absence of freshness and intellectual spontaneity, a slackness in concentration, and a gloomy resignation to the worst of errors and the most pedantic of exactions." [2]

If it were required to defend the new "technical" education against any reproach of being too material, the reports and publications of the movement, or a visit to the schools, would be sufficient answer. Freshness, spontaneity and good taste are evident and a new preparedness for team work and co-operation.

7. Selection and Formation of an Elite

Every pupil of the primary school will in future at the age of 13 have to pass through the pre-apprenticeship year.

The same idea is beginning to strike root in the field of secondary education. Every secondary school pupil will, in a few years, have to pass through his "année d'orientation," at the age of 11. This "year of orientation" is the solution proposed for the problem of selection and for the formation of an élite.

It is also the first radical solution proposed for the problem of examinations. School examinations, more especially since the Carnegie enquiry, have come more and more under criticism. The transition between primary and secondary school, which is for 75 per cent. of the population the most crucial examination point, has been particularly assailed with doubts. A peculiar importance, therefore, attaches to the result of the experiment which the French Ministry of Education is beginning this October, in fifty towns in France.

We shall now outline the "problem-unit," as we have called it, the situation to which this experiment is to give an answer.

(*a*) The last three decades have destroyed, in most Western countries, any belief that secondary education can continue to be the privilege of a wealthy upper class, supplemented by a new and growing middle class with its residence near a secondary school.

(*b*) An increasing sense of social justice, acting in consort with the necessity for finding the best brains, has been encouraging at every point all discoverable intelligence to enter the secondary school and, later, the university; since, by tradition, this line leads on to the best openings, to higher salaries, to greater social security, and to rosier prospects for the future offspring.

[1] *Op. cit.*, page 45. [2] *Op. cit.*, page 45.

(*c*) Secondary school teachers' organisations, as well as the leaders of the hitherto unprivileged masses, welcomed this wave of "democratisation and socialisation."

(*d*) The optimism which surrounded advancement through school examinations was at its highest shortly before and after the War. Then spots began to be perceptible upon the sun.

(*e*) For the product proved to be, as often as not, unsatisfactory. The best pupils, first in their class and models of behaviour, not infrequently turned out to be failures in life. School values and life values seemed in some way to belong to different fields.

(*f*) Difficulties in testing personality at 11 grew more apparent. The frequent cases of slow or later development rendered selection at this age still more questionable. The slower proved often in the end the abler.

(*g*) Even assuming that quality could be detected at 11, mass school-examinations proved less and less adequate for the selective process. They are cross-sections through the extension of memory rather than through personality.

(*h*) The system involved premature pressure upon the brain and nerves. A new element in early school life, it threatened the development of the human plant, by tampering with the roots or forcing the flower at a stage when every gardener of humanity would advise leaving flower and root alike alone, and attending only to its nourishment in tranquillity.

(*i*) Normal school life, and normal teaching, seemed to be sucking in some slow poison, from the steady infiltration of the demands of examination and competition.

(*k*) But even granting that such a method of education and selection was perfectly effective for its object, it remained increasingly questionable whether all children of first-rate intelligence were rightly being directed into "intellectual" professions or careers. Thereby all other branches of productive life were being drained and the values of the noblest types of work were being degraded in popular estimation to a low rank in a new scale of "Class Values." Many prominent educators and leaders have grown increasingly conscious of this great danger. The masses of working-class population have been skimmed of their best by the temptation of this single road to social and economic advancement. They lack now not only the qualified and specialised worker—a world phenomenon in our time—but they have lost the supply of prominent leaders and the elements of finer reason from among their own working ranks—and this will be the world problem of to-morrow.

This was the dangerous situation for which the solution was sought. We will add one further confirmation of it. "The cream of the younger generation, particularly of the working class, should not be skimmed off. But we do this when we drain the working class systematically of those who appear the most intelligent, and put them into teaching and the professions. We leave, in the field of the crafts and of manual labour, only the lower grade intelligences.

" There lies the grave danger for the working class. Many of us are deeply interested in the process called the selection of the Elite. But to give the masses themselves education and culture—that is the task which interests me almost exclusively " (André Dubois, *La Formation Professionnelle*, Avril 1937, page 51).

8. The Technique of the " Année d'Orientation "

This problem-unit is recognised in most Western countries. The names its component problems have been given are diverse. They include the crisis in secondary education, selection by the examination system, academic versus practical schooling, overcrowding of the universities, and so on. They are cognate ; and to attempt to deal with each in isolation can only lead to wrong conclusions and to half measures.

The several crises belong to a single sickness, a mildew which is attacking our over-developed and over-cultivated civilisation. It can only be cured by a remedy directed to strengthening the whole structure of the growth.

A nearer balance between the manual and the intellectual divisions of the populations, a closer connection between the manual and intellectual elements in education, can alone reinforce the personality and the intelligence of a future generation from the primitive sources of human energy. Any other remedial measure can be no more than partial, or superficial.

The proposal of the French " Année d'Orientation " would seem to be the first serious attempt to attack the problem-unit in its entirety. It is not an ideal or a complete solution, but it is as much as the school, in its sphere, could be expected to offer at the moment. Of even more importance is the fact that it is aimed in the right direction. It avoids the universal tendency, in reform, to force yet higher the intellectual standard and the mechanised testing methods, which could only serve to increase the nervous demoralisation of pupils and schools. It takes the opposite course : it seeks to do away as far as possible with all examinations, and to place its confidence in the judgment of the teacher, or rather in the collective discriminating power and advice of the associated teachers.

In outline the scheme is as follows :

Every child proposing to enter the secondary school, and to transfer from the primary school with its sequel in a practical career, must, at 11, enter one of the classes of " orientation." He continues in it for one year, studying under observation. At the end of the year the team of five class-teachers, with the addition of the director of the school and an expert in vocational guidance, gives an advisory decision : either return to the primary school, or admission to the secondary school ; and, in the latter case, whether it shall be in classics, in modern languages and natural sciences, or upon the technical side. If this advice is accepted, no entrance examination to the secondary school is required.

The orientation classes are to be of two types to begin with: one is to offer one foreign language without Latin, the other Latin and no other foreign language. The experience of the first year of these classes is to decide whether yet a third type of orientation class shall be introduced, a technical type, without any foreign language at the beginning, which shall lead on to higher technical education. For it is designed that this in future shall form an integral part of secondary education.

The number of pupils in a class is limited to 25, to avoid the dangers of mass education. The inclusive number of weekly lessons is limited to 27. This reduction is an experimental solution of the grave problem of the "surmenagement," or overburdening, of the pupils. No homework is to be permitted. The teaching is to be directed to the encouragement of individual and intensive study in school. The conception of the class as a "collection" is expressly abandoned. Individual study by the pupils and individual interest on the part of the teacher are to be the dominant note.

The number of teachers for a class is limited to five. It is advised that these should comprise primary, secondary and technical school teachers. This is the first time, so far as I am aware, that the unfortunate distinction between the types of teachers has been abolished, and they have been combined in a co-operating team. Once every week this team is to meet and co-ordinate its work, settle the subjects for the following week, and compare experiences with regard to single pupils, and with regard to the more general results of the new experiment.

It is the declared intention of the Ministry of Education to give a minimum of instructions to the teachers; and, for the rest, to limit its authority to giving advice and securing the co-operation of the teachers' team. As we shall see, a greater confidence is to be placed in the teacher than has so far been given in any other country.

The new and original curriculum prescribed for such a class is the following:

10 hours of literary subjects (including the mother tongue and one foreign language);
7 hours of scientific subjects (including mathematics);
5 hours of manual work in a workshop, as adapted to the age of the children;
3 hours of physical exercises;
2 hours of design.

In addition, one afternoon is devoted to an entirely new subject, namely, "loisire educative," educative leisure.

The above curriculum may need some explanation.

To take the last point first—*educative leisure*. France is resolved to stand by her change to shorter working hours. Concessions to economic necessity will be made, but the main alteration is unlikely to be affected, the concentration of work in the five days

of the week, leaving two days free for all workers. In addition, the allowance of two weeks' holiday in the year will stand. This will leave in all nearly 120 days in the year free from work—and free for what ?

This " for what ? " the question implicit in this new leisure, calls for a prompt and sufficient reply. On its part, the school is awake to the fact that it must adapt its forms to the new social demands. Hence this new subject introduced—educative leisure. In its experimental introduction all are invited to share and to contribute their experience. Every kind of hobby, visits to factories or other centres of interest, all methods of self-instruction are to be encouraged. The instinct for self-responsibility in the younger generation is to be aroused. We await the results of the first year with profound interest ; they will have meaning for more countries than for France alone.

Manual work. For the first time under the heading of secondary education there will be introduced in all schools five hours weekly for handicraft, without any exceptions. This is more than an incident of the time-table. It is a confession of faith. Manual education is being given full recognition as a contributory part of secondary education. And this is happening in a country which up to now has been regarded as the stronghold of abstractism and intellectualism ! For the group fighting for the radical reform of French education it represents a momentous victory.

In the literature of the subject we find plenty of evidence of how much the victory will be resented. An influential group of the " Old French," which sometimes even calls itself the " Old French Barbarians " as a title of honour, is so convinced of the value of Latin (which its members teach) that it urges Latin as the compulsory subject for all, without any exception. The same happened in Germany towards the end of the eighteenth century. But the group in Germany consisted of specialists in Greek, and it urged " Greek for all and everyone," even for the labourer and the farmer. It was partly due to its reactionary influence in Prussia that the great efforts of Pestalozzi, Franke and Kindermann to include manual work in all education were frustrated. In Germany the proposal has never been revived. Let us hope that in France the development will not be different.

In the orientation classes opened this autumn in more than fifty towns manual education will be pursued with a real enthusiasm. Already, every type of workshop, and the experience of technical educators, has been placed at the service of the secondary schools.

Of the other subjects no special explanation is needed, except perhaps to explain that during this first year of experiment special facilities will be given to make transfer easy as between the classical, the modern and the technical type of class. The teachers will seek to encourage such transfers, as it will be profitable for themselves, and for the children, to secure a wider experience of the different types of teaching, and of learning, during the critical stages.

9. The Object of the " Année d'Orientation "

The object is to decide, during the year, what type of schooling will be best suited to the individual pupil. To this all else is subordinate.

Vocational orientation lies as the remoter object. The direct object is school orientation. And the school type will have its bearing upon the future vocation.

The decision as to the vocation is no longer to be treated as a " ritual act of the two last days, the 10th and 11th July, just before the child finally leaves school. It is to be the *leitmotiv* of a whole year, and in question three years earlier." (Here, and in what follows, I quote from the personal explanations generously given me by M. J. Fontègne, one of the authors of the scheme.)

Every work-product and action of the child is significant of its capacity, and disposition or aptitude. But, in the view of the authors of the scheme, there is no clearer expression of the true nature than in manual work. This is the reason for the major part which manual work is to play in the classes.

For its success, everything depends upon there being present at the work a human being capable of just observation of the child's forms of self-expression, and of guiding it in the process of self-discovery. For the child must learn to observe itself : it is essential to any real education.

The rôle of observation, and of guidance in self-observation, is the teacher's part, and his chief function in the class.

It will be said that every efficient teacher has always exercised this function, and helped pupil and parent again and again by the process. But in this case, an ancillary function of the teacher becomes the mainspring of the whole class ; and it will be the duty of the teacher to develop himself proportionately, from an amateur into an artist in the art of orientation. And this is a long step.

Tests are to be excluded. All studying is in itself a test in the opinion of the originators—languages, history, writing, thesis and especially handicraft. To be able to use psychological tests needs long preparation, and no teacher should use them without special training. Tests by experts may be given at the end of the year ; but only then in cases where doubts have arisen (see below).

For the rest, the 150 teachers who are to have the chief responsibility in the fifty towns in which orientation classes have been opened were invited to meet in Paris in the last week of September 1937. There was intensive discussion and careful explanation ; and everything was done to help them to master the new methods, and to start them on the road to become guides and experts in the art of orientation. Their single weapon at the start will be their common sense ; to this their observation and experience should add the knowledge of the principal laws governing youthful psychology.

They have been given also, as an aid, by M. J. Fontègne, an elaborate questionnaire, or, as it is called, a booklet of observations.

This booklet, with more than 200 questions, is only given as a guide for the teacher's own efforts, supposing it to coincide with his method. He will not be asked to fill up the questions or to produce the book.

Secondly, each teacher has received a two-page leaflet, containing a number of questions. These questions the teacher is expected to answer during the second stage of observation, towards the end of the year.

The first page is devoted to " Contra-indications " ; it is to contain comments upon the pupil's weak points, and upon the advice to be given him in the negative, to secure avoidance or correction.

The second page contains comments as to the positive advice given to the pupil. Every week, as already said, the team of five teachers meets and discusses the personal impressions formed as to each pupil. Towards the end of the year, there is a meeting of the five teachers, the director and one expert in vocational guidance. They then discuss all the cases. Whenever the opinion of the team agrees with that of the director and the expert, the resultant definite advice is given to the pupil.

If there is a divergence of opinion, the expert invites the pupil to a series of psychological tests, and whichever of the opinions these confirm is accepted as the basis for the decisive advice.

The advice is given as between four possible courses :

To return to the primary school, and there follow the line of a practical career ; to enter a secondary school, whether on the classical, modern or technical side.

If pupil and parents accept the advice given, no examination precedes entry to the school. If, however, the advice is not accepted, admission to any form of secondary education can only be obtained as the result of a severe entrance examination.

Every child in the class is to be inspected by a medical officer. A full medical report forms part of the material for the final decision. The school medical officer is ready to make the necessary examinations ; but if the parents prefer, the report can be made by the family physician.

Over and over again in this scheme, those responsible for it insist that it is to contain no compulsory element. At every point the choice is left open, and the decision is to be made voluntarily.

They are, in fact, wise enough to know that no such drastic experiment could succeed upon any other but a voluntary basis. The result must depend upon a willing, and wide, co-operation.

It has made a most promising beginning. At the meeting referred to, in September of this year, between the authorities and the teachers, the latter took on the new venture in an excellent spirit. They showed themselves eager to demonstrate that the " rules of the game " were sound and workable and the new " game " itself a noble one. They should justify the great confidence that is being placed in their " teams," and they know themselves to be the pioneers in what may become a world-wide reform.

Such is the skeleton of the scheme. More must be said about the inner understanding shared by the group of teacher-pioneers. They are to learn, by experience, a new art, that of synchronising the different elements which constitute the life and the future of the child. Timely synchronisation can prevent the later disharmony which results from the neglect of some one fundamental element in the child-life.

10. Fundamental Elements to be Synchronised

The fundamental elements to be discovered, and synchronised, are: (*a*) the *social structure* and the *elements* of the future career; (*b*) the *individual wishes* of parents and child; and (*c*) the *objective structure* of mind, spirit, character and body of the child, which is to be developed at the school.

(*a*) *The Place of the Teacher*

The social structure, and the elements of the future career, are for most teachers a new field. Former knowledge of it was neither intensive, nor concrete. Too often a sense of personal sympathy for boy or girl found personal expression in the advice to follow the teacher's own profession. Similarly, a doctor, happy in his profession, might advise medicine. But self-reflecting advice of this nature is far from being an adequate fashion of solving the problem.

The sociology of careers is a science in itself. Vocational guidance is an art, based on this new science. There must be intuition also, when it is a question of vocational prognosis. But no teacher eager to fulfil his task during the year of orientation will be sparing of his efforts to make himself an expert in the problem.

There have been great mistakes in the past. During the study course of the 150 teachers in Paris, many details of the vocational crisis emerged. It was stated that the bias of the secondary school towards the university will soon have turned France into a nation of lawyers, doctors, teachers and technicians. In the Ministries and provincial administrations the applications for such posts are piled mountain-high. Everyone is only seeking for an academic career. In 1937, the number of candidates in Paris alone for the higher school certificate was 20,000. The papers were made so difficult that more than 50 per cent. failed. Throughout France there is a dangerous overcrowding, and therefore much unemployment, connected with all intellectual and learned professions; while there is a huge deficiency of highly skilled labour.

The teachers who are to bring order into this chaos have neither the authority nor the purpose to prohibit this career or that, or to create a *numerus clausus* for one or the other profession.[1] But knowing the facts, and the vocational prognoses, they will have to aim at maintaining an equilibrium. In accordance with this, they will be able to do much by advice for or against the careers suggested by the children or their parents.

[1] M. Léon Blum did suggest that perhaps even compulsion might become necessary, if all other methods failed, in his opening speech at the World Congress of Primary and Mass Education, Paris, July 24th, 1937.

For them the principal decision will be whether to recommend even a very bright boy not to proceed to the secondary school and university, but to enter apprenticeship and follow a practical career. There is no way of return, not even *via* a technical training, from the secondary school to the career of a highly skilled or specialised workman. Not even the new technical branch of French secondary education can effect this. For all those trained in it will tend towards the construction bureau and factory administration. It will not produce the skilled worker, or even the average foreman.

Doubtless, many of these teachers will attempt to restore the equilibrium. They will use all arguments to stress the beauty and contentment that belong to simple manual labour. When they find they are producing little effect, they will set to work to find out the reasons ; and they will find themselves at once in the very heart of our contemporary social problem. There is no surface solution for the problem. It is only by concrete and gradual measures that life can be brought into nearer accord with romantic ideals. The more they turn their thoughts upon these measures, the sooner will they become practical.

(*b*) *Value of Personal Wishes of Parents and Children*

The personal wishes of parents and children are the second element calling for synchronisation. Towards this the teachers have a powerful instrument in their hands. Whatever course they recommend is free of the detested barrier of examinations. If their advice is rejected, the barrier will again have to be faced, a barrier in such case made all the more obstructive. From the point of view of the system, the best result will be attained in those cases where the personal wishes of child and parents have altered in the course of the year, and altered agreeably to the opinion formed during the same period by the school. For the agreement in these cases would show that the teacher's team has extended its group-capacity, and formed a yet larger team of teachers, pupils and parents.

(*c*) *Opportunities for Scientific Diagnosis*

To discover the true nature of the child, and to develop this rightly during the year, will certainly form the master idea, or, to use the French expression, " l'idée mère," of the whole experiment. In this department lies the finest pedagogic opportunity. And the conditions are very favourable for its successful discharge. The fact that intellectual, physical and manual training will be combined under observation offers a possibility of diagnosis rarely enjoyed by secondary school teachers. Medical observation will be there in support, for human advice no less than cure. The helpful comments of visiting psychologists or experts in testing will also be welcomed.

A further help will be the many opportunities offered of presenting the different careers as concretely as possible. From the visits to

factories and enterprises, to offices and administrations, and from the descriptive monographs already mentioned, not only will the child's preferences and tastes be detected and developed, but much of its other quality will be also unconsciously revealed.

The period of one year is certainly not too long for this experiment. One of the initiators, possibly the intellectual originator of the plan, Ludovic Zoretti,[1] had already, in 1933, proposed that there should be a "Cycle of Orientation" between the eleventh and fourteenth years.[2] The three-years curriculum should form a general initiation into learning, life and scientific method. He proposed that seven hours should be devoted to manual work, gardening, farmwork and the construction of all kinds of apparatus.[3] But it would be difficult for the friends of a systematic secondary education to accept this longer period. In their view definite secondary education should begin at 12 years old.

11. Humanism in Technical Education

One of the tendencies in the new trend in French education is the attempt to bring nearer together separated parts of the existing educational system. We have seen that manual education is to be introduced into some sections of secondary education, and that in the year of orientation teachers of all grades are to be united in one team.

A further effort in the same direction is the introduction of humanistic elements into all grades of technical education. Literature, poetry, philosophy are to be extensively taught. The distinctions between the different educational processes are to be diminished. Why, indeed, should the adolescent be barred from contact with the best in thought, poetry and literature, while his exact contemporary is privileged to enjoy them because he is at a secondary school?

Exactly the opposite should be the case. The manual worker, as the young craftsman, has the greater need of contact with the treasures of the intellectual and spiritual world; to counterbalance the material bias of his career, and quicken and deepen his thought and his self-awareness.

