

EDUCATION FOR COMPLETE LIVING

AUSTRALIAN COUNCIL FOR EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

Education for Complete Living

The Challenge of To-day

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE NEW EDUCATION
FELLOWSHIP CONFERENCE HELD IN AUSTRALIA

AUGUST 1 TO SEPTEMBER 20, 1937

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NOT FOR LENDING

With an Introduction by

FRANK TATE

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THE material progress of the world has been such that many millions of people have been released from the necessity for giving all their time and energy to securing a mere livelihood. This material and scientific progress has completely changed the conditions of life, both national and international, and has at the same time revealed the human race as being spiritually unprepared for the new world order.

Universal schooling and increased leisure for adults provide the opportunity for raising the general level of human life to heights never yet attained. But what *kind* of life—individual and social—should we aim at, and what procedure should we adopt in order to realize these aims?

These questions constitute to-day's challenge to education.

SAYINGS AT THE CONFERENCE

'We of the Fellowship believe passionately that only in a democracy is there freedom for the development and flowering of the human personality We must envisage the primary function of education as opportunity for the growth of the individual and the development in him of qualities of character.'

BEATRICE ENSOR.

'A well conceived system of education, fostered by the education authorities, sympathetically administered, carried out by zealous teachers, and backed up by the interest and support of the parents, is one of the surest guarantees of well ordered social progress.'

MEADON.

'Languages and mathematics deal with the "dead certainties" that do not occur in ordinary life. What must be acquired is the power to deal with the every-day uncertainties on which everybody needs to form the opinions that lead to action.'

BOYD.

'To-day the fundamental issue in education is to determine on which of these two aims—reproduction of the type, or growth beyond the type—the emphasis should be placed. It is the issue between education for democracy and education for confusion, between education for enlightenment or training for uncritical acquiescence, between education for intellectual freedom and progress or indoctrination in a fixed ideology.'

KANDEL.

'The School must ever conserve the best of the ages, but it must face also the high duty of preparing for a better age to come. With the rapid tempo of social and technological change education must not consider that duty done when the youth leaves the post primary school. Under modern conditions adult education is necessary for the preservation of democracy.'

BRUNNER.

'While man has gone very far as a result of researches in eliminating waste with regard to his material resources, he has been almost culpably indifferent to the elimination of waste with regard to his human resources.'

MALHERBE.

'Most children, and, indeed, most adults, are skill hungry, and can gain satisfaction only when that skill hunger is satisfied by definite accomplishment.'

HAPPOLD.

'Imagination is not a dangerous gift; it is the manifestation of a live and eager personality.'

LISMER.

'If the teacher's personal influence is to be felt in the school and beyond it, he must cultivate sociability; he must be able to speak many languages, of the rich and of the poor, of the cultivated and of the ignorant, of the business man and of the politician. Above all, he must be able to speak the language of children.'

HAMLEY.

'If it is agreed that the purpose of the school system is to perpetuate unchanged the form of society of which it is a part, the content of education becomes propaganda, the method regimentation, the result indoctrination, and there is no such thing as freedom for the teacher.'

HART.

'To keep controversial issues out of the school programme is to keep life out of it.'

RUGG.

'It is in your power by planning and by not grudging the cost, to create in this southern hemisphere a type of humanity which will not be surpassed in the whole world.'

NORWOOD.

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INTRODUCTION

THE first suggestion that the New Education Fellowship should be invited to hold a Regional Conference in Australia came from Dr. K. S. Cunningham, Executive Officer of the Australian Council for Educational Research, who in 1934 had attended the N.E.F. Conference in South Africa and had been very favourably impressed by it. Our Council took up his suggestion enthusiastically, and the N.E.F. approved of our application and co-operated actively in obtaining a distinguished and widely representative body of speakers.

From the first the difficulties incidental to the holding of so ambitious a conference so far from the N.E.F. centre in London, and to the organization of seven individual sessions throughout a great continent of little less than the area of Europe, were apparent. However, by hard work and skilful planning, and with the enthusiastic co-operation of the whole of the educational institutions of the Commonwealth, this great adventure, for in truth it was no less, was successfully carried through. The verdict of those most concerned is that it amply repaid the time, the energy, and the money expended upon it. During the seven weeks in which the sessions of the conference were being held, Education held a foremost place in the thoughts of the Australian people. It is reasonable to claim that from this great stirring of public opinion must result a much more liberal view of the function of the school in a democratic community, and a recognition of how great a part popular education must play in promoting, not only the well-being of individuals, but also the security and well-being of the nation as a whole. There were many indications that Australia was in need of just such a 'revival,' for, while in the years before the Great War, we had done reasonably well in developing our school system, we had not since then realized sufficiently how remarkable and how far-reaching were educational developments elsewhere. Owing no

doubt to our remote and somewhat sheltered situation in the world, we had failed to keep up with this forward movement and to adapt our school system to the necessities of a rapidly changing world.

It was no wonder, then, that several of our visitors, coming from countries which have in recent years been active in educational reforms, should, before they left us, have commented upon our complacency and self-satisfaction, and our impatience under criticism. It was to be expected, of course, that now and then one of our critics, not sufficiently familiar with our local conditions, failed to appreciate our reasons for some course of action of which he did not approve; but on the whole they dealt with important, fundamental matters of enlarging educational policy and of improving educational practice which Australian authorities had so far failed to meet adequately. It is in bringing home to us how much has in recent years been achieved elsewhere in the endeavour to 'enable the right pupils to receive the right education from the right teachers in the right type of school under conditions which will enable the pupils best to profit by their training,' that our visitors have done us greatest service. The year of this conference should be a landmark in the history of Australian education, and, let us hope, the starting point of a new and far-reaching period of advance, both in the more liberal provision of educational opportunity for all, and in the education and training of a corps of teachers who can rightly claim professional status, with its necessary corollary 'freedom to practice their art with the utmost scope for initiative and individuality.' Already, branches of the N.E.F. have been formed in many centres, while in New South Wales and Victoria widely supported popular movements for educational reform have been enthusiastically launched.

Most of our visitors had not had any previous experience of a highly centralized educational system under which every detail of administration, the establishment and maintenance of schools; the curriculum; the selection, training, appointment, classification and promotion of teachers; etc.;

is in the hands of an official staff with practically no provision for any control by local authorities. They were inclined, therefore, to assume that a leading characteristic of Australian State education would inevitably be the maintenance of a mechanical routine, probably of reasonably high standards in some respects but, nevertheless, severely restrictive in its tendencies and unlikely to bring out the best in the best teachers. When associated with inadequate professional training as it was in some Australian States, such a system was not calculated to produce a staff of teachers that would measure up to accepted professional standards. Before they left us they were prepared to admit that centralized administration had enabled us to deal effectively with the problem of providing a good standard of elementary education in rural districts—even in those far removed from populous centres—thus giving equality of opportunity to both country and city children, a matter of first importance in a newly developed country. It is a fact that, during the recent financial depression, Australian rural schools did not suffer as did American, and, to a less extent, British country schools, through the inability of local authorities to maintain the necessary expenditure. *Inevitable retrenchment in Australia* was imposed equitably upon the whole school system.

Then, too, despite the tendency to regard centralized administration as necessarily bureaucratic and essentially dictatorial, it was freely admitted that many examples of enlightened team-work between the schools of a district, and in some instances of a whole State, were in evidence. For example, a recent revision of the primary school curriculum was carried out by one State authority with practically all teachers co-operating. A strong central committee, including representatives of all the chief educational interests (including non-State schools), was appointed. These drew up a body of principles to be observed in framing suggestive courses of study. The staff of inspectors of schools was brought to the metropolis where, in conference, they discussed the proposals of the committee thoroughly. On returning to their districts, they formed their schools

into study-circles to discuss the proposals so far put forward. In this way they were able to deal with the questionnaires sent out from time to time by the central committee, and to give the corporate opinion of groups, instead of overwhelming the central committee with some hundreds of replies, which probably would never be read. As the work of the committee developed and practical details of subjects were suggested, the inspectors had these tested out in suitable schools in each study group, and results reported to the central committee. Thus, as the inquiry proceeded, the whole body of teachers was being educated in the new proposals, and were, therefore, more likely to accept them sympathetically and effectively. It should be pointed out that the course of study which issued from this committee was largely suggestive rather than mandatory, and offered a wide choice to teachers and freedom to select details within the subjects set forth. Such administrative procedure assuredly does not support the belief that, under a centralized administration, narrow bureaucratic methods are inevitable.

But our visitors could not fail to notice how closely the work of teachers was supervised, and what weight was given in the very elaborate schemes of classification of teachers to the estimates of their work made by inspectors. They did not always realize that this system had developed out of the desire to give to each and every teacher a fair deal in the allocation of such prizes as transfer to a more desirable environment (a very important matter in a partially developed country) and to promotions carrying a new range of salary. The Australian teacher has, in the past, fought hard for the abolition of patronage in such matters, whether this patronage is political or departmental, and on the whole it may be said that he has a far better chance to gain a desirable position on his merits than teachers in Great Britain or the United States. But, that the system and what it involves conflicts with educational ideals cannot be gainsaid. Some of its obvious defects are the keen competitive element between teacher and teacher and the consequent

strain, the over-importance given to the lightest word of the supervising inspector, the failure to develop initiative amongst teachers, and the tendency to uniformity within an inspectorial district. In some of the States the elaborate scheme of classification of schools and of teachers, in some cases laid down in detail in Acts of Parliament, leads to too frequent transfers of staff and is a constant disturbance of school work. The attempt to multiply "teachers' rights" may easily lead to "pupils' wrongs." One of the worst results of such elaborate and regulated control of the teaching staff is that the 'system' tends to dominate everything. Appointments and transfers within the scheme of classification become mechanized, there is little room, if any, for selection in order that the 'right pupils shall be taught by the right teacher in the right school.' What is needed is that administrators shall exercise responsibility in selection when the occasion demands it, and that educational interests shall not be subordinated to the easy running of the machine. As Dr. Kandel wisely puts it: 'What comes to count for most is the "system." Education under such conditions ceases to be dependent upon the release of the capacities and insight of trained personalities and becomes formal and mechanized. Efficiency may be attained, but it is the efficiency of a machine, and means are adapted to ends without any attempt to inquire whether either are sound or important. Uniformity and a certain monotony rather than variety and flexibility become the characteristics of such a system. Under such conditions regulations, not men and women, determine the progress of education.'¹

My considered opinion is that the discussions of the conference should bring home to us that our methods of rating teachers are far too elaborate, and far too rigidly enforced, and that we should concentrate more upon bringing out of the teacher the best that is in him and encourage him to exercise his own initiative in an atmosphere of freedom. But to do this effectively there are other matters to be remedied. We must, for example, realize that the selec-

tion and training of teachers should be the most vital concern of the administration and should be generously planned. In all States a beginning has been made in making connection between the training of teachers and the Universities. More should be done, and the educational and professional training of teachers should become a major function of the Universities. Opportunities for refresher courses should periodically be arranged. It is undoubted that, by overseas standards, the education and training of our teachers is, in many cases, open to question. Teachers educated and trained as professional men and women would naturally claim that they should be given the freedom and responsibility claimed by other professional people to do their work in their own way. Our complicated salary scales should be simplified, and the number of transfers due to promotions should be thus lessened. As a matter of fact, in my own State the constant changing of staff has a most serious effect on the *moral* and the tradition of the schools. The inspecting officer, freed from much of his duty in policing and auditing, could then become more readily, what he now finds difficulty in being, the organizing head of his district, the leader and inspirer of his team, but withal himself a member of the team.

But we must realize that the whole matter is hedged round with more difficulties in a State system, under centralized administration, than in such a system as that of England. The more one studies the trend of educational opinion in Great Britain and in the United States, the more one is impressed by the dislike there shown to over-organization in details and to excessive supervision, especially of a repressive and directive type. Sir Michael Sadler has spoken of the change in the attitude of the Board of Education since the days of 'payment by results' as exemplifying the fact that 'the English love of freedom has burst asunder the bonds with which in old days the codes of the Education Department tried to keep all the schools obedient to one restrictive rule.' This cannot be said of Australian educational development.

The English Board of Education has gradually relinquished its power of prescribing details of school practice and has sought to develop initiative and freedom in the teaching staff. It is, I think, correct to say that, as the inspectors have ceased to exercise power, they have acquired more and more influence in their schools. It must, however, be realized that the Board of Education does not employ teachers and take responsibility for promoting or transferring them; these matters are functions of the local administrative bodies. Its visiting experts are concerned, therefore, with educational results; they wish to know whether a given school is giving good service to the local community; they are not concerned with comparative estimates of teachers. Their strength is shown in their power to encourage and stimulate a school to rise to higher levels. Such estimates of the worth of individual teachers as come before the local authority when appointments are being made are furnished by officers of the local administration.

The position in an Australian Education Department is, however, much more complex. It must be in a position to award promotions to its staff of teachers according to merit. A carefully compiled record for each teacher with a periodical assessment of his efficiency seems, therefore, essential, unless promotions are to be made by favour or mainly by length of service. Nothing can be more destructive of the zest and conviction which are necessary in all good teaching than the consciousness of neglect or injustice. Each teacher should feel that, though he is personally unknown to the persons who make the selection, his claims, supported by his record built up on the reports of inspectors, will be fully considered. But, I have before stated, the tendency with us is to over-minute and complex schemes of classification of both schools and of teachers, usually involving too strenuous competition among teachers, and such rigidity of administration and such unwillingness or inability to consider special circumstances as must necessarily be out of place in a business in which the human factor should be all-important.

I feel strongly that the ever-present danger in centralized administration is the growth of bureaucratic methods of dealing with the staff, and that these assuredly tend towards standardization and mechanization, and, in the case of teachers and inspectors, conformity with the opinions of those in authority. The tendency towards routine methods is ever active and hard to resist—that way comfort lies. It is easier to justify rigid adherence to the 'system' than to take responsibilities, even those allowed under the rules, and so, before long a clerical administrator who never visits schools can effectively make the necessary staff changes. The demand that the right pupils shall receive the right education from the right teachers ceases to have its full significance.

One of our visitors, Dr. I. L. Kandel, spent some months subsequent to the Conference making a study of education in Australia and New Zealand. I shall end with a quotation from the admirable report, 'Types of Administration,' which he published recently through the Australian and New Zealand Councils for Educational Research. While he criticizes severely some of the failings of our centralized systems, he does not omit to speak in high praise of some of our achievements. It is when he looks beyond the provision of educational facilities and considers the spirit of our education that he finds occasion for dissatisfaction. He says: 'The systems of New Zealand and Australia are dominated by the aim of securing efficiency in a somewhat narrowly conceived round of educational prescriptions and requirements. That this efficiency is secured cannot be denied, but the major question is whether such efficiency is not purchased at too high a price. It is achieved at the expense of the educational growth of the pupils and the professional growth of the teachers, on the one hand, and, on the other, at a sacrifice of that adaptation to changing educational needs which is the keynote to-day of educational progress in the more advanced democracies of the world A State which prides itself on the high rank that it attains in the fundamentals lays itself open to the question whether its

pupils receive anything else that is of solid worth and meaning to them as they grow up, and that gives them an understanding of the world around them. Such a question does not suggest that the one must be discarded in favour of the other, but that the claims of both must be reconciled. It is obvious that the defects of the systems of administration in New Zealand and Australia cannot be ascribed primarily to centralization, but rather to the spirit in which centralized administration is conducted and to the ends which it has probably sought to attain.'

FRANK TATE,

PRESIDENT,

Australian Council for Educational Research.

October, 1938.

DEC 1937
A. A. S. N. S. P.
EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

IT is tempting on an occasion like this to speculate on the significance for Australia and for Australian education of the New Education Fellowship Conference held just over a year ago. I believe that a patient reading of this volume will confirm the impression gained at the time that the addresses contained many ideas and suggestions of permanent value. It will, at the same time, go far to explain the unprecedented interest which the Conference aroused not only amongst teachers, but in the community as a whole.

Since the addresses are here to speak for themselves, I shall limit myself in the main to a brief statement concerning the preparation of the present report. Let me first remark, however, that the reading and re-reading of the papers for the purposes of publication has given rise to the feeling that their chief contribution lies in the almost overwhelming emphasis which is placed on the relationship between education and life in its wider aspects. Any teacher who could read these papers and still think of the school as merely or primarily a place where certain clearly defined teaching jobs are carried out would throw doubt upon his qualifications for membership in his profession. In Australia particularly, where there is a dearth of free discussion on the more remote bearings of what our schools are doing, it was desirable to get away from the minutiae of school procedure and on to fundamental questions.

For the same reason the present report should prove thoroughly interesting to the more intelligent members of the general public who are prepared to think about where we are going as a society and how we are to get there.

The Conference at which these addresses were given was organized by the Australian Council for Educational Research on behalf of the New Education Fellowship which has its headquarters in England and possesses branches throughout the world. The Conference opened in Brisbane on 4th August, 1937, and was followed by sessions in

Sydney, Canberra, Melbourne, Hobart, Adelaide and Perth, terminating on the 18th September. All told, the total number of addresses given by the twenty-one speakers lay in the region of three hundred. Even allowing for a few duplications, it was obviously impossible to print all the addresses.

Before coming to Australia, the speakers were asked to supply lists of topics on which they were prepared to lecture. These lists were passed on to the six local committees, which drew up programmes of addresses in consultation with the central office. The speakers themselves were asked to bring to Australia written copies of as many of their addresses as possible. It was suggested that, as a minimum, they provide full notes on what they regarded as their most important address and summaries of their remaining addresses. Most of the speakers found it possible to submit written notes of some of their addresses before departing from Australia, but the fact that some were unable to do this, and that others promised to send notes of additional addresses after they returned to their own countries led to a decision to postpone the printing of the report until all manuscripts were to hand. By April of this year all definitely promised papers had arrived, and the work of preparing the report for the press was commenced. The only speaker who has not found it possible to submit any manuscripts, and is thus not represented in this report, is Mr. Y. Tsurumi, of Japan.

The sense of indebtedness to our overseas visitors is greatly increased by the realization that not only did they give their free and willing service in the form of addresses, but they performed the much more arduous and thankless task of writing by hand almost everything which appears in this report.

I must take this opportunity of assuming full editorial responsibility for certain minor alterations and a few condensations which were made in the texts submitted by the speakers. In practically all cases such alterations were merely verbal or structural in character, and were designed to make clearer what the speaker intended to convey.

Owing to the time which would have been lost, the speakers, with one exception, were not consulted about the changes which were made.

A majority of the speakers took part in a New Zealand Conference while on their way to Australia. There was, naturally, a certain amount of overlapping between the addresses given in the two countries. The first proposal was to arrange so that each report would be quite distinct and to avoid duplication by allotting to one or other of the volumes any address given in both countries. This could readily have been done, but by mutual consent it was agreed that it would be out of the question to expect teachers and others to buy both volumes if they found that some address in which they were interested was published in the New Zealand volume, or *vice versa*. In actual fact, the demand for copies of each volume will be almost entirely limited to the country in which it is printed. The New Zealand volume was ready several months ago, and the editor very generously made available copies of the page proofs so that we could adopt the New Zealand version for the Australian edition if we desired to do so, or could fill any gap which occurred in our own collection of manuscripts. In the same way, we sent copies of several addresses for publication in the New Zealand report. The final outcome is that, of the 71 addresses published in the present volume, 21 are identical with papers appearing in the New Zealand report, nine are different presentations of topics covered in the New Zealand volume, and 41 are entirely new addresses.

Although this volume does not give *in toto* the addresses delivered at any one of the Australian sessions, it will be found that very little is missing. It is, indeed, far more comprehensive in range than would be a verbatim copy of all talks at any one centre, because it gives a selection of the major addresses from all seven sessions. It is now possible for the first time for the ordinary Conference member to realize, and to benefit from, the immense amount of ground covered at the Conference, taken as a whole, or even at one session only.

It will be realized that the subdivision of the Report into sections has necessitated some arbitrariness in the placing of certain papers. It will be found, however, that this subdivision, together with the use of the index, will greatly assist the reader in finding those addresses or topics in which he is chiefly interested.

It is fitting that some reference should here be made to the splendid co-operation which alone made the recent Conference possible. The furthest of the seven centres at which meetings were held are over three thousand miles apart. It was obvious from the commencement that the problem of the central committee and of myself as organizing secretary was to secure satisfactory co-ordination between local committees rather than to attempt the impossible task of attending to all details ourselves. The enrolment of the 8,718 persons who became full members, to say nothing of the issuing of tickets to the many thousands who attended single lectures, was a huge task in itself. In addition, there were lecture halls to be arranged for, programmes to be drawn up and printed, hospitality to be provided, excursions to be planned—to mention only a few of the hundred and one details associated with the running of any large conference. This work was shared between more than one hundred people, to many of whom I would like to express my gratitude by name if it were not so difficult to decide where to stop. I must, however, mention the names of the secretaries of the local committees who bore the heat and burden of the day in a most efficient and unselfish manner. I feel that I can never satisfactorily express my indebtedness to Mr. E. A. Payne of Brisbane, Dr. H. S. Wyndham of Sydney, Mr. K. Binns of Canberra, Mr. L. G. Whiteoak of Melbourne, Mr. H. M. Lushey of Adelaide, and Dr. H. L. Fowler of Perth.

In each State the fullest possible co-operation was secured from all sections of the educational world. The Education Departments laid the foundation for the success of the conference by providing favourable conditions for the attendance of teachers. The Universities gave the use of

The name of Mr. H. T. Parker, Secretary for the Tasmanian session of the Conference, should be added to the list of persons to whom indebtedness is expressed on page xxvi. It is regretted that the accidental omission of his name was not noticed until after the book had been printed.

their buildings and lecture halls. The Commonwealth and State Governments furnished financial assistance both through monetary grants and by providing free railway transportation for the overseas visitors; they also extended hospitality to the delegates in various forms. Much appreciated courtesies were shown by the Governors of the various States, by the municipal authorities in each of the capital cities and by many organizations as well as by individual citizens.

Special mention must be made of a substantial grant given by the Carnegie Corporation of New York towards meeting the cost of the overseas passages of the speakers.

Finally, the Board of Education, England, sent to the Conference, at its own charges, a representative in the person of Mr. G. T. Hankin, and a specially prepared exhibition of pictures to illustrate developments in English education.

The encouragement and assistance of all the foregoing went far towards securing the success of the Conference. Australia is indebted to them. It is also appropriate that I should express to the members of the general committee—Mr. Frank Tate, Dr. R. E. Priestley, Professor H. T. Lovell, Professor A. Mackie and Mr. J. McRae—my keen personal appreciation not only for their help and moral support, but for their willingness to allow me that freedom of action and decision which count for so much when there is organizing work to be done.

The Conference was indeed a huge co-operative effort carried through with the greatest of good-will. It may be no exaggeration to say that the values arising from it in this direction were quite as great as were the educational values in the usual sense of the term.

SPEAKERS AT THE CONFERENCE

PIERRE BOVET, DOCTEUR-ES-LETTRES, LITT.D.

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Professor of Geography, Cambridge University.

PAUL L. DENGLER, PH.D.

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SIR PERCY MEADON, C.B.E., M.A.

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SIR CYRIL NORWOOD, C.B.E., M.A., D.LITT.

President, St. John's College, Oxford.

HAROLD RUGG, C.E., PH.D., PED.D.

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Author; Member of Japanese Parliament; Delegate to numerous International Conferences.

ANDERS VEDEL, LITT.D.

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LAURIN ZILLIACUS, B.S.C., LL.D.

Headmaster, Töölö Svenska Samskola, Helsingfors, Finland.
Chairman, New Education Fellowship.

8 DEC 1939

SECTION I
EDUCATION AND WORLD AFFAIRS

THE RACE BETWEEN EDUCATION AND CATASTROPHE

LAURIN ZILLIACUS

I CAN remember how, as children, we used to find it highly amusing to try the following joke on one of our companions or even our elders: we would shake our heads gloomily and say, 'bad day for the race, isn't it?' And when the victim, naturally enough, asked, 'what race?', we would answer, 'the human race,' and consider that we had scored heavily. This silly jest has kept obtruding itself on my thoughts ever since I started to gather them for the talk to which you are listening, and it has gradually become clear to me that the reason is that this feeble pun is not only a play on similarity in sounds, but that there is a connection in ideas as well. (The human race has not only experienced a number of bad days, its whole course throughout the ages has, in fact, been a race between catastrophe and those factors that build up civilization, chief of which is education. I should, perhaps, say here at the outset that by education I do not mean only that which takes place within the walls of school buildings, but the sum total of all those environmental factors that influence the growth and development of human beings.) More than one lap in the race has been lost by education so defined, and won by catastrophe, the last time being in 1914—and the next? Well, the next looks uncomfortably like coming to a decision in the near future, with the odds in favour of catastrophe. In Spain and China the horror is already abroad, in both places brought about by issues that are by no means local and with ramifications that directly affect states far beyond the confines of the embattled peoples. You here in Australia are, fortunately, far from the present battlefields; but you are members of the British Empire and of the League of Nations, you inhabit—sparsely—vast and attractive territory, you are politically, economically and culturally part of a rapidly shrinking world. I find it difficult to believe that you

would be kept out of another general conflagration, and impossible to believe that you could be unaffected by the economic and social chaos that would follow, with its inevitable violence and misery. No, it seems to me inescapably true that *mankind* has stakes in the race with catastrophe, and not only certain groups within mankind.

This is the first point I wish to bring home with all the force of conviction I can muster. The second is the significance of democracy in this race; indeed, my view is that democracy supplies the only possible alternative to catastrophe. My third point will be the educational implications of this view.

Anyone looking about the world of to-day or back over the developments of the last ten years must see that no state under what is known as a democratic regime is or has been pursuing a policy of military aggression and expansion, and conversely, that war and violence or the threat of these and preparation for them characterize the reactionary dictatorships. The Japanese dictatorship is even now showing it in the slaughter let loose in China, the Italian has bombed and gassed its way to expansion in Ethiopia, the German has not yet engaged in major war but has launched the armament race, has blustered, threatened, has pursued its way to minor victories over broken treaties, has clearly laid it down that its life-line is territorial expansion and consistently pursued a policy of preparation for starting out on this line.

The countries under parliamentary government are pursuing no such policy. Democracy stands to gain by peace, and seems aware of it. But democracy does not stand to gain, but to lose its very life, by ignorance, by indifference and faintness of heart—and does not seem aware of this. Consider the crescendo of feebleness displayed by the states still formally under democratic regimes in the face of aggression from the militarist states. Consider the brave words and the weak action, gradually dwindling to nought, at the invasion and subjection of China—in spite of League Covenant, Nine-Power Treaty and Kellogg Pact. Consider

the mutual 'letting down' of the democratic states in the face of the treaty-breaking rearmament at sea and on land of Germany, of the remilitarization of the Rhineland, and the introduction of terror into League-guaranteed Danzig. Look at the reaction to the covenant-breaking invasion of one member of the League of Nations by another with the avowed purpose of conquest and the accompanying use against a whole people of the most frightful weapons of modern warfare—including poison gas, another breach of treaty and so horrible a piece of inhumanity that one would have thought that good men over the world would have risen to say 'stop.'

Consider now the treatment accorded to the Spanish people—the refusal on the part of the democracies, in the face of clear treaty obligations, to let the legal Spanish government buy arms, simply because of the threats from the dictatorships supporting the rebels; and then the progressive retreat under the cloak of non-intervention in the face of the fully-equipped armies and air forces sent by the dictatorships. Even such an act of frightfulness as the large scale slaughter of the hapless citizens of Almeria by German warships, as reprisals for the bombing of one of their warships by military planes, not only aroused no protest, it was made the occasion for wheedling, guarantees, and pleadings to secure more of this remarkable form of co-operation in non-intervention.