This is the opinion held by those at present responsible for technical education in the French Ministry of Education. And it is a view that has the support of some of the first scholars, philosophers and writers in France.

As an example: one of the most famous professors of philosophy, Paul Hazard,[4] of the Collège de France, has written the preface to a textbook in use for literary and philosophic instruction, in the various branches of technical education.[5]

[1] *Elite, Selection, Culture*, (Paris, 1935).

[2] *Op cit.*, page 148.

[3] *Op cit.*, page 159.

[4] Known, among other works, for his two volumes: *La Crise de la Conscience Européene*, 1680–1715 (Paris, 1935).

[5] "Enseignement Technique," Lucien Texier et Leonce Peyregne, *Textes Choisis: Première Année. Ecrivains français des XIX^e^ et XX^e^ siècle.* Préface de Paul Hazard.

The following is a quotation from the book: "The teacher should explain to the pupil: in your being there are values which cannot be reduced to others, which are autonomous. There is Conscience, there is the faculty of Thinking. If you wish to command life, and not to be its slave, develop these values. . . . Develop your own personality, both outside and inside your craft. Observe, judge, select rightly. . . . Seek where you can the examples of great men . . . those who have through the centuries defended the spirit and the soul of man. They will lead you to your own freedom.

"But that is not enough. It depends upon yourself whether you shall enter, or not enter, a higher world, full of consolation and happiness. Look around, and see the beauty of the world . . . the beauty of rivers and hills, of clouds and stars . . . of paintings and statues, of architecture and of music. . . . There is beauty in your work, beauty in every material and in every line. . . . If you wish to ascend to a higher order of beauty, if you wish to free yourself of dependence, begin by freeing yourself from egotism. Seek to love others, your brethren. Try to fill yourself with enthusiasm for some great selfless cause, devote yourself, even to the sacrifice of life, to some ideal."

And the author, Paul Hazard, continues: "This advice is not invented by myself. I take it from the Official Instructions as to the programme of literary education to be followed in the national vocational schools. And, in the 'Programme' incorporating these instructions, I need only follow the same line. For it is their intention to introduce into vocational education a principle of culture, and into the technical world a humanism, such as may make this world of technique conscious at the same time of its greatness and of its deficiency. . . . Those will acclaim this intention with joy who believe that moral and intellectual values should rule the world, and in fact do so rule it."

The media for this teaching are the traditional French forms for inculcating clear thinking and precise expression—reading to oneself or aloud, verbal or free reproduction, composition—and last, but not least, the free teaching, with its transitions into debate and free discussion. To these, in the different grades of technical education, up to six hours a week will be given. This is not a disproportionate allowance for France, where clear thought and its expression are as necessary to success in a working life as manual skill. The manuals and textbooks are worth noting: [1]

[1] The principal collection is edited by Fernand Aubier, Paris. 1. *Morale et Education sociale*, edited by F. Rouselle. 2. *Textes Choisis, Première Année*, by Texier and Peyregne (citation, see above). 3. Deuxième *Année pour la Culture générale et l'enseignement français Ecrivains français jusqu'au XVIII*e *siècle*, by Paul Hazard and Lucien Texier. 4. Troisième *Année Histoire des Ideés et Histoire littéraire par les écrivains français des XIX et XX*e *siècle* (Mêmes auteurs). There is, furthermore, a similar book in the Librairie Gedalge: Rogie, Bornecque, Mme Levesque, *Nouvelles Lectures Professionnelles.*

They are selected from the masterpieces of French literature. Descartes, his rules of thought and his praise of method form the basis of every collection. A Frenchman without Descartes would be like a Moslem without Mohammed. And an apprenticeship training without Descartes would be inconceivable. The names of the authors represented, some of them by long contributions, include : François Villon, Rabelais (12 pages), Montaigne, Ronsard, Descartes, Pascal, Molière, La Fontaine, La Rochefoucauld, Racine, Bossuet, Mme de Sévigné, Colbert, Vauban, Fénélon, Le Sage, Saint-Simon, Bayle, Voltaire, Montesquieu, Diderot, Dalembert, Turgot, Rousseau, Buffon, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, Concorcet, Balzac, Daudet, Duhamel, Flaubert, Anatole France, Th. Gautier, George Sand, André Gide, Jean Guéhenno, Jean Jaurés, Pierre Loti, Louis Pasteur, Ernest Renan, Romain Rolland, Jules Romain, Paul Verlaine, Victor Hugo, A. de Vigny, Emile Zola.

In many cases quotations are made which bear directly upon questions of career, of the social order, of production and so on. They have for the apprentices and workers the interest, not only of their value as thought, but of their realism. They are all alike in emphasising one note—the human and social. In this they fulfil the wish of the designers of the new technical education in France. It is an accent surprisingly prevalent in French thought. Socialism, since Saint Simon, Fourrier and Proudhon, belongs to no materialistic conception—it is interwoven in the pattern of literary and religious thought. Zola and Hugo were prophets, whose conception of practical humanism is still far short of being realised.

A foreigner might question the wisdom of putting this world of ideas, beginning with Descartes, before apprentices of 14 to 18. Might not the same happen as in other countries—youth, overfed with thought, will reject thinking and take refuge in a riot of the emotions ? But in France the situation is different. The appreciation of literature and logical thought is widely spread. The working class and parts of the middle class are great readers, and they follow the course of literary movements with interest and understanding. Therefore the leading men in technical education can safely offer this humanistic matter to the young workers. It can only help them to clear their ideas. Condorcet said : " Children are guided by feelings : we have to teach them to govern feelings by ideas." The belief is strongly held in France that in this sense ideas are the greatest educational force.

It may come as a surprise to find among the textbooks for French technical schools a volume written in English and containing passages from English authors selected according to the same pattern, namely their bearing upon manual labour and social aspects. It is used as the textbook for the one foreign language taught in certain of the schools. Its title is : *Toiling Men*, F. Renaudeau et C. Vial. Textes choisis d'auteurs anglais. La vie économique de l'Angleterre moderne (Fernand Aubier, Paris). It contains extracts from : Macaulay, Defoe, Richard Steele, Oliver Gold-

smith, Charles Dickens, George Eliot, Robert Bloomfield, Adam Smith, William Cobbett, Ricardo, Richard Cobden, John Stuart Mill, Thomas Carlyle, Charlotte Brontë, Robert Owen, John Morley, Benjamin Disraeli, G. W. E. Russell, Byron, R. W. Emerson, Mark Rutherford, Arnold Bennett, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, John Keats, John Ruskin, John Galsworthy, J. B. Priestley, and it ends with Tennyson's verse :

Ring out the narrowing lust of gold ;
Ring out the thousand wars of old,
Ring in the thousand years of peace.

Ring in the valiant man and free,
The larger heart, the kindlier hand ;
Ring out the darkness of the land,
Ring in the Christ that is to be.

and little could be added to this interpretation of " humanism in technical education."

12. The Leisure Time

We may expect countries soon to possess something corresponding to a Ministry of Leisure. France has led the way by creating, in 1936, in the Ministry of Health, an Undersecretaryship of State [1] for the " Organisation of Leisure and Sport," and the former rowing champion of France, Leo Lagrange, was given the post. He is assisted by his wife, a ski-champion, and by his former Professor in Dijon University, Edouard Dolléans, who consented to act as his " Chef du Cabinet." M. Dolléans is a scientist and author. In his last book, published 1937 (*Histoire du Movement ouvrier, premier tome :* 1830–1871) he quotes the words of a worker, C. Béranger, written in 1831, as he dreams of what could be achieved " if every worker, or farmhand, instead of being exhausted by fifteen hours' hard labour every day, could give each day a certain time to cultural questions and to the development of the intelligence " (see *Action Laïque*, Nr. 49, page 149).

The fulfilment of this dream has made a Ministry of Leisure a necessity. England gave the world the week-end, and games as a means of using it healthfully. France has now thrown in the whole of Saturday. Friday evening to Monday morning is freed from work. It is too much to fill with games alone. Two days and three nights free from the pressure of work, and its after-fatigue ; 104 days and 156 nights in the year to fill. And, in addition, 14 days of paid holidays. If we add at least 10 festival days, we find that, in the new scheme, everyone working in a factory, shop or office has about 140 days, or more than one-third of his time, free. And the evenings and nights are no less important.

[1] In 1923 Herriot similarly created a Technical Undersecretaryship in the Ministry of Education.

Future historians may rate this change as a greater event than the World War. Our educators will be judged by the solution they find for this problem-unit. It must be one that is based upon the principles of liberty and of free choice ; for only that will survive when all the mass-organised opinion of the present day, with its pressure and compulsion, direct or indirect, shall have passed away.

Leading French men and women dwell, for this reason, on the significance of the relationship between leisure and liberty. In this new field there is to be no compulsion. The art of the creative statesmen will lie in presenting the right opportunities, and in kindling a taste for the better forms of leisure occupation.

Secondly, the solution must embody a real spirit of education, not the spirit of commercialised tourism or of athleticism alone, or the vested interests of an amusements industry, or the spirit of pseudo-militarism. It must embody education as a new, all-embracing attitude to life. In accordance with its failure or success we shall be able to say whether the human being of 1937 is ripe for liberty. In 1793 he was not.

If a successful solution is found, it will be because of the change produced in the French people during the last seventy years by progressive free education. The motive for the new educational extension has not been propaganda for one or the other confession. A leader of the Educational Movement in the Front Populaire, L. Zoretti, speaks with horror of the idea of any prescribed " catechism " or doctrinal teaching. He quotes Thierry : " The Catechism of the syndicalist, the catechism of the bourgeois, the catechism of the Catholic are unimportant. . . . The man himself is alone responsible for his inner life." Zerotti gives this as the interpretation of the often-used French expression, " L'Esprit Critique," the critical attitude. He quotes another principal educational leader of the Front Populaire, Martinet, who strongly attacks all Cultural propaganda as degrading the proletarian movement by the institution of new centres of dogmatism and infallibility.[1] A foreigner must be content to say that in France the " critical mind " is the safeguard against all dogmatic radical movements, from both sides, and that this mind in the masses is the product of school education. What the Frenchman implies by the negative term " critical mind," the Englishman expresses positively as " common sense."

The motive for education is to be education for its own sake. It has deserved this autonomy, seeing that, in France, it has already gone far towards fulfilling the task of " guiding the feelings by ideas."

The new task of education, when faced by the new leisure time, is impressive. For example, in the summer of 1936 several millions of families were given for the first time holidays, two weeks of paid

[1] *Pour une Culture Vivante et libre*, page 57 (Semaine d'Etude, Pontigny, 1936).

holidays. In Paris, alone, several hundred thousands of industrial workers had two weeks free during July and August. In addition, many millions of employees were getting the whole Saturday off. There was reason to fear that freedom upon this mass scale might be abused. In France there is no restriction upon the sale of intoxicating drinks. The opponents of the experiment were outspoken in their fears. But already last winter conservative-minded employers were praising the scheme ; and by the summer even the most conservative could be heard approving of it, providing that the standard of production could be maintained by an increase of effort, and possibly by a lengthening of working hours during the five working days.

In this matter of the volume of production, the trade unions, creating a new form of " discipline syndicaliste," are at one with the employers. There is no suggestion to tamper with the five-day week, or with the paid holidays. Education may claim this as a victory for its forces. It was enough to see the masses of these new holiday-makers or week-enders on the railways and in holiday resorts, to be reassured in the matter of behaviour and self-discipline. There was little alcoholic excess. In this the working class are better controlled than parts of the bourgeois class. The fears of the corrupting example of the film, the dancing bars, luxury and licence, have proved also to be exaggerated. Among the working population real values establish themselves quickly. Give them the open air and time to profit by its many activities, and the artificial worlds of pictures, books and stimulants cease to have meaning or attraction. The French experiment in leisure time is demonstrating this already. And politicians, film producers and publishers may well take note of it.

13. The New Technique of Leisure

Leo Lagrange is responsible for the new methods of dealing with leisure. His first principle has been that little can be done from a centre or from an office, and that the best method is to create self-responsible groups and inspire them with the spirit of free competition. He avoids any form of red-tape and bureaucracy. And the new Ministry is surprisingly small and modest : not more than fifteen persons in all. But it is a power-house of inspiration and goodwill. M. Lagrange is prepared to give away his " Secrets " with radiant cheerfulness :

" We have to consider the masses rather than the individual. . . . Masses are moved by instinct and emotion. We have to recreate the sense of joy and of dignity in them.

" Youth is more ready to accept this spirit than the older generation. So we aim to reach, transform and inspire youth first. We have to begin in good time. Immediately after they leave school, at 14, it is our charge to see that they make a habit of using the leisure time rightly.

" Schools will soon be doing this, and we shall only have to follow on. Habits of misusing leisure, once begun, are hard to eradicate.

" We offer them open-air pursuits, games, sport competitions of all kinds, festivals, week-end tours, walking, youth hostels. We hope to establish in every community a common centre, a house in which all leisure activities can be united.

" We hear often that we have copied some institution of Fascist countries. Yes, we have. Fascist countries can act quickly: democracies go slower, but perhaps reach further. Fascist countries use compulsion. They create uniformity. Compulsion and uniformity have their satisfaction, but they kill dignity. Dignity, as we see it, lives only in freedom. Dignity only exists where every group finds its own expression, its own style, and is united with other different groups by a common spirit. We shall never try to impose on the working class bourgeois or militaristic forms. It would kill all dignity. Uniformity kills freedom and, thereby, the root of personality. All we try to increase by our leisure-time movements is personality. We have introduced into our country youth hostels, sport-badges, cheap tours, rambling, ski-ing. We do not consider whether they come from this or that country: we accept them all as belonging to oncoming youth throughout the world; they are the expressions of its new spirit, its feeling for joy and dignity. We have had no more to do than to open the door for this new world of expression, and to help with advice, encouragement and money. Youth has done the rest.

" In 1936 we had 250 youth hostels; we have now more than 600. We organised in the first days of August 1936 our system of cheap holiday tours, inclusive tours for one or two weeks. In 1936, more than 600,000 used them, up to August 1937 more than 900,000. We have opened many new sports fields and open-air arenas with sun-baths and swimming-pools. We have organised festivals, combining sport, singing and dramatic performances by the young. We have helped with dramatic open-air performances, sometimes using the old Roman theatres. We have chartered steamers for cheap tours to North Africa.

" In all this we avoid uniformity and mass compulsion; we leave everyone a free choice. We try to keep families together during their holidays, by giving to any number above two, 75 per cent. reduction on the cheap railway-fares.

" We are happy in having, after one year's work, the strong support of the younger generation. Those of the Right resented us at first, but they have joined us now that they see that we leave party politics alone. I am convinced that youth alone is able as a mass to conceive and realise a new moral order, the order and conception of liberty and unity. Unity in the team, unity in the hostel, unity as among youth and thence in the nation, and between nations. We are separated by our prejudices. We must break them down. We move our townspeople for two weeks into the villages, and our country folk pay return visits to the town. The

French have been in the past extremely 'regionalist': many never left their districts. Now we move hundreds of thousands at the cheapest possible fares from one end of our country to the other.

"We are working internationally as well. An English boy staying in a youth hostel was the first Englishman to be seen in the village. Much could be done to reconcile countries by exchanges of students, farmers, artisans and others. We could do this now. We have our cheap hostels, vacation arrangements and railway fares. We should know now how to organise them and what to avoid."

There is confirmation of Leo Lagrange's belief in the history of previous attempts of the sort. In 1925, a group of south German youth members established the "Sohlberg-kreis," as between young Frenchmen and Germans. This movement has steadily gained in strength. In the autumn of 1937 the French Minister-president Chautemps and the French Ambassador in Berlin, François Poncet, wrote two striking letters to the magazine of Hitler youth, *Wille und Macht*. Chautemps writes that he wishes that every year, not only a few hundred, but thousands of youth of both countries should live together in summer camps, and he promises to do all he can to help this movement. François Poncet writes that youth in these camps has proved far more reasonable than the older generation, and far more tolerant. He hopes that youth, in making friendly contacts, will help to bring the two separated parts of Charlemagne's empire closer together again. In the same issue the leader of German youth, von Schirach, writes, that Europe has much to learn from this tolerant spirit of youth, and how much he desires that the old hostility between the two countries should be consumed in the fires of the youth camps.[1]

14. The Ideas behind the Leisure-time Movement

Education for Leisure in France has a long past as well as a future. The primary school teachers, especially, have taken for many decades a leading part in every effort to extend education beyond the limits of school age.

The movement has been mainly due to the "Ligue Française de l'Enseignement," founded in 1866 by a far-seeing primary school teacher, Jean Macé. It has now more than 600,000 adult and more than one million juvenile and adolescent members. Its aim in the beginning was to work for a free educational system open to all. This was attained in 1882. From then on, the Ligue has been working for the extension of the sphere of education to include the life outside and after the school (in the French phrase, "les œuvres péri- et post-scolaires"). The Ligue is recognised by the powerful "Syndicat National des Instituteurs," which includes 70 per cent. of all primary school teachers, as the official organisation for every kind of extra-scholastic activity. André Delmas, Secrétaire-général of the Syndicat, in *L'Action*

[1] *Wille und Macht*, Heft 20, October 15th, 1937, pages 1 ff.

Laïque, nouvelle série, Nr. 49, Juin-Août 1937, page 131, states: "All that concerns the co-ordination of the post- and peri-scolaire activities is the province of the Ligue." [1]

The Ligue grew in the competition between the Church schools and the non-religious State schools. In 1872, its petition in favour of the free State school, "Ecole Laïque," bore 1,300,000 signatures. After the introduction of free, State-school education, the Ligue concentrated upon creating unions of old pupils, upon local organisations for the extension of educational thought and adult educational movements outside school, and upon dramatic performances, games and festivals.

There are now 25,000 such local groups acting in 85 departmental districts.

The competitive struggle between the Catholic Church and the laicists, out of which the Ligue grew, produced vigorous forces on both sides. The Catholic schools introduced Boy Scouts for the first time in France. The State schools followed, and the Lay Boy Scouts are now officially recognised. The newly appointed Director of Secondary Education in the Ministry of Education, M. Chatelet, stated publicly his confidence in the movement: "This is one of the best, if not the best, methods of initiating young people into social life. It develops their sense of solidarity and responsibility. It teaches them to overcome their difficulties confidently and actively." He added: "I have a right to say this, as I am myself the Chief Scout of the Eclaireurs group, and cherish the ambition to introduce the rule of 'scoutism' into public and administrative life."

It is not without its significance for France when the Minister of Leisure is a games champion and the Director of Secondary Education a Chief Scout.[2]

The credit for the release of those forces is due to the body of teachers who for more than forty years have been co-operating in every variety of post-school activity, and have become in a real sense the helpers and advisers of village or town.

The Ligue itself is divided into many sections:

(*a*) For physical education. This is the strongest French sport organisation; it holds many national competitions.

(*b*) For artistic education. It organises theatrical and musical performances, and many national competitions.

[1] The best information about the activity of the Ligue is collected in *L'Action Laïque*, especially Nr. 49, which contains an exact report about the last year's activity. Other sources: *L'Ecole Publique Française*, edited by the Syndicat National des Instituteurs, 1937, page 246. *VU*, weekly magazine, special edition of July 25th, 1936, about Leisure, page 36. This very instructive edition of *VU*, containing many pictures, is published in co-operation with the Ligue.

[2] Scoutism is becoming popular in French literature. Compare, e.g., Paul Morand, *Art de se Reposer*. Page 19 states that in school children are becoming anæmic under the avalanche of abstract ideas, figures and graphs. They have only one antidote, "scouting," and that cannot be sufficient.

(*c*) For educational cinematography. It also deals with the educational use of broadcasting and records.

(*d*) For "Colonies de vacances," camping, and open-air life. This section in 1937 sent 30,000 children to vacation camps, for a period amounting in all to more than 1,000,000 days.

(*e*) For youth festivals. It continues and develops the French tradition of mass festivals, with theatrical performances, games, music and dancing.

(*f*) For the encouragement of the Youth Hostel movement, and the issue of a popular youth weekly, *Copain-Cop*.

It would take too much space to enumerate all the extra school activities promoted. Two further points alone need stressing:

The Leisure-time movement had not to be launched in a vacuum. It had only to appeal to more than a hundred thousand teachers and several hundred thousand other active members of the Ligue, and all the machinery for a great leisure and physical fitness campaign was ready to hand. The teachers were ready. And the teacher in France is becoming more and more the educator and leader of the people, not only in book learning, but in matters of taste and art and physical fitness, as well as in technical questions.

Take the travel organisation: it has the form of an English club. Its name is the V.P.T.—"Vacances pour tous" (Vacation for all). Its members contribute 1*s*. 6*d*. per annum, or 2*s*. for a whole family. It has a weekly magazine, *La Terre Libre*, of twenty pages, costing 1*s*. 8*d*. a year. It exists to arrange the cheapest terms of travel and lodging for its members, for coming from town or country. It controls many thousands of hotels, boarding houses and rooms in families. The prices run from 2*s*. 6*d*. to 4*s*. per day, often inclusive of wine.

The V.P.T., as Lagrange points out, was prepared and organised in a few days. What was the secret? Every district had its secretary, and in 90 per cent. of the cases they were teachers. All that was needed was to send a circular letter to those members of the Ligue who had been already in charge of the vacation camps and youth hostels. The whole staff and organisation were at once ready, and even in the smallest remote village the call was heard for the offer of rooms and boarding. Incidentally, this did much to help the hotels, boarding houses and families, because the V.P.T. can guarantee in most cases that a house recommended shall remain full.

A second point was the variety at once available in leisure-time enterprises. No time had to be lost in planning. The teachers had been at work on it for many years. All that was needed was a central appeal and money. This explains how the administration can be conducted from such a small central office.

The weekly magazine, *VU*, has devoted a special number, in July 1936, to an illustrated programme of what leisure time is to be. The description is of the work already done or in immediate preparation. And the Ligue co-operated in it. In this the volun-

tary principle is insisted upon as forming the spirit of the movement. At the same time, it is declared that all the varieties of education and self-education enjoyed in the past by the well-to-do classes will be brought within the reach of all.

As a democratic programme this might have emanated from the old "class-conscious" spirit of envy and struggle. The contrary is the case. In this semi-official publication the happiness of concord, of simple pleasures, of community in healthful activities is again and again pointed out. Work and pleasure can be shared, with mutual help and unenvious satisfaction.

The uses in leisure time of the museum, the theatre and the gallery are described, and the cult of beauty is encouraged. The ways of travelling, on foot, on bicycles, on horseback, by rail, by steamer and by gliding, are outlined. The last has received special support from the Minister for Air, M. Pierre Cot, as a fine sport for leisure, and open to all classes.

The revival of traditional costumes, games, songs and other traditions is another subject. Since the Revolution they had been regarded as "reactionary," and during the last three decades before the war had all but disappeared. But now the left wing works hard for a revival, and inside the Leisure-time movement it is a strong tendency.

Following the example of the Swedish and Danish "Folklore" movement, the Government has, in connection with the new Leisure-time movement, founded a special French Folklore Museum in the new Trocadero. A well-known writer, M. Rivière, is in charge of it, and has active plans. He will not only create a large Museum and an open-air Folklore Park, like Skansen in Stockholm, to collect and preserve all remains of regional folklore, but he intends to connect the new appreciation of Folklore actively with the Leisure-time movement. The youth hostels are not to be in future only barracks, without connection with the history of the region, but "Musées vivants," living museums of the furniture, pictures, costumes, songs and dances of the region. The youth hostel in Marseilles, devoted to Provençale and Mediterranean culture, is in this connection a model.

Its founder was Jorgi Reboul, "père aubergiste bénévole, homme des lettres, membre de la Delegation Française Congres Mondial de la Jeunesse" (gentle father of the youth hostel, learned scholar, member of the French Delegation to the World Youth Congress, Geneva, 1936). He says of the hostel: "It is to be the new centre of the regional culture and folklore of Marseilles. We take as our inspiration the life of the poet F. Mistral. He has, by his poetry, given new life to our region. The youth of France and of other countries passes through our centre. In singing to them the Provençale songs, in telling them the wisdom of Mistral, we reveal to them the secret of our region. Then they go out and sing our songs, as in old time the errant scholars and knights travelled over the roads of France and the world."

The youth hostel at Marseilles is managed by a volunteer group of workers, farmers, artists, employees, town officials, students and teachers, who do the work in turn.[1] In fact, as in the German Youth Movement, we find the three elements, youthful enthusiasm, the inspiration of a poet, and the sound guidance of experience, combining to produce effective, and educational, service.

Other matters dwelt upon in the new Leisure programme include the advantages of having many children.

" Terrism," the passion of every Frenchman to own a corner of land, requires no encouragement as an idea. But the free days bring it for many more into the sphere of practical realisation. Every Frenchman is said to be a gardener under his skin, and he will now be able to become so in fact ; and in time help in restoring the balance between the country and town population.

A self-respecting refinement, or elegance, as it is preached also in Russia, is yet another aim. It would mean much if a sense for real beauty could be awakened in all age-groups of the population. The time is past when it was " unserious " to be nicely dressed.

These few examples suggest that the French Leisure-time movement is rightly classed among educational enterprises.

15. Outlook for the Future

It will have been seen that in the new trend of French education elements are emerging which have their parallel in phenomena in other countries. They are :

(*a*) An academic or intellectualistic school method is giving place to one realistic and more human.

(*b*) Examination pressure is being replaced by confidence in the observation and reporting of a teacher's team.

(*c*) Mental and manual education are converging, even in secondary education.

(*d*) The movement towards the equivalence of technical education with other higher education progresses.

(*e*) The differentiation between primary, secondary and technical school teachers is disappearing.

(*f*) Educationalism, meaning the extension of educational ideas and methods outside school, is advancing, leisure time forming one of the main fields.

We hope also to have made it clear that French statesmen are envisaging these problems in their entirety ; and that the various new educational measures, taken together, constitute a programme of radical change. It is for France a new educational philosophy, an alteration not only in the educational method of the schools, but in the whole attitude towards the child, the adolescent and the adult.

REINHOLD SCHAIRER.

[1] The full board and lodging is 1*s.* 6*d.*–2*s.* a day.

CHAPTER TWO

The Idea and History of Youth Movements

" I love the generation of the future centuries."—
Hölderlin (1770–1843).

Youth Movement versus Youth Organisation

THE term " Youth Movement " (in German, *Jugendbewegung*) was used for the first time at the beginning of this century inside the German Wandervogel groups. It was intended to make a clear distinction between this movement and the mass of all the other youth organisations planned and directed for youth by schools, churches and others. The Autonomy of Youth was the decisive criterion.

The first to use the term was Dr. Gustav Wyneken ; who was not only one of the prominent friends and advisers of the Youth Movement, but also a keen advocate of youth responsibility and, to a certain degree, of youth autonomy in schools. He influenced the Prussian Government after 1919 to introduce elements of this autonomy in the new school plans.

" Youth Movement " indicated from the beginning the presence of a strong inner motive, or irresistible urge, as opposed to any " purpose " or " educative idea " imposed from the outside. This urge was no more and no less than to create a new world.

This new world was to correspond to the inner substance and form of true human nature, as a mirror shows the shape of the face. " True Human Nature " was, beyond doubt, a high and fine conception. Any doubts about this fundamental creed excluded men automatically from the movement. The whole life of the group was based on this vision. Its presence or absence was felt, never asked about.

This same " True Human Nature" was in mind when, years after the inception of the Youth Movement, a clear " Formula " was being sought. Since any formula was bound to be a compromise, many of the leaders moved by this vision refused even to take part in the search. " How can you formulate your pulsation ? You have it and you are moved. When it stops you will never bring it back with a formula." Words like these were spoken in the inner circles.

Nevertheless, the attempt was made. And in 1913 the following was the famous " Hohen-Meissner " formula : " Every member will shape his life, and the life of the movement, in harmony with its inner call, on his own responsibility and with complete sincerity. The movement will protect under all circumstances, and as a body, this inner liberty."

Such an inner decision, and such a devotion, admit of no limita-

tions. Errors and mistakes are, of course, inevitable, but they also are a means of self-education. Persecutions and even suppressions can never touch the " Inner Life "—the new vision possessed by the movement.

At a later date, the term " Youth Movement " was used for very different things. As soon as it spread to foreign countries and languages, its deeper significance disappeared. The word was applied to every kind of youth group and youth organisation.

But every member of the original pre-War German Youth Movement will always use the word in its more limited sense ; and in this sense it can only be properly used in so far as collective youth is embodying in a movement something of this conception of the inner call ; a conception which has its meaning now for many young people, in all countries.

In this survey it is intended to use the word in its more limited sense ; and some examples are given to show the difference between the Youth Movement proper and youth organisations.

Youth Movement : A Crusade

Every such youth movement is a crusade. The Promised Land is that of Better Humanity. Its preachers, wandering through the deserts of the soul, are the poets and prophets of a new order. Their dreams promote in youth the virtues of devotion and enthusiasm, as soon as its moment of susceptibility has arrived.

No one knows when, why and whence this gift of susceptibility comes ; but without it any attempt at creating a youth movement is in vain. The pressure of distress at times favours its growth. More often it is the effect of a general impression in collective youth that everything is wrong, and that fundamental changes are approaching. In most cases its first effect (or may it be a symptom of it ?) is a profound awareness of the dissonances of the world. The exaggerated assertion of moral or religious doctrines against a background of social injustice, of suppression of liberty and of oppression of the poor produce an increasing exasperation ; and out of this a youth movement may grow, as soon as a leader appears.

Such leadership in a youth movement has nothing in common with leadership in the political field. The qualities essential are a vivid human sympathy, a willingness to make sacrifices, and experience in eliciting active service, from oneself and from others. To serve a group, and through it to serve humanity, remains the incentive. Rhetorical gifts were always a handicap : they made a leader suspect. Of more importance was the knowledge of when to keep silence and when to use restrained emphasis. Men disliked being swept off their feet : it did not help them to defend their inner liberty.

Such a movement, therefore, never fell an easy prey to the political agitator or party ; and this from the beginning was bitterly resented by all political parties. The Youth Movement spoiled men for politics, they said, and it produced only dreamers. To this

the Youth Movement consistently replied : " It is the measure of your sincerity which will be the measure of your attraction for us. When we feel that you are fighting sincerely and without mental reservations for a better and freer humanity, we will take you into consideration. But, even so, we shall be of no use to you, unless you leave us free in the spirit of our Crusade. Our Crusade postulates the right to free and independent decision. Liberty is its main condition. Youth service to order is opposed to our conception : we must refuse and reject it."

In its " Rejections " the Youth Movement often went too far. And yet, we may ask, who would now recall the Children's Crusade, that strange happening in the year 1212, if it had not been an autonomous impulse and enterprise of the children themselves, and the very opposite of an organised excursion ? When the driving force is accepted as from outside, a youth movement ceases to be so in anything but name.

Reaction to Utilitarian Motives

Youth movements are extremely sensitive to another danger : that of some utilitarian aspect. As soon as any form of advantage, present or future, is connected with membership, or similar disadvantage with non-membership, youth immediately suspects another of those detested combinations of an idealistic window-dressing with a utilitarian background, such as it criticises so fervently in the practices of the older generation. If there be such a blend, the character of a youth movement forthwith disappears : the group becomes only another of the many youth organisations. The eyes of enthusiasm and vision are dulled. The inner life and the significance of the movement are killed.

Psychologists may trace in this a connection, or at least a parallel, with the principle of non-professionalism in sport ; and if they follow the conception of Huizinga, they may find the common root in the play character of both youth activities. Indeed, it would be interesting to apply his theories about play to the Youth Movement. One might then be able to say that here is, in fact, one of those " plays " which, as in old tribal rituals, are based upon the common acceptance of a common rule. Every member follows this rule as a rite and from his whole heart, voluntarily and without reward. The idea of this particular play is to play out the life of a community upon an entirely new conception : the conception that man is by nature good and sincere. A comparison with the Utopias and the romantic poems and dreams would produce further similarities, such as that the new " play " of camping has an affinity with Defoe's dream of Robinson Crusoe.

Youth Appreciation—A New Idea of the Eighteenth Century

There are, indeed, strong affinities between the Youth Movement and the great dreams, dreamed a hundred to a hundred and fifty

years before. In fact, the whole Youth Movement would be unintelligible without these links; and they must be taken into consideration if any youth movement is to be properly understood.

A prominent German educationist in the beginning of the twentieth century, Friedrich Paulsen, Professor of Philosophy in Berlin University, used to say that the whole Youth Movement was only a later form of "Rousseauism." At the time this explanation was emphatically rejected by the Youth Movement itself. It was, and wished to remain, something very original—a phenomenon on its own. Although it honoured and admired Rousseau and Fichte and Schiller and Schelling and Hölderlin, it had no wish to be classed merely as their offspring. Now, after thirty years of experience, the historic links have become more and more apparent, and we can only feel grateful that, in its formative years, its hero-worship was directed towards those great heroes of humanity, and not towards false prophets.

Historical study, further, reveals a yet more important fact—that the value set upon youth is a phenomenon of the eighteenth century. Before this time youth, as such, had no significance; nor did youth attach its due value to age.

As an example, the great French thinker, Blaise Pascal, whose intellect was one of the finest and deepest of his time, wrote in 1650, at the age of 27:

"The life of a human being is miserably short. Generally one reckons its years from birth, but I would prefer to reckon it only from the birth of reason in man . . . which happens in general not before the twentieth year. Before that one is a child; and the child is not a human being." (Pascal, *Pensées*, ed. Brunschvicg, Paris, page 124.)

The editor, Leon Brunschvicg, one of the foremost experts in the literature and history of the period, comments: "This regret, ever to have been a child, is frequent in the seventeenth century . . ." and he quotes even Descartes: "the necessity for passing through youth is a weakness. In the order of knowledge it has the place of hereditary sin in the moral order." He declares that the whole attitude of doubting is the effect of this passage through the state of youth, in which opinions are likely to be formed before reason has been enthroned.

The Influence of Rousseau

And then, one hundred years after Pascal, followed that great hymn of childhood, the works of Jean Jacques Rousseau, the new Messiah of the young. It is reported that for once in his life Kant forgot everything in his exactly planned day, when he received, in 1762, Rousseau's new book, *Emile*.

This was followed by a rush of enthusiasm throughout all Europe; and more than forty years later, a fine observer of youthful thought, Jean Paul, could write that every youth movement had its "Jean Jacques" in its heart.

His effect was not only intellectual ; it went deeper. As if a slavery had been abolished, youth for the first time felt its own value. No longer was it merely a period of preparation for manhood —it had equal and perhaps even superior claims.

The recognition ran its enthusiastic course, exhibited in the innumerable hymns, poems, political schemes and so on of the following decades. It reached its peak, and subsided ; but youth had received for the first time, in the romantic movement, recognition as an important part of society. And it had acquired a confidence that it could create, here and now, a new and better world.

Every assertion of this new spirit of youth kindled a fresh enthusiasm. Thus Schiller, at 26 years of age, wrote in his *Don Carlos* :

" He tells a king of the maturing of a spirit life in the fabric of the world, and foretells the approach of a new spring in a profound transformation of Christianity ; when, as in nature, liberty shall prevail, and a new era of humanity and wisdom begin. He appeals to the king to become himself a prophet of the eternal and the true, and to restore a lost glory to human life by granting freedom of thought." (*Don Carlos*, iii, 10.)

And to the young prince, 23 years of age, the 26-year-old prophet gives this advice : to make actual the audacious dream-picture of a new State, the divine offspring of friendship ; and never to allow his reverence for the dreams of his youth to fade. Then, as a man, he need have no fear of those doubts with which reason, that deadly insect, will seek to defame the daughter of heaven—enthusiasm. (*Don Carlos*, iv, 21.)

Again and again in contemporary literature and history we find evidence of the deep and inspiring effect of these words. Every word acted like a spark, kindling a new fire in innumerable hearts.

Through this whole period the greater part of youth was living as if breathing the exciting air of high mountains. There was no criticism, no pessimism. The Kingdom of God seemed to be approaching, and it was the kingdom of the Friend of children—of the God of Youth.

Youth Success and Failure

There were, indeed, many remarkable youthful personalities during these first decades before and after the beginning of the nineteenth century. In many spheres of life, in many countries, the men between 40 and 60 were no longer the leading personalities : much younger men had gained influence and significance.

This was true of the prominent men of the French Revolution : Robespierre and Danton both died before they were 36 ; and it was the same in other fields. Napoleon, when he became a General after the battle of Toulon, was 23 years old, 35 when he became Emperor, and at 40 he was master of most of the Continent. Schiller was 18 when he published his first masterpiece, *Die Raüber*, and 26 when he wrote *Don Carlos*, the hymn of the free

humanity. Friederich Schlegel became the leader and " father " of the Romantic School before he was 25.

Not only among the exceptional careers, the poets and soldiers, but also in the regular professions, the university professors and headmasters of high schools, do we find at this time, in Germany at least, the same preponderance of significant youth. Friederich Paulsen, in his *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts* (vol. ii, page 315), states " the victory of the New over the Old was at the same time a victory of the younger generation." Fichte was 30 when he wrote his *Doctrine of Science.* Schelling wrote his new philosophical system before he was 25. F. A. Wolf was Professor in Halle at 24, Boeckh at 26 was Professor in Berlin, and Thiersch at 27 was Professor in Munich and founded his famous seminar. Similarly, Ottfried Müller was Professor at 22, Rietschl at 27, Lachmann at 25. Paulsen goes on to enumerate other famous headmasters of high schools who became so between 22 and 32.

It would be interesting to analyse, during these decades, the attitude of mind of the different age-groups, both towards tradition and towards the conception of possible change or revolution. We might find an interesting relationship between the ages of the groups and a preponderance of idealism or realism. Possibly Condorcet, who was over 35 when he wrote his famous proposals about education and nearly 50 when he wrote his exquisite *Tableau des Progrès de l'Esprit Humain*, would be found to have emerged from " youth " into a wider humanity of understanding. He was certainly wiser than those between 30 and 35 could understand. And nothing excites a young mind more, once it has realised its shortcomings in public affairs, than to encounter wisdom, and to have to admit that its enthusiasm was not enough.

The period of which we are speaking is full of such youthful failures. The French Revolution changed from a concept of high idealism into a brutal materialism. The whole Romantic Movement collapsed, after the substitution of the reality of fact for dreams and wishes. Napoleon himself was carried away by his successes : after 1806 he never regained control, but had to fall back upon that last resource of youthful enthusiasm in the face of failure—the adventurous pitting of life against death.

The failures were followed inevitably by what psycho-analysts call a complex. Youth attempted too early a task too difficult, and attributed its failure to external causes. The resistance, ill-will or even hostility of this or that group is, then, held responsible. The complex develops, and if it is not solved in time, a tragic issue is inevitable. Further and even more deplorable, the beginnings of wisdom never attain maturity, while the promise contained in the original youthful vision is lost. The effect is much like that of frost upon natural growth : blossom and leaf are destroyed ; but the inner germinating power remains, and is capable of producing new growth with, happily, a brighter prospect. In order that such a later spring in a youth movement may have a chance of fructifying,

much depends upon its finding sagacious and older counsellors, ready to help it past the moments of crisis, while not depriving its youthful members of their sense of a mission, and of their happiness in their vision.

Sixty years after the crisis we have described, yet another inspired youth, Arthur Rimbaud, gave expression to the same feeling. At 18 years of age he began to see the limitations of his own visions, and exclaimed, " Oh that I could find an older and wiser man, before whom I could kneel." In his case the cry was in vain, and he ceased to write poetry. When youth has nothing but criticism for maturity, and is prepared to regard everyone over 27 as, in varying degrees, senile or futile, then the blame and the unhappy consequences must be borne by youth alone. But when such an appeal as Rimbaud's remains unanswered, then the older generation must take the blame. We have taken this instance, and not one more recent, so as not to reflect upon any present-day group. But the causes suggested for such youth failure are as true of the present time.