It is only with an effort one can break loose from the hypnotic effect of the cumulative success of the dictatorships by bluff, bluster and frightfulness, and remember that, after all, those who are giving way form the majority of the peoples of the world and include its most powerful states. If they were to unite, their strength would be overwhelming—but they do not, and the morale of humanity sinks, while the engines of destruction pile up and the fundamental issue is put off but not solved.

The tale of woe is by no means complete yet. Our states have not only problems of foreign policy to solve, but problems of home policy as well. How are they doing this?

In most of Central and Eastern Europe the beginnings of democracy have been crushed. In other countries still under parliamentary forms of government strong forces are openly working for the overthrow of democracy—witness France, Belgium, and my own country. In almost every state rearmament is proceeding feverishly; and whatever else piling up of arms may achieve, it certainly diverts money and energy from the social services on which democratic progress is based, and it produces a non-democratic atmosphere that gradually pervades the whole of society. Militarization also has an effect on foreign policy; it makes people think and see in military terms, until foreign policy becomes military strategy and glides over into the hands of General Staffs. This is, of course, what has taken place in Japan, Germany and Italy, but it is also what is now taking place, and inevitably so, in our own countries. Indeed, the inter-relation between home and foreign affairs is close not only in this but in other important aspects as well. Different standards of living, and in particular the very great difference between the standards of the exploited people in many colonies and those of the well organised workers in the democracies, necessarily leads to economic defences—against ‘dumping’—and to the exploited people becoming prizes in the imperial scramble. So long as exploitation—a highly undemocratic phenomenon in itself—exists, and so long as the standard of living in certain countries is kept low by undemocratic regimes, international co-operation will remain a dream and international rivalry the reality.

The connection between home conditions and foreign affairs—i.e., peace or war—is more all-pervading and subtle even than that. It is not due merely to the feebleness of certain statesmen that the democratic countries have been knuckling under to the dictatorships. It is due to conflict within their own peoples, and uncertainty of the statesmen as to which views they are to follow. This was evident enough, for example, in France during the Ethiopian crisis, and is so now in England in respect to the Spanish war.

Powerful groups in both countries are more afraid of the overthrow of Fascism or Nazism, with the inevitably radical left turn that would follow, than they are of the rise to might of the Fascist or Nazi Imperialism. These groups understand imperialist rivalry—it is an old game, well known in its general lines even though ‘foreign cads’ may be expected to break some of the rules—and they always have the feeling at the back of their minds that it will work out all right in the long run, with a bit of juggling with alliances and balance of power, and, if necessary, a war of the old type.

But the thought of a communist or socialist Germany or Italy is a nightmare to them—it holds the terror of the unknown, and it comes much too close to home. Let revolution start anywhere, and it may spread—thus reasons the reactionary in every country, the democracies included. That is why you have the curious spectacle of the imperialist *Morning Post* in London supporting the rise of imperialisms threatening the Empire, and the *Croix de Feu* in France favouring Nazi-supported Franco. That is, indeed, why you have those who form the Right wing in home policy everywhere favourable or at least understanding towards reactionary militarist states, and the home Left bitterly opposed to them. Whether we like it or not, home policy and foreign affairs are inextricably mixed.

At bottom it is the problem of the haves and the have-nots. Personally, I don't see how the solution of this problem is going to be advanced save by taking democracy seriously, and it seems to me that the obligation to do so and to draw the consequences in social, economic and educational policy falls in the first instance on those of us who have the advantage in education, wealth or influence. It is therefore heart-breaking to hear such pronouncements as those made recently—in private conversation, to be sure, but this only makes it more revealing, by the foreign minister of one of the small countries. He said, ‘Oh, of course communism is coming, but by using all the forces at our disposal we will keep it off during my lifetime.’

The same thought was formulated long ago by a greater reactionary, as you will remember, in the words 'après moi le déluge'—After me, the deluge; in other words, never mind my children so long as I don't have to give up anything. Unless we who now hold the reins adopt a different attitude, placing ourselves in the vanguard of progress, giving our hearts and minds and energies to the problems of society, I have no doubt the minister was right—the world will presently see what he meant by communism, i.e., uprooting, ruthless change ushered in by violence and consolidated by oppression and terror. The only alternative, and it certainly (to my mind) does not obviate deep-going changes, is democracy.

Democracy is dying because democrats have not taken it seriously. I have no doubt that democracy will arise again and again among the survivors of the catastrophes brought about by any other order of human society—but I am not content with so long a view. I want to work for democracy in our time or at least in that of our children. If this hope is to be realized, democrats must interpret democracy as meaning more than government through parliamentary procedure and must cease to be lukewarm about their faith.

The democracy that may save civilization is a way of life to be carried over into every sphere of joint human activity, a view of the nature of society to be interpreted in all the practices of society. This view rests on a belief in the basic unity of mankind, on the development through the ages of a growing measure of common interests and purposes among human beings of all nations and races. The consciousness of common interests and purposes—a common destiny in fact—seems to me the essence of the democratic view, and the fundamental aim of democracy must be to give it expression in both a local and a world-wide organization of society that will provide opportunity for each human being to grow fully and richly by sharing freely in the common life. An incisive American thinker, Boyd Bode, has indeed defined the function of govern-

ment in the service of democracy as that of promoting common interests and purposes among men. At first sight these are innocent words enough; couple them, however, with the warning, also enunciated by Bode, that no man has the right to appoint himself the keeper of his neighbour's soul, and their implication becomes a message as disturbing and as thorough-going as the answer given long ago to the question, 'Master, what shall I do to have eternal life?' Let me, in the brief time at my disposal, merely indicate a few of these implications.

In the first place, democracy, taken seriously, must be world wide. Providing for the full growth of each human being by promotion of common interests and purposes, must mean building a world in which no group of people—whether organized about a government or a board of directors—exploits other groups or individuals—or, indeed, holds them in subjection, since an interest common to all human beings is not only to improve the material conditions of life but to grow in spiritual stature.

In the second place, democracy means building all human institutions around an educational aim and measuring them with an educational measure. Provision of conditions for all-round growth is an educational aim and we must ask ourselves of each of our institutions: does it minister to this aim? More specifically, we must ask ourselves: does this factory, that office, this mine or agricultural or distributive undertaking, serve the development as human personalities of those taking part in it, letting them find increase of life and meaning through sharing in the common enterprise? Having asked this question and having most frequently to return a negative answer, we have next to ask ourselves what, in terms of economic, social and political programmes, is necessary to bring us nearer to democracy. I doubt whether the organizers of this conference would or ought to allow me to suggest the answers I believe right, nor do I want to do so, since I hold that another implication of the democratic view of life is that we are to think for ourselves.

What I am, however, deeply anxious to do, is to bring

home the truth that Man must set about establishing the Democratic State, which is the Educational State, or blunder from one holocaust into another, until he perishes from the earth.

I come now to my third and main point: the implications of this view for education in the more restricted use of the term, i.e., for our schools. Unless our schools build democracy, it will never come into being. It seems to me that schools can do so, indeed, that good schools are increasingly doing just so both in your country and elsewhere, and that if we analyze their procedure, we shall find them approaching the task in three ways to some extent distinct though, of course, inter-related.

In the first place, the schools for democracy give the knowledge required by the good citizen. They do not have syllabuses charged only with '1066 and all that,' their studies of the past are largely concerned with social, economic and cultural development; the story of the common man and how he has lived through the ages is a central theme. In the more radical 'new' schools, the old separate subjects are done away with or rather fused in the single subject 'social studies,' where political and cultural History, Economics and Geography simply become the different angles from which to view the single problem of understanding some phase of the life of Mankind. The knowledge required for citizenship certainly also includes knowledge of present-day institutions and problems. Put at its lowest, this means that History should be brought up to date. More ambitiously, and also more specifically, it means that matter should be included that is too new and too controversial to be found in school text books. Whether they go by name of Current Events or any other term, such studies use as material the Press, the Radio, the Cinema, statistical publications, reports of various kinds, observations made during visits to various institutions and information gained from interviews with workers in different fields. Taken seriously, the demand that schools give knowledge required by the citizen leads to far-

reaching changes in the school syllabus, and, indeed, in the administration and provision of the educational system as a whole, since questions inevitably arise of the school-leaving age and continued education during later adolescence and the adult stage. The problems raised are intricate and the difficulties neither small nor few. But the question is being tackled, more or less radically and more or less successfully, everywhere in the world where education is moving ahead. And it *must* be tackled as one of the ways of bringing democracy into being through organized education.

Another way—number two on my list—is so to organize the school that it provides practical training in citizenship. As much as possible of the daily life of the school is entrusted to the management of the pupils, and managed by them democratically, with elected functionaries responsible to those who have elected them. In boarding schools opportunities for such self-government—or, rather, self-running—of enterprises—are abundant. But even in day schools there is genuine need for such institutions as a library, a stationery shop, a bank, a lost property office, a school lunch, and the management of these as social service and also as *bona fide* business undertakings gives experience of citizenship in practice. Many other enterprises could be listed, among them such activities as care of buildings and grounds, traffic regulation, production of things needed by the school, games, the general maintenance of law and order; but I have perhaps given a sufficient number of examples to make plain what I mean by saying that the school be turned into a genuine, functioning community.

The third and last way the school can serve democracy is the most difficult to describe in words, and the most important. Perhaps I can put it this way. The school should not only give practical ability and knowledge, it should foster the development of the *will to citizenship*: it should not only *charge* the mind, it should *touch* the mind—and the heart—of the growing generation. This task is partly intellectual, and partly emotional. The intellec-

tual task is to clarify the concept of democracy, to stimulate thought and discussion about its meaning, to trace its roots in love of freedom and truth and justice and a sense of oneness with our fellows, to develop the habit of confronting theory with practice and different components of our theory with each other so that they may modify each other and be brought to harmony. The emotional task is essentially to arouse a social conscience. I think a social conscience is likely to grow in any human being who is normal and healthy, who has grown up in an atmosphere of kindness and justice, and who is made aware of how his less fortunate fellow beings live. I think it is certain to arise if the teacher is himself—or herself—a person with a sense of social obligation, not only informed as to the plight of his less fortunate brothers, but moved by that knowledge. It is in the last resort to the social conscience of the teacher that democracy must look.

We are here touching on the vexed problem of indoctrination. What kind of views may the teacher try and pass on to the pupils, and what may he not? In my opinion, he may not try and indoctrinate his pupils with any of the specific programmes adopted by competing political groups in the adult world about him. If he is working in a community calling itself democratic he may and should, however, do all he can to win devotion to the ideals on which democracy rests: love of truth, freedom and justice, a sense of the worth of the individual human life and respect for the individual conscience, and equally a sense of social responsibility. As for the social and economic ills of present-day society, the teacher has both the right and the duty to lead the pupil to study these ills and the various specific solutions suggested for them. He should, e.g., teach *laissez faire*, free trade, tariff reform, trade unionism, fascism, communism, socialism. He should not make propaganda for any of them. But he should most definitely try and indoctrinate the pupil with the view that it is the duty of every citizen to study these matters and wrestle with their solution, at the very least sufficiently to

enable him to cast his vote responsibly between the different solutions advocated by others.

I must finish. I do not expect—or even hope—to have persuaded you to agree with everything I have said. But I most earnestly hope that I have persuaded at least some of you on two points: the first, that the race with catastrophe has once more entered an urgent phase. The second, that the situation may be met by a renewed, fighting concept of democracy, implemented by an appropriate education.

EDUCATION FOR INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING

F. W. HART

THE dinosaur, the mastodon, and succeeding generations of giant monarchs that once roamed the earth undaunted, unchallenged, and unafraid, have departed, leaving only fragments of their great bones to tell their story—to record their having lived. They passed into the pages of fossil history not because they were not the most powerful creatures alive, but because conditions of living changed and they could not change. In the language of the biologist, they were 'over-specialized,' and when the sabre-toothed tiger came on the scene the giants fell. The civilizations of Egypt, Greece, and Rome, to mention but the pinnacles of man's greatness in the past, have likewise departed, leaving only shattered monuments, ravaged tombs and smattering records to tell their story—to record their having lived. They, too, have gone the way of the dinosaur and for much the same reason. Conditions change, and, despite their magnificent achievements, their boasted greatness, their irresistible power, and their highly cultivated intelligence, they did not change to meet the new conditions.

If those prehistoric monarchs, the dinosaur and the mastodon, could have been interviewed by a reporter or recorded in movie tone for a news reel, it is a fair conjecture that they would have expressed absolute certainty of their continuous and everlasting supremacy in the animal kingdom. And why not? Were they not bigger and better, and more powerful than any living creature?

Then, too, almost any of the old Pharaohs would in all probability have drawn for us, similarly, a very convincing picture of the power and perpetuity of his people. 'Egypt Forever' would have been his slogan, if they lived by slogans then as we do now.

Nor would the sages of Greece, before the microphone,

have predicted or even intimated the likelihood of their civilization, the greatest of all, being doomed to pass forever from the face of the earth. Much less would they have suspected that even the records of their greatness would be obscured by a thousand years of darkest oblivion. Plato, Socrates, Aristotle, with all their wisdom, would not have forecast the fate of Greece.

Rome, not so long ago, conquered the known world and excelled all peoples, past or present, in organization, in law, and in power, the first essentials of permanence. If Julius Caesar could have previewed by some two thousand years one of our modern news reels of Mussolini, standing in a restored temple haranguing the crowd, he would have registered no great amazement. He might have wondered what, in the meantime, had happened to the good old Latin tongue, to the spears, the cross-bows and the armour. He might have been a bit disturbed by the general appearance of the Duce's audience, the black shirts, and by the fact that he heard no man step forward and say with flaunting pride, 'I am a Roman'; but he would not have visioned Rome broken and decadent almost within his own life span and dead these many centuries.

No, the colossal conceit of man thwarts vision, stultifies reason, and thus makes him oblivious to facts and defiant of the potential consequences of his own acts. He holds to a blind, unreasoned faith in his eternal supremacy. Other civilizations may have fallen, he will admit, but somehow, he knows not how, his is different. 'It will survive.'

He may, for purposes of driving home his point in a debate, a discussion, or a political campaign, envisage dire and diabolical disaster; he may tell us that unless his views prevail grass will grow in the streets of our cities—that our civilization will fall, but he does not believe it. We do not believe it. We are too conceited to seriously concede for one moment that our civilization will really fall, our greatness be trampled in the dust of decadence and buried in oblivion. We refuse to believe it possible that savage tribes, possibly our own blood descendants, may once again

roam the face of our fair lands. We smile ironically at the thought of a skin-clad, primitive man squatting on his haunches cracking nuts with the gavel pilfered from the tumble-down Chambers of State, or his mate disporting her charms in the ancient robes of royalty, or wearing our medals and decorations for earrings. We turn from the vision of the future scientist—the archaeologist—of a rising civilization a thousand, five thousand years hence, searching our ruins, excavating our archives, or digging into our graves for bits of evidence of when and how we lived and why our civilization failed. Yet are we not doing that very thing to civilizations as great as, in some respects greater than, ours? A few months ago I stood by the pyramids and wondered.

With this none too cheerful background, let us examine the foreground.

What are the changed conditions that we must meet that our civilization may not perish? What are the causes, and what can we do about it?

Are we, like the dinosaur, over-specialized? In my opinion we are. We have builded our civilizations on the contributions of the physical sciences alone, with never a serious thought of the science of society. We are resting on a tripod, two legs of which are strong and powerful—physics and chemistry—the third a bending reed—social intelligence.

Foremost among the changed conditions of contemporary life is the inter-dependence of nations. As units of society no modern nation can exist alone. The old security of isolation and internal sufficiency has gone forever. All nations must live collectively and co-operatively or all must perish. Why? Because, through the application of science to the agencies of production and the engines of destruction, there can be no such thing as internal sufficiency or security of isolation.)

The battleship, the submarine, the long-range rifle, the aeroplane, death bombs, fire bombs, poison gas, and all of the diabolical contrivances of death, hell and destruction

are the sabre-toothed tigers of our time, and unless we can find a way, on a world-wide basis, of controlling their use, our civilization will soon be just another tragic page in the history of men.

What can we do about it? The outlook is none too good, but if anything can be done there is just one way, and that way is through education—education for social intelligence.

We fought the Great War to end wars, and, in my opinion, we came within one of achieving that objective. Out of the War the League of Nations was born—the greatest ideal of all time. I say we came within one of its realization—that one was my own country. May a just God have no mercy on the soul of the man who led the fight against the League of Nations as a partisan issue to defeat Woodrow Wilson. At the risk of over-emphasizing the importance of America, I sincerely believe that, had we entered the League, tens of thousands of Abyssinian men, women and children would not have been 'civilised' to death by Mussolini; China would still be China, and the world would be at peace to-day.

If and when social intelligence becomes the core and meat of the curriculum of our educational programme for youths and adults throughout the world, a League of Nations—a World Federation—will be formed, and international understanding will become a reality. But to understand is to know both what and why. Understanding between nations, therefore, means that each nation must know what the other nations are doing, and why they are doing it. International good will on any other basis is maudlin sentimentality that courts disaster. When such understanding is made a subject of study in our schools and adult forums, the ambitions of all nations will be analysed in the light of their bearing upon other nations.

May I read, as examples, passages from a recent publication, *Japan in Advance*, issued by the Empire Founding Commemorative Enterprise Society.

... This spirit of youthful Japan that broke the shell after 3,000 years is the same spirit that prompted its people to build new Japan and to have determined to build New Asia.' (p. 10, Vol. I.)

. . . Japan's position has an important bearing upon all Asia, which, with a population of one billion and a history of 5,000 years, is going through a transitory stage, preliminary to the construction of New Asia. (p. 39, Vol. I.)

. . . Asia has yet to establish perfect control and order. In the birth of New Asia Japan is destined to play an important role. Japan is ever in the van in the movement to build New Asia. (p. 39, Vol. I.)

If the ultimate meaning of that statement alone were fully understood by the people of all other nations, the present invasion of China would be stopped before it is forever too late. When the motives and means of all nations are understood by all, through education, perhaps we can come together collectively and co-operatively in a potent world federation. If not, if we blindly refuse to understand, then we should all set to work at once with all possible speed to build for ourselves great pyramids, the greatest of all time, in which to preserve evidence of our civilization, that future generations may find it easier to discover when and how we lived, and why our civilization failed.

NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM IN EDUCATION

PIERRE BOVET

WE shall not begin by giving definitions. Nationalism and Internationalism represent respectively attachment to the peculiarities of our surroundings and care for the whole of mankind. In literature and art romanticism, with its picturesque novels (e.g., Sir Walter Scott) and classicism so deeply rooted in humanism, are similarly opposed.

Now the child, no doubt, as an egocentric being, is at first essentially foreign to humanism. And New Education was right to recognise it when, e.g., in the Austrian school system of Glöckel, it emphasized the 'Bodenständigkeitsprinzip,' the idea that everything that is presented to the child must be related to local experience. This might be presented as an aspect of the laws of apperception, of which so much was heard forty years ago. Or again, as an application of the principles of functional education, which tries to connect everything with actual needs and interests. A sound imparting of knowledge must fully recognize nationalism and its narrower forms: the interest the child feels in its school or its village and the pride which goes with it. To teach him the geography of the universe and the history of mankind as if he and the people and the things related to him were the centre of all things, is at first perfectly sound. There is no contradiction whatever between this egocentric view of things and a continually widening outlook on the world: the child may remain in the centre, and the circle around this centre grow wider and wider.

Two recent developments in New Education may be quoted as examples. First, the curriculum in Glöckel's schools: the child's family; the child's village or city quarter; the child's region or province; the child's nation, state and capital city; the world; each of these the object of one school year's syllabus through the Elementary School.

As you see, the world itself could be termed the child's world: he had been gradually led to see himself as a part of it. My other example is the wonderful Decroly method, now incorporated in the programme of the Belgian State Schools, which takes as its centres of interest (as they are called) the permanent needs of the child. After observation and measure, association in space and time is stimulated in every lesson; all the data of history and geography are in this way connected with the child's experience.

But we know that this ever widening outlook of the child who gradually becomes acquainted with the needs, customs and viewpoints of other people far away in time or space, normally brings the abandonment of its first egocentrism. It is a slow process, in which—as Piaget has shown—the social experience of the child in the class room, and especially on the recreation field and the play ground, is of capital importance. Both Glöckel and Decroly actually aimed at bringing the child through their child-centred curriculum to a point of view that would no longer be self-centred, to a truly human point of view.

But here nationalism steps in with a definite objection: Your ambitions, it says, are utopian. Your desire to lift the child out of its egocentrism is legitimate. But your pretension to lead him to humanism is excessive. Humanity is too wide a notion for the child. It is entirely inaccessible to him. Nationalism provides the solution; it widens the child's horizon and conquers its egocentrism and egoism, while remaining something that is alive and actual for him. There is certainly something, and probably much, to be said for this objection. It is true that humanity, mankind, are notions lacking in what we could call 'we-consciousness.'

But two remarks can and must be made. Firstly, what has just been said about the notion of 'mankind' is not true of the child only. An all-embracing 'we-consciousness' is rare among adults quite as much as among children. Secondly, if the idea of 'nation' is actual to all of us, as we must admit, in the children it is a product of education, of

school teaching. A very careful enquiry has been made in Rumania by one of my students among country children into the actual experience and notions entertained by them about four types of societies: family, village, state and mankind. The results were absolutely conclusive. Family and village were actual experiences which meant something to the child; country and mankind were represented in the child's consciousness by words only, scraps of text-books learnt by heart and completely lacking in meaning. My point is that nationalism is taught—and with marked success; internationalism, or rather, humanism, might quite as well be taught, too, and be made a living experience to the children, if it were a living experience to us, the teachers.

That is the point: do we believe in nation, or in humanity as the counterpoise to egocentrism? It is not my task, nor my intention, to preach here any philosophical or moral doctrine. A few remarks, closely connected with education, may suffice.

Whatever its value, however much inclined we may feel to deify her, a nation is only a moment in history. Your State is 150 years old, and I congratulate you on this occasion, wishing to New South Wales many happy returns of the day. My country, the state of which I am a citizen, Switzerland, was, the first day I spent in Australia, 646 years old. That is only two-thirds of the age reached by Methuselah. All, or at any rate most of the things that matter most in our culture, had been discovered or acquired before any of our nations were born: our religion, the Ten Commandments and the Sermon on the Mount, our Art, our Science, and all we owe to the Greeks and the Romans. You know to what absurdities one even half-consistent nationalism has had recourse, excluding from its curriculum and its text-books pages of poetry, of music, even of science—not to speak of religion—which are the pride of humanity.

Mankind exists. It is a fact which is demonstrated to our intellect by everyday experience, even if our consciousness has not arisen to its full realization. Nationalism must

be looked at as a step towards humanism. Here, in Australia, as in South Africa, as in Switzerland, it seems to me that you are particularly prepared to recognize the possibility, and the necessity, of a hierarchy of loyalties. You are a Commonwealth as we are a Confederation, and none of you will see a conflict between his allegiance to New South Wales and his allegiance to Australia, or between the loyalty he gives to the Dominion and the one he owes to the British Empire. And many of us already feel that we are actually more attached to our country when we see her more faithful to organized mankind as it tries to manifest itself in the League of Nations.

Yet, as the French philosopher, Bergson, recently pointed out, we cannot expect to arrive at this all-embracing consciousness by mere extension, dilatation, of our patriotism. The full realization of world-citizenship, of world-brotherhood, can be attained only on some higher plane. Two ways have been followed in the past: the way of reason, which was first entered by those disciples of Socrates, the Cynics, who first saw themselves as Cosmopolitans. This was followed through the ages by the Stoics and, up to the proclamation of the Rights of Man in the eighteenth century, by Rationalist philosophers, a small minority of thinkers. The way of religion is accessible to, and has been trod by, many who could not claim to belong to any aristocracy of the mind. To them world-brotherhood has come with the revelation of the Fatherhood of God. But, alas! how far we are from living up to that revelation. How often in the past have religions and churches been responsible for divisions and hatred! How often are they still to-day!

We are very far from the goal, but we see the road before us. And some steps have been taken which may enhearten us. To me a Sunday morning spent in Walés (Old Wales in the northern hemisphere) with the teachers around Gwilym Davies, to whom we owe the annual Message of Goodwill Day, remains as a symbol of hope. After singing many beautiful songs, as Welshmen would

do, a tune was played which, to me and to many others, had been connected only with the glorification of autocracy, Bortniansky's magnificent Russian anthem "Boje tzara krani," but the words were now a prayer for peace: 'God the All Terrible—God the All Merciful—God the Omnipotent—Give to us peace in our time, O Lord.' And then came another hymn still better known to me, it was Carey's tune 'God Save the King'; to the verses I had heard hitherto two had been added, asking God's blessing for the people also and not for this land alone, but for all others, too, in a true spirit of world brotherhood.

Our loyalty to our country, our loyalty to mankind, must be reconciled; the first must lead us to the other. The way is open before us. Let us take it, and lead our children to follow in our steps.

THE STRIFE OF TONGUES*

I. L. KANDEL

WE are assembled here on this occasion to do honour to the memory of the first Professor of Education in this University and the Principal of the Teachers' College. Of the record and achievements of John Smyth members of this audience, who can still witness the results of the doctor's influence, do not need to be reminded. But it is not inappropriate on such an occasion to ask ourselves why Dr. John Smyth deserves a place in the annals of Australian education. If one looks for the causes of his success they will be found in his enthusiasm for the profession of teaching and in his belief in the spiritual greatness of the teacher's calling. What gave him this faith was not only his scholarship and his familiarity with the educational systems of other countries, but his strong conviction that the school is the abiding place of the great ideals of humanity, that the permanent values of life are to be found in the good, the true, the beautiful, and that man realizes himself and grows in fulness through beauty, nobility, and truth. It is this faith in the immortality of the good that is enshrined, and that enshrines the doctor in the motto which he gave to the institution over which he presided, *Non Omnis Moriar*.

The progress of education has always been subject to changing currents of thought and the periods of decadence have always been those in which the schools have failed to respond to such changes. To anyone familiar, even superficially, with the history of education, illustrations of both these will occur immediately. The period of greatest intellectual activity in Greece was accompanied by changes in educational theory, which came too late, perhaps, to save the schools. The rise of the medieval university was

*This lecture was delivered during the Melbourne Session of the Conference as the John Smyth Memorial Lecture, which is delivered annually in honour of the first Professor of Education at Melbourne University.

stimulated by a desire to meet the new intellectual demands of the age. The Renaissance brought a new vitality and a quickening of interest in education, followed all too soon by the crystallization of the schools into a routine from which they were only saved by the establishment of the first modern universities in Germany and the intellectual awakening which resulted in part from the early scientific movement and in part from the movement known as Neohumanism. The reorganization of secondary education, developed slowly through the nineteenth century, but it was not until the last decade of the century that the full significance of the unrest which had been growing steadily began to be understood. The nineteenth century was also the era of the beginnings of universal, compulsory elementary education, the provision of which was prompted and stimulated by the rise of national states and the recognition of the need of providing at least a minimum of education for the citizens or subjects of the future.

There is a tendency on the part of those who would deny that anything can be learned from the past to dismiss all educational practices up to the present as making for a static society or aiming at the transmission of mere knowledge. Those who follow this tendency are apt to forget that, inadequate as they may have been in many respects, the aims of education in the past were social in intent and were directed to the promotion of the welfare of societies. And if the schools did devote themselves to imparting what are to-day characterized as 'inert ideas,' a charge which cannot be accepted as universally applicable, they did expect to train the mind to cope with new situations. The purpose was there, even if later studies have proved the inadequacy of the psychology upon which it was founded. That the world did progress, that it did produce intellectual giants is a fact which cannot be ignored and for which some credit must be given to centuries of forgotten teachers. This statement is not intended as a plea for the continuance or restoration of the education of a past era, but as an indication of certain trends of educational thought in the

contemporary scene. The elementary school everywhere, the secondary school tradition in Germany, the 'Public Schools' in England, the high school and college in the United States, to cite only these examples, are being attacked as belonging to the past and as having little to offer for the present and still less for the future.

Nearly twenty-five centuries ago Plato emphasized education and rearing as the great point for the guardians to observe, for, he said, 'if by a good education the citizens be made reasonable men, they will readily see through all those questions that are fundamental to the stability of the State.' There is scarcely a word in Plato's statement which is not the object of discussion to-day. The certainty that he had that knowledge is virtue, or that Bacon had when he said that knowledge is power, or that leaders in the movement for universal, compulsory education had when they used the slogan 'Open a school and close a gaol'—all that certainty has disappeared, and with it the old faith in intellectual training. As recently as thirty years ago it was still possible to define the concept of liberal education in terms that were universally understood and accepted. If to-day the definitions of liberal education from Aristotle to Matthew Arnold are referred to at all, they are cited as illustrations of an unchanging or 'static' concept of education or as texts for critical discussion.

The reason for this is clear. Plato and those who in the past undertook to define the meaning of education did so in terms which they regarded as applicable to all situations and to all times. When Plato saw a close relationship between education and the stability of the state, or when Aristotle stated that 'that which contributes most to the permanence of constitutions is the adaptation of education to the form of government,' they implied the existence of certain pre-established demands, manners, conduct, behaviour, ideas, ideals, discipline, and authority. But that stability for which education was considered to be fundamental has either disappeared, so that any semblance of certainty as to the function of education has disappeared with it, or

else certainty has been so firmly established that education has been assigned a function which is degrading to the spirit of man and of humanity.

The conflict which is going on to-day in education is between the new and the old, between progressives and traditionalists, between those who advocate active as against passive learning or a dynamic as against a static education. Each group chooses its own line of battle and neither fights on the real issue of fundamental values which transcend the details of curriculum and methods of instruction. The real issue is whether this conflict is a phenomenon of education or of the times in which we live, whether, in fact, problems of educational theory, beyond the details of techniques, can be discussed except in terms of human values. It is one thing to claim that education must be sensitive to the changes of the times; it is another to consider human values in order to discover the meaning and bearing upon them of these changes.

Those who insist that we are living in an era of great and rapid changes look upon only one side of the picture; the other side of the picture—whether human values change with the same rapidity—is ignored, or, if not ignored, is dismissed with the suggestion that human nature must be changed—as it is alleged to be, in Soviet Russia. To deny that the world is changing and changing rapidly as a result of the progress of science and the applications of science to technology and the material aspects of life would be foolish; it would be equally foolish to ignore the resulting effects upon economics and social life. But there still remains the question whether man as a human being is so different to-day as a result of these changes and whether the fundamental problems with which he is confronted are so different from the problem with which Plato, for example, was concerned. Those who stress the importance of change appear to confuse the idea of progress and the progress of ideas. The idea of progress tends to lead to a

preoccupation with externals, with the superficial, with the quantitative, and with the immediate present; those concerned with the progress of ideas, while not ignoring the changes on the surface, are more likely to search for meanings, purposes, and values and to relate them to the more fundamental values in the progress of civilisation and culture. In the words of Dean Inge (*The Idea of Progress in Outspoken Essays*, 2nd series, p. 169),

On the theory of progress what is "coming" must be right. Forms of government and modes of thought which for the time being are not in favour are assumed to have been permanently left behind. A student of history who believed in the cyclical changes and long swings of the pendulum would take a very different and probably much sounder view of contemporary affairs. The votaries of progress mistake the flowing tide for the river of eternity, and when the tide turns they are likely to be left stranded like corks and scraps of seaweed which mark the highwater tide.

The emphasis on change has resulted from the development of the sciences and their applications, inspired by a certain romantic vision of the perfectibility of man, which derives from the philosophy of the eighteenth century, and stimulated by the weary yearnings for a millenium which always follow a great crisis like the War or fear of war. In this respect our age is not different from that of the seventeenth century, when a Bacon saw the vision of a new world built on the applications of the new science, when a host of Utopias were written, when Grotius and a little later Kant saw a world brought under the control of international law and international institutions, and when Comenius, like H. G. Wells to-day, dreamed of settling all the ills that afflicted and perplexed man by a Pansophic Encyclopedia.

An authoritarian world, we are told, began to be undermined by Copernicus, Galileo, and Newton, and the process of the destruction of authority was continued by the Darwins of yesterday and the Einsteins of to-day. Philosophizing about ultimates was replaced by faith in a scientific attitude that nothing is fixed, and by insistence that values must also be subject to constant reconstruction. The develop-

ment and applications of science have speeded up the tempo of life; they have brought about a new industrial revolution which has produced urbanization and congestion of populations; distances have been annihilated; and the result is universal unrest. Science, which promised so much for the amelioration of man's lot on earth, has itself produced a sense of insecurity and uncertainty because man no longer has any faith to which to cling, and this precariousness of life has been made the basis of an educational philosophy. To see this as one of the results of the development of science is not to minimize its positive contribution to human welfare and intellectual awakening.

The undermining of authoritarianism which is implicit in the progress of the sciences has had its parallels in all phases of human thought. In conduct and behaviour, in taste and appreciation, in the realm of ideas and ideals standards are either shifting or they have ceased to exist. The 'lid is off the universe,' the world is adrift and left without beliefs or with a will-to-believe which too often becomes wishful thinking. Everywhere in the last three or four decades there has become prevalent the consciousness of a void. Science, which had undermined authority, beliefs, and faith, had failed, despite its promise of bringing Nature under man's control, to provide any substitute, not even faith in science. The destructive element, for which science was responsible, affected all other fields of human thought and endeavour.

In the literature of the nineteenth century virtue always triumphed over vice, success was always the reward of virtue, and Nature was always beautiful. Even before the close of the century the new fashion had set in, and literature began to concern itself with the ills and misery of the world and with man as the creature of chance, or of social and economic forces beyond his control, or of his own subliminal past. The beauty of Nature, romantic hopes, interest in adventure, the success motif gave place to social criticism, to disquisitions on the dominating power of environmental forces, and to attacks on traditional virtues

and current values. Devotion to the good, the true, the beautiful, was replaced by minute and detailed analyses of the ugliness, the cruelty, and the futility of life. The nineteenth century novel had tended to describe character, and the types stood out to be recognized everywhere; the novel in the twentieth century turned to analyse psychological moments and processes of thought streaming from inner, uncontrolled, and uncontrollable compulsions. The poet ceased to see sermons in stones and began to write stony sermons. This trend to immersion in the destructive element, as Joseph Conrad called it, had begun before the War; the disillusionment following the War only helped to deepen it.

Two results flowed from this intellectual and spiritual upheaval—on the one hand, there developed a strong desire to find meaning in an apparently chaotic world; on the other, there was a tendency to yield to the meaningless. The one group sought for an answer in creative evolution, in intuition and vitalism, or in an organic unity of the universe mathematically derived, or in emergent evolution, or in some form of religion. The second group, accepting a meaningless world, turned to irrationalism with its stress on the incongruous and a universe without logic or pattern, or to expressionism of the inner self as a series of unco-ordinated events, images, shocks and sensations, or to surrealism with intellectual attitudes affected by super-rational emotions.

The second trend has been the dominant note in recent literature, art, and music with their emphasis on the communication of inner experience and on emotional, physical, and intellectual expressionism rather than on reason with an ordered sequence of acts, sensations, and thoughts. With this emphasis on the destructive element, on the meaninglessness and irrationalism of the universe the artist, the poet, the novelist, the musician is out to shock, to attack all traditions, conventions, and customs, and, by a blaze of colour, by a continued staccato, by language that shrieks, to demand attention either to his work or to the ills of

humanity. I. A. Richards has summed up this mood as 'a sense of desolation, of uncertainty, of futility, of the groundlessness of aspirations, of the variety of endeavour, and a thirst for life-giving water, which seems suddenly to have failed.' In this mood there is something of Euripidean irony but without a *deus ex machina* to solve the difficulties, or of the invectives of the prophets but without their hopes for salvation in a return to God.

The youngest of the sciences, psychology, which seeks to discover the rationale of human behaviour, has not yet emerged from the mechanistic stage, and even the so-called organismic psychology, which, in its distrust of mere connectionism, seeks to find an answer in the theory of holism or of the individual operating as a whole through interaction with his environment, is still mechanistic because of its narrow, materialistic interpretation of environment and experience. It is obvious that the latest developments in psychology in so far as attention is directed to the influences on behaviour of other factors than what used to be described as mind are important, but there is latent in them a tendency to exaggerate the influence of non-intellectual forces and to that extent to subordinate the development of intelligence to emotional drives, whether conscious or subconscious, and to sacrifice the rational to the irrational. This tendency had already manifested itself in literature and the arts; it is gradually beginning to affect educational theory and practice. The claim that there is anything new in this struggle between reason, will, and appetites can only be made by those who have forgotten that the earliest contribution to the philosophy of education was based upon it. A study of Plato's *Republic* should have put educators on their guard against some of the extravagances of the modern claim.

The undermining of authority, the growing insecurity and uncertainty, and in particular the loss of faith in any established values have also affected social and political life. The nineteenth century was one of hope for the gradual emancipation and perfectibility of man. And yet

that very liberalism which sought to educate the masses, to give them a share in the benefits of liberal democracy, of science, of art, of civilisation and culture, to elevate and enlighten man as an individual, and to place political responsibility upon him has in the long run been defeated by the inadequacy of the education which was provided, and by a confusion of freedom with licence. A hundred years ago and more the hopes of representative government lay in the dissemination of literacy. 'Promote then,' said George Washington, in his *Farewell Address*, 'as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion be enlightened.' 'Open a school and close a gaol,' said the leaders of the movement to establish compulsory education in France, England, and the United States, and in England the extension of the suffrage in 1867 was accompanied by the recognition that 'we must educate our masters.'

But literacy is a two-edged sword; carried far enough it is the foundation of enlightenment; limited and restricted as the concept was in the nineteenth century, it soon began to be utilized as an instrument for propaganda readily seized upon by demagogues and a cheap press. Literacy made possible the rise of the common man, but it also exposed him to the wiles of those who knew how to use all the methods of playing upon the feelings and emotions at the expense of appeals to reason. Instead of cultivating intelligence, discrimination, and judgment an education limited to literacy developed an illusion of knowledge and power. Beneficiary of the material advances and comforts of civilization, the common man was unable because of an inadequate and tenuous education to enter into the spirit of the new culture; heir to a freedom which it had taken centuries of struggle to attain, he failed to understand that freedom has its correlative in the acceptance of ideals of duty and responsibility. Assailed on all sides by new sensations which crowded in on each other in a ceaseless

stream as science and inventions produced new dévises for his comfort and enjoyment, he was impressed more with the unbounded possibilities of progress than with its meanings for humanity. This attitude was already to be noted in the United States a century ago, and the change between the old and new is summarized by Professor Carl Russell Fish in the succinct statement that 'whereas Washington devoted his attention to bringing his gardens to an exquisite perfection, the men of the 'thirties and 'forties sought novelty rather than perfection.' (*The Rise of the Common Man*, p. 105.) The same change was to take place later in the rest of the world.

As the bonds of authority and tradition were loosened, as faith declined, as ideals and standards of conduct and taste became confused even in the minds of leaders, the common man in turn had nothing to fortify him against the bombardment of new sensations, and without a sense of any categorical imperative the individual became the measure of all things. The growing contempt for intellectualism and the constant gibes at culture or the Genteel Tradition as the marks of bourgeois liberalism compelled the intellectual to seek the approval of the masses on their own terms, or, to use an American expression, the highbrow disguised himself as a lowbrow in order to keep abreast of the times. In the end it almost looks as though the desire to disseminate culture has resulted in spreading only a thin veneer, somewhat on the analogy of the old wage-fund theory. Hence an illusion of knowledge and an illusion of power without any penetrating influence upon character or enlightenment, and on these illusions each man claims the right to philosophize. Rationalization has taken the place of reason and emotions have usurped the position of intelligence, and as a result of both the emphasis has been placed upon the satisfaction of rights rather than upon the assumption of obligations. And yet the individual by a paradox is mistrustful of himself and prefers the contagious enthusiasm and strength of mass action in his work and in his recreation, a preference which is too frequently turned to their own

advantage, in democracies as well as in totalitarian states, by those who understand the mass mind.

Nowhere has this unforeseen result of liberalism been better described than in Ortega y Gasset's *Revolt of the Masses* (p. 107).

The new social fact here analysed is this: European history reveals itself, for the first time, as handed over to the decisions of the ordinary man as such. Or to turn it into the active voice: the ordinary man, hitherto guided by others, has resolved to govern the world himself. This decision to advance to the social foreground has been brought about in him automatically, when the new type of man he represents had barely arrived at maturity. If from the view-point of what concerns public life, the psychological structure of this new type of mass-man be studied, what we find is as follows: (1) An inborn, root-impression that life is easy, plentiful, without any grave limitations; consequently, each average man finds within himself a sensation of power and triumph which, (2) invites him to stand up for himself as he is, to look upon his moral and intellectual endowment as excellent, complete. This contentment with himself leads him to shut himself off from any external court of appeal; not to listen, not to submit his opinions to judgment, not to consider others' existence. His intimate feeling of power urges him always to exercise predominance. He will act then as if he and his like were the only beings existing in the world; and, consequently, (3) will intervene in all matters, imposing his own vulgar views without respect or regard for others, without limit or reserve, that is to say, in accordance with a system of 'direct action.'

While the masses have revolted, those who might have led them have retreated into their ivory towers within which they create a world of their own and fail to see it whole. Each one seeks to cultivate his own garden and ignores the implications of his product for the rest of the world. To quote Ortega y Gasset again:

The most immediate result of this *unbalanced* specialization has been that to-day, when there are more "scientists" than ever, there are much less "cultured" men than, for example, about 1750. And the worst is that with these turnspits of science not even the real progress of science itself is assured. For science needs from time to time, as a necessary regulator of its own advance, a labour of reconstitution, and, as I have said, this demands an effort towards unification, which grows more and more difficult, involving, as it does, ever-vaster regions of the world of knowledge. (p. 125.)

It is out of conditions such as these that the challenge

to democratic institutions has arisen. And it is conditions such as these that have played into the hands of dictatorships and made possible the emergence of the totalitarian states. With a thorough understanding of the mass-mind, they have stolen some of the thunder of liberalism; putting every individual into a uniform, they have given him the illusion of equality; glorifying the state or the person of the dictator, they have deluded him with a distorted notion of freedom; realising the economic causes of unrest, they have lured him on with promises of unbounded satisfaction of his wants; herding him into mass formations and bemusing him with rituals, they have given him confidence in his collective strength and grandeur. Propaganda has been substituted for education and the cult of intelligence has been replaced by a constant play on the emotions, for, despite Lincoln, dictators believe that all of the people can be fooled all of the time. Nor has the intellectual been allowed to escape the net of *Gleichschaltung* or totalitarian control. Universities have ceased to be protected centres for the advancement of learning, academic freedom is derided as absolute nonsense, and *Wissenschaft* must be dominated and guided by and for the demands of national life and not by the principles of scientific purity.

Despite this challenge democracies have gone to sleep, sublimely confident that to-morrow will be as to-day, and forgetting that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. There are few who have realized, to quote from a recent address of the President of the English Board of Education, that 'democracy will not survive because we make speeches about it; we must see that we make it work.' If the totalitarian states appear to be successful for the time being it is because they have restored faith and hope in something in place of despair, order in place of chaos, common ideologies in place of individual caprice. Their success does not, however, invalidate the value and meaning of liberalism and democracy as those ideals which man throughout his history has struggled to attain. It does not need the wisdom of an Aristotle to see how the conditions which have been

summarized as the destructive element served as the easy way of transition from liberalism to statism, from democracy to totalitarianism. It is sometimes claimed by the supporters of totalitarianism that democratic institutions have failed: the fact is that those countries which have adopted one of the various forms of dictatorships have either never tried the democratic form of government or have not realized that democratic ideals and the democratic way of life cannot be acquired by a mere change of constitution; they can only emerge from traditional habituations. The challenge is, however, a real one, and the charges that democracies, based on liberalism, have been built up on a doctrine of non-interference, and have stressed the rights of the individual rather than his duties constitute a real challenge. It is for those who still have faith in the democratic institutions, and especially for those on whom falls the duty of inducting new generations into them, to investigate these charges and to discover whether there is not in the ideals of democracy the moral equivalent of totalitarian ideologies. Dictators constantly call upon their people to die for their countries; the liberal may well consider whether there are not in democratic institutions ideals for which one should live and which one should seek to make living.

Paradoxically science, which had produced the destructive element, was the first to look for a way out. Physics and biology, which had stressed the interplay of mechanistic forces as an explanation of a deterministic world, slowly began to surrender their claim to a final answer and to admit the possibility of ultimate values which lie beyond the mechanistic. What was at one time regarded as a deterministic, irrational, and mechanistic universe has become a universe under the guidance of some purpose. The materialistic view is yielding to a spiritual interpretation; the idea of continuity of the universe is giving place to the idea of discontinuity; and the attempt to reconcile science and philosophy is the attempt to reconcile determinism and freedom. Science which destroyed older patterns is itself creating new values or restoring the old.

Science which gave power, destroyed happiness, produced spiritual insecurity and uncertainty, is itself stimulating anew the quest for the meaning of life and for an escape from the implications of a mechanistic universe.

Since education cannot isolate itself from the influences of contemporary culture, it has been under conditions such as those described up to this point that the ferment has been taking place since the opening of the present century. There was, it is true, a prelude of a decade when all the leading countries of the world—England, Germany, France and the United States—were beset by unrest in secondary education. That unrest was concerned, however, not with the fabric of education in general, but with the somewhat technical problems of the equivalence of traditional and modern subjects—the place to be assigned to the sciences or to modern languages, and whether the study of these should be recognised for admission to the universities. The ferment which has been proceeding now for over a quarter of a century is far more intense and comprehensive than this technical unrest; there is scarcely any aspect or level of education which has not been affected by it. The only parallel in the history of education which seems to resemble the current trend is to be found in the period of the sophists at Athens; possibly another Aristophanes may some day arise to dress the *Clouds* in modern garb. The certainty of the nineteenth century with its faith in literacy for the masses and in a traditional culture for the select minority and with its preoccupation with methods has disappeared.

The protest against traditional theories and practices seems to have broken out in different parts of the world almost simultaneously and yet independently. It was not at first dominated so much by a common philosophy as by a feeling of the inadequacy of current education. Thus in England the cessation of the system of payment by results paved the way for a reconsideration of the meaning of elementary education; in Germany the foundations for a new educational theory were laid in the revolt of youth, which began in Berlin in 1899, against the severe intellectualism of the secondary school: only in the United States was the attack

on traditional practices launched before the close of the nineteenth century with a philosophical criticism of the Herbartian doctrine of interest. An important contribution was made to the movement of protest by the more detailed, even though still unscientific, study of child development which pointed the contrast between the child's interests and what was described as the artificial atmosphere of the classroom.

The criticisms of the traditional schools everywhere follow certain common patterns. The child attends school under compulsion and is kept under disciplinary control until the close of the school day and then 'explodes' into freedom. The equipment of the classroom, with its long, orderly rows of desks, is designed in the interests of such control and in order to emphasize obedience to authority. Instruction is planned essentially for passive learning rather than to stimulate independent work and activity, while the curriculum, shaped by adult needs, is distasteful to the pupils and foreign to their interests. If it is objected that school work is meaningless to the pupils, the justification is offered that education is a preparation for life, that the real values are deferred, and that the pupils will come later to understand and appreciate them. The methods of instruction consist mainly of formal drill and the memorization of content logically arranged and without meaning to the learners. The pupils accumulate facts and information uncritically and without question; learning is passive. From the social and moral points of view the emphasis is on doctrines which are regarded as sacred and unchanging, and the whole process of education is deliberately designed to maintain the *status quo*. In both the elementary and the secondary schools there is a concentration on the past, on the transmission of the social heritage, to the complete neglect of problems of immediate contemporary concern. Nor is any attention given to individual differences of abilities in systems designed for mass education. Finally, most of the work of the school is intellectual without any opportunity for development on the emotional side. Educa-

tion, it is claimed even by those who loudly proclaim its social ends, must be designed to meet the interests of the individual; if not, indeed, to arise out of them; anything else means imposition from above and indoctrination, which in turn lead, according to a theory subsequently incorporated, to repressions, complexes, and the thwarting of the natural process of development with the resulting effects of frustration.

(Education, it is urged, must be life and must be rooted in the interests of the child; the school must become child-centred, providing for the natural flow of activity and spontaneous growth in an environment which stimulates both growth and activity. Because the child is by nature active, as the child discovers its own needs for meeting new situations, it will inevitably become creative and in that way reconstruct its own experience. The school must become child-centred, and the child must be permitted to enjoy freedom, subject only to the enjoyment of freedom by the rest of his group; in this way the child learns the habits that make group activities possible and so acquires a sense of the importance of co-operation. The teacher's function is to stand by, encourage, advise, and stimulate. In its extreme form this theory is based on the premise that nothing should be fixed in advance, with the further implications that a curriculum planned in advance is an imposition which restricts and delimits the active experience of the learner, that subjects *qua* subjects are meaningless and artificial, that life is not compartmentalized into subjects, and that subjects are merely tools to be used as the activity in which a pupil is engaged demands.

It will have been noted already that these trends in educational theory are analogous to the trends which have been described in literature, art, music and political and social life. They are the educational counterpart of the disappearance of authority, standards, and ideals in other aspects of human activities. A philosophy which removed the lid from the universe became the philosophy of education, resting on a mechanistic psychology of interaction

between the individual and his environment and borrowing, perhaps unconsciously, from psycho-analysis, whose contribution, important though it may be in general, is for education suggestive only. Since nothing must be imposed on the pupil because that would interfere with his free development, the basis of education becomes maladjustment between pupil and environment and a desire to restore the equilibrium; the pupil in other words is stimulated to activity by his own needs and inner drives, and he learns as he satisfies those needs and gives expression to those drives. Each carves out of the universe that experience which he feels to be satisfying. Hence reality is that which serves our purposes and therefore all activities must be immediately purposeful. To set up goals in advance is to prevent adaptation to rapid changes in a changing and precarious universe.

Under such a concept of reality and growth through the pupil's own experience, truth is what one wishes to be true or what works in accordance with one's own interest and needs; truth is that which promotes the attainment of purpose and is, therefore, expedient. Hence nothing is absolute or ultimate; the good, the true, the beautiful are products only of individual consciousness or desires; knowledge and morality are what best serve our needs. Life as an ongoing process is experimental; knowledge and morality are instruments developed to promote this process. In the words of one theorist of this school:

The experimentalist believes that any response which is so fixed that it cannot be modified in the light of consequences is a dangerous response to acquire. Such fixed ideas, particularly when charged with emotion, are apt to become enslaving prejudices. He believes it an immoral procedure for adults thus to seek to determine the future thought and conduct of the child. As far as possible, he wants his own fundamental values, such as faith in the experimental method and regard for the principle of social democracy, so to be accepted that the way is kept open for their further critical examination by each individual. Even the process of criticism is not exempt from further criticism. (J. L. Childs, *Education and the Philosophy of Experimentalism*, pp. 161 F. New York, 1931.)

Such a theory means that man is only the creature of the dominant forces and impulses of the moment without any values except those that he chooses to put upon them in the light of no other experience than his own. Such a theory fits in with the theories that seem to have dominated literature, art, and music in the past three or four decades; education becomes a stream of consciousness, events and activities directed to no other end than the satisfaction of the immediate needs of the learner. Reason, mind, intelligence are dethroned in favour of the emotions and the subconscious. Such irrationalism is the result of scepticism and pessimism founded on psycho-analysis with its stress on impulses, instincts, and desires as the mainsprings of conduct and thought. An analysis of the professed aims of the new educational theory as defined in nearly two hundred schools in Europe and the United States failed to reveal explicit references to social aims and purposes. The terms which appear most frequently in these definitions are creativeness, pupil activity, individual initiative, pupil freedom, free activity, self-government, self-discipline, self-reliance, self-activity and self-expression. It would almost appear as though the entrance to Plato's cave had been blocked and pupils were expected to grow by the reflection of their own selves.

This theory of education seems to be characterized, as are similar manifestations in recent literature, art, and music, by a sort of spurious vitalism or inner drive without either that intuition or intellect posited by Bergson. This inner drive gives the main impulse to a type of expressionism which is the inner self turned outward without standards, values, or ideals; hence creative activities but without any reference to any external measure of meaning. It is further anti-intellectual, since it subordinates the acquisition of knowledge to satisfaction that comes from active adjustment of the organism and environment through immediate and direct experience; knowledge has value only as it is an instrument growing out of this need for adjustment. Such a theory would start out with nothing fixed in advance

except the pupil as a biological and psychological mechanism, and finishes with nothing fixed.

Education does not, however, take place in a vacuum. The school is an agency established by society to achieve certain ends. These ends will differ according to the form of each society. Totalitarian states have adopted fixed patterns into which the individual is to be moulded. Democracies will fail if they attempt to adopt a type of education which ignores any values but those chosen by each individual to suit the needs of the moment. The mystical, irrational notion that freedom is synonymous with the right to follow inner drives ignores both the history and the meaning of freedom.

That freedom is a conquest has been as true of the progress of humanity as it is of the growth of the individual. The whole history of humanity has been—despite aberrations in recent years—the history of the emancipation from external controls and at the same time of the ways in which man has learned to control himself. This history has been one of the emancipation of man from the thralldom of fears—fears of nature, slavery, political tyranny, and external controls and coercion over life. Man's struggle for personal freedom, freedom of movement, freedom of thought and expression, freedom of worship, justice, tolerance, and equality of opportunity has been painfully slow and is not yet ended. But in emerging successfully from the struggle, man did so by learning that he must accept certain limitations on his freedom, by recognizing his responsibility and duty to others. It was only as man learned to appreciate the moral consequence of his actions that he became free.

What has been true of the history of civilization applies equally to the education of the individual—freedom is not an inherent right (totalitarian states have proved how easily it may be lost) but a privilege to be won. And it is in confusing freedom with non-interference and in failing to stress social and moral obligations adequately that those who have most loudly urged freedom in education have erred. The slogan of self-expression, for example, failed to

recognize that the true self can be realized only in and through a social milieu. Hence the fundamental issue is the extent to which such realization of the self can be free and yet result in a personality enriched through and by a consciousness of social values. Here again the answer will be found in the principle that freedom is a right which, like all other rights, must be won, and that all rights imply a corresponding responsibility in their use, no matter what the field of activity may be.

A free society cannot divest itself of the obligation of handing on to new generations those common traditions, loyalties, and interests which make community life possible, but it can and should avoid that claim to omniscience and infallibility which must in the long run spell stagnation and failure to permit adaptation to changing conditions. If this is accepted, then the only thing that a free society should indoctrinate is faith in freedom and in free inquiry.

These must become the common possession of all. But the essence of freedom and free inquiry is the recognition of responsibility. Not until the concept of responsibility is incorporated in the discussion of education in a free society, can education be expected to make its rightful contribution to a troubled world. For such a discussion Santayana's description of English liberty may well furnish the text, for in it may be found the answer of a free society to the criticisms of the totalitarian:

It moves by a series of checks, mutual concessions, and limited satisfactions; it counts on chivalry, sportsmanship, brotherly love, and on that rarest and least lucrative of virtues, fairmindedness; it is a broad-based, stupid, blind adventure, groping towards an unknown goal.