The "Burschenschaftsbewegung" and the "Wartburgfest" (1817) as the First German Youth Movement

History can often be better understood in the light of past events than when coloured with the friendly or bitter feelings of a present generation. Before, therefore, examining the newer German Youth Movement (1900–33), we shall consider the Burschenschaft Movement.

It was first conceived in Berlin in 1810, in the circles surrounding Fichte and Jahn. An attempt to put it into practice in Jena, in 1815, spread thence in the following years to most of the German universities. It reached its peak in the Wartburg Festival, October 17th–18th, 1817; and was dissolved by the united Cabinets of Europe, under the leadership of Metternich, in the Karlsbad Resolutions of September 20th, 1819. It had begun as an insignificant movement, but it took all the kings and princes of Europe to end it, debating it as a prominent political issue. At the time, of course, it had not the name of " Youth Movement," but all the elements of a youth movement were contained in it. It was an autonomous movement of the younger generation, based upon the new conception of a True Human Nature. It had all the enthusiasm of a crusade for a new order of life. To use Dilthey's phrase : " Youth at this period was charged with a heroic resolution and determination to realise in itself and in the social order a higher humanity." And the Burschenschaft was the first attempt of collective youth to take the decisive step between enthusiasm and realisation.

Although it was a complete failure, its inspiration survived ; and in the beginnings of our later Youth Movement we conceived it as a duty to fulfil its vision, as a great heritage left to us by our friends of ninety years before. The more we studied its teachings, the more we felt that its failure had been a tragic event, not only

for the contemporary students, but for all Germany. As a movement holding a key position among students at such a moment of national development, it could have changed not only university life, but by its infectious example it might have altered the younger generation's whole attitude to life.

The historian may compare with it the change that began during the first decades of the nineteenth century in Oxford and Cambridge, which spread to the leading public schools and which succeeded gradually in influencing the whole conception of life held by the majority of the English middle class.

The Burschenschaft Movement was based upon similar ideas and spiritual forces, upon a profound social sympathy with the poor and oppressed, not yet divorced from a genuine religious feeling and from the endeavour to find the hidden sources of religious belief. The underlying idealism was the same, and both were in part influenced by the philosophical movements already indicated. But, unhappily, there was no contact between the two movements, a contact which might have saved the Burschenschaft. The English revival reached its peak later in time, and its rhythm of development differed. Once again one of those recurring tragedies, of mutual support missed and of co-operation between the leading youth groups lacking, occurred, which have so often in the past deprived Europe of great opportunities.

But other causes can be detected which explain the success of the English movement and the failure of the German movement. In England the revival had leisure to develop quietly in the younger generation before it was put to the test. It enjoyed the protection and counsel of far-seeing and sympathetic minds. It could mature within the structure of old educational institutions, such as Oxford and Cambridge and the public schools. These institutions—and this is of chief importance—were autonomous and entirely independent of the State or of political parties.

In Germany the contrary was the case. To take the last point first: in the documents concerning the Wartburg Festival, described below, will be found the protest by one Government to the Duke of Weimar, against the dangers involved in this meeting. It was made by the British Governor-General of Hanover. It is true that the Duke of Weimar's answer advised inaction. But the professors and students of an autonomous university, such as Oxford, would certainly have better understood the meaning of the event had they been consulted or even informed of it. The incident illustrates the Continental conception that educational institutions, and even the universities, are not free. The Reformation and subsequent happenings put an end to any other construction. Consequently, the Wartburg Festival had evil consequences. The chaotic and sinister influences controlling European politics, the Cabinets and the Courts, seized upon its implications, and in the form of the Karlsbad Resolutions killed the beginnings of the movement.

In England such interference by the bureaucracy would have

been countered by the strong protest of intellectuals and of the more mature supporters of any such movement. It should be added that, given the unique English practice of friendly co-operation between the younger and older generations in a common belief, the wiser counsel of their older friends would also have served from the beginning to keep the youthful enthusiasm of the movement from wasting itself on air, and would have restrained the younger heads from mixing themselves in dangerous questions.

Again and again, as we have said, this lack of autonomy in German educational institutions has led to disastrous historical results. Very often the " liberty," for which some group in a youth movement has been fighting, will be found to have been this very type of autonomy.

The History of the Burschenschaft Movement

After 1813 the German students came to realise that their idealism was in conflict with reality in two directions : in their life as students within the universities, and in the order of social and political life without. Within the universities the students themselves were divided up among old-fashioned student clubs. These tyrannised over the younger members in almost brutal fashion, forcing upon them a dissipated or frivolous way of living. Drinking, fighting and quarrelling, by day and night, and very often worse excesses, went far to ruin the young lives. The general atmosphere was one of cynicism and of disregard for all humane values. In the social and political field the students returning from the Napoleonic Wars soon recognised that the promises which are given by princes and governments in times of danger are seldom realised. Freedom of thought and of the Press, a Constitution with Parliamentary and democratic control, protection of the poor against oppression, and a programme of unification of the German states, eliminating mediæval rivalries—all these had been promised. But only one prince held by his word—the Duke of Weimar. The Dukes of Weimar had observed a noble tradition since mediæval times. They had protected liberty of thought and speech. The same Duke who had given Luther, in 1521, a refuge on the Wartburg, where he translated the Bible, had also created a kind of new Athens, inviting the leading poets of the age, and among them Goethe and Schiller, to live at his court.

It was not a coincidence—it was one result of such sincere defence of liberty—that in the Duke's University of Jena, the students for the first time in German history were able to effect fundamental changes in their own way of living. They abolished the greater number of the separate student clubs, and united them all in the one Burschenschaft. They ended the animal fighting amongst themselves, disciplined themselves in honest habits and introduced something not unlike the modified self-government which, since the beginning of the nineteenth century, had been a living tradition in English education. The effect was amazing. The Duke was able

to report that his students had, since the Burschenschaft was founded, given no disciplinary difficulties, that they behaved themselves in an exemplary fashion, and that a new spirit was abroad in the whole University. Here, then, for the first time, something of the great dream of a new order had been realised; and in the only possible way—by a greater measure of self-government and by a new self-education of the individual student, under the inspiring influence of his group. The group, in this case the Burschenschaft, had begun to develop as the stronghold of a finer collective conception of life, and not, as previously, of a baser.

In the summer of 1816, one of these Jena students was discussing this change with a friend, while they walked by the river "full of passionate schemes for the salvation of their country." Between them they evolved the inspired plan of communicating the new spirit to all other universities, and of inviting delegates from them to commemorate the Battle of Leipzig and the Reformation, the one three hundred and the other three years before, by meeting together at the Wartburg, a sanctified spot since the Middle Ages, and always a centre of art and freedom.

The anecdote is typical of youth movements, none of which have been the successful outcome of deliberate planning by an intellectual group, but which again and again have owed their beginnings to such a moment of "inspiration," descending like a flash of light upon a few friends in sombre council.

A year later, on the evening of October 16th, more than 500 students from almost all the German universities assembled at Eisenach. Most of them had come on foot, and many had been weeks on the way. They all had to sign an undertaking to keep the peace during the three days of meeting. This was no needless precaution, seeing that many others beside friends of the Burschenschaft attended the meeting; and in any case, such an assembly might have been a fruitful occasion for starting quarrels to be settled later with the sword: such being, before the work of the Burschenschaft, the ordinary student conception of "Honour." Every report of the assembly is full of praise of its complete harmony. On the second day, for instance, two former enemies from a South German university suddenly clasped hands and vowed friendship. The example encouraged others to imitate them. A wave of goodwill swept through all the meeting. It was cemented by a universal resolve to attend the Holy Communion Service in the cathedral of Eisenach. In this fashion the new union of friendship and the New Life throughout Germany was symbolically celebrated.

One year later the new union of students, the Burschenschaft, had been established in seventeen German universities, and on every hand the praises were heard of the effect of its new spirit.

And one year later again the movement was dissolved by the governments of all the German states; and the dissolution was made certain by means of a secret Commission and the severe persecution of the leaders. The suppression was facilitated by

two causes. The wave of popular enthusiasm for liberty and democratic rule had been followed by a tide of reaction that gradually gained the upper hand. Dilthey comments : " How could there be a chance for this movement of German youth to endure, when the revolution had subsided and a reaction had swept over all Europe ? Force had again prevailed, and wealth and aristocracy again emerged victorious."

A second factor contributed. It did not prove possible for the movement as a whole to observe its own decision to refrain from interference in contemporary politics. There were at least two groups, small in numbers, who yielded to the temptation. The first group was that of the followers of the physical exercise movement in Germany, the founders of the " Turnen." This group held that such a unique occasion should not be allowed to pass without some political demonstration at the meeting. Although the stewards for the assembly had rejected the proposal, a member of the group presented himself with a basket-full of bundles of waste-paper, and upon each bundle was inscribed the name of some unpopular " reactionary " book. These books, together with other " reactionary " material, were burnt with mock ceremony, and among them were certain philosophical works and a collection of secret police regulations. The event was turned to account by enemies of the movement, and exaggerated reports were circulated to the German public. For the " crime," complete suppression of the Burschenschaft was advocated in most states. The Duke of Weimar alone and, in Prussia, the Chancellor, von Hardenberg, rightly allowing for an outburst of youthful impertinence, continued to protect the movement.

A second group proved to be more dangerous. It had only a handful of followers in Giessen, but these were men of the " Jacobin " type, who maintained that in war everything is permissible. A fanatic of their number killed a reactionary—and a bad—poet whom he disliked, and then committed suicide. The action was condemned by every other member of the Burschenschaft, but it cost the movement all its friends. No voice was raised in protest when the Council of the European States and Princes in Karlsbad resolved to prohibit the Burschenschaft altogether. Many of the spiritual leaders were imprisoned. In the universities the former conditions were restored. The old student corps were revived. Hopelessness and cynicism replaced the enthusiasm for a " new humanity " in the minds of the younger generation. Many emigrated at once, many more after 1848. Germany was deprived of many of her best sons, and of a great hope.

During the next eighty years Germany grew wealthy and became a united Empire ; but she did not recover from the blow.

The Dark Decades

The voice of Germany's youth was again and again raised in the quotation " Of what profit to gain all the world and to lose one's

soul ? " This feeling found expression in poets and philosophers, in Nietzsche and Lagarde, and towards the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries it grew steadily stronger. Its criticism was directed, not against the masses of the working population, the labourers or the farmers, but only against the higher sections of society. It was these sections and their aims which received their moulding from the very student life which the Burschenschaft had tried to reform.

Here was the centre of the infection, that again and again poured poison into the nation's veins. The instinct of the Burschenschaft had been right : the education and the self-education of university life was the heart of a nation like Germany, and the heart was diseased.

After the suppression of the Burschenschaft in 1819, the manifold rival student clubs and student corps had been reconstituted. Some of them, indeed, made efforts at reform. But the tone of university life was set by the wealthy upper-class student corps, closely connected, in Prussia at least, with the court and the army. In these corps everyone was obliged to fight with the sabre, maybe several times in the year, to maintain his honour, and the scars of these fights were regarded as high distinctions. Beer-drinking was elevated to a ritual, and to drink much was regarded as a sign of manliness. It was a life that compared ill with the simple and upright community life of the original Burschenschaft, as it had existed in Jena and sixteen other universities before 1819. But students who revolted against it, from a healthy instinct, were deeply despised, and even disqualified from entering many higher professions.

In many secondary schools this corps ideal was copied. The pupils formed secret societies, and began early to train themselves in such " student habits." An enquiry was held into these widespread, secret " student corps " in secondary schools. The report, by K. Pilger, tells of a depressing condition of things, of an inconceivably vulgar and dull atmosphere dominating them.

A change began towards the end of the nineteenth century under the influence of some remarkable writers and educators. Against this new front the old fought vigorously and battle was joined. To understand the impassioned attacks which filled the many documents marking the beginnings of the Youth Movement, it is as well to remember that it *was* a battle, and that it provoked much excitement and consequent exaggeration. Even allowing for much over-statement, it cannot be denied that in general the reports give a true picture of the conditions as they existed in the larger towns, and particularly in Berlin. The burden of the plaints of the younger generation against the older ran something as follows : You applaud national ideals and profess Christianity, but you live only for success, money and advancement. If one of us follows his instinct or conviction, and refuses to compromise or betray his ideals, you only grow angry and will listen to no argument. What

is your Christianity but the cover for a jealous preservation of the existing order, even of its injustices ? You pray to a God of Love, and you plan war and aggression. Your religion is insincere. The only gods you worship are machinery and egotism. Everything else you declare to be dreams and Utopias. You scoff at originality and genius. Little wonder that we have lost faith in you, the older generation. We see catastrophe approaching, and it must be ours to try to avoid it. For all that your generation does seems to us senseless, soulless and dead.

It must not be forgotten that Germany was not England. In Germany there had been no prophets to do the work of Carlyle and of many others. Religion, also, the greatest force for internal justice and social adjustment, in Germany had become identified with an official union of Church and State and governing classes. This fact alone had served to divorce the greater part of the working class from religion, no less than from the Church. And intelligent youth had begun in its turn to desert the Church. But it did not abandon religion : very much the reverse.

The New Leaders

The first independent steps were taken in Steglitz, one of the better-class suburbs of Berlin ; and it is a story typical of many youth movements. In one of the gymnasia there were two exceptional young assistant masters. The one, Pohl, taught singing, and in such an inspiring way as to change the lives of many boys who had been depressed and warped by the conflicts at home. He gave them back their joy in life and their self-confidence. Pohl's friend, Walter Busch, was even more venerated. He was a poet, whose life conformed in all respects with his inner sense of beauty. " The beautiful rested deep in his soul. At times it inspired a poem, but always it directed his conduct." One winter's day, while skating, he attempted the rescue of two children, and was himself drowned. The boys of the school had lost their greatest friend ; but from then on his memory remained their guiding star. The mere mention of his name continued to arouse in them a singular exaltation.

Shortly afterwards, about 1896, the first Youth Movement emerged. Plato and other great educators have dreamed of isolating youth from the influences of a debased society. Their ideas were partly realised by the founder of the first movement, Karl Fischer. He began with the week-ends and the holidays : he took a few boys with him on Saturdays and Sundays on long walking tours. They learned to cook their own food, to sleep under the stars, on haystacks and in barns. They marched in their longer holidays through the most beautiful hills and mountains of Germany, living frugally. Thus they found, to their surprise, a new idea of living. When they marched back on Sunday through the streets of their home town, they would meet their comrades with their parents, in smart clothes and black gloves, as custom demanded, and the sight of their own dusty tramping dress gave them a glow of pride. For were they

not the conquerors, by their own efforts, of a new realm—that of nature ?

From month to month the groups of these pioneers grew. And early every Sunday in winter, still in deep darkness, more newcomers kept on arriving and asking to share this new adventure.

When youth is suffering from a false education or a degenerate tradition, its nature urges it to strive for freedom. This " protestantism " may take very different forms, and the origins of many revolutions, and the history of not a few " criminals," alike give evidence of this phenomenon. By the wisdom of its first leaders the German " protest " was directed silently into this path of partial isolation. It was thus dissociated from the harmful influences of a degenerating society, and guided towards those rejuvenating currents of life—nature, silence, simple living and comradeship with a homogeneous group.

It is common knowledge that external oppression or an over-strict discipline can produce, in the reaction, an outbreak of untamed and uncivilised instincts. This element of savagery was very apparent in the beginning of the movement ; but it never threatened danger. Many of the first pioneers felt a strong sympathy with the professional tramps, and would walk with them for days. They found amongst them some remarkable personalities, real lovers of liberty. And when, later, its initial savagery grew tamed and the movement had developed its own clear tradition, many of the original pioneers deplored the loss involved. The shock-absorbing power of the new movement was indeed great. The dangerous phase passed, and gave place to the acceptance of a new moral order and tradition. It was a result unsought and unforeseen by the pioneers ; but it was one such as is bound to follow upon all genuine movements of return towards a truer conception of human life. Two things helped in this process. The first was the counsel of older friends, who protected the movement against attacks and advised it sagely. Of these the most prominent was a famous educationist, Gurlitt ; and it was in his group, in 1901, five years after the commencement of the movement, that it received the name Wandervogel (Bird of Passage).

The second aid to the development came from the form taken by their " common reflex action," their walking or tramping. Walking was their unpretentious bond of union. It seems very commonplace, but it was the real secret of their success. It touched a string that finds a response in the heart of every German. To tramp restlessly from town to town has been, since the Middle Ages, the custom of all young craftsmen after their apprenticeship. Wandering and working for short periods in different places, they learned the finer shades of their craft, and at the same time enjoyed the unique education of seeing other surroundings and of meeting new people. For many crafts it is still to-day the traditional finish of their education, between 18 and 25. Mediæval students did the same. From the beginning of the thirteenth century on, they used

to travel in this primitive and yet picturesque fashion, walking between the universities of Northern Italy and France, and later between their newly-founded German universities. In the Burschenschaft Movement, we find the tradition was again revived. Then the railways killed it. And again the Wandervogel revived it, sixty or seventy years later. Their actual models were the Scholar Vagrants of the Middle Ages, with their singing and their romantic lives, as described in records. Foreigners who, during the last fifteen years, have come to walk in Germany in their thousands may remember not only the charm of the German landscape, but also the kindly spirit of the people whom they met by the way, pilgrims who preferred silence to too much talk, and who could share the unspoken joy of sunrise and sunset, of the stars and of wide mountain views. It was into this community that the new youth now found its way ; a youth sick of the artificiality of towns, and recoiling from an " education " designed to make them everything they did not wish to be. In this new life they could wander for days together, with all they needed on their backs. They could cook and eat by the wayside, and in the evening march singing into a friendly farm or village. Or they might camp round a fire, and listen to the fairy tales or heroic stories told by one of the older comrades. They slept as the weather would allow them, in the open or in barns ; for, until the Boy Scouts introduced them about 1910, tents were unknown. And the morning sun woke them again to a new day of unknown adventure. They were discovering a new nobility in life, in their discovery of the freedom in nature : a secret of true living.

The Growth of the New Movement

From 1896 to 1904 the Wandervogel Movement was limited more or less to Berlin and its environment. After Steglitz, Lichterfelde took it up ; but no one dreamed of an expansion over all Germany. Karl Fischer alone, the originator of the movement, had designed from the beginning to create a great German " Youth Federation," independent of the schools, and maintained by youth alone.[1] He was a dreamer, but a dreamer of the type of Cecil Rhodes and other dynamic originators. When Fischer returned in 1920 from captivity in Japan, he saw in the Wandervogel magazine an article condemning " dreams " and exhorting to action. His reply was, " No ! A dream can be a more determinant action at times than a whole half-year of road-tramping. A dream can be the embryo of an idea, and only an idea can ripen into an action."[2] His dream was realised. Between 1910 and 1914 there was no town in Germany without its group. A group always contained students and boys from secondary schools ; but others were not excluded. Employees, workers, young farmers, all

[1] Compare Blüher, *op. cit.*, page 46.
[2] Compare Förster, *op. cit.*, page 39.

could become members. In some of the groups, boys and girls were mixed; in others they formed separate groups. No social distinctions existed, and no propaganda, political or religious, was tolerated. All such differentiations disappeared in these groups, lost in the unity of the New Life experience.

Of no less magnitude were the indirect effects. Within every conceivable party, faction or creed, youth groups began to form, following the model of the Wandervogel. And they too set themselves to oppose the antiquated ideas or structures of the particular class or faction or creed to which they belonged.