And this in essence is the definition of liberal education, which has unfortunately acquired a connotation in terms of familiarity with certain subjects. But a liberal education implies more than a knowledge of classical or modern languages, science and mathematics. It implies breadth of interests, knowledge and information, standards of taste and appreciation, and the possession of certain moral and social qualities. It should result in tolerance and open-

mindfulness, in ability to meet new situations because one has knowledge and insight, and in readiness to co-operate because of a refined sense of responsibility. All these are social values, which make the existence of a free society possible and which cannot be acquired incidentally as and when the pupil feels the need of them.

It may be objected that all this has been tried and that we have failed. The objection is not valid, for it is open to question whether the failure has not been due to excessive emphasis upon subjects as subjects rather than as samples of human experience directed to the achievement of common ends, or upon the same subjects for all without adequate differentiation according to individual capacities. At one time a liberal curriculum was defined in terms of a limited number of subjects; the task to-day is to discover the right education for the right pupil under the right teacher. And the discovery of the right education is a professional responsibility which properly considered gives real meaning to the preparation of the teacher. Thus the conflict which has been the subject of this discussion cannot be resolved merely by pitting one theory, one method, or one type of curriculum against another, but by realizing that it is none of these but the teacher upon whom the success of instruction and education depends. And if it is the teacher who is to serve as an interpreter of social meanings and values to the immature, and if his efforts are to be directed to the development of free personality, then it is as important to provide the right kind of professional preparation for the teacher as for the future member of any other profession. Education does not thrive amidst the strife of tongues—the German Republic and the early experiments of the Soviet Republics furnish ample proof of this. And if a free society is to accept the challenge and meet the charges of totalitarianism it will only be as it realizes that there must be common agreement, common social faith, and common values as a foundation for that freedom upon which it is based. It is upon these common elements, consciously and deliberately recognized and defined that education

can build a free personality. To set up the child as an idol and to worship his inner drives, urges, and impulses is to encourage chaos; to set up the ideal of a free personality implies a vision of social purposes which alone can give meaning to education, and save the rising generation from immersion in the destructive element which sees no values in the past, *no meaning in the present, and no hope in the future.* In this task of defining the meaning of freedom in education the English-speaking peoples can find a field of common endeavour—England with her reverence for traditional values and deliberate and cautious acceptance of change, the United States with her buoyant optimism and preference for change at the cost of traditions, and the Dominions rooted in British traditions but with the vigour and vision of youthful pioneers. Democratic institutions may safely be entrusted to them, but only as these nations become conscious of their significance for humanity and the part to be played by education in their preservation.

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL PROGRESS IN THE 'NEW' INDUSTRIAL-DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES

HAROLD RUGG

IN selecting the theme 'Education and Social Progress' for our discussion we could have appropriately added 'in the new countries of the modern world.' For your country and mine are two of the 'new' countries that emerged from the spectacular conquest of virgin continents by our common British ancestors. As a consequence we share together in the tradition and outlook of the north-west Europeans who in several recent centuries slowly invented and perfected industrial-democratic culture, and spread it over the six continents of the earth. But we share in other and more devastating ways than merely in the general climate of opinion which pervades our two countries alike, important though that is. We share in the social conditions and problems which we have inherited in common from our Anglo-Saxon forebears. It is, then, in the background of our common Euro-American culture and common social problems that we approach the immediate task set out for our study.

With your permission, then, I shall ask you to consider the rôle of education in contributing to social progress, particularly in these 'new' countries that are now experimenting with industrial-democratic culture. And I shall suggest that we orient our thought first by a brief analysis of our times.

Whether for better or for worse we who have come to maturity after 1910 are living in a great transition between two stages of change from agrarian to industrial civilization. The first stage, with its roots in a thousand years of slow change, made its definite appearance in the later 1700's, augmented quickly during the nineteenth century, and came to its close about the time of the First World War, 1914-1918.

The second stage, evolving slowly out of the first after 1900, was expedited greatly by the war, and accumulated momentum swiftly in the 1920's. The financial and business crash which began in late 1929 changed conditions of employment so drastically that to-day we all see what only a few had seen before—that we are moving into a new epoch in world history. We are moving from the first industrial revolution, which some students call the machine age, into the second industrial revolution, which current publicists are calling the power age.

Perhaps the most important idea to be grasped is that the stage we are leaving was the first industrial revolution. For the first time in man's history he had succeeded in making a highly productive economic system. Note the unique ways in which it was the first of its kind.

1. The first invention of efficient power-driven machines.
2. The first central electric stations transmitting power over long distances.
3. The first vertical corporations with their giant concentrations of capital, their mechanism of automatic, integrated, and interchangeable fabrication, standardization of parts and processes, and specialization of labour.
4. The first unhampered application of the concept *laissez-faire* in economic life. Given efficient prime movers and machines, men, for the first time, were really free to exploit—to exploit people as well as things.
5. The first attempt to organize the collective economic affairs of nations on a world-wide interdependent basis. As a result, six hundred million people are now dependent on the uninterrupted operation of a fragile world mechanism of specialized production and exchange, with fluctuating units of money, wages, and prices, and an intercontinental market based on widely varying national standards of living.
6. The first experimentation with the concepts of political democracy, notably those of government by the consent of the governed, freedom of movement, freedom of assemblage and freedom of speech, trial by jury, and the like.
7. The first experimentation with the concept of education for all the children of all the people.

We need not multiply the cases. Our list documents sufficiently the initial character of the period of experimentation at the close of which we now stand. In these and in other ways the stream of events of the past two centuries constituted the dawn of a new culture. It was a 'first day.' The process of change exhibited utterly unique economic and social trends. Let us note several which were typical of this first industrial and social revolution of modern times.

First: It was a period of expansion, of spectacularly rapid growth. Every phase grew at positively accelerating rates; the production of goods, the aggregation of populations and their concentration in urban communities, the radius of the market, horizons of communication and exchange, the interconnections of cultures, the time-beat and rhythm of urban life. All was positive acceleration.

Second: The first stage of industrialization was an orgy of building things. The economic system, and with it, the school system, were quickly erected. Dynamic catchwords energized the struggle both with geography and with native owners. Conquer and settle . . . Build . . . Construct . . . Make it big, make it stunning.

Third: There was undesigned and uncontrolled exploitation. The virgin continents and the drives of human nature contributed to a restless haste to get immediate profits. This was true in South Africa, in Australia, in America, in all the 'new' countries. So everything in the earth was seized upon—the top soil, the forests, the gold and the diamonds, the coal and the oil, the iron, the copper and other metals. Everything in and on the earth was taken in a mad, unrestricted, and unplanned race for gain.

The period was an uproarious one of hectic trial and error—mostly error—and waste. The concepts of private ownership and free competition made design in the first era of industrialism impossible. Although even at the beginning of the debauch thinking men counselled the imperative need for planning and social control, most of the energetic, shrewd, and ambitious men threw themselves into the

race for money and power, and rationalized their conduct by the French economic philosophers' doctrine of *laissez-faire*. Western man translated the physiocrats' dictum to suit his personal desires—'Freedom to exploit' . . . 'Every man for himself—and the devil take the hindmost.'

Neither thoughtful design nor contemplation was easy in such an intellectual climate. Mental life consisted of a succession of fairly obvious problems, each to be solved by impulsive generalization. Naturally, thinking was for most men merely perceptual reaction. The inhibiting of impulse for moments of thoughtful choice between alternatives became a rare occurrence. Percept ruled over men's minds and but few achieved the attitude of problem-solving and conceptual generalization.

I have named merely a few conspicuous examples of the propulsive concepts and attitudes and the guiding outlook of this 'first day' of industrial culture. It is not doubted that they produced remarkable physical achievements. But that they also produced baffling social and personal problems for us who live just at the dawn of the second industrial stage is equally clear.

Turning now to the second epoch of industrial revolution, the emerging power age, we find certain well-defined contrasting characteristics.

First: Whereas the first epoch was one of expansion, of positively accelerating growth, the second is to be one of consolidation. We must now take thought; we must design an economic and social system which will work. In this task educational workers must play an important part.

Second: The orgy of sheer physical building is over. The major part of the economic system is erected. We have passed out of the wasteful machine age of crude steam engines, slipping belts, and creaking pulleys and gears into the power age of efficient giant generators, long distance power transmission, and automatic continuous straight-line process factory production. The implications of this for thinking men are clear; they cannot deal with the problem of the new day with the ideas and attitudes of the old one.

For example, we no longer live in a regime of scarcity; we have already passed into the day of potential plenty. For the first time in the world's history men in America, and other new countries, can now produce a civilization of abundance for all. Our modern language and thought from now on must show that we know it, and our educational design must show that we know it, too.

Third: The initial exploitation for immediate private profit and personal aggrandizement of the first epoch must give way, in the second, to designed and controlled production for the total group. Our new era of plenty is only a potential, not an actual one. To bring it into existence will require the building of a distribution system which is co-ordinate in effectiveness with the production system which has already been erected. But to do that in a democratic society many minds must be made aware of the necessity for deep-running changes in the ownership and operation of basic utilities and industries.

That is, new problems of social control now confront us, and to deal with them we must build a new language of thought and discussion. For example, in a regime of the initial exploitation of virgin continents, the concepts of *laissez-faire*, of success via competition, were useful, perhaps indispensable. But our regime to-day is very different: it is one, first, in which an efficient production system has already been erected; second, in which there is no longer any relation between what a worker can produce and the share of the social income which society can pay him as purchasing power; third, in which it is increasingly evident that profits and fixed charges take an undue proportion of the social income; fourth, in which personal competition interrupts the operation of the system and withholds much of it from use. In such a regime, I say, the concepts of scarcity, *laissez-faire*, private ownership and control of basic industries and utilities constitute the vocabulary of a foreign and useless language.

Fourth: As a final illustration, we must note that intellectually and spiritually the second industrial age is also

new. We have moved from an epoch which demands action and percept above all things into one in which design and realization are possible. Indeed, two crucial problems of design confront us in these transition years. There is, first, the problem of designing a social structure that will produce the economy of abundance which is guaranteed by our resources and our technology. There is, second, the problem of designing a creative and appreciative personal way of life within that structure. The hub of the former is social control; that of the latter is self-cultivation. The guide to the former is the technologist and experimentalist; the guide to the latter is the artist and the religionist. The truly great culture on the verge of which we now stand cannot be ushered in if either of these problems of design is ignored.

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The grave problem which the educators of the 'new' countries face can be succinctly summed up:

1. Out of the dawn of the new industrial culture three curves of interdependent social trends traced themselves on the moving record of history—economic productivity; social invention; popular consent.

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2. Throughout the 'first day' of industrialism it was taken for granted that all three would rise sufficiently synchronized to preserve social stability; but under the momentum of expansion economic productivity was sharply accelerated, while social invention and popular consent lagged cumulatively behind.

3. Meanwhile other constituent trends, such as the growth of population, which had given life to the advance of man's productivity, passed both points of inflection and gave fair warning of impending social change.

4. To the people generally these changes from positive to negative acceleration meant nothing. But to the man of creative design—the engineer, the statesman, the educator—they were signposts of a great transition.

5. This is the hypothesis: When, therefore, in the calculus of human events the curves of interdependent social trends either pass points of inflection or produce equations of

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different orders, men of intelligence revise their systems of thought and design new courses of democratic action.

To throw out into bold relief the insistent problems presented to educators in our times I urge the hypothesis then that in this great transition, our high-powered interdependent world system of industry, agriculture, business, and government can continue to be operated under the democratic method *only when these three trends keep pace with one another*. Social invention and popular consent must keep up with economic invention and organization; we have seen the manner in which they have got completely out of step with one another.

Whether or not the educational workers of the 'new' industrial countries comprehended the warning in these technical appraisals of our times, they certainly can grasp the dramatic challenge to education embraced in the three curves of social trend to which I refer.

First, the trend of economic productivity. The curves describing the quantity of goods that a man can now produce are mounting at such an accelerated rate that, in the judgment of competent engineers, within a fairly small number of years we shall witness the production of quantity, or standardized, goods relatively without the interposition of men. Note carefully that this prediction refers to the mechanical production of quantity goods—goods that can be fabricated in mammoth lots by continuous straight-line factory processes. It has no reference to the vast amount of craft goods and services that can be produced only by the personal and creative effort of human beings. Moreover, let us recall a single crucial hypothesis from the study of productivity and purchasing power—namely, that in the quantity production of goods there is no longer any discernible relation between what a man can produce and the share of the social income that society can pay him for producing it.

Second, the trend of social invention. I personally draw the conclusion that when such a point arrives in the trend of economic affairs, government, that is, the people as a whole, must step in and take charge, working out a solution that will

bring the greatest good to the greatest number of people. But that means the invention of creative methods of social control through government. Hence the economic trends are inextricably interrelated with the political trends; and when one lags out of step behind the other dangerous strains are set up in the social order. It is precisely that that has now taken place in the regulation of the collective affairs of men.

To focus our thought sharply on the dangerous breaking apart of these economic and political trends I have spoken of the significance of the shape of the curve of social invention and hence of control over the economic system. 'Curve' is used here as a dramatic measure, not as a quantitatively derived one. Actually, of course, we have no quantitative measures of the trend of creative intelligence in handling these difficult problems of social control. In a rough kind of way one could plot the number and quality of men who understood the political problems that mounted as the decades of the mechanical conquest passed.

As the years of our great transition advanced, as historical perspective became longer, and as the symptoms of stalling of the system became more obvious, the number of students who understood the factors and trends steadily increased. Modern agencies of communication—notably the magazine and book press, the radio, the public forum, the college and school curriculum, and even the contents of text-books—all helped to stretch the radius of political understanding among students and leaders. In the form of stereotypes it reached some of the political leaders, and has recently been given widespread circulation. Certainly one thing has happened—the curve of creative social control, as measured by the number of students who understand at least the rudiments of the new problems of government is now rising rapidly. It cannot be doubted that the years since 1930 constitute the beginning of the most creative period of social analysis in our entire history. Whether the bulk of creative understanding can increase rapidly enough to establish equilibrium with the

curve of economic productivity remains as a crucial unanswered question of our time.

Third, the trend of popular consent. But there still remains the problem of the lag of the curve of popular consent. Our discussion has been built around the theme of social reconstruction by means of the democratic method. It is now a truism that, under this method, government will endure only when it is based upon the consent of the governed. But, we remind ourselves, when is consent given? First, when the people have constitutional guarantees of civil and political liberty. Second, when they have the machinery for registering collective judgments at the polls, that is, when there is popular suffrage. Third, when they have the machinery for the adequate assembling and digesting of the facts of their social issues and problems and for public discussion of them. Fourth, when they have sufficient understanding of their collective affairs to give intelligent approval or disapproval to the acts of their representatives in office, and sufficient initiative to continue them in or recall them from those offices. Only when these desiderata are satisfied have the people given consent.

As a result of the seven-hundred-year-long struggle of the middle class for participation in government, the first two principles of consent have been established in the British Empire, in the United States, and certain other democratic countries. Constitutional guarantees and the machinery of the suffrage are matters of fact. But the curve of popular understanding, the crux of consent, has lagged far behind economic enterprise. It was to prevent this that our fathers set up universal elementary education, and that we are now extending it upward to include the secondary level. But in the first century of building they could do no more than set up the physical structure, establish the principle of free education, and gather into it all the children of all the people. The physical task has been well done, and literacy, an important vehicle of understanding, has been given to more than ninety per cent. of the people.

It was, no doubt, to be expected that the rank and file of

teachers in the years of transition would be bewildered, uncertain, lacking either a social programme or a design for personal living. We must not forget that the nineteenth century was the first in human history in which the experiment of universal elementary education was tried. Hence it would be asking too much of the first century of public education to demand that it achieve more than the administrative thing. That much, at least, was done in all the industrializing nations. Ninety odd per cent. of the children of 'educational age' were herded into 'school' and classified into regiments and companies. School buildings—in America very efficient ones—were erected to house them. Teachers were brought together in normal schools and taught what 'the book said.' Courses of study of intellectual subject-matter and sets of text-books were prepared and graded to fit the year-groupings of the young people.

Thus, in a century of hustling physical construction, a graded school system, national in scope, and fitted to the chronological development of childhood and youth, emerged in every manufacturing country. Within it education was conceived to be:

1. Something that went on in a school, five hours a day, 180 days a year, apart from the home and community life which created it.

2. Something one did before entering life—a preparation for life. *

3. Something one did with books, with words, not with the body, the spirit, all the sensibilities, the entire organism.

This, then, was the outcome of the first century of universal education. In every industrial nation the result was much the same—a standardized mechanism, a national replica of the technological culture that sponsored it, perfectly appropriate to the mechanistic psychology that guided education within it. Most of the administrators and teachers were conformists and routinists following a disciplinary psychology of ancient history. And of those in the mass school who were 'forward-looking,' the vast preponderance went with Thorn-

dike and the behaviourist company rather than with the Dewey and the organic group. More recently some tens of thousands were made aware of the concept of active integrated response, but of these only a very small number really understood the theory and its implications for curriculum and learning.

Teachers, then, have come out of colleges and normal schools utterly lacking either in personal philosophy or sense of social direction. Confronted by this crisis, they lack understanding either of the pressing economic and political problems or of the historical trends and factors which produced them. Faced with the task of total reconstruction of the school programme, they flounder helplessly. Hence their need, like that of their people, is not only for a social programme; it is equally the need to build a personal philosophy of living. And for these there are two guides—the technologist of social reconstruction and the artist.

Thanks to four centuries of scientific inquiry, and to the experimentalists' heroic efforts to phrase the scientific method of thought, the sources for a new language and a new theory of social control are fairly well developed. Certainly it should not be a superhuman task for the creative energies of Western men to construct in the next generation working hypotheses for an interdependent and partially collective society. It will, of course, be definitely more difficult to put them into practicable operation; the lag of intelligent understanding and the social control of education and the other agencies of communication are the chief obstacles.

But the real danger of the great transition is that its creative minds shall take their cues solely from the students of social control, either the practical technologists or the theoretical experimentalists. For the problem of designing a personal way of life appropriate to the new 'second day' of industrialism not only parallels in importance and difficulty that of designing the new social structure itself; it is, in addition, a different problem. Men must live with themselves as well as with their fellows. This presents a unique problem of appreciative awareness and of self-cultivation.

The danger is that men of creative potentiality absorbed in the insistent social problems of the day will ignore the educative task of self-cultivation.

That brings us to the artist, for he is the master of self-cultivation. Whereas the scientific student of society supplies us with concepts and methods with which to build a new social order, the artist supplies us with the key to the design of personal living. The concepts and methods of both are necessary. No matter how efficient its technology or humane its government, no culture will be truly great if it does not instil a high order of appreciative awareness in the people. It is clear, therefore, that the adventure of beauty calls us as well as the effort of reason.

The study of man and his changing society produces the conviction that we stand to-day at the verge of a great culture. The epoch which we are now entering is the first on the timeline of history in which man can bring forth a civilization of abundance, of tolerance, and of beauty.

It is a potentially great culture because, having invented efficient prime movers, man need no longer be a cringing slave of nature. It can be great, not only because the twelve-hour day can and will become the four-hour day, but because work of any prolongation can become a happy, creative experience; great because of the possibility of the successful union of democracy and technology; great because the scientific method can at last be applied to the man-man relationships as well as to the man-thing relationships; in a word, great because man can now live creatively both as artist and as technologist.

We stand indeed at the crossroads to a new epoch; in various directions lie divers pathways to to-morrow. Some lead to social chaos and the possible destruction of interdependent ways of living. One leads, however, to the era of the great society. There is no way to short-circuit the solution to the problem of building this new epoch. There is only the way of education, and it is slow, not sudden.

THE PLACE OF THE SCHOOL IN MODERN SOCIETY

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THIS topic implies that the place of the school in our present day collective life is different from what it was in earlier periods. In the past the school had only one function. It was to pass on to youth the skills and mores of society. The safety and continuance of the tribe depended upon rigid conformity to the accepted mode of life. The way of living was protected by taboos and sanctioned by ritual. Life was, broadly speaking, agricultural. Mechanical skills were few, and they served the farmer and fisherman. Trade for centuries was barter, and among many peoples was itself controlled by ritual. True, there arose at rare intervals individuals and civilizations whose contributions to knowledge and progress we still honour; philosophers who parted from the priesthood to grapple with the master knot of human fate; cities that grew, flourished and dominated as they exploited the vast rural areas toiling to answer the world's prayer for daily bread. But the basic pattern was agricultural.

You are about to look back on 150 years of history. Doubtless here, as in my own country, there are men living who have known and talked with those who lived through those significant years at the close of the 18th century. For 200 years before that time forces of undreamt-of power had been stirring. Restless men were peopling the Americas and the Antipodes, their ships bringing back more than the gold they craved. They carried, also, new products, and, more important, they were opening new horizons and interests. Adventurers, too, were springing up in science, philosophy and letters. There were stirrings of new life among the common people of the world, yes, and questionings of and mutterings against the established order as well.

In one sense these movements culminated in the last third of the 18th century, in Isaac Watts and the industrial era,

in the American and French Revolutions, and their concepts of the worth of personality, of liberty, equality and fraternity, and hence of democracy, in Adam Smith and his rationalization of the meanings of the industrial and political revolutions referred to. Never before had Fate let loose on mankind within such a short space events of such profound significance. With them our modern era was born. In this era education itself has changed. In most countries it is now universal in terms of the primary school, and in the English-speaking world the privileges of education are being extended to the 'teen age. Before, however, we can discuss the place of the school in this modern society of ours, we must pause to examine some of the characteristics of that society, some of the results of the forces that the last third of the 18th century set in motion.

There was, first of all, a huge increase in population, now, however, reversed or ending in most Western lands, though not in countries to which the industrial era has more recently come, such as Japan. This increase has produced many pressures and tensions, especially in the quest for raw materials, two evidences of which are to be seen to-day in Northern China and Spain.

There has come, too, the vast technological advance of the industrial age, never more apparent than in the last decades, and too well known to describe. Due to it we hear of late much of technological unemployment, a phrase not to be accepted uncritically. In the United States, for instance, between 1900 and 1930, the *proportion* of the population employed rose ten per cent., even though during these years the proportion of the population between 5 and 20 years of age in school increased from 5 out of every 10 to 7 out of every 10. Most of this increase was in the 'teen age group, thereby removing potential workers from the labour market. Despite the increase in efficiency that characterized these thirty years, there was, therefore, proportionately more employment at their end than at their beginning.

Obviously, thousands of individuals were adversely affected by technical advances, thereby creating serious prob-

blems for society and education, but in terms of gross totals the facts up to 1930 do not fully bear out the alarmists. It follows that technological gains are only one explanation of the woes of the 1930's. Mismanagement of the economic structure and of social organization must bear a larger share of the blame.

But there is a real question whether in modern society the huge advances in technology can be continued under our present socio-economic arrangements without raising problems of great magnitude, especially in the matter of employment. In the United States the output per man-hour in manufacturing industries is estimated to have increased about 28% between 1930 and 1936. It is significant that, with electric power consumption at an all-time high, the number of unemployed is still about five to seven millions. In Australia, production per person employed has increased 25% in the last 25 years. The industrial age of coal and iron is becoming an age of power and chemistry. The school operates no longer in a nearly static society. It has behind it a century of bewildering advance and increasing complexity. Before it stretch years in which these trends seem likely to accelerate.

Along with this has come great advance in all other branches of science, as witness the progress in radio, in air-services, and so on. Medical science has halved the death rate, and all but doubled the life span in the last century. No wonder we need old-age pensions. Even in the social sciences real, though as yet too little recognized beginnings, have been made in determining the laws of human behaviour, individual and collective.

These and other developments have made possible a tremendous increase in the wealth of mankind. This wealth, however, is increasingly concentrated in the hands of a few, and the concentration has been one not only of wealth, but also of power over the destinies of nations, and, therefore, over tens of millions of individuals.

This is less so in Australia and New Zealand, but as pioneer countries you have not fully escaped from the impli-

cations of this fact. Both in New Zealand and in your Commonwealth, material, and to some extent social progress, depend upon the attitude of wealth toward your plans, for where the treasure is there the power also resides. In my own land, one-thousandth of all the families have more than two-fifths of the income. Here, then, is a stern test for democracy. Under such conditions, can the political system to which the English-speaking peoples are dedicated be maintained? If a crisis comes, another major war or depression, if the objective of conserving concentrations of wealth conflict with the objective of an ever more abundant life for the great masses of men, can democracy win the day, solve the conflict?

The experience of New Zealand and Australia gives hope that the answer of our race will be in the affirmative, that democracy can be social and economic as well as political, but in any analysis of the modern society in which the school must function the problem must be raised.

Finally, among the many other characteristics of the present age we must mention but one more: the increasing interdependence of all groups and nations in the world.

Inadequate as this analysis of modern society must be, it is sufficient to show that we are in a new world, that the old savage, with his thin veneer of civilization, now controls forces and potentialities undreamt of through the ages of his existence until, as it were, only yesterday.

In such a new world has the function of the school changed? Is it enough to pass on a few time-tested skills and the traditions and culture of the race? In my judgment it is not. The basic skills of speech, calculation and communication, will, of course, always be needed. So, too, will the basic truths that man has acquired that are part of the heritage of the race. The school must ever conserve the best of the ages, but it must face, also, the high duty of preparing for a better age to come. And with the rapid tempo of social and technological change, education must not consider that duty done when the youth leaves the post-primary school. Adult

education is necessary under modern conditions for the sake of democracy.

Some of this must be vocational, frequently a re-education in new skills to replace those rendered obsolete by the advances of science. But adult education is necessary, also, because only through it can the social and cultural dangers of a rapidly ageing, and therefore increasingly conservative, population be somewhat resisted, and the tendency to respond blindly to symbols and slogans be counteracted. Few, if any, of the major problems agitating the statesmen of the world to-day were even known when these men and the generation that fought the war were in school and college. The unplanned 'in-service training' that life gives is slow, and terribly costly.

If the schools could at the same time make crystal clear to both adults and children the use and abuse of the symbol, provide some understanding of each changing scene on the reel of social life and share in the search for values that fit the problem of the 1930's, they would be playing a large share in blue-printing the social structure of the 1940's. Educators should remember that while not all changes are predictable, many changes have come because determined groups knew what they wanted. The implementing of the current idealism for a better social order by far more detailed blue prints than have yet appeared is overdue. For the one certainty in a clouded and uncertain future is the inevitableness of rapid change. A too static education will perish.

To a sociologist untutored in the mysteries of curriculum construction and unit building, it is puzzling that more progress has not been made along this line. Take such a simple matter as the content of arithmetic courses. Problems in the costs of electrical appliances, in the mathematics of laying out a tennis court, are all to the good. But why not equally simple problems, based on census data, on how many children of various ages there are, how many go to school, on the value or rental costs of homes, etc. Children can be interested in such matters. Similarly the changing

numbers and proportions of the gainfully employed by decades and occupations would, through arithmetic, begin to acquaint the pupils with the changing occupational opportunities of their own and other communities. Perhaps such an approach would even teach these future citizens that there are factual sources which can be used to compare with the unceilinged claims of campaign orators. Such problems, perhaps worked out with a map of the community on the school room wall to localize results, should certainly tie in closely with civics even under the most rigidly regimented subject-matter curriculum.

Another implication relates both to the curriculum and to the guidance of students. Thorndike has shown that the poorest students of a group of 1,000 which he studied, though separated by four years in their age-grade achievement from the best, had spent within half a year as much time in school. Obviously there was wastage here both for the pupils and the taxpayers. Education must be planned and given in terms of the ascertained capacities of the student to acquire developable skills, informations and attitudes. Socially and economically useful citizens can be produced in no other way. And the schools will not even help bring a new social order if they turn out persons who are either misfits within the present order or who have become too inflexible in the process of their education to make the increasing number of adjustments the pace of life demands.