The Confessional and the Labour Youth

Of these " indirect " youth movements, the two most important were the Confessional and the Labour Youth. In both a strong movement began for the revision of their own tradition. Labour youth, cognisant of the success of the Youth Movement methods, started a campaign against the antiquated methods of administration of the Socialist Party. Socialism was for them no longer a question of income, or of a materialistic conception of class war—it became a question of how to build up a new and more humane society out of reformed human lives. One of their later leaders, Bondy, expressed the feeling thus: " What we lack is a new Christus. Of leaders of the Marx type we have enough. That which we need most is love, love and effective charity." And he applies the words of Pestallozzi to the present time: " Let us first become human beings, and then citizens." [1]

In this conception Labour Youth had gone more than half-way to associate itself with the Wandervogel Movement; for they maintained that " Without self-denial no new community of the future is possible. Policy and government must continue to be irresponsible so long as the inner forces of human nature are disregarded. What we desire is the socialism of the Sermon on the Mount. We refuse to accept a materialistic socialism, a materialistic conception of man that denies the soul." [2] Later, when the whole Youth Movement, including the Labour Youth, was passing through a crisis, one of the young socialist leaders stated, " The Youth Movement had a face; we in our Socialist Movement had only certain of its separate attractive features." [3]

The Young Catholic Movement

Not dissimilar was the inner history of the very powerful Young Catholic Movement, mainly under the leadership of an eminent scholar and educator, Guardini. Its members had felt the crisis no less strongly. Here are some of their utterances: " Youth movements are the result of the distressing isolation of youth, in

[1] See F. W. Forster, *Jugendseele, Jugendbewegung, Jugendziele*, page 19.
[2] Forster, *op. cit.*, page 111.
[3] *Op. cit.*, page 225.

family, in school and in society. . . . They represent the definite turning away from the insincerity and aimlessness of present human relationships. The Christian spirit for which our association stands has shown us our duty. We are all born as members of one body, humanity. This truth has been forgotten. Let it be ours to renew youth at the source of eternal youth revealed by Jesus. Only thus can we create a new future for our people. . . . Let us destroy the artificial barriers between man and man, return from degenerate conventions to Nature, from shallow diversions to true joy, from self-seeking to brotherly feeling." [1] The Young Catholics accepted the form of life of the Wandervogel. They were even one of the first groups to fix their meeting-place in one of the old romantic castles. But their individual aim was towards a deeper interpretation of religion. They combated discrimination between different Confessions, or between those who did or did not belong to any Church. Love as the basis of human understanding was their gospel, and they echoed the spirit of the legends and songs of St. Francis. Mary the Mother of Love and Patience under suffering was their patron saint, rather than Peter the prince of the Church or Paul the zealous warrior. In this again, the original Youth Movement met them more than half-way. In its rich collection of songs were a number of mediæval hymns, celebrating Maria, Stella Maris, the morning star rising above the sea. Few books were more highly esteemed or emerged more frequently from the depths of the rucksack in the hours of rest than the *Fioretti*, the Legends of Saint Francis ; only excepting perhaps the poems of Hölderlin and the New Testament.

Holiday and Week-end Tramping Groups

And there was a third group, an anonymous group, but no less deeply influenced by the Wandervogel Movement. This consisted of the tens of thousands of boys and girls, and of adults of all ages, who quietly adopted the new habits of simple living, and of open-air tramping in holidays and at week-ends. One had only to visit, at an early Sunday morning hour, one of the railway stations in a large city to see platforms and special trains packed with their thousands all pouring out of the town as early as might be.

All these thousands found in this new fashion of self-expression their occasion to escape from the depression and discouragement of their past or present life. They recovered gaiety and self-confidence for one day at least in the week. And they learned the happiness of the open air, and of being alone with nature. There are no statistics for the number of those influenced by this movement. Even the original " Wandervogel " groups were so little organised that we can only roughly estimate their number, after 1910, at about 25,000. But the Wandervogel were a very exclusive group, with a select membership. The other youth groups whom they

[1] Compare Forster, *op. cit.*, pages 253–5.

influenced indirectly were certainly ten times more numerous ; and the " anonymous " third group could only be reckoned by the hundred thousand. In less than twenty years, the movement had, in fact, permutated a great part of the life of German youth, and in addition had influenced a large section of the older generation.

The Youth Movement Grows Up

Between 1906 and 1909 the Youth Movement was spreading like a conflagration through Germany. It was also changing its form and growing from childhood to adolescence. The realism of tramping was not enough : the romantic and philosophical sides were being developed. It is to be noted that within the Youth Movement these three aspects were often separated, and were each associated with one of the three appropriate age-groups. Thus the " realistic " outlook belonged to the age-group of 7 to 14, the " romantic " to the age-group of 14 to 21 and the " philosophic " to the age-group from 21 upwards. This distinction will be further discussed later.

The extending of the movement came of itself. No central body was responsible for it. In one district, possibly, an older sympathiser might send out invitations, and explain to his young guests the simple technique of cooking, fire-kindling, etc. (" The first bonfire is the birth hour of a group "). In another, perhaps, it happened that a group from some other district chanced to camp by the wayside. The rumour would spread, and those who had hurried out to see the novelty would return home resolved to do the same. Much was done to spread the idea by an unimportant magazine circulated to students of shorthand. The author was one of the first members, and the young readers of his publications found themselves deciphering with delight and astonishment the reports of the first Youth Movement tours in all their detail.

The truth, of course, is that the movement caught on because it met a very urgent need.

As the numbers grew and the tradition matured, the simplicity and sincerity which had been the feature of its spontaneous beginning were deliberately retained as its primary aim. Walking and the open-air life remained the basis, and their teaching led on to a renunciation of all drinking and smoking, not only during the tours, but on principle. It was not unjust to attribute much of the dullness and insensitiveness criticisable in an older German generation to their excessive drinking, more especially beer drinking. And although some of the early pioneers had not lost the universal habit, and might celebrate the end of a tour by a beer evening, the next generation of the Wandervogel had already come to detest the idea.

Growth of a New Training Technique

The technique of training new-comers was steadily improved. Boys and girls of 7–8 were welcomed : the strain of over-long walks

and heavy sacks was lightened in their case, but the rule of self-help remained strict. Everyone had to learn to cook ; and if the rice was burned the first time, they must try again. Map reading was taught. All sang, and the songs were collected and printed in a much-loved book, the *Zupfgeigenhansel* (Johnny and his Guitar).

The leaders were more and more carefully selected. They were responsible for all preparations for the tour, and for its management. One of their tasks was to see that the ages and personalities harmonised. To decide, for instance, who would be suitable to take charge of a particular new-comer, and be his neighbour by the camp-fire. In this way the new-comer, too often suffering from embittered repressions, might find that he could open his heart to a comrade met for the first time that day, since he possessed the gift to inspire confidence. The secret of such help was to take everyone seriously and to listen patiently. To the same end the leaders learned to distribute the duties and responsibilities in such a fashion as should make the best use of the group-education for each individual.

But this technique was never systematised. It was left to grow as an effective tradition. It was character that marked out a leader. It would gradually become known that a leading member here or there was an unselfish comrade, willing to help the younger ones, that he could be trusted with confidences, and had faith in the goodness of human nature. His influence was that of his personality ; because he had self-control, was a loyal comrade, and himself lived simply and sincerely. Beyond this there were never any grades or distinctions, no uniforms or graduated badges. These would have been against the spirit of the movement. At most a simple sign was worn on the coat, to differentiate the groups into which the whole movement was soon divided.

The Adoption of Group Traditions

The same traditions governed every group. There was the long day's walk, with the group spread out over some distance ; here one by himself, there two or three together, there again a senior and a junior hand in hand. There was the evening round the fire ; first the numerous songs, later reading aloud, or individual conversations. For there were no rules, the spirit of freedom prevailed ; and early next morning there would be again the bathe in the river, the morning's walk, the midday rest in the shadow, the cooking, and the tramp till sundown.

Books were always treated as good companions, and here also the development in the course of time was marked. Favourite books were the old fairy tales. Mystics like Ekehard and Suso, the Chinese philosophers, Laotse and Confucius, Carlyle and Ruskin, were very popular. To read Walt Whitman for the first time was one of our greatest experiences : he seemed to have written just for us. Socrates also was rediscovered ; and even the " dull classics," so boring as cramming textbooks at school, came back to life. Schiller, Hölderlin, Fichte, Heine, Shakespeare and even

some parts of Göthe's works, became the books which were read aloud around the camp-fire, or in winter-time in the modest club-room, which every local group sought to possess.

Handicraft, naturally, was increasingly encouraged. It followed inevitably upon the desire to be self-sufficient. Cooking in the first place ; then decorating a room, carpentering, joinery ; weaving, and simple pottery and metal work followed. In this again the Youth Movement was learning to make good an age-long omission in the school education. With it began a new respect for skill of hand throughout all Germany. It also proved in most convincing fashion the superiority of hand-made goods over machine-products. It was noticeable that all these new trends and pursuits began at once to find expression as soon as every one of the many centres of the movement was established.

For the local club-room, the " Nest," an empty room was rented generally in a poor district. Everything needed in it for use or comfort was provided by the boys and girls themselves. The same was done for the country club-houses, the " Landheime " : a small empty house in a village was taken and fitted out by the members. In larger towns the group might take over an allotment in one of the many " Schrebergartencolonien " (Garden-Colonies). Here they built their own picturesque hut, and worked to make the garden a model of beauty. Similarly, if a romantic castle or ruin came into their hands, they themselves laboured to make it a " Bleibe," an abiding home for the group.

High Standard of Simplicity and Sincerity

State money was never asked for. Upon this point the pre-War movement was very determined. Independence was incompatible with any form of State control. Even when the War broke out and most of the youth organisations were used for pre-military training, the Youth Movement groups could not be used for this purpose, since their constitution permitted of no external direction. It must not, however, be thought that their attitude implied any protest against the War : with the rest of Germany they believed that Germany was being attacked. Ten thousand immediately joined the colours, many as volunteers ; and they gave the noblest proofs of devoted service in life, and of courage in death. But their youth groups remained unmilitarised ; their control passed, not to army officers, but to the girl-leaders or to the 15-year-old boys.

In the equipment of the homes and centres this lack of funds, public or private, necessitated an extreme simplicity, even severity. But this simplicity was preferred; it was even made a point of honour, and regarded as something peculiarly their own. It became to them also the keynote of fine personality. They grew to hate rhetoric ; that which needs many words must be suspect, for truth should be self-evident. And herein we may note that a great change had taken place since the periods, and the oratory, of the Romantic Movement, or even of the Burschenschaft. Silence round

the camp-fire, or under the stars, had come to be thought a hundred times more eloquent than long declamations. If, accordingly, at a festival a leader made a speech, it was terse, direct, almost abrupt. His effort was to force his words to convey an emotion, not to explain it. Sincerity was made the acid test, and not only for speech: it was applied to dress, to thought, even to the heart.

The reform of all the ways of living, at home and abroad, by this standard of simplicity and sincerity became the rule. Statistics show that in every country the consumption of alcohol by young people diminishes as their readiness to seek open-air exercise increases. And for this new readiness on the Continent the Youth Movement was chiefly responsible.

The same may be said of the general reform in dress, for all open-air purposes. The first inclination of the pioneers was to show their freedom from convention by careless and even ugly costumes. But this was soon succeeded by the effort to give to them the beauty of appropriateness and a varied simplicity. A uniform was never thought of, and would have been laughed at as a proposal. The fashion established was one which allowed of the poorest joining up without difficulty.

Growth of the Idea of Land Service

There was also an important characteristic of the movement which not only allowed the youth of the working class to join happily, but gave them at once a standing. This was the manual work, accepted as an essential activity in the daily life of the movement itself, and, whenever it offered, outside it. During their membership of these groups, for the first time in recent Continental history the intellectual and wealthier classes returned to do agricultural and like work in the ranks of the agricultural or working population itself. This, too, had come in an entirely natural way. When groups were hospitably entertained at farms for the night, they offered to help in the morning. As a result they were sometimes asked to stay longer. In this way a tradition of such help grew. Groups would go in harvest-time to one district or another and give their labour. They took a special interest in fruit and wine harvesting, and having turned their attention towards finding new methods of preserving fruit, other than for alcoholic purposes, they would induce the farmers to adopt such methods.

The whole idea of land service, and of other such ways of bringing town youths to work for periods in the country, has its origin in this phase of the movement. The same may be said of the adoption of the American system of "work through university." This was adopted for the first time on the Continent on a large scale in the "Deutsche Studentenwerk" (German students' co-operative association). From this came the new type of "Werkstudent," the student who earned the money to keep himself by some months of manual work in factories. This system was planned and established by some members of the Youth Movement, with the

express intention of adapting Youth Movement methods to a wider field. In practice, the work students were selected from the whole body of students in all universities.

The Labour Camp Movement may be traced to the same source. The present Labour Camps derive directly from camps organised in North Germany in 1925 by one of the most prominent and active of post-War Youth Movement groups, the " Freischaar " in Silesia. In this group the Wandervogel and the German branch of the Boy Scout Movement were united.

Before the Youth Movement ceased, in 1932, to be responsible, in whole or part, for these camps they had already grown so as to include more than 300,000 members in a single year. Before 1932, the camps had successfully resisted all attempts to introduce military methods or uniforms or similar regimentation. Their youthful members were proud to be led by the young, and all groups and classes alike joined voluntarily in this, an entirely unpolitical activity.

There were two occasions when the members of every group were at their happiest, at their festivals, or on their " Grosse Fahrt," their grand tour to other countries.

The Youth Movement Festivals

The Youth Movement might almost claim to have rediscovered the art of celebrating festivals *à l'improviste* : and they proved to be a miraculous means of securing popular sympathy, and of attracting more and more followers to their own new conception of the art of living. Festivals might be celebrated at any time and in any place : in the small-town club-room, in the country club, in the castle, in the market-place or on a mountain-top. They might be shared by ten or by five thousand. They consisted principally of singing and simple music ; since in the old or new folk-songs everyone could join. The music was supplied by the guitar, flute or violin. Gramophone records were detested, because in personal self-expression lay the whole magic, and its effect on others. There might follow a reading from some good book, and sometimes, but not often, a recitation of poetry. The great item, however, was always the dramatic presentation. The acting was astonishingly good, and the production extremely simple. No stage was needed ; but if it was used, the production reverted unconsciously—for no reason but a common primitive originality—to the simplicity of the Chinese stage. A sheet or a shawl of clear, clean colour served as background, a few flowers or the branch of a tree formed all the scenery. The plays were either ancient folk or mystery plays, or they were specially written or improvised. They never failed of their deep effect.

Die grosse Fahrt

The second great occasion of the group life was, as I have said, the grand tour, " die grosse Fahrt." As a tradition it was first

established by the Youth Movement about 1900 ; and it still continues, in altered forms and circumstances. The tradition has enabled tens of thousands of young people to spend weeks and months in other and distant lands, at a cost of never more than £3 or £4 a month, including fares for so much of the journey as is not made on foot. Since this is the price also charged in the Danish folk high schools for the same travelling periods, it probably represents the minimum sum required for such a form of existence.

Buying and preparing their food by the way, and sleeping in barns or, later, in the open, the groups succeeded in touring through Greece and Italy, Bulgaria and the Black Sea coasts, Scandinavia and Finland, Poland, France, Spain and England.

Significance of the Youth Movement

We shall not here further analyse the movement psychologically, but it may be of interest to record how we ourselves explained it.

It did not emanate from the " ego," the innermost cell of personality, in which the masterpieces of art and music and new religious impulses are born. It came from the " self." The " self " is here taken to mean the midway stream that links the innermost ego with the surface characteristics.

In the course of human progress, the evils of civilisation and the dead weight of tradition have too often left this stratum unnourished and inactive : it has been reduced to a deadened covering, within which the deep inner forces of the ego have remained silent and inoperative.

The youth movements represent the transitional form taken by a spontaneous generational effort to render this stratum again permeable, to restore full life to the " self " : so that there shall be again quickening communication between the ego, the surface and the world without.

Self-expression, self-activity and self-responsibility are the means by which revitalisation proceeds. The self must needs express itself in action ; it is an instrument for service and for active use. In proportion as its independent action is renewed, it draws its impulses more and more from the deep inner cell of personality. Just as physical exercises are not an end in themselves, but serve to give health and harmony to the whole personality, so also all efforts to bring the self once again into full and lively activity serve the higher purpose of revitalising the inner man, the personality.

Youth movements are an effective process of exercising the self, in this sense. This is their significance ; and it indicates also the limitation to be observed, if their service to men is to be kept in proportion, and in balance.

Because a youth movement can never be an end in itself. It is a process appropriate to a state of human transition, and most appropriate to our present civilised conditions, which deny the self its automatic development in its natural environment. It is the embodiment of a spirit of change ; which, as soon as it has dis-

charged its function, should give place to something different and more stable. It cannot be called upon, and should not call upon itself, to produce a new culture, or creed, or even great poetry and art. We are coming to think, indeed, that individual silence and retreat are essential for such great production, and that a life filled with group actions can rarely be fertile in this deeper sense. On the other hand, the group-service and group-experience of a youth movement afford an invaluable socialising influence for an individual life, and for its creative talent: an influence indispensible if its sincerity is to be effective and complete. And only a complete sincerity, as the Chinese say, has prophetic quality.

The War and the Decline of the Youth Movement

The German Youth Movement was beginning to perform this function successfully, for a period that was one of human transition. It was providing a training in social group-action, in the form of a youth commonwealth. The War broke in upon its work: and ended by destroying most of the hopes formed of it.

But it had achieved much. To many it had given an abiding impulse towards a new life. Many also were already in course of applying its teachings individually to their respective chosen careers or fields of activity. We learn, for instance, from the universities that during these years a new type of student was making itself apparent. An earnest, dependable type of men, who thought things out for themselves, they combined intellectual interests with social-mindedness. These were the first young men and women produced by the Youth Movement, and their effect on the university life was marked. They were already beginning to create new circles of students, and these were returning to the virtues and ideals of the old Burschenschaft.

A number were already specialising in different fields of interest, and starting on their life's work. Education and the social sciences were the favourite provinces. It is noteworthy that, until recently, all experiments in school reform, most of the new Landerziehungs-heime (public boarding schools), the experiments with handicraft, with gardening, and in youth self-government, were to a large extent in the hands of members of the Youth Movement.

Adult education was the next favoured. Social questions and all schemes of social reform were eagerly studied. The co-operative movement, housing reform, garden cities, land settlement and prison reform were all receiving serious and constructive consideration.

The misuse of intoxicating drinks and the influence of the capital invested in this industry, food reform, training in the domestic sciences and an increase in the consumption of vegetables and fruit were further subjects of careful study.

Peaceful relations with other nations were being keenly cultivated, and this especially by means of the foreign tours and by organising hospitality for students from foreign countries.

By more general publications and by their special magazines and reports, these concentrated efforts of the Youth Movement for the betterment of humanity were being made widely known. This literature, if we take into account not only serious work, but the particular publications of the numerous groups, was assuming almost formidable dimensions.

The Hohenmeissner meeting in 1913 may be regarded as the last pre-War milestone of the movement. It sought to combine in a united front for common public action the many separate and sometimes even dissentient groups, which were, however, fundamentally activated by the same spirit. It was not unsuccessful; and it served, moreover, to establish new connections with men prominent in the public and intellectual life of Germany.

And then, at this moment of greater hopes, the War broke out. Fate had again interfered, as it had under different circumstances with the Burschenschaft in 1819. Ten years more of quiet development, and the world might have gained a new established force for good.

Results of the Interruption of the War

The interruption was twofold. There was material loss, for the best of the movement were killed. Thousands of young leaders fell at Langemarck, at Ypres and on the Russian plains. They were honoured in their deaths; but when we tried to carry on after the War, again and again the right man was lacking for the hard or responsible task, and we were left with nothing but the knowledge that if Karl or Fritz or Paul had still been with us, he would have carried it through. And so opportunity after opportunity was missed.

There was also a greater, and spiritual, loss; our faith was shaken. We had believed in humanity and in the irresistible force of the good in man. Somehow this belief had been falsified. By whom? We hesitated where to assign the blame; and yet it was plain that the War and the post-War events were not only due to a blind fate acting against humanity. Among human beings themselves there seemed to be a number who fell far short of our conception of humanity. Was it that they were weak, or that they were indeed wicked?