In the achievement of the objectives here implied there are two foci for the school, the local community and the national society. The school is primarily a community institution, anchored to a particular locale. If, then, there is any possibility of effecting social change through educational process, the primary opportunity is with, and begins with, the local community.

The first of these considerations is of special importance in a democracy. The local community is, of course, influenced by national social forces. But the local community can measurably nullify national action at times. Again many aspects of national policy can, in a democracy,

be realized only when local communities do their part. Here most of our social changes become manifest to most of our people. The public health programme illustrates this.

But even on the community level and even with the current enthusiasm for the activity programme and the educational use of the pupil's environment, demonstrations of what I am urging are not very numerous. They are not numerous because the teachers and their supervisors do not, as a rule, know their communities in any but a highly superficial fashion. Pupils are perhaps exhaustively examined, but there is no procedure whereby social trends and their implications for the schools are detected as they begin to arise, through continuous study of available data. There could be little attempt to set forth an all-round programme.

It would appear worthwhile to undertake studies that would combine both sociological and educational survey techniques, that would appraise the effects which social and economic circumstances have on living and education, to catalogue the specific needs which must be met in the process of making a better community in which both schools and social agencies would be involved. Such an enterprise would be a most educative project for the entire community. Carried out under the aegis of the school, with the co-operation of the university, such a procedure would justify education in a unique way. It would enable education in the large sense of that term to influence favourable social changes on the community level and to improve the whole plane of social thinking and action.

But the community is only one focus for educational effort. Our problems are not only local. As I indicated earlier, they are national and international as well. On the latter level thoughtful men the world over are much concerned. The times are out of joint. Man's inhumanity to man has done more than make countless thousands mourn. It has come now to the place where the principles of democracy, the effort of men to build and control their

own destiny so that each may make the most of his own capacities and opportunities in a good society, which is the democratic ideal, is definitely challenged by those who see no destiny for the human personality save as it is completely subordinated in the state. Before that philosophy even science and religion are commanded to bow the knee.

If the principles that have measurably guided the actions and hopes of the English-speaking world since the days of the Magna Charter are to be preserved the task devolves chiefly upon the British Commonwealth of Nations and the Americas. The former by processes you know full well, the latter in part by the accident of settling the richest of continents, have become the wealthiest and most powerful of nations, the leaders of the democratic bloc. Can we share that which is ours for our own good and the world's? In the answer to that question, for all our minor differences, our peoples are inevitably, indissolubly linked. The action we take depends upon the attitudes of our citizens and of the youth who are rising to power. Here education plays its part, finds an opportunity that goes far beyond traditional courses in civics and history. Here education touches directly the world that is to be. May it not be said that we have neglected the weightier matters of peace and brotherhood for the mint, anise and cummin of syllabuses and examinations devised in the days that are forever gone?

If the world is to be made a safer, saner place to live, then you and we will have to bear the brunt of the task, the major share of the sacrifice, not because we are better than other peoples, but because Providence has placed us in that position. It is a task to be approached in soberness and humility, knowing that to whom much is given of him shall much be required. But the task is there, and let it never be said that education has failed.

AUSTRIA AND HER CHILDREN

PAUL L. DENGLER

THE breakdown of the Austro-Hungarian Empire brought about the establishment of the new Republic of Austria. Once the centre of an Empire of 50,000,000 people and twelve different nationalities, Austria became a small and economically weak republic. Yet the same metropolis of almost 2,000,000 people which had served as the political, administrative, financial and cultural centre for all those nations, remained, under completely changed conditions, the capital city of that republic. One-third of the whole population of the country was concentrated in that one city of Vienna. Practically all of the hinterland had gone, most of the resources and raw materials had been lost, and the former market of an Empire was reduced to one for six and a half million people, most of whom had become distressingly poor. The new countries which were cut out of the body of the old Empire by the peacemakers of St. Germain surrounded themselves by high tariff walls.

From this situation there flowed inevitable consequences. First of all, the new Austria experienced great economic hardship. An ever-increasing inflation wiped out most of the fortunes of the wealthy classes—the value of the currency was gradually reduced to one fifteen-thousandth of what it was in pre-war days. The shortage of food was alarming; for weeks at a time many formerly well-to-do families saw no meat on their dinner tables. There was no heating in the flats during the severe winter of 1918, or in the following winter, because coal could not be imported. The little that was left was used to run a few trains a week. The second consequence was a more or less complete dependence on foreign nations, especially Italy, which had become one of the great European powers after the War. Czechoslovak and Italian troops threatened to invade the helpless

country if it did not accept the hard conditions of the Peace Treaty imposed at St. Germain. Austria wished to join Germany—and claimed that President Wilson's fourteen points implied that every country had the right to decide about its future—but this was forbidden by the victors. The third and most tragic consequence was continuous civil warfare within the country. In Vienna itself a socialist Marxist government came into control based on a two-thirds majority of voters in that city. The peasants in the country who for centuries had followed the leadership of the Roman Catholic Church remained loyal to their priests. A third political group consisted of those Austrians, mostly belonging to the cultured middle classes who lived in the borderlands near Germany and near the Slavic south, who wanted to bring about union with Germany. In those days the Catholic and Pan-German elements together maintained a slight majority over the socialist group in the new Parliament of Austria. Gradually each of these parties built up a private army of its own. These armies paraded frequently, sometimes on the same day, at the same place, and even at the same hour. Armed conflicts were unavoidable.

Such is the background for the development of education and social welfare throughout the new Austria, and in particular in the city of Vienna. It must be said in all fairness that the socialist government of Vienna showed itself able to deal with an extremely difficult situation. Very unfortunately, however, dogmatic Marxism had induced the socialists to preach class warfare, and to look upon the *bourgeois* classes as their enemies. Class antagonisms developed which led later to bitter fights and even to bloodshed in the streets of Vienna. This brought about the final victory of the conservative element, under Chancellor Engelbert Dollfuss. The start, however, which the socialist government made, and its achievements in the field of social welfare and education were remarkable, especially in view of the situation in which the new Vienna found itself. The city government made up its mind that Vienna should not

become a city of the past where the grass grew in the streets, a museum for tourists and nothing else. It immediately went to work and developed an astounding programme for the social welfare of the working population, and especially for the children of Vienna.

Before the War the poorer classes of Vienna had suffered from rather bad housing conditions. Sometimes two or three families lived together in one room in a damp basement of a house which on the outside looked quite impressive and contained nice flats for those who could pay for them. The Municipality of Vienna now embarked on a housing programme which included the building of approximately 6,000 flats a year, and by the end of its socialistic regime there existed about 50,000 such flats in community houses located all over the city. To-day there are nearly 300,000 people living in these flats. The dwellings are beautifully built; and there are flowers before every window, and spacious courtyards, with lawns and benches. Many of the community houses have a swimming pool, a library, and a kindergarten—some even a dental clinic. Nurses take care of the children when the parents go to work in the morning, and prevent the little ones from running around in the streets without supervision. Most of these community houses are equipped with a central laundry with electric washing machines. The rents in the workers' dwellings are very low, generally not more than 30/- a month for a two or even three-room apartment. Over a hundred kindergartens have been established where the children can be left from 7 a.m. to 6 p.m. and receive breakfast and lunch. They are supervised by trained teachers and live in a beautiful environment with all the facilities of the modern kindergarten. Their parents pay not more than half-a-crown a week for the service; if they are too poor to pay even this modest sum their children are accepted free of charge.

There are now in Vienna twenty-two large public bathing institutions—one of them, situated in the heart of the workers' district, is a real palace of hygiene. There are numerous libraries, dental clinics and continuation schools,

the latter considered the finest in Europe. And there is a unique temporary home for children, a kind of clearing house, where children are brought by their parents for mental and physical examination. After a stay of several weeks they may be sent home or to one of the many children's sanatoria or vacation colonies, or to special homes or schools. Over 20,000 children were fed by the City of Vienna each day during the worst times and 37,000 delicate children received special treatment. Every summer more than 40,000 poor people were sent to the country, where they stayed in camps and permanent buildings among the beautiful mountains and lakes of Austria.

Particular attention was paid to pre-natal care and infant welfare. Thirty-four mothers' advisory committees were established, and every woman who came for medical examination during the third or fourth month of pregnancy, was entitled to receive a bonus when her child was born, and, in addition, a complete layette, which cost the city almost £4. By such medical supervision the city successfully fought the spread of hereditary diseases, and checked the ill effects of the under-nourishment which was a tremendous threat to the generation of children born during and immediately after the War.

The funds for the social welfare activities which I have mentioned, and for many others, came from different sources. Part of the money was raised by severe taxation. Every luxury was heavily taxed: there were heavy entertainment taxes, hotel taxes, taxes upon luxury stores and first-class restaurants, high taxes on automobiles. Real estate and businesses were also taxed; and there were special apartment taxes which had to be paid by everyone owning a flat in one of the more elegant districts of Vienna. The City, furthermore, has always had other sources of revenue. It owns much of the land in and around the city, provides the gas, electricity and water, runs the street cars, has a monopoly of funeral undertaking, and even owns a large brewery.

The criticism levelled at the government by the more

conservative people and by their political opponents was always that the expenditure of the new city administration on social services was extravagant, and more than a small and poverty-stricken country could carry. It was felt by some people that in providing social services so lavishly for the working classes, the administration had been partly motivated by the desire to maintain and increase the number of votes for the socialist ticket. Though it may be true that the criticism was not always unjustified—and certainly very heavy burdens were placed upon the middle classes and the so-called wealthy classes—it must be admitted, on the other hand, that the administration was successful as a whole. There was strength and vision in its programme, and among its leaders there were men of ability and integrity whose devoted services are still recognized by the people of Vienna whatever their political views may be.

The second step which the government of Vienna took immediately after the War was the establishment of a new system of education. It is not too much to say that education throughout Austria, and especially in Vienna, went through a real revolution. The old education had been a dry, formal, standardized business; all its stress had been upon the intellect; there was no room for creative self-expression and the emotional life of the child was neglected. Its spirit was individualistic and competitive, and there was little or no place for co-operation. There was, furthermore, a sharp distinction between the education of the lower classes and that of the more privileged classes. Almost ninety per cent. of the people received an education which was mainly confined to a fairly sound training in the three Rs, and which came to an end at the age of 14. Only about ten per cent. received secondary education at a *Gymnasium*, an eight-year school leading to the university and technological institutions of university rank. The new regime believed that much of this must be swept away and something completely different, and adapted to the new environment of the Austrian child, put in its place. The new school, so it was thought, should put the emphasis upon the emotional

life of the child and his creative abilities. School life should be a collective one, which meant that children as well as teachers should form school communities and work on 'projects' in co-operation. Furthermore, children should no longer be turned out to a standardized pattern, but a way should be opened for wide experimentation in all fields.

The administration of the new system provided striking examples of the change which took place. Formerly the Minister of Education had usually been an administrator of high social rank, who had had no close contacts with school life and had certainly not been a teacher himself. In the new Austria after the War the first Minister of Education appointed, Otto Gloeckel, was a former elementary school teacher who had become one of the leaders in the socialist city government of Vienna. Being a member of an extreme radical party and a leader in political affairs, Gloeckel was much involved in the bitterness and strife of party politics. Some people, therefore, considered him merely a politician and a demagogue. Apart from the narrowness of his political dogma he was, however, a man of strong character and great ability, and, above all, an enthusiastic teacher himself. During his administration as Minister of Education several 'departments for educational reforms' were established in his Ministry. Distinguished scholars and practical educators were called into those departments to work out the practical application of the new theories in education. One department was devoted to the reform of primary education, another to the reform of secondary education, and some time later a third for physical education was established. The reform of university study, however, was not undertaken at that time but much later when the socialist group went into Parliamentary Opposition. On losing his portfolio, the dynamic Gloeckel became President of the Board of Education in the City of Vienna, which remained under socialist control until the revolution of 1934.

The reforms in secondary education were from the beginning not very radical. The universities were strongly on

the conservative side, and were too important to be ignored. The main secondary school reforms consisted in some changes in the curriculum as a result of which the humanistic studies were given a little less emphasis and the natural sciences, especially biology, a little more. Furthermore, the strict division between secondary schools, leading to professional studies, and the higher primary schools, leading to vocational schools or to practical work in crafts and trades, was given up for some time.

The real revolutionary transformation, however, which made the new education in Austria known over the world, occurred in primary education, which dealt with the period from six to fourteen years in two cycles of four years each. Co-education became general where it could easily be introduced. The first principle on which the new education was based was that the immediate environment of the child should be the starting-point in his education, and that there should be no break between life at home and at school. The child entering school should not, it was held, be made to feel that he was going into another world of abstract thinking, duty and hardship, a world divorced from his everyday experiences and joys in the home. On the contrary, the transition to the more difficult stages of learning should be made gradually, and the child's early education should be based on his interests in the home environment and his surroundings generally. The happiness of the child was one of the main considerations.

The second principle—the concentration of subjects on the lines of the 'project' method—meant that there should no longer be rigid time-tables or departmentalized study during the first four years of the primary school. Certain 'centres of interest' were to be built up around which different subjects would be organized in such a way as to make learning pleasant and interesting. The children would actually go to a grocer's shop, to a public park, to a railway station, or make an excursion into the country, thus gaining first-hand experience which would provide a centre for their school activities. A visit to the tailor, for instance, could

provide the main theme for a week's work in mathematics as well as in reading, writing, craftwork and even geography and history.

The third principle was that of the self-activity of the child, as opposed to mere listening and being taught. This meant that the teacher should keep in the background wherever possible, and that the children should be permitted and encouraged to carry on their own discussions, and make their own discoveries, with only such guidance from the teacher as was essential. The teacher should not follow a rigid programme but should be concerned only to see that a certain amount of work was done within a certain time. The content of the curriculum for any week would not be determined beforehand—for it was to be life itself, events in the school as well as in the great world outside, which provided that content.

To introduce and establish these three principles of the new education some of the most gifted teachers in Austria were given special demonstration classes. In these classes they gained experience of the practical application of the new ideas, while their fellow-teachers watched them at work. Later the observers themselves were given a chance to work in such classes before they went back to their own schools. A library containing a large number of books on new ideas in education was established and soon came to be considered the largest and most up-to-date of its kind on the Continent. Furthermore, vacation courses, teachers' communities, conferences with the inspectors, and all kind of summer courses were organized. Several new educational magazines made their appearance. A Pedagogical Institute with a model school attached was established by the City of Vienna and gave courses in the late afternoon and evening for those teachers who wanted to learn more about the theory and practice of the new education.

In the schools punishments were largely abolished, and so was homework. All the afternoons were kept free for organized games and recreation, and once a month there

was a so-called 'hiking day' on which the whole school—children and teachers—went for a day's excursion to the country. School books were supplied free of charge—they were beautifully printed and illustrated and charmingly written—quite the best of their kind in the whole of Europe. Such an entirely new system of education made it absolutely necessary to trust the teacher and to grant him a great amount of freedom. Though 2,000 teachers were superfluous after the War on account of the decrease in the school population caused by the fall in the birth-rate, not one of them was dismissed. The size of classes, however, was reduced to a maximum of 29 pupils. The teachers were well paid and received, after 35 years of service, a pension equal to approximately 90 per cent. of the salary received during the last year of service.

There is no doubt that the new education in Austria aroused great enthusiasm among the followers of socialism. But even those who did not agree with socialist doctrines joined willingly in the venture. The clearest proof of the success of the experiments was given when, after a trial of six years, the question of continuing the new system of elementary education was submitted to a general vote of the teachers. They decided by an overwhelming majority that they could not even imagine going back to the stiff old type of 'sit-stillery' school! With some modifications and compromises, the new system was established by law in 1926, and is in a general way still maintained to-day for the beginners' grades, in spite of the political changes which have taken place. The modifications and compromises can partly be explained by the financial difficulties which continually beset the City of Vienna. The expenditure on the new schools had been extraordinarily high. Another reason was that teacher training as a whole was not reformed as rapidly as the pioneers of the new education desired. The secondary schools especially remained greatly handicapped by exacting university requirements. The university felt itself responsible for keeping up the high reputation of academic life in Austria and did not favour radical new

experiments, even at the primary level. Furthermore, a system of the kind described needs exceptional personal qualities in its teachers. In the hands of an incompetent teacher, or one who does not grasp the real meaning of self-activity and the concentration of subjects, there is a great danger of superficiality—nothing is more useless than a mass of half-understood facts and phrases, gathered here and there, without any definite plan. The old-fashioned logical treatment of a subject by a well-trained teacher will give far better results. Whatever the system, a good teacher will work successfully, and it is certainly not true that there was no happiness and sense of achievement in Austrian schoolrooms of past generations. And no matter how fine his ideals, or how much freedom he is given, a poor teacher will spoil everything. To my mind, the right way in the new education lies in the middle, between the two extremes. We must avoid the old 'sit-stillery,' but we must also realize that wide and sound knowledge is indispensable. In the new system the teacher is by no means superfluous, but more necessary than ever.

Political bitterness in Austria led from one conflict to another, to fights in Parliament and even to street riots. The socialist party, which had never had the support of the majority of the people of Austria, saw itself gradually weakening. In Italy and Germany Fascist states had come into existence. The continued financial depression, and the increasing unemployment, made it hard to continue the expensive programme of social services. Finally, when the young and energetic conservative, Chancellor Dollfuss, took charge of the government of Austria, the socialists felt that this might mean the end of their power. Indeed, one privilege after another was taken from them. Finally, they felt themselves driven to despair. Wanting to preserve their power in Vienna, which, as they saw it, was *their* city, and of which they were so proud, they went, on a given signal, into the streets to fight for the continuation of their power. In bloody fights they were defeated by the government, which was supported by the army and the police.

Some of their leaders were put in gaol, others escaped from the country. The conservative element established a regime on a corporate basis and following the principles of the Roman Catholic Church. The democratic institutions of post-war days were abolished. This change in the political aspect of Austria has brought about a number of new changes in the field of education, which I have described in the 1937 *Educational Year Book* of Teachers College, Columbia University, in an article on 'The Last Ten Years of Education in Austria.' It contains an account of the educational developments since the Dollfuss Revolution, and of the prospects for the future of Austrian education.

EUROPEAN YOUTH

PAUL L. DENGLE

AS compared with the turmoil of post-war conditions, the pre-war world was a stable one—at least on the surface. And youth in those days believed in that stable world that was supposed never to change. Class lines existed in many countries of old Europe, but the masses rarely attempted to break through them. Young people had little trouble in finding work. For the university students, or for those who belonged to the well-to-do classes, it was an easy matter; but even those who had no such educational or financial advantages had usually little difficulty in getting a job. In such a world there was relatively little questioning of the social order—even in the universities most of the young people did not pay much attention to political, racial and social conflicts.

The home was a very important social unit and the authority of parents was strong. Often the father decided on the future vocation of his son, sometimes even arranged his daughter's marriage. There was little sport; and the large majority of young people did not indulge much in life out of doors. As it was the general custom for children to stay with their parents during vacation time, the influence of family life did not cease for a moment throughout the year. Youth organizations were unknown before 1900, and there were few of them even at the time of the outbreak of the World War.

It was in those days that an enthusiastic teacher named Richard Schirrmann lived in the German Rhineland. He was much concerned about the health of the young industrial workers, and conceived the idea of taking young apprentices out into the country during their free time, especially over the week-end. His followers dressed simply and went bare-headed. Some of them took guitars with them, and, with rucksacks on their backs, they wandered through the country-

side singing old folk songs, gathering in the evenings around a bonfire on the top of a hill. From these trips, with their opportunities for comradeship and contact with nature, the wanderers returned refreshed to their work, sunburnt and strengthened. Schirrmann did more than this. Thanks to his initiative, his young people were admitted to school buildings where they could spend the night sleeping on mattresses or on straw.

Both of the fundamental ideas of the later 'youth movement' were contained in these humble beginnings: the idea of bringing young people together to enjoy a simple open-air life away from the cities and from adults, and the idea of having shelters where they could spend the night inexpensively. This first *Wandervogel* movement grew rapidly. In 1913 several thousand high school boys and girls from all over the country met on the top of a mountain in central Germany, and founded what was called the Free German Youth Movement. In an impressive ceremony around a mighty bonfire, they pledged themselves not to drink spirits, not to smoke, to live a simple moral life, and to shape it upon their own responsibility. It was a romantic, 'back-to-nature' movement, along the lines of Rousseau. It was also to some extent a protest against existing conditions, a revolt of youth against too much guidance and supervision by the adult world, and especially a reaction against the rigid military spirit of the schools of those days. But it remained a rather negative movement, a movement without a constructive social ideal.

The World War suddenly interrupted the organization of youth movements in Germany and elsewhere, and the young men went into the trenches to fight for their respective countries. As the war dragged on, however, their thoughts turned more and more towards the kind of life which they wanted to lead if they returned safely from the ordeal. A longing for freedom and democracy, and a spirit of world brotherhood developed in opposition to the cruelty and futility of war. This was true of the youth of all the countries of Europe on whichever side they stood.

Thus it was that when the War was over many countries which hitherto had not enjoyed democratic government turned towards democracy—so it was in Germany, in Austria, and in other countries belonging to the former central powers.

The youth movement was revived soon after the War, and it was then that its aims became clear and positive. Young people felt that it was up to them to make a similar catastrophe impossible for the succeeding generations—the responsibility for building a better world had been placed on their shoulders. The old authority of the family was on the decline; the relations between the sexes had become simple and natural; life out of doors was now considered not an extravagance but a necessity.

But the spiritual foundations on which the different youth groups wished to build their reconstructed world differed greatly. In my part of the world, where democracy permitted free self-expression to everybody, three main ideas attracted the younger generation. Many of the young people thought that only the socialist organizations of the state, or even a world revolution on communist lines, could save civilization. Believing that the World War had been the result of international capitalist interests, they joined Marxist workers' organizations, hoping to help to overthrow capitalism and to establish upon its ruins the classless society of which they were dreaming. Others, however, declined to believe that the salvation of humanity could come through class war, which to them meant hatred and repression. They were tired of fighting, and declared that a renewal of the religious spirit was the most urgent need of the people. The fact that the nations had lost their true faith in God, they said, had been responsible for plunging the world into that tragic conflict. Again, many young people in the defeated countries felt that only a revival of the national spirit and true patriotism could again bring their country to greatness. Likewise in the victorious countries of Central Europe, which had profited by the peace settlement, young patriots pledged themselves to safeguard the achievements

of the victory. There were also, of course, large groups of young people throughout Europe who enjoyed the ceremonial and the many privileges of youth organizations without taking up a definite socialist, religious or nationalist attitude.

In Germany, the birth-place of the modern youth movement, organizations of the kind I have mentioned grew more rapidly in strength and numbers than in any other country, and after some time they were united under a body known as the National Council of German Youth Organizations. More and more homes, castles, mountain lodges, and even ships were turned into youth hostels, and new hostels which are still being used to-day were specially built for the young hikers. At the present time there are in Germany over 2,100 such hostels. Some of these are real palaces of youth, architecturally adapted to their surroundings and possessing every comfort and convenience. The ultimate aim is to have hostels everywhere, each at one day's hiking distance from the next. In each hostel there is a 'house father' who looks after the discipline and general organization, while his wife looks after the kitchen. A room is always provided in which young people who bring their own food in rucksacks to cut down expenses can do their own cooking. No drinking or smoking is allowed and everyone must retire at 10 p.m. at the latest; to stay overnight costs surprisingly little—about sixpence a person. Nearly 7,000,000 young people, including about 100,000 from other countries, spent at least one night in German hostels last year. The youth hostel movement has spread to other countries, notably Austria, Scandinavia, Great Britain, France, Holland and Switzerland.

Why is it that in spite of the common sacrifices of the War, European youth is to-day more disunited than ever? And why did democracy disappear so soon after its establishment in a number of European countries? The reasons lie partly in the very nature of Europe. It is difficult for Australians to realize what a crowded world it is in which we Europeans live—the Central European nations

in particular have not enough *Lebensraum*, that is, breathing-space, to enjoy a happy and peaceful life within the community of nations. Another characteristic of our Old World is that our entire culture and national existence is deeply rooted in the past. Every one of the nations of Europe has fought during centuries for its national existence. People have often struggled in bloody wars for the possession of a few hills and rivers—think of the Rhine and the thousand years of feuds between France and Germany. All the memories of defeat and humiliation are present in the hearts of the living generation and are kept alive for the next one through home and school. A third reason lies in the new desires created by the technical progress of our world with its many new inventions and the development of world markets. The nations have become industrialized and claim easy and cheap access to the sources of raw materials. As the world is organized to-day, however, some countries possess so much of these raw materials that they can export almost unlimited quantities after supplying their own needs, while others depend entirely on the goodwill of the happy owners and have to pay heavily for what they need.

Finally, the Peace Treaties which terminated the Great War are one of the main reasons for continued unrest. The world was divided anew and the defeated nations had no part in what was done. The League of Nations, which was expected to straighten out later on the injustices left by the treaty-makers, was given an almost impossible task—it had to face on all sides national pride and resentment. It became the fatal weakness of the League that it tried to perpetuate a state of affairs in Europe which from the beginning had not been based on voluntary acceptance but on dictates without consultation.

The rise of authoritarian systems of an extreme nationalist character seems to be the natural consequence of a situation that became intolerable to proud nations. What was the influence of that political change upon the younger generation? Youth organizations remained in existence in the

totalitarian states, but they had to become something very different from what they had been under the democratic regime. Regrettable thought this may seem, it was almost inevitable. The young people were caught up in the spiritual mobilization of the nation and the youth movement became a political organization for the purpose of the state and nothing but the state. Its aims and beliefs are therefore based exclusively on the dogmas of the victorious party, dogmas which it must accept unquestioningly. The youth movement has been completely reshaped to the will of the rulers, and control by the state begins with the mother's health before the child is born and continues through infancy, childhood and adolescence to the university and beyond.

The young people themselves are imbued with an amazing spirit of heroism. They believe in their leaders and in their ideals and are ready to die for them. That fascism and national socialism have a good side, and that the young people of Italy and Germany are filled with a high degree of idealism, is sometimes overlooked in the older democracies where children grow up in a very different and happier environment. The young people I saw in Italy and Germany were fine in character and had strong and healthy bodies. Those who condemn young fascists because they are trained to sing war songs and to carry guns must realize that such things are only symptoms and that it is the sickness and not the symptoms that must be understood and if possible cured.

The totalitarian system, born of economic uncertainty and distress, is certainly a transitory phase. The old ideas of the value of personality and the importance of the humanities are too fundamental to be lost forever in the world. That they have disappeared at the moment in some of the leading countries is certainly distressing to those who believe in tolerance and human brotherhood. But it is of no use and no help at all to add bitterness to bitterness, to let oneself be carried away by emotion and believe that all the right is on one side and all the wrong on the other.

Instead of blaming the young people and their leaders, we must examine the situation objectively and without passion. That distressing consequences may result from the state of mind in which a large part of European youth finds itself to-day cannot be denied. There is great danger in ignorance of other peoples and this is intensified where the young people are denied information and where every word that is printed passes before the watchful eye of the censor. In the totalitarian states there is not only ignorance of what is going on in the rest of the world, but also, very often, an unjustified idea of superiority resulting from one-sided information and the absence of the real knowledge of accomplishments and shortcomings which only constructive criticism can bring.

Is it possible to point the way to a solution of Europe's problem? There is certainly as an *ultima ratio* the possibility of another armed conflict that will involve the younger generation in a bloody struggle. Quite apart from the dreadful sufferings such a terrible catastrophe would bring, it would in no way be the solution for which we are striving. War would make matters very much worse than they were before. Everybody knows it, and no responsible leader of any nation, and no nation as a whole, wants war. The terrific armaments all over Europe are not indications of a war-like spirit, but rather of fear and distrust.