This caused the deeper pain and distraction. Those who had died, and for a great cause, had only anticipated an inevitable hour. But to have to live on, not knowing where now lay the borderline between the cause of right and the cause of wrong, or whether we ourselves stood on the right or wrong side of that line—this was the trial and the tragedy of many. And from year to year the "other side" gained ground upon those thus left in doubt, proclaiming that not love but force, not altruism but egotism, ruled the world, and that we were dreamers, even traitors, if we stood fast by our faith in humanity. Faced with these trials, many have grown silent, some have even lost their belief, but they are a minority. The

majority of the old Youth Movement followers are no more than silent. Where they may, they are still acting in accordance with their old ideals ; and if ever the history of recent years comes to be written, it will add a strange and honourable chapter to the story of the movement.

The War itself gave the first shock ; and it served to shape a number in their belief. But from the first, on every front, members of the Youth Movement formed cells of comradeship that disregarded all differences of rank. At home the groups, many under the leadership of the girls, carried on well, and did their best to help their comrades at the front. In 1917, the first larger meeting, including those serving as soldiers, took place ; and no one present could ever forget the heroic attempt made then to bridge the growing chasm between doubt and former hope, between the brutal reality of war and the belief in the principles of the movement.

The chasm had grown wider by the time of the well-known Youth Movement Council, held in Jena in 1919. It synchronised with the National Assembly, which was meeting near by in Weimar to draw up the new constitution for Germany. But there was no contact between the two bodies. Older friends might call the Youth Movement Council " the true German National Assembly," but those who took part in it knew better. We knew that the outstanding men of action had paid for this virtue with their lives, and that among those who were left the reflective, deliberative, unrealistic type prevailed.

The old German weakness, a lack of realism, leading to inability to compromise and ending in inaction, was in the ascendant. From this time on the atmosphere of the movement changed. Its unity was shattered. The spirit of action survived only in individuals. If it made its appearance at all in the groups, it had only minor objectives, such as the campaign against impurity in films and literature. School reform and youth welfare work on the one side, and political intransigence on the other, dragged more and more members outward, to the periphery. The centre of the movement grew more and more deserted.

On the other hand there was a great, and a growing, significance to be observed in the activity of those individuals or small groups who had already left the Youth Movement and were engaged in their life's work. In every important form of administration, in industry, in banking, in Government offices and in educational and university life, everywhere there were to be found young men and women, prominently placed, who had grown up under the influence of the movement. The effect, if ever it was a question of getting work done or beneficial schemes established, was admirable. One was sure to be met with sincere co-operation, the essential points were realised, and action taken, with none of the usual bureaucratic delays or objections. And yet !—if ever it chanced that one had to speak about the Youth Movement itself, a depressing sense of criticism and disillusionment was apt to make itself felt.

Beginning of a Crisis in the Youth Movement

The War, as we have said above, was the beginning of the crisis. But, at the moment of the Peace, there was a great recrudescence of new hopes for humanity—Wilson and his fourteen points—the humane-minded and enlightened leading circles of England and France—the new order in Russia.

It is far from our intention to say anything here that might seem like assuming a right to pass judgments. But it may not be difficult to understand that the type of young mind which could be saddened by the sight of ruined flowers on the bank of a river would suffer far more deeply from the gradual realisation that all the flowers of hope and belief had been shattered in a million hearts in other nations, and that they had never been permitted to contribute to a common springtide for humanity. Had European statesmen paid heed to this burgeoning of peace in the hearts of their peoples, had they known how to respect, and still more to use, the tremendous forces for peace in the hearts of youth on either side of a barrier far too long maintained, then there might have been a very real summer in our world.

But the War ended, and the months and the years passed. Every event that could suggest hope was greeted among young Germans with a new belief, and its brief illusion was bidden farewell with tears. The darkness of the judgment day dragged on, embittering the hearts of a new generation. The hopes of permanent peace decreased year by year. The chances of war loomed larger. Followers of the Youth Movement could not easily change their ideals, but they could be driven into silence. For a long time their closed ranks resisted all attempts to draw them into the political parties, either of the right or of the left. And even though, at the last meeting of the Youth Movement as a whole, in 1923, the right-wing members and the Communists attacked and counter-attacked one another through several days of fierce debate, yet in front of the great bonfire on the last evening the leader of the Communists and the leader of the Nationals shook hands once again. To many this last gesture of the Youth Movement gave new hope; and it might yet have been fulfilled had the mind of Europe changed. But others saw more clearly that any general return to reason and mutual friendship in Europe must be preceded by a yet darker descent into chaos. To them this handshake marked the temporary end of the old Youth Movement, even if it might also hold the promise of a rebirth in a—perhaps very distant—future.

These realists were right. The Youth Movement subsequently had no real life. Many, and dispersed, groups pursued the old activities, but upon party or confessional lines. The strongest group which continued in the line of the old movement was the Deutsche Freischaar. It gained new life by joining forces with the groups of independent Boy Scouts. In this way was inaugurated a very interesting attempt to harmonise the English and the German

forms of youth movements. As a group it was successful. It originated many important enterprises, a number of fruitful tours to the East and valuable and lasting contacts with English friends and collaborators. Last, but not least, it was the inventor of the Labour Camp Movement.

But, apart from this, the movement in general received little but criticism and censure ; and there were many to assert that it had failed. There are many more of us who believe that this was not so. As we have said above, the movement started spontaneously, born of a desire for a more sincere and more humane fashion of living. It was inspired by high ideals, which not only led many of those who belonged to it to enter upon careers of active social reform, but found a sympathetic response in far wider circles of the then living generations. But it was appropriate to a particular, transitional state of society. When that altered, as we have shown, as the effect of the War and of later happenings, neither its autonomous structure nor the spirit providing its only unity could survive in the original pattern. It was born—shall we say ?—for the conditions of May ; and the calendar of history was turned back to March. It may be found as happily in season once more, when May returns.

The Dangers of a Youth Movement

In the meantime, it should be our concern to learn from the past and from our own experiences what were the weaknesses and what the danger points in the old Youth Movement.

There was a danger undoubtedly in its " anchoritism." Just as the " Anchorites " withdrew from the world into the desert and spent their days in contemplation, so also our groups ran a similar risk of too isolated a retreat from human life and work. Their wandering, certainly, was not in a solitary desert ; but their isolation at times grew little less, when once they had fallen under that spell, of the romantic atmosphere of the group, which was sometimes even called the intoxication of the Youth Movement.

There was a very real danger, for many, in the magic and rhythm of the long tramps and wanderings. The rhythm still held them too strongly when, for each, the right moment had come to break with the romantic tradition and issue into reality. Their fear that the intimate and happy atmosphere of the group could never again be recovered outside was all too true—and proved all too binding. It was as if a " hot-house " complex were withholding them from the chill of everyday life. So they went on tramping and wandering indefinitely, in soul no less than in body. They adhered as men to the outward signs of being youth members, to the long hair, the plain and often self-made clothes, the cultivated suavity of speech and manner, and to a childlike primitiveness in thought.

Probably the perilous attraction of this prolongation of the romance of youth has a special appeal for a type of German. In the German mind the sense for realities is never strong, and this

has been the cause of the gravest errors in the history of the people. But it should be recognised that every youth movement, in any country, bears within it a like danger. Only really strong personalities can afford to remain and to act within it after their first period of youth is past. Romantic traditions, and not only those of dress, belong to the imaginative period through which every youth passes (or should be passing) between 14 and 21. During this period romantic attributes are accepted as articles of faith: after this period they cannot but be looked upon differently. If they are not to survive purely as affectations, they must be continued far more sparingly, and even then only if they are given a new significance. For everyone the stage comes when life itself must gradually replace the youth group, as his field of action and of interest. A youth movement is well advised if it sees to it that its leaders pass, at this stage, more and more into the position of older friends and advisers, and if it regularly clears the field for the self-expression of the oncoming generation. Every new generation has to deal with its own new conditions. For these conditions it should be free to find its own new forms of expression, perhaps even its own new traditions. A great and novel experience that profoundly affected one generation may have become a commonplace for the next. For example, the love of the open-air life. In 1900, it was a revolution in Germany; in 1910, it was still something of a novelty. But by 1925, or 1935, it had become a very usual matter, almost a necessity. In the same way a youth movement which continues to nourish itself upon the belief that it personifies a revolution, or even maybe a novelty, is seen before long to be praying to antiquated gods, and risks becoming ridiculous.

It is, then, not only the "old guard" that has to be cleared out regularly and recurrently. The same is true of the ideals and the tradition. The movement must be preserved as a centre for the ideals of youth. And, for this, it must grow always with the new instinct of youth, always deeper and nearer to the heart of life. If it formalises its tradition, even for a single generation in time, it will continue only to grow outwardly towards the surface; and its members will grow as "conservative," within its rigid crystal, as they considered their predecessors of twenty years before to have been.

The Youth Movement in Germany after the War did make this effort; it tried once more to "grow deeper," and with the help of a new generation. It failed, for the reasons we have already given, and as a result of its own mistakes.

Post-war Criticism of Youth Movement

Criticism after the War was concentrated on these two points, the "anchoritism" and the conservatism. The criticism was not confined to opponents. Some of the "old guard" gave vent to the passion for sincerity they had learned in the movement by attacking it bitterly, and burning their former gods. They charged

it with being a mere confusion of ideas, and they invariably recommended it to clarify itself by turning either Communist or Nationalist, according to their own political bias.

If the Youth Movement had one outstanding merit, it was its astonishing power of resistance to political pressure or party ideas. This was the best evidence of its healthy organisation. For the reason that the age-group between 14 and 21, the key years of every youth movement, is not ripe to make decisions about politics. Political ideas, if adopted at this age, become involved with all the other romantic notions and admirations belonging to the stage of growth, and they lose their character as politics in a jumble of youthful fanaticisms and romanticised partisanship.

Twenty-one is early enough for such discretionary choice. The Youth Movement made the renunciation, taught by a very sane instinct. It listened with attention to the exponents, but as a movement it always declined to take any part. Surprisingly few members took a political side, and even later in their lives the inner reservation still held good. The National-Socialist Party had good reason to prohibit the movement; for of its essence it must resist this, or any other, form of dictatorship.

There was a third danger inherent in the movement. It is a tendency of the present age to over-value youth, and to under-value maturity, and particularly old age. The German Youth Movement, as a movement, was not free from this error; and it grew more dangerous after the War with the increase of the artificial type we have mentioned, the "eternally youthful." It was upon this type that a leader of the Youth Movement commented: "The idea of maturity and its wisdom is a secret from you. . . . Your philosophy of life ends with the glorification of youthful habits. I personally have always looked forward happily to growing old. I was eager to reach this land of wisdom, and I knew why. But you, you have never conceived of the existence of this further country; and your old age may well be nothing but a second childhood."[1]

This puts its finger on a genuine danger; and it is one that concerns all educators and leaders of youth. If we overstate the value of youth at the expense of the subsequent age-groups of life, we invite a reaction, such as will prejudice prematurely the belief in the contribution which youth has still to make to humanity.

There was another problem, of considerable difficulty. The movement was again and again reproached with "mixing the types." The girls were said to become boyish, and the boys to lose some attributes of "hardy manhood."

The criticism was first made nearly thirty years ago. The years since then have shown an increase in this tendency so general that German youth must be exonerated from being the cause of it. At most it was an early symptom of a general trend. For instance, if

[1] E. Heimann, *Freideutsche Jugend*, vi, pages 488 ff., quoted from Forster, *op. cit.*, page 202.

in Japan the " Moga " is more and more socially evident, not only are the letters forming this new expression (M. and G. for " modern girl ") borrowed from the Western world to describe a local change, but it is significant of a new and universal necessity, that of young womanhood adapting itself to modern conditions of employment, to open-air exercise and to free comradeship with young men.

Conversely, young manhood has in general grown gentler and more peace-loving. The hard, noisy and more animal type is decreasing in frequency, and in favour. This is undoubtedly one effect of school education and co-education ; but also of the new order by which adolescents of either sex share their work and their pleasures in common.

No one can predict whither this removal of thousand-year-old distinctions between the types may lead. It is already having to encounter a strong reaction, intent upon restoring the more primitive, fighting type of male and the secluded, more feminine type of woman. Open intercourse between the sexes is to be replaced, the reaction maintains, by the former chivalresque customs of secret or open intrigue, and even of the fight for the possession of the bride. " Helen—and the Trojan War " is presented as a sounder social sequence than comradeship and equal affection in tranquillity.

The German Youth Movement always stood out stubbornly and outspokenly against the " Trojan War " conception of relationship and its particular myth.

At the same time another " mythos " certainly found favour with it—the platonic myth of the great god Eros. Its whole collective atmosphere, of admiration for an ideal of mutual unselfishness, and of aiming at self-perfection in association, was impregnated with the scent of the offerings made on these altars. This was bound to be misunderstood and critically misinterpreted. Actually, excepting in a few abnormal cases, the conception of friendship as the basis of education, as it was held in the movement, was highminded and animating.

It would be as easy to make a stream run uphill as to create a genuine educational relationship where this " Eros," this spirit of respect, admiration and mutual concern, was lacking. In the Youth Movement the current ran naturally ; and it even seemed at times as if the dew from a higher Olympus, a finer quality of zeal and devotion, were giving a new depth of reality to the human relationships.

Some Lessons of the Youth Movement

In Germany, as we have said, the Youth Movement came of an impulse. It was the spontaneous uprush of the feeling of an oncoming generation. It was not helped or organised by the State or by the official school authorities. It grew of itself, and astonishingly.

This makes it a very suitable subject for any investigation into

the innate laws governing such movements. At the same time it provides an impressive object-lesson for educators. It was a far-reaching experiment in self-education, one in which members from all classes of the population, of all youthful age-groups, and coming from all kinds of school institutions shared.

The first lesson it inculcated was this—school education is not enough of itself. Education, in the form of massed official day-schools, can never deal with all the elements composing youthful development.

Something more is needed, and it is wise to leave this " something " more as much as possible to youth itself to manage and organize. Protection for it from the school, or control of it by the school or the State, can only hamper its effectiveness. The best help is given by leaving spaces of time free from controlled learning, in which such extra-school activities can develop at leisure. A " movement " thus established can in return give much help to the school by the self-education it provides, through the medium of its tours, camps, manual work, crafts and object-lessons of many kinds.

Neither a higher level of mental training, nor the increased promotion of the scientific attitude of mind, can produce a better human being. Men of the highest intellectual capacity may nevertheless remain barbarians. Nor is any change in the curriculum, say from classics and the dead languages to science or modern languages, in itself any guarantee that the humane qualities in man are being the more awakened or strengthened. These alternatives in curriculum were carried in Germany, for example, to a high point of perfection. But, none the less, a wide gap was left ; and it was this gap which the Youth Movement came to fill. Many may even be found to say that it is precisely this highly developed and scientific intellectualism which destroys the last reticences of the spirit, and fills man with the " Babylonian mind." It was against this that German youth reacted, in its return to reticence and to simplicity, and when it formulated its need spontaneously in the Youth Movement.

It is an error to believe that the learned mind is necessarily humane. Humanism may be associated with learning, but it does not result from it.

The more we develop the scientific mind, the more must we give the character its own opportunity of self-development. In autonomous youthful activities this opportunity is given. As an active group progresses, it produces its own binding authority as a part of its self-expression ; and this authority will be more effective and more sympathetic to it than any external control.

It is a primary condition for the safeguarding of such autonomous activity that we should believe that young life does possess an unspoiled instinct for that which is good and that which is true ; it accepts the fundamental virtues whatever new name may be given to them. Without such a belief no adult can help or advise a movement effectively or lastingly ; since, unless it feels itself to be trusted, youth will give no confidence in return. In the German

Youth Movement, as we have said, leadership was never limited to the young alone. And if ever an elder was honoured with this confidence, it was because there was mutual trust. He had to be one of whom it could be said—" He takes us seriously—He can listen without condescension, talk in our own terms, and hold his tongue and his own counsel. It is almost as if he were learning from us ! "

This is the true educational relationship. It cannot be ensured by any method of official appointment of teachers ; but the ability and the intention to establish it constitute the difference between a teacher and an educator. Education in the Youth Movement was always a mutual concern. Educator and educated might change places at any time according to their special abilities, to their power of encouragement, advice or sympathy, or to their particular suitability for dealing with a single emergency or a general situation.

Whenever such a relationship has come to be the normal condition of a group, the differences between educator and educated tend to disappear. And, supposing a school to possess such a youth activity, it should be the concern of its management to adopt a friendly and supporting attitude, and to profit in its turn by learning as much as possible from it. A school need no more hesitate to learn from a youth movement than a teacher should be reluctant to learn from his pupil.

Unless it be so assisted by the organised or official educational system, a youth movement is likely to fail of its purpose and halt in mid-course. Young life cannot see beyond its own horizon ; and it is for the experienced educators of the school to seek to spare it the disillusionment, or the despair, of failure.

A youth movement must grow : it cannot be " organised." Every movement grows from a seed ; and the seeds are the words of poets and of the generational prophets. It is they who, by proclaiming " the ideal and the impossible," give vitality to the dreams of youth. And dreams upon this plane may lead to actions upon many planes. It is a slow process ; but it is one which our rulers could help, if they would, by giving greater encouragement to those who sow the seeds of thought and action. Few statesmen are aware that it is the poets who most nearly express the desire that lies deepest within the soul of a nation. There are no greater national treasures than the inspired utterances of its younger or its older poets.

Youth movements are grown of these seeds, and their resultant vitality and spontaneous activity are a needle pointing to the future. Did our governors but know it, they could learn much of what is coming from them ; and they would be the more eager to help them to their wisest form of self-expression and of self-organisation. There are at the moment in several countries most interesting new beginnings of youth movements. They are associated for the most part with the Youth World Congress Movement. The branches existing in Canada, in the United States and in England are such new

beginnings. Their fate, however, must depend largely upon the help and guidance they may receive from a greatly increased number of sympathetic seniors. It is a happy fact that some of the leading statesmen seem now to be growing aware of their opportunity ; and the new youth charters, which have their origin in these movements, indicate that the voice of youth is being newly heard, and listened to.

It was far otherwise in 1819, and in 1919 ; and those great opportunities were lost.

Conclusion

One interesting outcome of the German movement was the re-affirmation of a law of distinguishable stages in youth. Comenius, Rousseau and Pestallozzi give many indications of it ; but the collective autonomous development made possible by the movement may be said to have proved its truth in application.

Comenius made the division into six-year groups. But even nearer to the truth would seem to be the division into seven-year groups, the historic Septennia, which have received recognition so often down the ages in religious rites and initiations, and in the stages of maturing responsibility acknowledged in community life.

At 7 years old, of old custom, the child was admitted into the school community. At 14, in many countries it left school, and at the same age was admitted into the full communion of a church. At 21, it came of age, and was given full rights as a citizen.

The reality of these Septennia was shown anew in the Youth Movement, allowing, of course, for the fact that the dividing line cannot be drawn for everybody at precisely the same age. Four several stages were distinguishable. The first, from birth to the age of 7, was reserved entirely for the family. In the next three Septennia the Youth Movement took an active part, and it distinguished them as follows : 7–14, the realistic period ; 14–21, the romantic period ; and 21–28, the intuitive period.

Blüher,[1] the great historian of the Youth Movement, places some of the age-limits slightly differently ; but he describes the successive periods admirably. Of the realistic stage he writes : " The child, as we know, is a confirmed realist. Children like clear, solid objects. They are not dreamers. They do not ' enjoy nature,' but they like to collect beetles, or stones, or butterflies. Poetry is foreign to them. . . . Siegfried and Achilles are heroes, because they really existed, and science is an enemy when it calls them fairy-tales. Religion is real to them only in so far as God is a person, a being of flesh and blood."

Of the romantic stage he writes : " Things lose their consistency, and become unstable. The world seems to be breaking up ; life grows a dream. . . . The young life seems to be wandering in a forest alone. Objects have lost their significance for him ; he searches for their secret meaning. For natural science he substi-

[1] *Op. cit.*, pages 53 ff.

tutes lyric, for physics metaphysics. The realist has become a romantic."

Of the period after 21, the intuitive, he writes: "Early in the twenties may come, if it comes at all, the dawn of a new period. The imagination glimpses at moments, but only at rare moments, visions of a divine peace, images of noble simplicity or silent grandeur. They are powers that soothe . . . the serene faces emerge, radiant with light; it is the classical ideal! . . . Many, however, never reach this stage."

School education has failed again and again to realise, or to adjust itself to, the differing characters of these periods. It has wearied the boy, realistic in mind, with the study of ideas. It has troubled the romantic adolescent by urging the acceptance of a classical ideal. And to the third period, the most important, it has given no education at all.

The Youth Movement contrived and followed a very different course. It adapted its structure to each succeeding stage. For the child there was the realism of tramping, of handicraft, of activity. For the adolescent, the romanticism of beauty in nature, of art, and music and sentiment. For the intuitive stage it reserved its most impressive form, the realisation of a great ideal, and the task of educating younger friends to its high demands.

At the same time, this was not all. For the movement set itself to combine all the three stages into one living unit. So that everyone could see for himself the characteristics of the different stages, and yet learn in addition how each stage melted into the next, and continued to develop in the new altered form.

In conclusion, we shall venture to say that one significant symptom of every vital youth movement is this harmonious and free union between the three stages of youth, in their action and in their feeling. It may even be taken as the most significant symptom. Wherever it is observed, whether it be seen to be taking place as between several thousands or as between four or five, there a true youth movement is taking form. It is the signal of the birth of some new vision of better living, and of a growing collective resolution to realise the vision in action. We of the older generation will do well then not to disturb its free growth; and better if we assist towards it. No matter whether it occurs within a school, or without it, taking the form of some youth organisation or activity, it is establishing of itself a process of true education.

Every educator who then lends it his protection is helping to give such expression as a poet might give to the finest and most subtle impulses in nature. But the material of the educator is not words, it is human lives.

REINHOLD SCHAIRER.

CHAPTER THREE

The Growth of Educationalism

What is Educationalism ?

EDUCATIONALISM is a convenient word to describe the penetration of educational forces into fields of human activity outside the school. It is a recognition of the truth that the " educable " in every human being is not limited to one period of life, or aspect of growth, but is capable of development at all ages, by means adapted to changing human life. Until a short time ago, the tendency was in the opposite direction, to concentrate education more and more in the school. But now education is expanding over a large variety of different fields. It is a new phenomenon, and our task, in face of it, is a modest one. It is to call attention to it, to compare observations upon it, and, as far as possible, systematise them.

Why is this new phenomenon which we have called educationalism labelled with an " -ism " ? Nationalism, Socialism, Communism, Fascism, Liberalism—these are some of the members of the same family. They have all a common quality. They are labels for mass trends or tendencies. Try to avoid these labels and you will fail to describe the essential in some of the principal movements of the day. If we add others, such as materialism, idealism, optimism, pessimism, utilitarianism, etc., we find that they have the same common feature—they are creeds or confessions. They are not merely tinted windows colouring a view of the world, but they have in their names an action appeal, a propaganda note which has its part in every creed. In some cases the nature of the confession may be developed into a faith or religion. Some of the first-mentioned group have been given this character in becoming the basic conception of new governments.

All these " -isms " have a double character. They have a meaning for conscious thought, and they have also an appeal to the unconscious. This mixed nature is their strength. From Herbert Spencer, Auguste Comte and Gustave Le Bon we know that man, in his present stage, is moved more by the unconscious than by reason. This is infinitely truer of man considered as a mass.

The Technique of Influencing the Masses

Those who neglect this art of influencing the masses effect little. Those who have learned to employ it for its own sake are a peril. They have learned too much from Le Bon's gospel.[1] Le Bon affirms that masses are ruled by the unconscious, they are deaf to

[1] Gustave Le Bon, 1841–1931, French doctor in medicine and philosopher. Wrote *The Psychology of Masses*, 1895.

reason ; they are best ruled by some form of " magic," such as rhetoric, using not arguments, but repetitions, even of untruths. On Le Bon's prescription, hatred, fear, admiration and love are the four bases of mass influence. Every newspaper reader will find examples of it almost daily.

Those who have mastered the technique are naturally anxious to keep the masses entirely in the unconscious, and to prevent anyone but themselves emerging into the light of reason and independent thought. Once the masses are for the time being definitely merged in the unconscious, they can be led by their feelings alone. Blend a portion of hatred for someone outside the group with admiration for someone inside the group, and we have the complete Le Bon recipe for mass direction.

The Technique of Personality

Educationalism postulates the opposite. It is the technique of developing out of the masses as many individual personalities as possible as preliminary to a next stage in human development. It believes that a single fully developed personality is of more social value than ten times that number of individuals forming a mass nurtured upon the cultivation of the unconscious. It is a revolt against the time when man was regarded as a raw material of industry, to be used and flung aside. An extreme interpretation of *laisser-faire* allowed the owner of a factory to feel free of all human responsibilities. We read the list of working hours ; even for children a reduction to twelve hours a day was regarded as " progress." It was a desert where increased human industry could have produced a garden.

Step by step, however, educationalism is creating one oasis after another in the desert. The day may not be far distant when, through its agency, even industry may become a garden of human values. This is the actual definition of what a manager of a factory should be : An example of subordinating individual interests to the common weal, of intellectual and moral impartiality and honour, of skill in planning for and in handling human nature. He should by his presence create order and secure co-operation ; and continue a student in all matters of research. In short, he must be a leader, a trainer, a teacher, an educationist.[1] The description is proof that educationalism is making great strides inside industry. It suggests, also, what a new field may be opening for the school educator. The definition of a good manager might be as correctly applied to a good teacher.

Or take another example, the family. Ten years ago the family was still on the defensive. Russia had doomed this antiquated form of human existence to be destroyed, systematically and from all sides. And yet, Russia is the first country to create " Universities

[1] These words, paraphrased, were spoken at an important meeting of leading English Managing Directors in September 1937.

for the Science of Parenthood." It has discovered that, failing this educational primary cell, all other efforts grew more and more difficult. Russian educationalism is thus making slow but irresistible progress. The same may be said of the family in many other countries. Consider, for instance, the workmen's dwellings fifty years ago. In some countries they were vaults with hardly enough air for human beings to remain alive, and where the soul, the intellect and hope were starved of growth. To-day, in striking contrast, we see the four- and five-roomed houses covering the edges of industrial cities. In them the family is attending its "University of Parenthood," if in individual fashion. In like manner, where the family had been shorn of many of its educational functions by youth and other organisations, the tide would seem now to be flowing back.

In both cases we can only affirm a tendency. But the tendency has gone so far that factories are regarded as "educational units for life," where self-education proceeds regardless of school examinations. In the family, also, it is noteworthy that where shorter working hours enable him, the working man is resuming his full paternal educational function, helping his child in school lessons, with which he continues his own self-education. Educationalism in these instances is revitalising the social organism, as if circulation were returning through an injured limb.

Educationalism and the Unconscious

A further word as to the relation of educationalism to the unconscious. Educationalism, like other "-isms," has, we say, a double character: it lives partly in the unconscious, partly in the conscious, thought. But it differs from other "-isms" in this: whereas most other "-isms" try to illuminate the sea of the unconscious by floodlighting, they remain, even when they dub themselves "eternal," man-made floodlights. Educationalism believes that there is a sum of life and nature and ordered experience, which alone can illuminate the darkness of the unconscious, creating, as in the sea, more and more life, and that the whole task of the educationist, in this sense, is to remove obstacles and obstructions that shut out the life from the human soul and intellect. He will never claim that education can, or should, illumine the whole darkness of the unconscious—that task is reserved for religion.

The aim of educationalism is the gradual clearing up leading to the admission of the light. He knows also that educationalism must fail if it restricts itself to the intellectual field. The mistake has been tolerated in most school education because of its remoter contact with life. But in educationalism, where the educational forces must bear directly upon life, the shortcoming is at once evidenced. Life imposes harder and swifter tests than school examinations.

A number of the "isms" err in the opposite direction. They live upon the exclusion of the intellectual processes and of resultant

mental growth. They are powerful as systems only in so far as they prevent the free development of independent personality. They exist to maintain an air-tight partition between the individual on the one side, and conscious thought on the other. Educationalism has no part in either of these systems. Its work must proceed in fields other than the political, where the testing of life is severe. No one of the units in which it develops could survive long if the free air of thought and science were excluded, even if only from a workshop.

A Catalogue of Extra-scholastic Activities

Educationalism signifies the penetration and transformation of new and extra-scholastic fields of human activity by educational forces.

Of these new fields only a few can be discussed *in extenso*. At this point it is of more importance to draw the attention of educationists and others to their existence, in the hope that by combined and wider investigation more light may be thrown upon them. The list of them must remain for the time unsystematised, only grouping those cases which bear an obvious affinity.

This may be the earliest form in which the old type of educational force grew out over the border of the schoolroom and invaded a field previously occupied solely by craftsmen for vocational purposes. We know the revolutionary effect of the ideas which were brought into Western consciousness by the Utopias of More, Bacon, Andreae, and afterwards by the philosophies of Locke, Leibniz, Comenius and Rousseau. Franke, Kindermann, Pestallozzi and Fellenberg introduced them into the practice of school education. Subsequently they emerge and again disappear in the field of primary and secondary general education, other than technical and craft education. The tide favouring them or disfavouring them swings backward and forward.

Some countries are still closed, in effect, to this expansion of general school learning. Others support it in theory, but find the practical difficulties too considerable. There is often doubt as to the best form of hand education to combine with general school education, and school workshops often show small evidence of a successful introduction. Trained teachers, too, are not easy to find for this class of work.

Certain countries, discouraged by these poor results in the school workshop, are experimenting by adding varying periods of practical hand activity and labour, in intensive periods, outside the ordinary curriculum or after leaving school. They consider a longer intensive period to be more thorough, and the activity in a real workshop, a factory or a farm, of more realistic effect than a school workshop in general can be. They observe, furthermore, the favourable result of interrupting years of abstract learning by a period of manual activity. This is the fundamental idea behind the doctrine, that students before entering universities should work for a certain

time with their hands, either individually or in groups, as in labour camps.

Some countries are experimenting with the plan of introducing into the curriculum a longer period of manual activity of a character akin to the student's later studies. The future engineer does technical work, the future doctor ambulance work, and the future teacher does something practical in a business or a factory, to widen his horizon in general. In some countries the course is compulsory; in others the students who follow it secure preferences. Of particular interest are the cases where a longer period of light farm work is given to town-bred children, after they leave the primary school, and before they enter their apprenticeship.

In technical education a similar realistic tendency is increasing; not to concentrate upon workshop equipment, but to form a unit of two independent parts, the school work and the work in a factory, a workshop, an office or a farm. A close combination is being at least attempted on the principle that practical experience in a realistic atmosphere is the basis for a new form of learning. The same tendency appears in the rendering of special departments in factories "fit for youth" and reserving them for apprenticeship education. The next step is the gradual introduction thence of educational rules and methods throughout the producing unit. In this, the ideas of Robert Owen are infecting many countries, and many examples could be quoted of this new process of "humanising production by introducing educational methods, both for management and staff." It is an impressive instance of the humanising mission of extended education—of educationalism.

The selection and formation of an élite has been too long left to schools and examinations, and removed from the more effective testing of working life. In this, also, the tide is turning. Many enlightened works managers see that water-tight compartments in a producing unit kill the spirit of adventure, of originality and development. They are beginning to rediscover the benefits of advancement from the bottom to the top of the ladder inside a unit.

Educational methods help here. As soon as a manager begins to look out for quality in members of the staff, and sets himself to help it forward by opportunity for self-instruction, he is discharging the function of a good educator, the function which, in old China, was the first duty of every governor.

The family is being rediscovered as the primary educational unit. It has for a long time been attacked from every quarter, but experience, and sometimes painful experience, has demonstrated that artificially constructed units, while they can for a period produce an educational excitation, which may be taken for an educational effect, yet these excitations often pass away like floods and leave parched land behind. The removal, even of the fertile stratum which these floods can effect, is a dangerous by-product of theories of artificial education which neglect the family.

The family, indeed, has now often to relearn its educational

functions. Adverse social and economic conditions, such as bad housing and over-long working hours, are further handicaps upon it. But a sound educationalism will aim at enabling the family again to take over these functions, rather than to assist in the contrivance of substitutes and in calling them necessary institutions. Educational growth can only thrive if rooted in natural soil, in a compact and vital unit like the family.

Increasing leisure time, even where it is not yet a matter for social experiment, will automatically help the family in this process of recovering its educational fitness.

Educationists perceive these implications and welcome the new leisure, knowing its progress to be irresistible. The situation is no longer that of a mass of producers with a thin super-stratum of a few consuming more or less largely, since the masses are becoming the large consuming stratum. The new "leisure" occupations, home management, sport, radio, motoring, travel, are the outcome of this social change. The rising standard of life associated with more leisure may be regarded as the main tendency of our time. The superficialities of a nation may be coloured red, white or brown, or any other symbolic colour, and the flag may be Liberal, Conservative, Communist, Socialist or Fascist, but the deeper currents are moving congruously in a single direction—towards a higher standard of living, shorter working hours, longer and paid holidays, security for old age, and a home with a garden, or even a field. The realisation of this ideal approaches more slowly in some countries; but the tendency continues unmistakably in every Western nation.

It should be remembered, however, that leisure in itself implies only opportunity. Without educationalism in the sense which we have described, it can produce only boredom and dissipation of energy in distractions. A few years of such "leisure" and deterioration will alone be the result.

But the type of education which is required to satisfy it is not the application of school methods. Such a policy would fail to attain its object. Educationalism, on the contrary, is faced with the task of adapting the principles that lie behind school education to a completely different form.

Self-education, in its many forms, approaches the ideal solution. With the new leisure, self-education, as the art of right living, opens up new possibilities. Schooling, then, forms the important beginning of the course, and its task will be to kindle the desire which will ultimately create a capacity for self-education.

As an example: a hundred years ago the masses were untrained physically. Then the Physical Culture Movement began in successive countries. In Germany, it turned to "Turnen," group-exercising; in England, to games.

School education has to-day the same chance. It can create the desire and train the capacity for self-education. The capacity is found to develop distinctively in the three departments—intellect, skill and character—and for each a special technique has to be mastered.

Nationalism forms one such ideal. The dream of a new State where justice is maintained is a second. A third is a vision of a healthier, kindlier and more beautiful human race. This last is reviving the Greek ideal of *kalokagathia* (beauty combined with goodness) in the unconsciousness of the masses.

Fitness, as a motive, must be associated with one of these ideals. Simply as a matter of expediency it has no appeal to youth. Present-day youth looks below the surface for the deeper responses of personality. Educationalism might be called the reflex of this change. It has the duty of developing the whole personality from the innermost outward, and of fitting it, in all its capacities, for life.

A physical fitness campaign unrelated to an education for, and of, the whole self can have no future. It may last for a short time, but it will soon wither away. Only its adjustment with the general development of the personality can maintain it. It must be felt to harmonise with the inner self, to be an expression of self in the straining after an ideal. For our present youth such a movement must be associated with an ideal. Ideals are the driving force behind self-education.

In this wide field, educationalism is charged with the task of changing the habit of a people from within, towards better health and nutrition. Teaching can impress, but it often fails to persuade. Education comes from practical life.

Self-help aroused in an allotment garden will lead to the pleasure of producing one's own vegetables, to their improvement in competition, to their right appreciation—and so to an understanding of nutritive values—and a new diet. Education for life must have its deep roots in reality. It is a growth, not a floral decoration. Its soil must be of life, not of the book or the classroom.

Adult education cannot succeed unless it accepts this truth.

To continue the method of the classroom, the textbook and the teacher teaching *ex cathedra* will principally interest those who have no deep roots in active life, and who are, in this sense, still of school age. Many excellent teachers feel their work in adult education to be a failure. Educationalism would counsel them to avoid the methods proper to a more juvenile age and to base their work upon the experiences, full instincts and backgrounds of actual life. In this way they will reach that inner germinating power in a man which urges him to self-development through self-education.

Brain fatigue may again kill the sprouting germ. But the art in adult education must be to mix in right proportions abstract knowledge and experience of life. Many great educationists knew this well. Condorcet, an example of such educational wisdom, advised that every professional teacher should, once a week, give one lesson, not to children, but to adults and parents, and that the subject should not be school knowledge, but realistic life problems and the application of knowledge to them. Such an hour would compel a teacher to keep himself in practical contact with active life. In necessarily altering his methods for this one hour he would, in

our terminology, cease to be a professional educator and become an amateur player in the art of educationalism. He would learn by this that education is alive both inside and outside the schoolrooms, and inside and outside the teaching profession, demanding only a change of method. The voluntary attendance at this hour would also give him the test of his freshness as an educator. School children cannot express their judgment on this point by absence, but adults can.

The sale of records of classical music is greatly interesting in a number of countries. Salesmen on the Continent have known for years that in working-class districts more Beethoven, Bach and Mozart records are sold than jazz. The same is now reported from America. There is a proportionate interest in the drama, and in amateur acting in all classes. The demand for books with substance in them is only checked by their price. If there were pessimistic views as to the tastes which semi-education was developing in the masses, and especially among the working classes, there is reason now to change them. Too long working hours, long distances to travel, insufficient pay and the high cost of cultural opportunities had much to answer for. We know the facts about a Minimum of Existence. We are learning also now that there is a Minimum of Taste. As soon as this minimum mark is reached, there follows irresistibly a renaissance of appreciation of art, of drama and of good literature. Broadcasting can do much for the recovery ; is, in fact, already affecting taste in many directions.

The majority of travellers from overseas, and between one country and another, are still only of the tourist type, resolved to see as many "sights" as possible. Such commercialised travel educates only in a superficial sense, and few voyage with insight into what they are seeing. But only such insight, gained by residence with a group in another country, can help towards mutual understanding between nations. It is this form of travel that educationalism should seek to develop, remembering how highly it was estimated by some of the great philosophers and educators of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They saw in it one of the best means of self-instruction, some of them urging its postponement to the riper age, since youth, in their opinion, was not yet ripe for its inner lessons.

Amos Comenius, in *Didacta magna*, vol. xxxi, page 14, quotes Plato in support of waiting until the anarchic wildness of youth is passed and the stability acquired which can profit by travel. John Locke, in *Some Thoughts About Education* (Chapter 212), sets value upon travelling, but objects to the immature age usually chosen for this form of informative travel and advises a later. The following chapters, 214–16 (there is no Chapter 213), are the *locus classiens* for the Wisdom of Travel. Rousseau [1] treats the art of travel as a means of self-education intensively ; and Montaigne, in the sixteenth century, writes of the illumination obtainable from intercourse with

[1] *Emile*, vol. v, pages 246 ff.

peoples. We are all wrapped up in ourselves; we do not see beyond the ends of our noses. We of the present day compare ill, in the attention we devote to travel as an educational process, with the people of past centuries. What educational writer would devote whole chapters to the study and technique of travel? And yet the opportunities for travel have now multiplied immensely.

Our educationalism has an important task before it, in the encouraging of a right habit of travel with insight.

The Poor Law and the Workhouse are now largely replaced by the new form of Social Service institution. Educationalism permeates the new forms, and the same is true of prison life.

Educationalism in this field proceeds upon the belief that the very fact of distress or misery renders the educationable germ in a man all the more sensitive and alive; he is the more amenable to human understanding, and to that help which can restore self-confidence and the courage of body and mind.

Social institutions, which were formerly harsh and unproductive, are now not infrequently oases in the life of the poor. They have been made productive in many ways. The last big wave of unemployment produced many evidences of this new orientation.

The best educational methods were not always employed, but the intention was everywhere perceptible of conducting all the remedial enterprises in an educational spirit.