The solution to my mind lies in removing the causes. First of all, a just revision of the Peace Treaties must take place—and the sooner the better—in a spirit of sincerity, and of readiness for fair compromise on all sides. To say that one is ready for international co-operation and at the same time to stick to a *status quo* which makes such co-operation impossible from the beginning, can only lead to the catastrophe that all fear. Second, every nation, great or small, must be guaranteed free and easy access to cheap raw materials and at no greater cost than to the nations which at present own them. Third, emigration must again be made possible. Before the war young people who were able and willing to work and could not find jobs went from

the over-crowded areas of Central Europe to other countries where there was room for them, thus relieving the situation at home. Emigration, the safety valve of pre-war times, has ceased to exist. The contrast between empty and over-crowded countries in the world to-day is indeed too great. Fourth, the gradual re-establishment of free trade should be the aim of all governments. This cannot come overnight but calls for careful planning. To begin with, progress is likely to be made not by great world economic conferences but by adjustments between country and country which would show the way. Autarchy means the death of prosperity and leads to war.

All these steps and many more, however, depend on something much more important—a new attitude of mind. The problem of world recovery is a spiritual one even more than it is economic. Let there be a few true leaders in a few countries who are able to inspire confidence in one another across the borders. If they contrive to remove fear then the first and most important step towards recovery has already been taken. The word 'generosity' has almost disappeared from the diplomatic vocabulary—if it was ever in it. By this I mean the readiness to give up something by one's own free will, without being forced to do so.

It is a sad fact that the nations of Europe which are such close neighbours do not really know one another at all and have neglected the opportunities for contact which technical progress has offered them. Wireless, the press, the cinema, cheap and rapid transportation from one country to another—alas, they have left the old prejudices born of ignorance just as they were before. The situation is really worse than it was in the time of our fathers because there is no longer any excuse for ignorance and prejudice. Nevertheless, technical progress holds great possibilities for the future. Visits by young people to other countries in which contacts are made with other youth organizations can be a precious source of conciliation. The press, too, can help to promote international understanding by fair and objective reporting. Again, it is of the first importance that school text-books,

especially those in history, should be written in the spirit of fairmindedness and not in that of glorification of one's own country and contempt for those of others. Everywhere in education the common cause of mankind should be stressed. Human history is a history not only of wars, but also of discoveries and spiritual victories which concern the whole of mankind. Children will think with more respect of another nation if they hear of the really great men and women whom it has produced, who not only served their own country but mankind at large. The problem of economic and moral recovery is in the last analysis a question of education in the broadest sense of the word.

The next generation must be wiser, broader in outlook and in sympathy, and stronger in faith than our own. And there is no doubt that the teachers of the world will be ready to educate the citizens of to-morrow in that spirit. They must be permitted and encouraged to do so, just as to-day they are sometimes forced to be small and narrow-minded to please their masters. The teachers of Europe will do their duty towards their brothers in other countries but the statesmen must first remove the real reasons for unrest and unhappiness. It is for such statesmen, men of wisdom, practical sense, courage, and a vision that goes beyond the next election, that we are longing. It is for such broad-minded and truly international leadership that we are waiting anxiously.

SECTION II

THE NEW OUTLOOK IN EDUCATION

A NEW WORLD IN THE MAKING

BEATRICE ENSOR

PART I

THE world we live in is a world of social chaos. Its problems are so vast that the ordinary man is inclined to think he can do nothing about them; even the experts are at a loss. But the problems and the chaos are of human origin, there is nothing wrong with the world itself. It is the men and women who inhabit it and their relationships which have caused the chaotic state of to-day. By radical changes alone can we salvage our civilisation, and these can be brought about only when a sufficient number of men and women desire them. Here lies the power of the educator: he is shaping the humanity of the future. It is therefore essential that teachers should have a clear view of their goal.

The main fault of to-day is that we are papering up the cracks of the old world and patching its faults—that is one of the prime causes of world unrest. We must build for a new social order upon foundations that are sure. Each nation must have access to the raw materials it needs. Wars and the treaties that follow them may re-divide the world but they cannot solve these problems. Raw materials must be distributed by a peaceful settlement. And here the rôle of the educator is of supreme importance, for we must have a majority of people with both vision and goodwill.

Man is being forced into world unity. Through fast methods of transport and communication, through telegraph, wireless and television, space has been annihilated. The world has been made into a living organism with a swift circulation of ideas and a sensitive nervous system, that reacts instantaneously to events in any part of the world. Social evolution has lagged behind scientific progress: the importance of each new invention is more quickly realized for use in destructive warfare than for building up the new social

order. We have created a world organism but instead of re-acting emotionally and mentally to unity, we persist in setting up barriers that separate man from man and nation from nation.

It is a mad world we live in. There is food enough for everybody, and food is destroyed because it cannot be sold at a profit by a particular group, while thousands starve. There is work enough for everyone and yet there are millions of unemployed, some of them on the dole learning to be unemployable. Machinery can produce an age of abundance with fewer working hours and yet masses are still economic slaves. Huge tracts of land remain unpopulated yet there are countries teeming with millions which are unable to find room for expansion. Man is faced with greater leisure than ever before, but is unable to find peace and happiness within himself. He is unprepared for creative activity so rushes out to be passively entertained by external stimuli. On the international scale conference after conference fails to agree to any rational scheme of international co-operation in economics, production, distribution and disarmament.

The conflict lies between two ideals of social life. The one believes in the ultimate rationality and sanity of man, the other denies it. Dictators in totalitarian states declare that the average man, however well educated and highly developed, is nowhere good enough to allow the community to control itself. But, we, who believe in democracy not merely as a political end, but as a spiritual goal, have more faith in human nature. Nevertheless we admit that, up to now, democracy has not functioned as well as it might, largely because of the fact that free educational facilities have not been made available to every child, irrespective of class, race, caste, colour and creed; consequently democracy is hindered by millions of unintelligent voters. We of the Fellowship believe passionately that only in a democracy is there freedom for the development and flowering of the human personality. People in the totalitarian states are driven, by insecurity, want, suffering and impossible demands from victors, to desire above all, order, security, and

economic stability, and so they yield their destinies to the power of a single man. But dictatorships can only be a passing phase in history, for man has a fundamental urge for freedom. It must be acknowledged that much can be accomplished swiftly by dictatorships; obstacles can be swept out of the way, and things done more quickly than by the slower road of democratic procedure. But the price is very high: it is no less than the trampling down of the spiritual freedom of the individual, the destruction of those higher values which ultimately give unity as well as strength to a people.

We must have a long view in education, for evolution is a slow process. We cannot change the thinking of centuries in a few short years, but ours is the task of laying the foundations. If these foundations are to be 'well and truly laid' we must be clear in our thinking and sensitive to the characteristics of the new social order to which we desire to give birth. We must realize that all the totalitarian states are using education as the means of perpetuating their own form of government. They have—with what we believe to be a wrong motive—done much in educational reform. They are using their understanding of the psychology of youth to awaken the ideal glorification of the state through the sacrifice of the individual. Spectacular and dramatic coups follow each other and arouse popular emotions at the cost of intelligent thought. We are doing practically nothing in democratic countries to ensure the continuance of democracy. There is no clarion call to youth, and youth if it thinks at all, is sadly puzzled; it is not willing to die for a mistaken ideal. It remembers that men went into the Great War to end war, to make a world safe for democracy, and seeing the result it is sceptical as to whether war can ever end war, whether through dying or being maimed it can save democracy. Rather must it be taught to believe that only by living, thinking, and feeling the right way can democratic ideals be firmly established.

The failure of the League of Nations, the apparent victorious and successful developments in non-democratic coun-

tries may well make some of us despair who hoped so much that there were possibilities of establishing a new social order by peaceful means.

'*Reculer pour mieux sauter*' is an old saying. This is a wonderful age to be alive in. There is as much courageous pioneering to be done as in any other age. Our forefathers conquered continents, turned nature to the use of man, produced scientific inventions that have given us to-day's amazing world. For us the great adventure of producing human beings willing to co-operate in a common structure to make full use of man's technical achievements for the benefit and not the destruction of our civilization. Some may say it is too late, that we cannot avoid war; but we teachers are dealing not with humanity of to-day, but of to-morrow. Even if there is a war, and God forbid it should be so, there will be a period of re-building afterwards.

Training is needed for this new kind of pioneering. Part of our work at these conferences is to confer as to the type of education which will fit the next generation to have both the will and the knowledge necessary.

No man can fail to realize, from a study of the trends of to-day, that some kind of common organization of world affairs is inevitable: that the sovereign state is a thing of the past. The day is coming when hours of labour and rates of pay must be settled internationally, when the control of credit and raw materials will no longer be in the hands of national governments, when the commodities necessary for mere existence will cease to be produced and distributed for private profit without reference to the needs of the world as a whole, when minorities will no longer be brutally persecuted. In the material world we must have universal organization and order, we must be willing to sacrifice inflated nationalism for the good of the whole. In the realm of the spirit we can have more freedom to preserve our own individual and national cultures. Only when we have evolved socially as far as we have technically can we have the ultimate ideal—a Commonwealth of Nations. The British Commonwealth is a fine training ground. If only the United

States would join with us whole heartedly we could secure peace in the world and that opportunity to evolve democratic ideals which we feel must be the ultimate goal of all our educational efforts.

PART II

The Rôle of Education

A child is born into the world with infinite possibilities. Ours is the task of developing and encouraging those tendencies which make the kind of adult who will co-operate in bringing about this new social order. To do this we must envisage the primary function of education as opportunity for the growth of the individual, and the developing in him of qualities of character. The acquiring of knowledge, important as it is, must be a secondary consideration, but with the new methods of education there need be no clash. The first essential is a common philosophy of education: we must be agreed in principle what we are educating for.)

The second essential is to educate public opinion to realize the importance of education. We must be prepared to spend more money. Australia spends on education too little per head of the population. Money can always be found for industrial development, for research, for defence, and yet it is on the quality of the human material of the country that its future depends. The prestige of teachers must be as high as that of other professions, law, medicine, church or business. They must be as well paid so as to attract to the teaching profession the best type of men and women.

The training of teachers should be as thorough as the training for these other professions. We would not dream of allowing a medical man with one year's training to deal with the bodies of children, and yet we are prepared to allow teachers with one or two years' training to deal with the psyche of children, which is more delicate and important than the physical body.

Schools and teachers must be freed from the rigidity of the present systems. In the swift expansion of state educa-

tion it is inevitable that standardization should have been over emphasized. Centralization which gives the director of education powers paramount to a dictator is incompatible with democratic ideals. Classification of teachers for promotion as the result of inspection makes experimentation and progress almost impossible. It produces the wrong type of human relationships between inspectors and teachers, depriving the former of their real function of guiding and stimulating. A syllabus issued merely as a suggestion tends to become arbitrary and imposed, and therefore it over emphasizes factual knowledge at the expense of character building and the creative arts.

Examinations as they exist to-day must be abolished; they are blocking the way to real education, and have been proved to be ineffectual tests either of knowledge or of individuality. Compulsory schooling should be extended to 16 years of age; it is between 14 and 16 that much that is of importance to a democracy can be taught. By allowing children to leave school at 14 much of the earlier training is wasted, and it is during the emotional period of adolescence that character and attitude formed earlier can be stabilized and directed.

These years of schooling should be freed from the shadow of the university. Only a very small percentage of the children in elementary and secondary schools go on to the university and yet the curriculum as a whole is planned as a preparation for higher education. With a good all round foundation the children who are fitted and propose to continue their studies can easily prepare for this after 16.

This would free the school curriculum from much useless dead wood, and enable a curriculum related to life and its needs to be introduced. A certificate of attendance and some classification based on progress in school should satisfy employers. A larger ratio of teachers to pupils would ensure smaller classes and avoid regimentation.)

These are all radical administrative changes that would have far-reaching influences on education. One would like to see a national commission appointed, to consist not only

of leading educators but of other prominent men and women, for the purpose of considering the reorganization of education from the standpoint of the future welfare of the nation.

If our belief in democratic ideals were completely genuine our actions would show that we realized that in a democracy no statesman can carry out legislative and economic reforms without an intelligent electorate. But since, as yet, it evidently is not, let us consider what we as educators can actually do, without far-reaching administrative changes.

What Might be in Education

Man must have a spiritual foundation, for upon his faith depends his belief about the purpose and function of man on earth, and happiness can result only from fulfilling that function. Hence the educator must supply the child with opportunities of forming his basic philosophy.

We can help each child to develop along his own particular line, thus diminishing the inhibitions and the frustrations that so many of us suffer from to-day. This means introducing a rich environment, so that each child may find the materials for his own growth. (Education should provide for the needs of the whole child.) In the schools of to-day the emotional side is neglected. Art, music, drama, handwork are as important as mathematics, science or classics.

We can prepare children to use their leisure. At present education is divorced from life, and youth looks upon education as 'schooling,' something that can be completed in a few years. The present type of education deadens imagination, creative ability, and kills any zest for learning.

If education is to be a continuous process, we must lay the foundation for each child both to desire and to be able to continue educating himself after leaving school. Above all let us teach children to like reading and make books available to them.

We can eliminate fear—fear that is the greatest factor in many of our world problems. Discipline from within must be substituted for discipline from without. The New Education began as a protest against the drilling and mould-

ing of the children to take their place in a rigid and highly elaborate society. The reaction from this compulsory attitude led to a violent swing of the pendulum in some free schools. Children were given enormously increased freedom by parents and teachers fearing to correct or even to advise, lest any such interference should thwart their growth. But this was licence and not freedom. Psychology has taught us that little is gained by punishment. If a child's behaviour is anti-social we must discover the cause and try and remove it. Corporal punishment is inexcusable—future generations will consider our use of beating as barbaric as we consider the treatment of children in mines and mills a hundred years ago. Psychological clinics should be available to aid teacher and parent when necessary.

We can train children to be citizens of a democracy by helping them to react co-operatively instead of individually, by teaching them to be willing to sacrifice themselves for the good of the school and to give as well as to get. Prizes, competitive marks, places in class all tend to develop a competitive attitude. We must also teach them judgment and see that they acquire the ability to choose their representatives wisely. We must give them a standard of values so that they will have the power to discriminate.

We can introduce social studies that will give them opportunities to study current events, to discuss world problems. In this way we may hope to evoke attitudes that will be helpful towards the solution of these problems.

We can reform our teaching of history, and no longer glorify war and conquest. We can make children realize both scientifically and ethically that selfishness is the supreme negation of life.

We learn only through experience. Sanderson of Oundle, that great educator, said 'the school must be a model of the world as we would love to have it' and the school must therefore be a miniature community in which the children can practice democratic citizenship and can, through the new methods of education, be prepared to take their place in the larger community.

Important as it is, the school is only one factor in education. Education begins at home, but even here teachers can help by forwarding parent-teacher co-operation. We must cease to pigeon-hole the child into 'the child at school' or the 'child at home' and the 'child in society.' Rather must we gain the co-operation of the parent, teacher, medical man, priest, social worker, and artist in the task of educating the children of the nations.

The Fellowship in all its conferences and in its sections, strives to bring this co-operation about.

We must all co-ordinate our efforts and use every available means of wider education — libraries, broadcasting, films.

In the educational philosophy of the Fellowship there are many social implications, and a reorientation towards life. Real and applied Christianity, if you prefer to call it so. The founder of Christianity was the greatest of philosophers and social reformers. He proclaimed the value of the individual, denied in the totalitarian states.

The Fellowship is non-sectarian and non-political in the narrow sense. It is the only world-wide association of educators, and was founded during the war to draw together those who felt that through education it is possible to create a different attitude towards life and thus establish better social relationships.

The Fellowship has purposely refrained from formulating any dogma in the field of education. It has not even urged the advisability of any particular form of school room procedure, recognizing that new education is primarily a thing of the spirit, the fruits of which are new relationships between child and teacher, and between child and child, new attitudes towards learning, towards authority, and one might also say towards life itself. As the educator's unconscious influence is more potent than his conscious teaching, the Fellowship demands of its members that they try to live their own lives in accordance with its principles.

A clear vision of the goal, a passionate belief that true democracy is worth striving for, makes of teaching a glorious adventure.

SCHOOL AND SOCIETY

I. L. KANDEL

THE problems that arise out of the relationships between school and society are not new; they emerged as soon as there arose a body of adults who recognized the duty of educating the younger generation. Education has always been a social process in the sense that it is through education that the individual is initiated into the culture of the group so that he may find his place as a member of the society to which he belongs. When society established the school as a formal institution for the education of its youth, it was at once confronted with the task of selecting from its own group culture those aspects that it regarded as the most important for its own survival, stability and perpetuation. At an early stage there arose the problem as to the degree to which society should control the process of education.

This problem was simple as long as societies were small and homelovers and as long as their cultures were simple. It became more difficult as the interests and activities of a society grew more complex, as changes took place with greater rapidity, as ideas and ideals were modified, and as the tasks which each individual was called upon to perform became more varied and complex. In a simple social group much of what is to-day regarded as important in education is taught by methods of apprenticeship of the young to the old; the school as such is given the task of transmitting the tools of learning and the common body of ideals and ritual upon which the survival of society depends. As the life of a society becomes more complex more and more functions are transferred to the school as the formal agency of education. Thus the earliest task of the school was to teach the fundamentals of learning; later new subjects were added to the curriculum, and the school became responsible for teaching such practical subjects as manual work and domestic arts, for physical and health education, for moral and social training and for vocational training.

The school thus came to be looked upon as an agency

created by society to carry out certain social purposes—those of conservation and transmission in order to ensure the survival and stability of society.

More progressive societies, however, began to recognize early that mere conservation without provision for adaptation to changing demands leads to social stagnation. Such societies made provision for the training of some members of the group for growth beyond the type, and their education was directed to the development of a critical attitude, of freedom and intelligence to modify and adapt social conditions to new needs.

To-day the fundamental issue in education is to determine on which of these two aims—reproduction of this type or growth beyond the type—the emphasis should be placed. It is the issue between education for democracy and education for confusion, between education for enlightenment or training for uncritical acquiescence, between education for intellectual freedom and progress or indoctrination in a fixed ideology. The issue may be stated more simply in the form of a few questions:

Shall youth be moulded to a pattern or shall their intelligence be developed for freedom?

Shall the individual be sacrificed to the state or shall the state, because it rests upon the will of its citizens, provide such conditions that through education the individual will be better informed about the world in which he lives, develop better insight into its problems, and through training arrive at his own decisions?

The issue in a word is between education for living in and for democracy and education for life under dictatorship. The problem of education in a dictatorship is far simpler than in a democracy because the aims of the dictator state can be defined so much more clearly. Having defined its principles, then the dictator state can adapt education to those principles very simply. If a 'Hitler is the law and the will of his people' or if a 'Mussolini is always right,' the goal of education is simply to indoctrinate the individual into such beliefs—far different from the task of developing each

individual as a human personality. It is far more difficult, again, to train each individual to think for himself in a democracy than it is to train an individual under a regime where a Bureau of Thought Supervision is attached to the national Department of Education or where a Minister of Propaganda makes the statement that 'anyone is free to grumble and to criticize the government if he is not afraid to go to a concentration camp.' The teachers in a democracy labour under far more serious difficulties in trying to cultivate a critical attitude in their pupils than do teachers under a form of government where credulity, submissiveness, docility and confusion are the ends to be achieved and everyone waits each morning for the officially censored newspaper in order to decide what he should know, think or believe for that day.

Dictatorships start with an emphasis on duty and sacrifice, physically and intellectually, while democracies are founded upon the rights of the individual to freedom of movement, freedom of worship, freedom of thought and freedom of expression, but too often without an adequate emphasis upon the cultivation and exercise of a sense of obligations and responsibilities. It is this weakness in democracy—that is its cult of individualism without a corresponding feeling of social responsibility—that is always attacked by those who seek to defend dictatorships. The challenge cannot be ignored. On the other hand, dictatorships or the totalitarian states claim to have a fixed and unchangeable ideology, and fail to recognize that the democratic form of government or the democratic way of life is an adventure, always experimental and able to adapt itself to changing conditions.

A dictatorship may be built up on logic, but this English-speaking view has been best stated by Samuel Butler in *The Way of All Flesh*: 'Extremes alone are logical but they are inhuman; the mean alone is practicable and it is illogical.' Dictatorships are based upon the omniscience of an individual leader or a party and depend upon what William Chamberlin has described as 'new forms of tyranny' which are

common to all. The English-speaking attitude—an attitude common not only to the British Commonwealth and the United States but also to the dwindling number of non-English-speaking democracies—has been admirably stated by Earl Baldwin in a discussion of the British Constitution:

‘One of the most interesting features about it historically is that the constitution was not evolved by logicians. The British Constitution has grown to what it is through the work of men like you and me—just ordinary people who have adapted the government of the country in order to meet the environment of the age in which they lived, and they have always preserved sufficient flexibility to enable that adaptation to be accomplished.’

Here is the real issue in education at the present time—whether the individual is to be trained to accept without question the dictates of a leader or of a party that claims omniscience or whether he is to be made informed, enlightened and intelligent about the problems of society. In the words of Earl Baldwin in his address on *The Torch I Would Hand On*, ‘if the liberty of the individual is to be preserved, it is vital that the individual should know what is going on, should form his own opinion and give his judgment. For that is the foundation of orderly democratic government.’

A democratic society must accordingly provide for the dissemination of those ideas and ideals upon which its stability and survival depend. The methods by which these ideas and ideals will be disseminated will be those that will call forth and challenge the intellectual interest and activity of the learner. But democracies must go beyond this primary task, and cultivate enlightenment and understanding and train each individual for freedom and for that readiness, which is essential, to accept the methods of argument and discussion as the basis of settling conflicts and promoting social progress.

And yet elements characteristic of dictatorships may be found in democracies largely as a result of traditions built up in the nineteenth century. Among these elements are

the emphasis on the transmission of knowledge through prescribed syllabuses, control by inspection and examinations, and curtailment of the teacher's freedom, while profession is made that pupils must be trained for free and intelligent citizenship. If the school is to mean anything for society then it must be *in* as well as *of* the society which it is to serve; it must prepare for the world in which the pupils are living and growing up. There must in the curriculum be a realistic approach to life, and the work of the school must start with the environment in which the pupils live and must gradually expand and enrich that environment. Only through a realistic approach can the children of a democracy be brought to an understanding of the world in which they live, of the issues which confront them, and of the methods by which such issues can be met. To have a vote in the selection of a government is of the essence of futility unless the casting of that vote is guided by understanding of the conditions involved. To study physics and chemistry at the school level may be a good preparation for examinations and for later study in the university, but to study science in order to understand the world around us, its effects upon our daily lives, and its influence in remaking the world may have more lasting effects. To learn to speak a few sentences of a foreign language may be useful exercise, but to acquire an interest in reading that language in order to understand the mind of a people may be more profitable in the long run for international understanding.

And so it is possible to consider subject after subject and contrast the aims and results of an education directed to preparation for examinations with the results that might be hoped for from an education that seeks through the schools to develop in pupils an understanding of the society and the world in which they are actually living. This does not mean the abolition of examinations, but it does mean that examinations must not dominate education, control the curriculum, subordinate subjects that are not examinable to a place of no importance, or emphasize in other subjects the least valuable aspects because they are examinable.

While the acquisition of knowledge is important in any society, in a democratic society the development of character or of personality—the fullest development of these qualities in an individual that make a good citizen—is more important. But the development of personality can have meaning only in a social setting, and a school that is merely a replica of all other schools may be very successful in providing instruction but may fail in giving an education which is something broader than instruction.

Democracy is the most difficult form of government because it does not depend for its means upon the dictation of a leader from above, but upon the intelligence of each individual citizen. Hence the school in a democratic society must seek to develop in each individual pupil the fullest understanding of which he is capable of the world in which he lives. The school must cultivate (1) a sense of social responsibility; (2) must train the power to think clearly in everyday affairs; (3) must impart a knowledge of the organization, conditions, and problems of the modern world and (4) must inculcate a love of truth and a vehement passion for freedom.

The hope of a democratic society rests upon the ability of each to think for himself, to examine issues critically and to arrive at a decision. But the attainment of this ideal is impossible unless the teachers themselves are free—free because they realize their social responsibilities and free because they are professionally trained for freedom. To attain a condition where teachers are recognized as members of a profession as liberal as any other, both parents and public must themselves be educated to a realization that the end to be achieved in education is a living and growing personality rather than ability to pass examinations. If then teachers are to be free to start with pupils in the environments in which they find themselves, it is obvious that uniformity of practices should not only not be expected but should be discouraged, for the essence of educational as of social progress lies in variety and flexibility.

The function of the state or the society is to provide and

to make as satisfactory as possible the conditions under which education can best be carried on; it should see to it that equality of opportunity is a reality; it should exercise such supervision as will keep teachers abreast of the best that is being done elsewhere; it should insist upon high standards of qualifications and considerate remuneration for teachers.

Having done all this the state through its authority for education should refrain from dictating and prescribing what shall be taught and how it shall be taught in all the classrooms of the country, for to do this would mean that the state seeks to control the free development of social and national culture, and to prevent that adaptation to changing demands by which alone a culture and therefore society can advance. There are to-day other methods for promoting the efficiency of schools and of teachers than by a rigid system of prescription and inspection. And efficiency is as important for a democracy as for a dictatorship, but if school and society under a democratic form of government are to mean anything teachers must be free to adapt the one to the other, always remembering that freedom must be balanced by a sense of responsibility. To expect that intelligent citizens—free to reach their own decisions, with an alert and intelligent understanding of the society in which they live, and conscious of their responsibilities and obligations—to expect that such citizens can be produced by teachers who are themselves in leading strings is to expect the impossible.

ADAPTING EDUCATION TO MODERN NEEDS

E. G. MALHERBE

CRITICIZING and reforming education has of late become one of the most popular forms of indoor sport in this country—in fact, we have had a regular tournament during the past few months. One peculiarity of this sport is that it is apparently enjoyed even by the teachers and educators who are indirectly criticized. They applaud the eloquence of those who condemn the practices of the schools, and attribute the blame for conditions to the examinations, to the inspectors, to the Education Department, to the Minister for Education, and to other teachers. I suppose they may at times feel a certain amount of personal responsibility and resentment, but most of them have heard these criticisms many times before, and they know that they do not need to do anything about them. I suppose the teachers feel that they have to wait on the Department to stimulate them; the Department again has to wait on the politicians, and the politicians wait on the public. So it goes on in a vicious circle. While most of those who are attending this conference seem to be critical themselves concerning present day practices, I am doubtful whether much radical change will result—not because of any lack of desire to bring about such change, but because of an *uncertainty of aim*. Do we know exactly where we are going? Are we not too often merely feeling our way in a fog rather than intelligently contributing to the erection of a structure for which comprehensive plans have been made?

In *Sea Lore* Stanley Rogers writes that 'When a ship is rolling down to her scuppers in a heavy gale the passengers grow nervous and begin to regret their past sins, but when the same ship is groping her way slowly through a thick fog the passengers go to bed and sleep soundly. Yet, paradoxically enough, *the greatest peril at sea is the fog*. It has been the cause of more disasters than all the storms that ever

blew.' (Quoted by T. H. Briggs in *School and Society*, Vol. 45, No. 1158).

As I said, there has been much criticism of education, not necessarily by the overseas speakers but also by the rank and file themselves. Let it be hoped that this breeze of criticism, if you do not like to call it a storm exactly, which the N.E.F. Conference has caused in this continent, will blow away the fog of uncertainty, if not complacency, through which education was looked at in this great country.