The educational forms introduced were manifold—hand education, self-instruction, gardening, allotments and family small-holdings, art education, dramatic groups and libraries. For the student of educationalism and its expansion, these institutions of social service work are a veritable storehouse of information.

Co-operative movements are spreading over the whole world, and to Robert Owen and the pioneers of Rochdale the debt is steadily growing. In some countries as much as 90 per cent. of farming is organised in this new form of common enterprise in which higher and better production forms the only profit. It is intrinsically an educational movement. It stimulates production and the eagerness to work and to compete. But it has sometimes a deeper educational significance. Consider, for instance, the quality of an agrarian product. A co-operative enterprise alone can educate to an always higher and higher standard of quality, for to sell a poorer quality under the label and price of a higher, as co-operator, is to cheat not only the consumer but all other co-operators. Honesty, self-respect and self-interest all receive reinforcement from working in a group. An individual has to reckon with his own conscience alone—in a co-operative group he has also to reckon with those of the other members. There is an educative atmosphere in the co-operative movement, even in its structure and organisation, and in some countries it has further established its own educational institutions, lecture courses and evening schools. It exercises its greatest effect in a country such as Denmark, where educationalism

through life has preceded it, and where it could serve as an additional agency for its extension.

Elements of Educationalism in Youth Organisation

Youth organisations are an English invention. They developed during last century from different sides, generally as junior departments of sports clubs or sports clubs themselves. Officers' Training Corps, Boys' Brigades, Boy Scouts, had their own origins ; and Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations and similar groups had yet another. Quintin Hogg's polytechnics were among the first boys' clubs, and the Boys' and Girls' Movement concludes the list.

Before this, the students of many countries had their own organisations. Apprentices had not ; and before the English form of youth organisation set the example there was nothing to unite the different social groups of youth into one entity.

Subsequently, these movements have spread like wildfire round the world. Millions of young pupils between 7 and 30 are associated in mixed or in separate groups, according to age, sex, creed or political attitude. In some countries the different groups are combined by the State into one large State-controlled organisation. Such compulsory unification is accompanied by a definite political orientation. But even after such a unification, the component elements remain the same as those represented by the above-mentioned English youth movements, in different combination. With the exception of the German forms of hiking and youth hostels, no single new element has been added to the English inventions.

There is no need to enumerate all the elements of educationalism present in these youth organisations. They are well known. The English sense for practical educational values created these forms, which in effect, if not always in intention, complete the system of school education.

Two elements, however, are noteworthy : their recognition of the sense of adventure proper to youth, and the voluntary co-operation in them of adults with special aptitude for understanding and guiding young natures. By these two elements a new range of possibilities for youthful self-expression was opened up.

A further feature of them is that they are graded in an educational sense. Leadership is progressively educed and trained by the successive stages of responsibility entrusted to the young members in the numerous activities. Our modern complex life is already benefiting by the forces aroused at the adolescent stage in these youth groups.

Youth Movements in Relation to Youth Organisations

Youth organisations are contrived for youth, but youth movements grow spontaneously among youth. Youth organisations reflect the sympathy of the best adult minds for youth ; and youth

movements are efforts at self-expression by the mind of the younger generation itself. Not infrequently they come into existence as a protest against the oppression of senescent forms. To a student of the trend of the times, youth movements will seem the more interesting ; but he may decide that youth organisations have wider effect upon a generation. Youth movements suffer from the sheer power of their originality. Their development is as irregular as that of a wild flower, and often as short-lived. Their ideas and, at times, their leaders, are consumed by their own inner fire. Their end is too often the tragedy of individual lives, though the world may have been enriched by a moment of revelation.

There are many forms of combination between youth movements and youth organisations. The movement often passes peacefully into the quieter form of an organisation ; while an organisation may in any year be transfigured into a youth movement by the magic of a creative personality at once inspiring the souls around him and liberating them from their dependence on the forms.

All these combinations are rich in the opportunities and the phenomena of educationalism, and educational designers are wise who aim rather at creating a lively connection between the school and the youth group than at forcing the youth group into the mould of the school tradition. The two should be left apart, like two live poles, between which the current of educational electricity is free to develop its own energy.

Conversely, the attempts made to develop schools along the lines of a youth movement are not successful. The conditions, material and moral, can seldom be favourable. Although, in this instance again, a great educator can create in a school surrounding that atmosphere of personal and spiritual enthusiasm which is the inner note and characteristic of a true youth movement.

New Life Movements

In some countries the Government or a leading political party have organised adult associations upon the model of the youth organisations. These purport to apply educational methods of a kind directed to prepare for this or that goal. These are sometimes associated with efforts at mass-adult education, such as the liquidation of illiteracy ; in other cases they seek to be independent and to aim higher.

Their possibilities are contingent upon the methods employed in them, and in the nature of the force inspiring them. The methods of conducting an adult organisation call for profound preconsideration. Their effectiveness depends upon their sincerity. If they do not respond to the inner human demand for veracity and justice, if they are felt to be superficial, then their success, if any, will be short-lived. It was the lesson learned in every youth group of the past, that for their effect they depend upon the presence of an element which the religious-minded may call inspiration and

devotion ; the philosopher, efficient ideals ; the biologist, an instinct for a higher form of human being ; the sociologist, the third stage of development in human society or the " positivistic " stage. Even the materialistic conception acknowledges it in asserting that solidarity, higher justice and a self-devotion, even to death, are essential to a conception of a better human society.

This inner force must underlie every method employed in the new technique of influencing the collective adult mind through mass organisations. Mass propaganda initiated from the outside or from above, however ably, is limited in its effect and its duration by this fact alone.

An adult " new life " movement cannot claim the same ready faith as a youth movement. Discrimination and resistances increase with age and experience. An adult movement must have facts, not words, as the bases of its conception and of the promises of a new life. Moderation in promises and efficiency in human action should be the ideal of a new life movement. Youth is impressionable, and will accept visions ; adults are best educated by action and changing environment. The " learning by doing " method grows more appropriate with each decade of a human life. The strongest educational influences upon adult masses are not those of isolated new life movements, but of new personalities. To mention only four names : Lincoln, Sun Yat Sen, Ghandi and Masaryk have probably done more to change their peoples, by their fashions of living and dying, than all organised movements put together. And all these four were not only statesmen, they were also deeply interested in education, and in the complex we venture to call " educationalism," that is, in the belief that there is an educational cell in all human beings, and in the application of the best educational method and experience to the life of the peoples and of states. They held, or hold, that sincerity, and belief in a world order above the visible world, are two vital elements in every education ; and that only that educator may trust his own capacity who possesses these two forces and is able to elicit them from others. The State, as it is incorporated about such a man, is a reflex of his personality itself, not of his teaching or commands. It is his self-education which is the force that reveals itself in a new State movement.

The State as a Manifestation of Educationalism

This new conception of the State is the final step in our educationalistic survey. Expressed educational purposes are now the common matter of governmental speeches and declarations. There is a fundamental truth behind this novel phenomenon. The new organic conception of the State is as a more or less living personality. It is no longer a magical institution beyond the calculation and criticism of the ordinary man. The State is now thought of as part of ourselves : the State is *us*. This identification is differently entitled in different spheres. The juridic sphere speaks of the

official treaty creating a State ; the parliamentary sphere of the idea of modern democracy, implying this universal participation in the State ; the biological conception is of a growing tree, of *Volk* (in German) or *Folk* (in Scandinavian languages), or, with a slightly different meaning, of *Nation* in French. But common to them all is the conception of an organic, growing mass personality, receiving its virtues, not ready-made from an old-time heaven, but demanding for their perfection something which is neither more nor less than —education.

No one, perhaps, has better expressed this idea than I. G. Herder (1744–1803). In his great picture of humanity he again and again uses the words, " history is the education of the human race." [1] Again, " one and the same law rules everything in the world, from the sun and the stars to the smallest actions of man." [2] And the meaning of past history he interprets in words like these : " Europe shall be educated here . . . to a Humanism and a Reason which shall in due time encircle the world." [3]

In his famous book, *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (Gesammelte Werke, vol. xiv), he applies his conception to the Slavonic race. He praises the pacific qualities of the Slavs in terms customarily used only of an honoured and beloved individual : " They are charitable, hospitable, lovers of the peaceful countryside, submissive and obedient, withal, hating vagabondage and destruction."

In the history of the revival of the Slavonic races this conception of Herder's has played no small part ; and it is still a lively force in many countries. Masaryk was deeply influenced by Herder ; just as Herder himself was influenced by the religious conception of the world mission of the Slavs, as it appears in Hus, the Moravian brethren and Comenius. The life work of Masaryk is a very impressive example of the application of educational ideas and methods to the development of a nation and its government.

None the less, we are in general still very far from subordinating the State, and the relations between states, to those principles and forces generally recognised as dominant in education. Too often, even where educational terms are employed, they are being used as a smoke-screen, to hide very anti-educational facts and motives.

The Next Stage

If this conception of educationalism is correct, which the future alone can show, and if educational and educatable qualities in man and in society are penetrating farther and farther into extra-scholastic fields, then certain definite steps seem to be indicated for everyone who accepts this view.

First, the educational gulf must be bridged between the school-island and the continent of life. It is this transition between the

[1] *E.Kühnemann*, Herder, page 340.
[2] *Op. cit.*, page 368.
[3] *Op. cit.*, page 375.

humanised atmosphere of school and the still often inhuman atmosphere of life, which kills the germs of new beginnings in young souls. Many educationists are acknowledging this fact in the desire they express to prolong the school life for all. But would it not be truer to say that it is the educational atmosphere which should be extended, and not only up to 18, but until the middle of the next period in adolescent development, that is, up to 25 ? It is right to accept that there is a break in the life of a child at 14, when childhood closes and adolescence begins. But there is another at 21, when adolescence, roughly speaking, translates to the next stage, manhood or womanhood. And this transition is perhaps even more decisive for the future of the man and of human life.[1]

A harsh break at 14 can destroy much concrete school knowledge and incipient learning-method. A harsh break at 21 destroys more. Man is then passing out of the " romantic stage "—he is approaching the time when the inner world, the " ideas " in the Platonic sense, is about to reveal itself to him. The answer—PRESENT !—can at any moment respond out of the dark to his questioning. But if this answer is never given, the man is in danger of breaking with his " dreams " of the romantic period, and cynicism and pessimism wait as menacing ghosts ready to enter at the breach where the break has been made, and to remain.

If, however, the " educational atmosphere " were there, to lead the man over this breach, he would learn—the better for its being later—the great secret of accommodating reality to his dreams, step by step. And the future would hold nothing greater than this.

We should, therefore, look forward to uniting all the forces of education, those of the profession and those interested, in a sympathetic group pledged to securing the next step, namely, the prolongation of the " educational atmosphere " for all up to the age of 25.

This does not mean the extension of the school period up to 25. It might even mean the opposite : the introduction of life-experience into the normal years of schooling, but only a life-experience as it would be transformed by educationalism. Let us illustrate this by two cases. In the first, the child is employed, after 14, as a wage-earner, and badly paid. As soon as a rise falls due, he is often dismissed. In the second, the child, boy or girl, passes at 14 or 15 from the academic schooling into a carefully supervised apprenticeship, which will admit of his enjoying periods of renewed mental training in a continuation school. At 18, he enters the next stage, of more realistic life work ; but he is still encouraged in all ways to continue learning in his leisure time, to keep physically fit, and, later, to prepare for parenthood. Within the " protected period," up to 25, marriage should be encouraged. With the establishment of the atmosphere of joint family life, say at 25, the first period of life may be considered as concluded. From then on, and beginning from this centre of new life, the young family,

[1] Cf. the description of the Septennia in "The German Youth Movement," page 978 of this volume.

the educationalism attitude should be encouraged to continue itself automatically into every aspect of daily life. Every young man or woman who passes through one of these excellent " new " schools to be found in most countries, of every grade, knows what this means. Any member of a new-minded youth organisation or movement knows it also. That human life has to be made " human " is a human truth self-evident to them.

The demands of every sincere youth movement—for example, the different branches of the World Youth Congress Movement—are concerned with different aspects of such a change. They demand practical hand education for all, full apprenticeship combined with the day continuation school, and with the opportunity for the gifted of entering for degrees and higher degrees even at this stage. They demand that young people between 14 and 18 should not be misused as " earners," but should be regarded as " learners," in a form combining both fashions of learning. They demand better pay for this period, more leisure and longer vacations, and not only for the privileged group of university students, but for everyone. They denounce blind-alley jobs. They denounce the new system of class privilege, which has been instituted at 11 + by inadequate school examinations, directed to favouring the " brain " type and penalising the " hand " type.

These demands are faced with great practical difficulties, but they are none the less highly significant. Once their significance has been acknowledged, practical means towards their gradual realisation can be found.

Need for Change in Outlook of the Teaching Profession

The next step would be to secure real collaboration between the teaching profession and all those more indirectly engaged or interested in education. There is growing to-day an opposite tendency. In their efforts to defend their rights in respect of examinations and social standing, teachers in many countries are seeking to reserve increasingly all educational functions to their full recognised members. In so far as it can improve the quality of education or the esteem in which it is held, this movement is all to the good. But it is to be deprecated when it leads to a form of jealousy of every educational function existing outside the teaching profession. As examples of this, in some countries, in technical education, the ability for manual teaching is denied to the old crafts—and master traditions, and the Union of Vocational Teachers claims this function entirely for itself. Similarly, learning by correspondence courses, or by other methods of self-education, are attacked. Again, in some evening institutions, the lessons given by non-professional interested " laymen " are objected to. Or, again, it is to be noted that the problem of reforming the family, so that it can again discharge its educational functions, is not approached with any enthusiasm.

This is a narrow, and narrowing, attitude which threatens a very real danger for education and for professional educationists alike. A very different project could open up if the attitude were to become one of cordial co-operation. The professional educator would be welcoming every step towards a wider conception of education ; he would appreciate every sign of interest, theoretical or alive, in other social groups ; he would invite the frequent attendance of men of business and other professions, of working men and farmers, to speak to, or make contact with, his school, he would be getting the children out of the schoolroom atmosphere as often as might be ; he would even encourage, as on the Cincinnati co-operative system, their spending periods of practical work in industry and business, supervised by special school officers ; he would be glad to see the school become a centre of consultation for the concrete problems of its local community, and that both school and teachers should come to be regarded as a centre of advice and of study for all later life.

If professional exclusiveness could be diminished as part of the teaching unions' policy, and a whole-hearted co-operation with other educational forces be initiated, no one would profit more than the teachers themselves. The community sense is suspicious of over-emphasis on the rights of a single profession, and it welcomes nothing more than sincere professional co-operation. The co-operation of the teachers would be sought after in many different fields of human activity, as " educationalism " made its steady progress. A teacher who was an expert in this art of human relationship, which we call education, would soon be finding his influence extending immeasurably.

To admit the force of educationalism as we have described it, or to contribute actively to its recognition and enlargement, is no longer a matter for purely professional interests. It must form part of any understanding of the forces that make for human progress.

REINHOLD SCHAIRER.

EDITORIAL NOTE

IT has been the consistent policy of the YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION to publish reports from responsible persons on educational problems in countries outside the British Commonwealth of Nations and the United States of America. It is, we believe, fundamentally important that countries should understand each other's point of view, and, when possible, that that point of view should be expressed by a person speaking with authority within the country concerned. It is with pleasure, therefore, that we publish on the following pages an account which we have received from Dr. Schacht of a speech which he made to Berlin apprentices in May 1937.

CHAPTER FOUR

Conditions for Training of Apprentices in Germany

OWING to its geographical position, the German nation is bound to recognise the importance of questions of technical, vocational and agricultural education, as vital to prosperity. Rich nations have sometimes to face the problem of disposing of surplus products arising out of the possession of an abundance of raw materials, whereas poorer nations, whose sources of wealth are not mines and vast farmlands, but the hands and brains of their workers, craftsmen and peasants, have to supplement the sparsity of raw materials by an intensive cultivation of craftsmanship.

In this matter of craftsmanship, Germany has an old and highly developed tradition. We consider it, then, to be an important task more and more to cultivate this tradition. The following are some rules and principles which, we believe, will serve to help us in this task :

(1) Civil and political education for citizenship are of prime importance, since they are the foundations of political thinking. But the economic and social prosperity of a nation depends as much upon a good and thorough technical education being given alongside the political one. A nation which limited its education to politics and neglected technical aptitude would soon be left behind in the international competition.

(2) Technical education is twofold, theoretical and practical. This latter can only be taught by master-craftsmen, and nobody can become a master-craftsman who has not himself been working for a long time at his craft. Apprentices cannot be taught by apprentices. It is only from a chimneysweep that you can learn the craft of chimneysweeping, and only a master-craftsman, and nobody else, can teach an apprentice the secrets of manual skill.

(3) Technical education is closely connected with the whole economic structure of a nation and forms the groundwork for its future development. Therefore, the Minister of Economics can best direct and supervise technical education. The carrying out of the policy should be placed in the hands of self-administrative bodies, such as the Chambers of Trade and Commerce, the Chambers of the Artisans and the Guilds, which already exist in Germany.

(4) The economic system of a country can only be fully developed when management and labour are equipped with useful textbooks and outlines for continuous further technical education. In Germany, a special committee, the German Committee for Technical Education, was asked to co-operate toward this end. This committee utilised the services of the best experts in industry, technical schools and technical universities, in order to bring light to bear on all problems of technical education, and also to elaborate, for every

single trade, exact and detailed rules for the education of the apprentices.

(5) Apprenticeship contracts are an important part of technical education. Uniform regulation is necessary. The "Reichswirtschaftskammer" (German Chamber of Trade and Commerce), in close co-operation with the German Labour Front, the Hitler Youth and the above-mentioned Committee for Technical Education, have elaborated a model apprenticeship contract. The Chambers of Industry and Trade are compelled to enter only these kind of contracts in the official lists. The admission to the examinations, too, depends upon the registration in these lists.

(6) It has long been held to be the duty of the Chambers of Commerce and Trades, or the Guilds, to supervise the education and the examination of apprentices. Therefore, only the apprentice examinations of these old and self-governing organisations have legal validity. The old and noble tradition of these bodies is a sufficient guarantee that only real skill and solid knowledge are the deciding points.

(7) But these objective rules of vocational educations are not enough. There are moral principles that need to be taken into consideration if an apprentice is to become an honourable craftsman or merchant. Therefore, I have asked the young apprentices to accept the following advice: Whereas enthusiasm is a privilege of youth, it is not in itself sufficient to compensate for a lack of that high and permanent performance in the daily work which alone can enable a man to keep his position in life. Even a genius is powerless without iron discipline and stern determination to learn the principles of skill, and a real skill can only be acquired by long and hard work.

(8) No community or state can exist without justice, order and discipline. Where injustice reigns, order is destroyed. As the Bible expresses it: "Righteousness exalteth a nation." Justice is the most effective weapon against class controversy. You ought, therefore, not only to respect law and justice yourselves, but you should fight injustice and lawlessness wherever you find them. Be courageous and do not be afraid of the truth. Another fine text out of the Bible says: "Defend truth even to the death, and God will fight for you." That is to say, that he who defends justice, honesty and truth will feel the power of the Divine in himself.

(9) Be respectful of the skill of others; be grateful to your parents and masters in that they have handed on to you the skill which they themselves acquired. They give you of the best that they have learned in life, and thus enable you to achieve more than your ancestors. The great social community and prosperity of a nation rests on this tradition of progressive workmanship. This sense of the community is nowhere else so clearly expressed as in the relation between master and apprentice. Here all class distinctions disappear.

H. SCHACHT.

INDEX

The following abbreviations are used throughout this Subject Index:

I.F.S.		Irish Free State
L.E.A.		Local Education Authority
N.Z.		New Zealand
N.I.	=	Northern Ireland
P.E.S.	=	Public Elementary School
S.A.		South Africa
U.S.A.	=	United States of America
U.S.S.R.	=	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

N.B.—All entries refer to England and Wales unless otherwise stated.

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THE TESTING OF INTELLIGENCE

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Formerly Director of the University of London Institute of Education

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