You have during the last weeks been exposed to such a variety of impressions, many of which, if they were not conflicting, were actually confusing, that I suppose you feel like the person who told me after one of the Conferences that he felt like an *Encyclopedia Britannica* that had become unbound, and had lost its index. I confess that I have somewhat of the same feeling, particularly as I have been asked to speak to you on this last day of the Conference on a subject that is very difficult because it is so wide. In fact the whole Conference dealt with this subject. What I shall try to do, therefore, in the time that is allowed to us, is to draw together a few of the main threads of the Conference.

You will notice that in the main the Conference has dealt with three fundamental questions:—

- (a) The problem of the ultimate aim which determines all educational effort; that is, *why* and for what do we educate.
- (b) The problem of method; that is, *how* shall we set about achieving the aim which we have set before ourselves.
- (c) The problem of the curriculum—that is, *what* shall we teach, and when?

It is obvious, of course, that this is a somewhat arbitrary and theoretical analysis of processes in which every teaching act involves all three aspects. Strictly, they cannot be separated. Still, this analysis might serve as a useful line to follow in summarising the main trends of this Conference.

The Problem of Aim

The aim of education, as was pointed out repeatedly, is determined not merely by the type of society we wish to create, but ultimately by the aim of life itself. This problem has become a very difficult one to answer in modern times, particularly because of the tremendous changes that are taking place. The world has always been changing, but during the last few decades the rate of change has been accelerated to a degree unparalleled in history. As my countryman, General Smuts, pointed out, *humanity has struck its tents and is on the march.*

Some of these changes are the aftermath of the Great War, but many have their roots in pre-war conditions. Two of the latter are to my mind outstanding and important. The first, that we are marching on from one system of society to another, namely from a middle class democracy to a proletarian democracy; the second is the enormous progress made in the field of science and technology, which in their advance are changing the face of the earth, and creating problems in our civilization of enormous magnitude for all who are interested in the fate of the human race.

This is a time when it is particularly important to think clearly and to have vision. Let me quote to you the remarks of the late Dr. Van der Leeuw, which were the last words he uttered at the 1934 N.E.F. Conference in South Africa before leaving our country to meet his death in a solo flight across the Continent of Africa:—

Without Vision the People Perish

Everywhere people ask why responsible statesmen do not do something to save this world from imminent disaster, while politicians blame their nations for not allowing them to effect the necessary changes. Thus, while crew and passengers argue, the ship drifts to destruction. All seem caught in a vicious circle; meanwhile those who understand what is happening look on. One would like to see them take action, but it seems a strange paradox of our days that those who understand do not act, and those who act do not understand. Perhaps it is always the characteristic of the thinker that he is slow to act, and not ruthless enough to be successful in political action. The result, however, is that the actual revolutionary changes are brought about by the instincts and

passions of the masses, whose rebellions are justified by their suffering, but who are not by that suffering qualified for leadership. This is the tragedy of our times.

We must ask ourselves what we, as educators, can do in this world crisis. The general feeling is that the educator is powerless, that he can do nothing and that action in such a crisis must come from those who, along legislative or revolutionary ways, can effect a change.

Yet, neither legislation nor revolution is creative; man alone is creative. *Laws only confirm, they do not create. Revolutions do but remove obstacles, they, too, do not create.* In a law a man may say what he *intends* to do, by a revolution he may gain the *power* of acting, but it is always man who has to do the creative work; behind all political changes, all economic reconstruction, stands living man.

When we speak of a social order, an economic system, or a form of government, we are apt to think of them as things, objects, which can be changed outside of man. This is where Karl Marx and his followers went wrong. Yet, if all human beings suddenly disappeared from this earth, there would not be anything left of all these social forms. There would be nature, there would be empty cities, and factories, there would be books, but no one to read them, meaningless, inanimate objects in the midst of nature. The 'social order,' the 'economic system,' the 'form of government,' the educational system, would have disappeared with man, in whom and by whom they exist. They are living relations from man to man; created by man, they live in him and disappear with him. Therefore man, individual, living man is primary in all social changes, in him they begin and end, on his attitude and understanding they depend. It is to living man that the power has been given to deal with the ultimate reality of human existence.

Here lies the tremendous power of the educator. It is exactly with these living human beings that he deals, not with the humanity of the present, but with the living human beings of the future, who carry that future in themselves, without whom it cannot be.

What greater power could be put into the hands of any man than that which has been put into yours?

This question of aim, as I said, is a very important one. When I used to study education on the Continent and in England, I found that my professors concerned themselves most of the time with the philosophical discussion of aim, and seldom got beyond it. When I went to America to study education, there I found that the educational thinkers were not very much interested in these philosophical speculations about the aim of education. They said, in fact: 'It does not matter where we are going, as long as we

keep going. We would rather be on the move than sitting still deliberating as to where we should go in education.'

Their position is somewhat like that of the Great Dane which was found in the dog box of the train without a label. He had eaten his label, and there was no indication of his destination. This is the position of many educators. They feel that the aim is somewhere inside them, but they have only a very vague idea concerning it.

This problem of aim is closely correlated with the problem of the kind of society for which we wish to educate. In order to come to clear terms I would say that it is the function of education to-day to do two things—

- (i) education must reproduce the type;
- (ii) it must also provide for growth beyond the type.

(i) One of the main functions of education is to transmit the accumulated experience of the race from one generation to the other. Concretely it means the transmission of the culture of the particular group into which the child is born. In other words, *education, unconsciously as well as consciously, seeks to reproduce the type.* Children, when born into a particular nation or cultural group, are subject from birth onwards to forces which work through suggestion and imitation as well as through organized effort, e.g., all the elaborate machinery of teaching in the home, church, school, and of propaganda by the state. The conscious and unconscious motive behind education is to mould the individual into a type so that he will be a member of the group and fit as perfectly as possible into the ways of that group. In short, he must cause as little trouble as possible to his family, town or nation. This is an absolutely necessary function of education if people are to live in groups happily and effectively.

Reproducing the type is a biological necessity. For example, the public school in England aims at producing a particular type—a very fine and useful type, fitting very picturesquely and effectively into the English society. Some of the Dominions, so impressed are they by this type, are inclined blindly to reproduce the same type without

reference to the peculiar needs and changed conditions of the Dominions.

Over-emphasis of this function of education, namely, the reproduction of a particular type, leads not only to a very one-sided education, but is fraught with danger. We see the extreme to-day in the totalitarian states, which are interested chiefly in the reproduction of one single type. Whether they are Nazis, Fascists or Communists, they believe not only that the type is an all-sufficient personality, but also that true personality can be produced in no other way. *Growth beyond the type is an unpermissible thing*—a monstrosity which is like an alien poison in the tribe, or at best, just nothing at all. You can see that the exaggeration of this point of view where education seeks to make all people conform to one particular pattern will prevent the growth of individuality which is of such supreme value at the present day.

We come, therefore, to the second function of education, namely—

(ii) Education must also provide for growth beyond the type. In other words, it must allow scope for individuality and initiative, otherwise education is not worthy of the name. What is more, it must actively foster individuality. If this aspect be denied or starved, how can education ever claim to make any contribution towards progress or development? In fact, this second function of education constitutes the very essence of democracy which gives the right to a minority to become a majority. In the totalitarian states this is not allowed. As soon as there is a minority which attempts to put its head up it is summarily cut off.

To live creatively, therefore, is the chief aim of education and at this particular stage of our civilization there is no idea which has been more conducive to human progress than this idea of freedom, which, alas, to-day is receding into the background over large areas of the earth. Freedom does not seem to be dear to the proletariat. You would almost think that dictators are dear to them. And with this standardizing of human life, the old home and religious influences which have kept up human character are weakening, and the whole burden of preparing human beings of

the best type for society has fallen on the schools—an enormous burden for them to carry.

Both the above-mentioned functions are necessary, and it is the task of the educator to maintain a fair balance between the two. With the rapid changes, however, taking place in modern society there must be a greater relative danger in neglecting the latter function of education than in under-emphasizing the former. But extremism of any kind is bad. There are protagonists of the new education who, in their enthusiasm for the one aspect, fail to see the legitimacy of the claims of the other. This must be admitted. As things are, however, the inertia in human nature is very great. Society is inherently conservative and averse to change. So there seems to be greater need for enthusiasm and effort in providing for growth beyond the type than in merely reproducing the type. We of the N.E.F. are more likely to be fighting on the side of the angels in fighting for the former ideal than for the latter.

The Problem of Method

In the second place, how do this concept of a changing society, and the function of education as defined above, affect our methods in dealing with children at home and at school.

A number of the newer methods, e.g., the Dalton, Winnetka, Decroly and Project methods, were explained to you. This aspect involved discussions on child psychology, examinations, inspection, administration, etc., which vitally determine method. Let me warn you that the N.E.F. is not an agency for collecting and disseminating a series of new gadgets or tricks or devices in education. It is a much more profound thing. It aims at the creation of a new point of view. Those who came to get a collection of gadgets or tricks at this Conference will be disappointed. The newness of the new education does not lie in such things. In fact, many of those so-called new methods parading under new and imposing names are as old as the hills.

Take, for example, the Greeks; we must all admit that they had a very fine educational system. Their method was individual. Further, like the most modern schools of

to-day, they taught music, drawing, poetry, pottery, and the fox trot. Their motto was 'Give us the frills of education, and we care not for the three R's.' And behold what a fine culture and civilization they built up!

In our discussions I think the conclusion was reached that the younger generation will best be able to adapt themselves to changing conditions if we use such methods as will put a premium on initiative and clear thinking. At the same time the whole educative process should be actuated by a spirit of co-operation and love. In the determination of human relationships for the future, methods are extremely important, because *methods more than anything else determine mental attitudes*, which are, after all, the only things which genuinely carry over from the school into the lives of people.

Lastly, we have the problem of the content of education—that is, what to teach, and when. The curriculum is fundamentally a selection of certain elements from the accumulated experience of the race which adults regard as so important for transmission to children that they are not prepared to take any chances with them, but crystallize them into syllabuses and text books, and force children to learn them. Life is, however, so vast, so complex, that it is very difficult to know just what elements should be selected.

As a guide in this matter, let me give you a few principles. These apply chiefly to that difficult field of education, namely, the education of the adolescent.

In the first place, utilize in the curriculum such activities as can be rendered perceptibly significant to the children.

In other words, make your curriculum worthwhile for the children as far as it goes. Too often our curriculum has been based upon the assumption that all the children who start the subject will continue it for five or six years. In actual fact, of any 100 children who start school, only about six or seven pass matriculation and only three go to the University. The interests of the 97% are often sacrificed for the benefit of the interests of the smaller minority who have the money, as well as the brains to go on to a higher education.

Next, if you consider the fact that such a large proportion of your pupils in this country are pupils living in a rural environment, who will have to make a living on the land as primary producers, then the following formulation of the function of the rural school may be of assistance to you. First, *education should enable the individual to control his environment more effectively.* By this I mean that whatever education may do besides, it should prepare the person for a vocation, because a vocation is the handle by which human beings control their environment. Here I wish to make a special plea for the introduction of agricultural education as a central core of the work in rural areas. This formulation of the aim of the rural school emphasizes the active principle in man, and is to be distinguished from the principle of mere adaptation to environment, which is too often purely a passive process. As a result of the latter point of view, people are so often more or less powerless victims of their environment. This applies particularly to rural areas.

Besides training the individual to control his environment, *education in rural areas should, in the second place, also compensate individuals against the deficiencies of their environment.* There is no getting away from the fact that most occupations to-day, owing to the increased specialization in industry, are limitative and deterministic in their effect upon the individual's life. This applies particularly to children in rural areas where they are forced to live in isolation from their fellow men simply because their fathers happen to be farmers or station owners.

Amongst the chief compensating agencies which can operate through the school are:—

(a) *Libraries:* To cultivate a love for reading is probably the most important result that can be attained by any form of education, because it is the foundation of further education. It is better, I feel, to have a rural school with only two teachers and a good library than a school with three teachers without a library.

(b) *The Cinema:* By the use of instructional films in schools, rural children can be compensated largely for the deficiencies of their isolation. We have found this par-

ticularly effective in South African schools, where the Union Government has established a national film library to which the Provincial (State) Departments contribute £2,600 per annum for the purchase of educational films.

(c) The greatest compensating force, however, is the *good teacher*. Here the function of the teacher should be chiefly to interpret life to the children rather than merely to teach them the contents of text-books. For this the teacher needs life experience, and it is very valuable if teachers could have had some experience in other walks of life besides teaching, because such experience will enable them to give that realistic approach to education which is so sorely needed in our schools.

This compensatory function of education should be recognized—particularly in the educational system of young pioneer countries like Australia, and my own country, where we live isolated by great distances from the cultural sources to be found in the older countries of Europe. It has sometimes been said that the Australian or South African youth is intellectually and culturally backward when compared with boys of their own age in England and Europe. It must be remembered, however, that there are, besides the school, other influences of a formative nature impinging upon children in Europe through their environment, which we may describe as their *incidental* education. They are surrounded by monuments of history and art, and they imbibe these things with the air they breathe, consequently it is not so much to better systems of schools in other countries, as to the relative poverty in the incidental education of our youth, that this backwardness might be ascribed—if it is a fact, as some people in authority seem to believe.

Consequently, the burden placed on the school as a compensating influence against the deficiencies of our environment in these isolated dominions is a very heavy one, and it is, therefore, all the more necessary that we should pay attention to such matters as art, music, etc., which are too often regarded as mere frills in education, but which, if we can learn anything from the Greeks, are the very foundations of a true education.

In closing this address, I cannot do better than to quote the words of General J. C. Smuts, who has summarized the main points better than I can:

'If I were a dictator I would lay down as a programme of principles for the new education: the building up of individual personality; the encouragement of imagination, not of memory; the feeding of the young mind with interests, ideals, and the joy of life, avoiding repressions; the cultivating of a love of truth, a broad outlook, and objectiveness; a thorough grounding in fundamentals, leaving details to reference books; and the principles of Holism—namely, that in this universe we are all members one of another, and that selfishness is the grand refusal and denial of life.'

THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL AS A PREPARATION FOR LIFE

SALTER DAVIES

WHEN an address has been written it is sometimes difficult to find a suitable title for it. In the present instance, a title has been chosen for me, and I have to supply a suitable address. This is at once a relief and an embarrassment.

Whatever education is or is not, it must be a preparation for life. This, however, does not carry us very far, since the question at once arises: 'What do we mean by "life"?' For centuries men have been disputing about the aim of education. The dispute continues, and will continue, for every definition of education implies a definite attitude towards the most profound problems of philosophy and of religion. It is, therefore, impossible to define the aim of education without defining the aim of life itself. 'At present,' wrote Aristotle in the fourth century before Christ, 'there is difference of opinion as to the subjects which should be taught, for men are by no means in accord as to what the young shall learn—whether they aim at virtue or at getting the best out of life—neither is it clear whether education is more concerned with intellect or with character.' We may hope that these alternatives are not mutually exclusive. To Mr. Worldly Wiseman it may appear that the practice of virtue is inconsistent with getting the best out of life. To Mr. Faithful it is equally clear that it is the virtuous man, and none other, who succeeds in getting the best out of life.

In spite of Charles Kingsley's advice—so often quoted on prize-days at girls' schools: 'Be good, sweet maid, and let who can be clever,' it may be held that the development of the intellect is not only compatible with the full development of character, but is an essential condition of such development.

The aim of the modern educationist is nothing if not comprehensive. He desires his pupils to be virtuous, and

to get the best out of life. He aims at the development of intellect and of character. It is not to be wondered at that this aim is only imperfectly realized in the case of the boys and girls who leave the English elementary school at the age of 14.

The criticism which is most commonly directed against the elementary school is, perhaps, that it fails to give its pupils a sound grasp of the tools of knowledge—the three R's, reading, writing and arithmetic. A London magistrate, for example, discovers that a youth of 19 cannot read. His comment is that 'this state of things reflects no credit upon our educational system.' Such criticism overlooks two facts of material importance. The critic forgets, first, that there are a certain number of boys and girls who, through some mental or physical defect, are incapable of responding adequately to instruction of the ordinary type. These are often in a low standard when they leave school, or, if in a higher standard, promotion has been due, not to their acquirements, but to their age. Secondly, the critics forget the rapidity with which a boy of rather less than average intelligence can forget what he has laboriously acquired in school, if he leaves that school at 14, and is plunged into casual employment, or, worse still, drifts into street-loafing as one of the 'unemployed.' The true moral which the magistrate should draw is that a considerable proportion of the time and energy and money which are expended upon our elementary schools must run to waste until some means are provided for continuing through the early years of adolescence the education which has been begun in the day school.

Sometimes the criticism takes another form, and the elementary school is denounced because it is not sufficiently 'practical,' because the instruction which it gives is not of a kind which is likely to be 'of use' to the children in their after-life. If this criticism is meant to suggest that in the elementary school too little attention is paid to handwork, there is considerable truth in it. In a very large number of schools in this country the facilities for what is generally called practical work are almost non-existent. In many

schools the staffing does not permit of differentiation between the child whose interests are mainly literary and the child whose interests lie rather in the direction of manual activity. Nor can this latter type of child be dealt with adequately until there is a much larger provision than at present exists of rooms equipped for manual work. Such provision is being steadily increased, but its extension involves considerable expenditure and considerable reorganization of schools, and, therefore, must be a gradual process.

Sometimes, however, the critics speak as though they thought that it was the business of the elementary school to give its pupils not only a sound grounding in reading, writing and arithmetic, and some manual dexterity, but also knowledge of, and experience in, the callings which they are likely to follow when they leave school. The farmer complains that the boy who comes to him from the elementary school at the age of 14 to work on the land has not been instructed in the principles of agriculture, or the manager of a newspaper office complains that his latest recruit has left the elementary school without acquiring a knowledge of shorthand. Serious reflection must show the absurdity of such a theory. Even in the smallest and most remote rural schools there are children who will enter trades and professions of manifold kinds. It is not for a moment to be expected that the teacher can give each child specialized instruction devoted towards vocational ends.

The Departmental Committee appointed to enquire into the English educational system 'in relation to the requirements of trade and industry' has just issued its Report. The Committee remark that our present elementary school system is in a state of transition. They observe with approval that, under the stimulus of the 'Hadow Report,' the self-contained school taking children of all ages, is passing away, and the schools are being re-divided into 'primary schools,' taking pupils up to about the age of 11, and 'senior,' 'central,' or 'modern' schools, into which are grouped all the senior children of an area. It is here, says the Report, and particularly in the last year of the school-course, that the link

between education and industry must be forged. It is interesting and encouraging to note that the Committee find that complaints as to the unsuitability of the present elementary curriculum are generally not substantiated, and that this is particularly so in regard to assertions of pupils' ignorance of English. They do not recommend any drastic change in curriculum, but urge that the provision for instruction in handicraft and domestic subjects should be increased, and that these should not merely be added to the time-table as 'special subjects,' but should be correlated and interwoven with the other subjects of the curriculum. They find no reason to criticize adversely the work of the school as affecting the general intelligence and adaptability of school-leavers, but regard the existence of over-large classes and the shortage of provision for organized games as 'grave handicaps.' The Committee also state bluntly that 'authoritative industrial opinion does not want specialized vocational training in the elementary schools,' and they recommend that no such training be introduced. It would seem that all that can fairly be demanded from our elementary schools is that the instruction given shall be directed towards the development of the pupil's manual skill as well as of his literary interests, and that the methods followed shall be such as will help him to appreciate his natural and social environment.

In the reorganized senior schools in Kent, which is still largely a rural area, there is careful co-ordination of out-of-door observational and practical work in horticulture and the care of animals, with the experimental and instructional work of the classroom. The object is not so much to give the boys a mastery of the technical operations of agriculture as to develop in them an interest in, and a love of, the countryside and all that it means—the earth, its trees and flowers and grasses; the beasts of the field and the birds of the air, their care and companionship; seed-time and harvest, and the various duties which belong to the recurring seasons. Such lore is of permanent value to everyone, whether he is to be a labourer on the farm or an artisan in the town, and he who does not possess something of it, whatever be his

material wealth, is a poor man. This is only one instance out of many which might be given of local attempts to adapt the general curriculum of the elementary school to the needs of the locality.

Such local adaptation is a peculiar feature of the English educational system. The President of the English Board of Education can never take out his watch at a certain hour and say that 'At this moment 100,000 children in the schools are doing arithmetic.' There is no cast-iron curriculum which is enforced from above upon the schools. It is a remarkable fact that in the Code no detailed reference is now made to the subjects of the curriculum. The only uniformity of practice that the Board of Education desires to see in the teaching in the public elementary school is 'that each teacher shall think for himself, and think 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. Uniformity in details of practice (except in the mere routine of school management) is not desirable, even if it were attainable. But freedom implies a corresponding responsibility in its use.'

It is profoundly interesting to notice that this elasticity of curriculum has the specific approval of the Departmental Committee on Education and Industry. They remark that, before 1901, the teacher was fairly rigidly confined to certain subjects, and the universal system of examinations involved prescribed methods and very limited objectives. In their opinion, the abolition of this system has given a freedom which has, on the whole, been most beneficial. It is, of course, difficult, particularly for the older generation of teachers, to adapt themselves to the new circumstances, but the Committee believe that this phase is passing, and that the individual responsibility which the present system throws upon the teacher is all to the good.

The Board of Education, in their 'Handbook of Suggestions for Teachers,' deal in detail with the various subjects of the curriculum, but they remark that, while a new degree of proficiency in these subjects is a necessary outcome of a rightly-ordered education, the teaching of the various sub-

jects and the other activities of the school are to be regarded in the light of their contribution towards a general purpose; as means, that is, rather than as ends. 'Preoccupied as teachers must be with means, they sometimes tend to allow the real end of their work to become obscured. When this happens, the loss of that inspiration which a strong sense of purpose affords may cause them to lapse into monotony and routine. Or, on the other hand, they may unconsciously substitute means for ends, allowing certain subjects or methods in which they are keenly interested to take the place of their original aims. In that case their teaching may come to lack proportion, or fail in other ways to meet the actual needs of their pupils. Every teacher should endeavour to conceive his main purpose as clearly as possible, and should constantly review his actual practice in the light of that purpose.'

These words strike the keynote of the English educational system. The subjects of the curriculum are to be regarded '*as means, and not as ends.*' Education is, first and last, a thing of the spirit, concerned with the autonomous development of personality, of character, of mind and of will. It is a spiritual growth which is never completed, a condition of the spirit developing as the individual develops. From its very nature it cannot be imposed from without against the will of the individual. The school curriculum is, therefore, but a means of helping pupils according to their capabilities to realize themselves and to develop a living culture. Literature, science, art, handicraft are effective instruments of education only in so far as they succeed in quickening the individual spirit. Hence it is that the library, the garden, the workshop, the playing-field, may one and all succeed or fail as educational means. Only that has educational value which has meaning to the pupil, and helps in the development of his personality.

All through the school course, with senior children as well as with junior children, we need to concentrate our attention more upon the living subject who is being educated, and less upon the abstract subject which is being taught. There is only one real subject of instruction, and that is the individual child.

I should like to set up in every school this Shakespearian quotation, 'No profit grows where is no pleasure ta'en,' and I am sure that in doing so I should win the approval at least of the pupils. Its application would drive some teachers out of business. I can anticipate the objections of those who, would urge that, to make school-work pleasant, is to remove all incentive to hard work, to deprive our pupils of the discipline of drudgery, and so to send them out into the world ill-prepared for the battle of life. This is a shallow criticism. I know no way of escaping drudgery, but there is a world of difference between the drudgery that is willingly undergone for a clearly conceived end and the purposeless, unmeaning drudgery which in some of the schools still occupies so large a part of the precious school-hours. Nor can I conceive of any worse preparation for life. Accumulation of dead facts, even if they pay in examinations, are an impediment to the growth of mind, and school tasks which have no meaning to the pupil cloud and warp their spirit.

Curious results follow from our forgetfulness that our division of knowledge into subjects is a mere creation of barriers which have no real counterpart in the outside world. I have heard of children who, during a lesson in history, failed to answer a certain question. When the answer was given to them by the teacher, one replied, 'Oh! I knew that, but that is not history, that is geography.' I have heard of schools where the answer to the question, 'Who was the wisest man who ever lived?' would be, before 9.30 a.m., 'Solomon,' and after 9.30, 'Solon.' You may remember, too, the story of the teacher who was shown a fossil by one of his pupils. 'I suppose,' said the child, 'this is as old as the creation.' 'Oh!' said the teacher, 'it is much older than that.'

This departmentalizing of knowledge is a great danger, and somehow or another we must break it down if we are to get adequate results from all the money and effort which we are now expending upon our schools. Such departmentalization is fostered and aggravated by the influence of examinations, which set an entirely fictitious value upon the

power of remembering and reproducing specialized information.

The power of remembering and reproducing facts is of very real value, but, unfortunately, examiners have not yet discovered a method by which they may clearly distinguish between information which has been assimilated and information which has been merely stored for reproduction. It is said that knowledge is power, but knowledge of the latter kind is not only not power, but positively detrimental. Of all the subject-matter with which we deal in school, only that is of value which the pupil can relate to the knowledge which he already possesses, and can weave into the stuff and fabric of his own personality.

When I was a boy at school I spent considerable time during the history period in mastering the details of the warfare which took place between those two parties in England which were known as Yorkists and Lancastrians. I knew the names of all the battles, and, since I was given a mnemonic by which to remember them, I can still state them, I think, with perfect accuracy. The mnemonic was 'All boys now will mention all the horrid, hateful battles that befell'—the first letter of each word being the same as the first letter of each battle—St. Albans', Bloreheath, Northampton, Wakefield, Mortimer's Cross, etc. (I could go through the whole list.) I cannot forget those battles, though the knowledge of them is, always has been, and always will be entirely useless to me. My limited mind has been encumbered with the lumber of futile knowledge.

The Director of Education for Victoria, Mr. Tate, told me, when he was in England some years ago, that he once went into a school in Fiji and heard the native children droning out, 'The Lofoden Islands are off the coast of Norway.' The teaching of geography has improved greatly in the last twenty years, but to many men and women of my generation almost all that remains of the geography teaching which they received at school is a meaningless list of names of capes and rivers and mountains, and so forth. Mr. Tate told me of another school in a district where the inhabitants

were almost entirely occupied with the collection and sale of copra. He found the children doing the sort of arithmetic which we associate in this country with the name of Smith—examples in stocks and shares, and so forth. He took some of the senior boys into a neighbouring barn, where there was a stock of copra, and told them to weigh out a certain quantity. This was not the sort of arithmetic to which they were accustomed, and, though the operation was a simple one, demanding no great amount of calculation or of skill, they were utterly incapable of dealing with it. Their school-work had not only not prepared them for it, but had rendered them powerless.

Many of our text-books in arithmetic are still overweighed with sums far removed from the realities of daily life. Readers of Mr. Anstey's *Vice Versa* will remember how the city merchant, transformed by an unkind fate into the person of a schoolboy, was disgusted by 'the glaring improbability' of the arithmetical problems he was set to work out at school. As Mr. F. J. Gould remarks in his article in *The Education Outlook*, May, 1928:

Intricacies of arithmetic and severities of mathematical study belong to certain vocational apprenticeships, and youth, in view of honourable and useful careers, will cheerfully endure the necessary tasks. But those arduous ways are for adolescence to tread. Earlier years should be free from strain of that character, and arithmetic should imply a pleased appreciation of order and harmony in general, and a personal aptitude for the simple reckonings of ordinary experience and for understanding the broad issues of civic and national finance.

The object of the teacher of English is to teach the boy or girl to read with understanding, discrimination and pleasure, and to express himself, both in speech and in writing, correctly, clearly and agreeably. These aims are often obscured by the undue emphasis which is placed upon formal exercises in English grammar. The great aim of securing concrete appreciation is forgotten. Formal grammar is treated as an end in itself, instead of as only a means of enabling the student to appreciate the construction of a

sentence and the function of words, and to understand and avoid common mistakes.

A teacher of history has to make plain to the child's comprehension the story of the society in which he lives. The details of legislation, of political and religious conflicts should be dealt with only so far as is necessary for an elementary understanding of great changes in national life and of the rights and duties of a citizen of to-day. Above all, history teaching should produce in the child's mind a sense of continuity and of order. This picture of the progress of man throughout the ages should be a fascinating story, and should bring a realization of the kinship of the various nations of the earth. In its place, we too often have a wilful distortion of history to serve the purpose of national or other propaganda. The growth of industry, of art, of science and of social order is lost sight of in a mass of details about wars, some of which, apart from the loss and misery which they caused, have had little or no permanent significance, and about men and women, some of whom attained high positions in the State without achieving anything of permanent importance. The laborious mastering of facts is useless unless these are related to the living present.

The study of geography, again, should enable a child to understand something of the natural phenomena which condition life upon this planet. It should help him to understand something about the distribution of the peoples of the earth, and to realize their mutual inter-dependence. Too often, the human interest of the subject is overlaid by a mass of details which are acquired with difficulty, and quickly dismissed from memory, because their significance has never been appreciated.

Professor Whitehead, in his great book, *Science and the Modern World*, remarks that his own criticism of our traditional educational methods is that they are 'far too much occupied with intellectual analysis and with the acquirement of formularized information. . . . Wisdom is the fruit of a balanced development. It is this balanced growth of individuality which it should be the aim of education to secure.

... When you understand all about the sun, and all about the atmosphere, and all about the rotation of the earth, you may still miss the radiance of the sunset.'

The chief danger which our schools have to face is that of allowing concrete reality to be obscured by abstract categories, of putting the body before the spirit, of mistaking the means for the end. The business of the teacher is not merely or primarily to pass on to his pupils such knowledge as he happens to possess, but so to quicken their spirit that, during hours of work and of leisure, they may be able to live with understanding, with honesty and with delight.

VALUES

The Old Learning and the New Spirit

SALTER DAVIES

SOME time ago I read a book written by a Mr. Alderton Pink, entitled *If the Blind Lead*. Mr. Pink calls himself 'a realist surveying modern culture,' and his argument, briefly, is this. We have no clear idea of what we are aiming at in education, consequently our education is dominated by custom and tradition. 'We are too ready to hoard the useless with the useful, and to accept the outworn standards of another age.' . . . 'One of our most pressing needs is to reorganize our higher education so that the best brains may be directed to labour of social value.'

The present era is one of stress and strain in every country in the world and in almost every aspect of life. Even in normal times education is subjected to constant criticism. It is 'never the time and the place and the loved one all together.' We are teaching the right children the wrong things, or the wrong children the right things—never the right children the right things. It is natural enough that in the 'tumbled house' of to-day the blast of criticism should be blowing about our ears.

Such criticism is not limited to outsiders. The late Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education, Mr. Ramsbotham, said in a recent Speech Day address: 'In education too much attention is paid to the events and thoughts of the past—the ideas that were current and alive in other days, and are obsolete to-day. History is being ruined by the specialist, and so are the classics. There is more joy over the discovery of a lost fact, even if it is only of minor importance, than over the hundred well-established truths that have become trite, and, therefore, tiresome. If half the time were devoted to the present that is squandered on the details of the past we should have a race better informed and better fitted to deal with the problems of to-day.'

Mr. Pink holds that the classics have outlived their usefulness. 'On the other hand,' he says, 'whatever benefits are to be derived from a classical training, they cannot be achieved unless the student devotes the major part of his time for many years to the study of Greek and Latin literature. On the other hand, the need for other forms of knowledge and skill is so pressing in the modern world that he cannot justly be asked to limit his study in this way.'

Mr. Pink is by no means alone in his belief that the classics have outlived their usefulness.

* Sir Richard Paget, speaking at the Industrial Co-Partnership Conference at Oxford, described the kind of school and University education which he believed could alone equip people for the new age of increased leisure which would inevitably come. So long as the Universities demanded the present trivialities for their entrance and preliminary examinations, and did not demand any knowledge of the great fundamentals, so long would the Public Schools continue their hopeless curriculum.

'When I was at Eton,' he said, 'I never heard a word about agriculture, about plant or animal life, or economics, or astronomy, or the laws of health. The battle of British agriculture, up to the present, has been mainly lost in the schoolrooms and playing fields of Eton. The study of Greek and Latin may be interesting as a hobby for certain types of mind, but as an education for tackling the vast problems of the immediate future I suggest that they are utterly fatuous.'

Mr. Ramsbotham's criticism is not directed so much against curriculum as against method. He complains that the classics, like history and other subjects, are taught without being brought into sufficiently close relation with the present. He envisages, apparently, a Greats tutorial at Oxford as beginning with Aristotle and ending with Lenin, whereas Mr. Pink wonders why, 'if the really important matter is Lenin, the discussion should not begin as well as end with him.'

This sort of criticism is becoming more and more common. It behoves us, therefore, to give it very serious consideration.

Unless it is honestly faced and grappled with, there can be little doubt of the outcome. Already in our secondary schools and in our Universities the students of the classics are year by year becoming fewer and fewer, and, before long, the study of Latin and of Greek will be confined to a few scholars here and there, and the mass of our people will be completely cut off from any contact with these ancient cultures. This is exactly what Mr. Pink hopes and expects. The arguments in favour of such a position are obvious enough.

• To-day we live in a new world—a world which seems to have little relation with the past. The discoveries of science have increased our control of natural resources to an almost incredible extent. The improvement in means of transport on the ground, in the water, and in the air have brought within measurable distance the realization of Puck's boast, 'I'll put a girdle round about the earth in forty minutes.'

Wireless has brought the most distant parts of the world into immediate contact with one another. Mechanization has revolutionized our means of production with shattering effect upon our economic and financial systems. The young people of my generation were taught to believe that the population of the world was increasing at a much more rapid rate than the production of the necessities of life, and that at no distant date the world would be faced with starvation. To-day the necessities of life are being produced far more rapidly than they can be distributed and consumed. A little while ago, in Canada, tons of wheat were being burned or used as manure. In Brazil, coffee was being turned into fuel or poured into the sea.

Our modern problem is not one of production, but one of distribution and consumption. Everywhere the machine is ousting human labour. A few girls in a factory equipped with modern machinery can produce goods which only a few years ago demanded the labour of thousands of workmen. In our commercial houses skilled accountants are being replaced by machines which can perform arithmetical computations with inhuman speed and accuracy. At the present moment, in many parts of the world a deliberate check is

being imposed upon the output of machines in order that the figures of unemployment may not suffer a catastrophic rise.

Two workmen were watching the erection of a large building in a northern city in England. The steam excavator was at work transferring tons of earth in a single movement. 'Ah!' said one, 'if they would give each of us a shovel, instead of using that contraption, they could take on a hundred more men.' 'Yes,' said the other, 'and if they would give each man a teaspoon, they could take on a thousand.' In a rightly ordered community the substitution of machine for hand labour would be a blessing to all, instead of, as it is to-day, to some, a curse.

The present crisis in our economic affairs is not merely temporary. Conditions would, doubtless, improve if there were more international co-operation and fewer artificial restrictions, but there can be no reasonable doubt that ultimately any such improvement must be more than offset, so far as unemployment is concerned, by the continued development of machinery. Between the twentieth and the nineteenth centuries there is a great gulf fixed.

Professor Whitehead, in his book, *Adventures of Ideas*, says that 'Our sociological theories, our political philosophy, our practical maxims of business, our political economy and our doctrines of education are derived from an unbroken tradition of great thinkers and of practical examples, from the age of Plato, in the fifth century before Christ, to the end of the last century. The whole of this tradition is warped by the vicious assumption that each generation will substantially live amid the conditions governing the lives of its fathers, and will transmit those conditions to mould with equal force the lives of its children. We are living in the first period of human history for which this assumption is false.' It would seem that the accumulated wisdom and experience of the past can be of little service in solving the problems which face this generation. Our educational theories and practice, as well as our theories in the spheres of economics and finance, need drastic revision.

The importance of this conclusion is all the greater, as it

seems certain that the progressive displacement of human workers by machinery will lead, eventually, to a prolongation of school life. Much sooner, I believe, than most people are now inclined to think, we shall cease to ask whether the nation can afford to build new schools or to employ additional teachers.

It will become obvious that, for the diminished amount of productive labour required, it will be economical in every sense of the word to employ adults rather than children. Moreover, the fall in the birth-rate will bring about a decrease of the elementary school population in England by about a million in the next fifteen years, and the cost of the change will, therefore, be considerably reduced. Even when allowance is made for the withdrawal of juvenile labour, it will become essential to reduce the hours of employment for the adult worker. We shall begin to speak of the increase of leisure rather than of the increase of unemployment, and one of our chief tasks as educationists will be to try to teach men and women to use their increased leisure with advantage to themselves and to the community.

In a society which is suffering changes so rapid and so fundamental, the present tendency to replace the study of the classics by subjects which appear to be more closely related to our present needs will be immensely accelerated, and, unless we change our ways, Greek and Latin will disappear altogether from the curriculum of our schools by a process of gradual elimination. This would be, I think, an irreparable disaster. Now, more than ever before, is the continued study of the life and thought of Greece and of Rome a vital necessity, as an essential link in the history of ideas, and as providing the ideal basis upon which our civilization is built.

I have argued that the present age is faced with new problems—problems which are different in kind from any which have confronted any previous generation—and that we cannot hope to solve these problems if we continue to rely upon our traditional methods of education. It is futile to bring to the problems of the twentieth century nineteenth century minds. This is, I believe, true, but it is only half the truth.

Blind reliance upon traditional methods inevitably provokes an attitude of mind which sees no good in the past and wishes only to break completely with it. The year of revolution is always the year 1—but somehow the old nomenclature returns. We face to-day an economic situation which is unparalleled in history, yet the mystery of human existence remains. The questions, 'Where? Whither? Why?' still vex us, and we cannot rest until we have found some sort of answer to them. 'Every problem,' says Professor Whitehead, 'which Plato discusses is still alive to-day. . . . A great idea in the background of dim consciousness is like a phantom ocean breaking upon the shores of human life in successive waves. Mankind is now in one of its rare moods of shifting its outlook. The mere compulsion of tradition has lost its force. It is our business to re-create and re-enact the vision of the world, including those elements of reverence and order without which society lapses into riot, and penetrate it through and through with unflinching rationality. Such a vision is the knowledge which Plato identified with virtue. In the "rapture of the forward view" we are in grave danger of forgetting those essential qualities which are the basis of human life, and, amid all its changes, remain in essence unchanged.'

There is a school of educational thought which holds that the supreme end of education is self-expression. This doctrine pushed to its extreme leads through individual selfishness and national self-sufficiency to world chaos. Self-expression is not a good thing in itself; it is only good if it is rightly directed. Plato and Aristotle did not make this mistake. To them not self-development, but virtue, was the highest good, not life, but the good life.

The development of the self *in vacuo*—without some end in view—is an impossibility. The phrase which one sometimes hears, 'Education for education's sake,' is meaningless. If education is not allowed to develop itself in accordance with the highest values of life, it will be prostituted to some less worthy end. In Italy, in Russia, in Germany, the dominant principle of the educational system is that of service

and subordination to a particular form of State government. The old liberal theory of individual thought and freedom is anathema. The curricula of the schools and Universities in Germany have been drastically modernized. Not only are the ancient languages and literature dethroned from their old pre-eminence, but also, even in the languages and history of modern peoples, attention is directed, first and foremost, to the events and writings of the last twenty years.

These are the words of the Nazi Minister of the Interior in opening a conference of State Ministers for Education:

The task of the new regime in matters of culture is not only to clear away the lumber of the past 14 years, but also to correct the mistaken cultural policy reaching far back into pre-War years. Liberal ideas in education have thoroughly corrupted instructional methods and the schools. Under their sway the schools have not reared but merely developed their pupils. They have not developed all the qualities of the scholar to the benefit of the nation and the state, but have merely imparted knowledge for the benefit of the individual. They have not formed the German rooted in the people and bound to the state, but have merely served the education of the free individual. They have not ensured the unity of the nation and the devotion of its members to the state, but have promoted the victory of private interests over the state. These individualistic conceptions of education have done much to destroy the national life.

I was looking over the literature syllabus of a German gymnasium the other day. Among the English writers to be read by the pupils are Wells, Drinkwater, Conrad, Galsworthy, Shaw, Kipling, Walpole, Chesterton, and a number of other writers of modern English fiction. Dickens and Jane Austen are, it is true, represented, but Shakespeare and Milton are not so much as mentioned.

In Italy, in Russia, in Germany the teacher in the day-school, the professor in the University, cannot continue to hold his post unless he is prepared to use the particular textbooks and to inculcate the particular doctrines prescribed by the State. This is the morass into which the world has been led through following the will-o-the-wisp of free self-expression. I do not believe that education can be saved from such perversion unless it can recover the old Greek attitude which regarded education not as 'a filling of the mind with

matter, but as a turning of the eye to light,³ until it recognizes as its supreme end the realization of the finite self in the infinite reality which is God—infinite beauty, infinite truth, infinite energy, infinite goodness, in the words of Plato:

ὁμοίωσις θεῷ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν

(‘Likeness to God—so far as this is possible to man.’)

It is futile to expect classics to continue to occupy in the modern scheme of education the place which they have held for generations. Our aim should be—first, to get rid of the learned lumber which has been allowed to accumulate in the curricula of our schools and universities, and to re-create those curricula on a more realistic basis; secondly, to preserve in the minds of the few, and in particular of our future teachers, the spirit of true scholarship; and, thirdly, to incorporate in the subject matter, and in the teaching methods of our schools and universities, not for the few, but for all, the essence of the ancient learning. Until quite recently it has been assumed that the benefits of a classical training cannot be acquired unless the pupil masters the intricacies of Greek and Latin grammar and syntax, and can read the ancient authors fluently in their native tongue. We may agree that the full benefits of such a training can be acquired only in this way, but out of the thousands who begin the weary ascent of Parnassus how many get high enough to see anything of the splendour that was Greece and the glory that was Rome? Is there not another way by which the ordinary pupil, who can never hope to become a classical scholar, may see something of that splendour and that glory?

Professor Gilbert Murray has shown that much of the beauty of the classics can be reproduced in modern translation. You remember his rendering of the chorus from the *Hippolytus*. The moment is one of almost intolerable suspense. The hideous truth which is to blast the unconscious victims is breaking upon the spectators. Like the Psalmist, they sigh for relief from the horror which overwhelms them. ‘O that I had wings like a dove, for then would I fly away, and be at rest.’

Could I take me to some tavern for mine hiding
 In the hill-tops where the sun scarce hath trod,
 Or a cloud make the home of mine abiding
 As a bird among the bird-droves of God.
 Could I wing me to my rest amid the roar
 Of the deep Adriatic, on the shore
 Where the waters of Eridanus are clear,
 And Phaeton's sad sisters by his grave
 Weep into the river; and each tear
 Gleams, a drop of amber, in the wave.

To the strand of the daughters of the Sunset—
 The apple tree, the singing, and the gold
 Where the mariner must stay him from his onset
 And the red wave is tranquil as of old.
 Yea beyond that pillar of the end
 That Atlas guarded would I wend,
 Where a voice of living waters never ceaseth
 In God's quiet garden by the sea,
 And Earth—the ancient life-giver—increaseth
 Joy among the meadows like a tree.

'Translations,' says Benedetto Croce, 'are an impossibility. The translator is faced with the eternal dilemma of "ugly faithful ones" or "faithless beauties."' Professor Murray escapes from this dilemma more happily than most translators. He conveys through a new expression the beauty of the original.

When I was at school, translations were sternly forbidden. They are now regarded as having a rightful place in the scheme of instruction. The ordinary boy or girl is likely to get nearer to an understanding of a chorus of Euripides by reading Murray's translation than by attempting slowly but painfully to construe the Greek. Few pupils who begin the study of Greek reach the stage at which they can read with understanding and pleasure the *Politics of Aristotle* or Plato's *Phaedo* in the original. Through the medium of translation, they can learn something at least of the ancient philosophy and literature of Greece.

The headmaster of an English Public School, not long ago, giving evidence before the Adult Education Committee of the Board of Education, said, 'Practically every year

we give a performance of a Greek play in the summer term, usually one of the beautiful translations of Euripides, by Gilbert Murray. I have found the Greek play very valuable in correcting the over-sentimentality so common to-day. There is something in the austerity, the statuesqueness of the Greek play, and its beautiful convention of the chorus, that carries an extraordinary appeal not only to the boys, but also to the people who come to see us do it. The poor people in the neighbourhood, for instance, would not miss a Greek play for worlds.' He referred also to the Stoneland Players, who have presented Greek plays in a Sussex village for many years. At first the producer had the idea of limiting the performers to students attending the University Extension Course, but this had not proved practicable, so she asked the village choral society to co-operate by chanting Greek choruses:

'The *'Hippolytus'* has been given in five or six seasons, the *'Iphigenia in Tauris'* in four seasons, and the *'Trojan Women'* and *'Oedipus Rex'* twice each. Over forty performances have been given in all. . . . About seventy people took part in the Greek plays, and about three hundred came to each of the performances The actors got far less tired of frequent rehearsals of a Greek play than of a modern one. . . . The Gilbert Murray translations are very rhythmic, and the sound carried the people away. . . . Perhaps the secret of the success of Greek plays is their strong, direct, emotional quality which is to some extent akin to a religious appeal. In the days when drama was universal in English villages, it dealt with religious conceptions. This is true of Greek tragedy.

In addition to the use of translation, some insight into classical history, philosophy and literature can, and should, be given through the medium of the ordinary school courses. For instance, a course in biology taken with the sixth form at an English Public School, incorporates a survey of Greek philosophy, and concludes with a brief examination of the reasons why the study of physiology, or of heredity as a separate science, may each lead to a determinist view of life, and with a suggestion that the explanation of this may lie not in the nature of reality, but in the postulations of the scientific method. What is done here through biology can be

done by any competent teacher through history or literature, or, indeed, almost any other subject in the school curriculum. For such a task the teacher requires two qualifications. First, he must be equipped with the necessary knowledge, and, secondly, he must remember that the subjects of the school curriculum are not ends in themselves, but only means to an end, that his task is not merely to give instruction in science, in history, or in mathematics, but rather to develop that balanced individuality in which the supreme values of life are harmoniously realized. That is the great idea which at all costs we must preserve through all the changes in educational curriculum and method, and we are in grave danger of losing it if we once lose touch with the great masters of the ancient world who first gave it effective expression. We may not be able to teach many of our pupils to read Plato in the original; we must see to it that none is wholly ignorant of his spirit—a spirit never better defined than in these words of Professor Stewart:

Platonism is the mood of one who has a curious eye for the endless variety of this visible and temporal world, and a fine sense of its beauties, yet is haunted by the presence of an invisible and eternal world behind, or, when the mood is most pressing, within the visible and temporal world, and sustaining both it and himself—a world not perceived as external to himself, but inwardly lived by him, as that with which in moments of ecstasy, or even habitually, he is become one.

This conception of life, as I think, finds its logical completion and fulfilment in Christianity. This conception of life is now challenged by the theory of society and of the State, which is based upon the dialectical materialism of Karl Marx, and by the State systems which have taken form in Italy and in Germany as reactions from that theory. Is the future life of the world to be based upon the spiritual realities embodied in Plato's vision of the Republic and St. John's vision of the New Jerusalem, or is it to be directed solely towards the realization of that material paradise which Marx and Lenin offer their followers when the class war has fulfilled its purpose?

'My own criticism,' says Professor Whitehead, 'of our

traditional educational methods is that they are far too much occupied with intellectual analysis, and with the acquirement of formularized information. Wisdom is the fruit of a balanced development. It is this balanced growth of individuality which it should be the aim of education to secure.' The individuality or personality which it is the aim of education to develop may be considered under two aspects—first, thought or knowledge, including knowledge of aesthetic ideas as well as of intellectual concepts, and, secondly, will. Each of these two aspects may itself be considered under two heads. Knowledge is concerned with beauty and with truth; will is concerned with economic and with ethical activity. These four great impulses of the human mind are the main concern of the educator—beauty, truth, usefulness and goodness. Professor Whitehead has put the same thought into different language when he says that the life of man is comprehended under the four great divisions of art, science, technology and religion.

Man is potentially artist, philosopher, craftsman and saint.

One of the most ancient forms of dramatic representation is that which still survives in our English harlequinade. In it there are four figures. The chief figure, Harlequin, was originally a fairy prince, a spirit of the air. In modern pantomime he still retains something of his mysterious origin. He wears a mask over his eyes, and clothes of many colours, and carries a magic wand, by which, himself invisible, he works wonders. His sweetheart, Columbine, is a fairy-like dancer, who pirouettes obedient to the motion of his wand. Clown appears with whitened face and baggy trousers and tufted wig. He delights in mischievous tricks, but ever has a keen eye to the main chance. The fourth character is Pantaloon, an old man, with spectacles and slippers—friend, flatterer and tool of Clown. These go through a series of adventures, which end in the grand transformation scene, over which the wand of Harlequin waves triumphant. The origin of this curious form of entertainment is shrouded in antiquity, and its development is mingled

with that of the masque and the mystery play. It is, perhaps, not wholly fantastic to read into the figures a spiritual meaning, and to regard the harlequinade as a drama of human life—the four characters representing the four basic elements of the human mind. Clown represents the material part of man—his desire for self-expression, for self-advancement, for material gain. Pantaloon represents the intellect, so often enslaved to material interests. Columbine represents man's love for beauty, and Harlequin his spiritual aspirations.

The four great threads in the tangled skein of life are beauty, truth, labour and love—'and the greatest of these is love.'

The philosophy of the democratic States is founded upon those absolute values which are embodied in the writings of the Greek philosophers and in the teaching of Christ. In the totalitarian States these values are deliberately subordinated to what appear to be the interests of a particular form of State government. Science, art, economics and religion must not be allowed to transcend the narrow limits of nationalism. Truth is not truth if it conflicts with State policy. The music of Mendelssohn is not beautiful because it was composed by a Jew. Love to one's neighbour is a sentimental weakness unless it is confined to the people of one's own race and country. The recent obituary notice of a young German ended with these words: 'He died in the faith of his Saviour—Adolf Hitler.' The citizens of these States are called upon to render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and, since Cæsar demands all, there is nothing left for God.

The totalitarian States have discovered in the religion of nationalism the wand of Harlequin, which can, at least for a time, overcome sectional interests and inform the national spirit with a passionate loyalty to the leader and his political ideals. We who reject nationalism as a creed, who believe in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, can show no such spectacular triumphs. Our national life is disrupted by political, industrial and religious dissen-

sion. To achieve unity, we cannot use the weapons of the dictator, the concentration camp, the gangsters' club, the murderer's bullet. We can only believe that, in the long run at least, our ideals will prevail because they represent the spiritual reality which lies behind the mere appearances of a material world.

Are we in our modern democracies in danger of losing the magic of the wand of Harlequin?

Is Christianity among us to-day comparable as a national force with the religion of fascism or of communism? In these countries there is a deliberate, and, on the whole, and for the time, a successful attempt to enlist the whole forces of the nation in the service of a particular national ideal.

We have our own ideals. Our British Commonwealth of Nations, under our most Christian King and Governor, has set to the world an example of what the world might be—a brotherhood of nations, each with its own individuality, each making its own contribution to the common good, a partial realization of the platonic ideal, each for all and all for each.

The vital problem is, whether we can bring to our faith in our democratic ideals a devotion, a singleness of purpose equal to that which the Russian, the German, the Italian brings to his conception of the State and of society, and of the place which education should occupy in that conception; whether we can combine with their 'unflinching rationality' a full devotion, in act as in thought, in practice as well as in theory, to those spiritual ideals which alone give meaning and dignity to man's life upon earth.

COMING CHANGES

SIR CYRIL NORWOOD

THE title of my address sounds as though I had taken upon me to-night the mantle of prophecy, and deem myself competent to reveal the future. But I am not guilty of that gratuitous folly. Changes there must be: you have only to look at the happenings in China and Spain, at the unrest, at the threatenings, at the lack of confidence which obtains all over the world, to see that great change is inevitable. No man can foretell the result of all the collective uncertainties of which world politics is composed: I am thinking to-night of what I believe ought to be, rather than of what will be.

There is a striking phrase of General Smuts which often recurs to my memory: 'Humanity has struck its tents, and is everywhere on the march.' It is indeed true, and, what is more, the ordinary man has taken charge of the course of events, or thinks that he has, and does not doubt his competence to exercise control. He believes that the world has passed into an age of abundance, and that only malign influences prevent him from distributing it all for his own benefit. As a consequence, he talks much about his own rights, and very little about his duties. Duty and discipline, indeed, he resents as obsolete conceptions: a famous resolution recurs to the mind, passed by Oxford undergraduates, and destined to a publicity which it did not deserve, that they were not prepared to fight for King and country. Since the War we have seen, at home and in the United States, many experiments in a new education, based on the belief that release, liberation, self-development are the true watchwords of a school. We have seen a good many young lives since the War lived and wrecked on this theory. It may well be that the democratic communities, with their concern over securing the individual's place in the sun, and their neglect of discipline and duty, may be living in a fool's paradise, and may be not far from a rude awakening.

The world as a whole is not shaping itself to suit these easy theories: it is by no means safe for democracy, as President Wilson hoped that it would be. On a superficial view we see developing before our eyes a world-conflict between fascism and communism: Japan throttles China, nominally to drive out the communist menace; German soldiers and Italian peasants appear in Spain, nominally for the same purpose, and exacerbate a quarrel which is none of theirs. But there is no difference between the system which disciplines Germany and Italy and that which controls and terrorises Russia, save symbols, and a conflict of material interest. All three sacrifice the individual to the State, and all three are entirely materialistic in outlook: all three have been cradled in suffering, shame and weakness, and offer hope to great populations hitherto despairing. If we look below the surface of the welter of world politics, we see there a conflict of the two ideologies, the totalitarian and the democratic: we see a world confusedly marshalling itself under two banners, and arrayed, it may be to-morrow, in two armed camps. The one is not all black, and the other is not all white, for both are human. But we should not dismiss the question so lightly: we ought to look rather more closely into it.

The new authoritarian State is not a new conception. In form of development it closely reproduces on a large scale the manner of growth which the old Greek tyrannies showed on a small scale. It borrows its conceptions of sovereignty from Hobbes's Leviathan, and its method and morality from Machiavelli's Prince, both of them centuries old. The individual exists for the State, and the State must be absolute. It must be made, so far as possible, self-sufficient, and what it lacks it has the right to take: its justification is its strength. Their populations are overcrowded, or they say that they are, therefore Japan has an indefeasible right to Manchukuo and a protectorate over China; Italy to Abyssinia, Germany to her lost colonies. In the pursuit of these sacred rights, new air squadrons soar, new navies are launched, new bayonets are massed, while the democracies argue at Geneva,

and at home busy themselves over raising the standard of life, and the conflicting interests of the disunited social classes of which they are composed.

The democracies, possessed of many of the good things of the earth, have plenty of goodwill for their neighbours: they would like them to be comfortable, they would like to live at peace with them. They realize the stupidity of war, and they know that war can never be ended by war. But, unhappily, it cannot be ended by sentiment either, and the hard fact is that the world has been brought into great danger, partly, if you like, by the will to power shown by the totalitarian States, but partly, also, by the sentimentality of the democracies. Has it been idealism or has it been self-indulgence? No one can deny that there has been weakness, and this weakness, whether animated by the noblest sentiments or not, has brought the threat of war to our door.

Do I, then, think that war is inevitable? No; I am one of those who believe that, by strength and wisdom, war can be avoided. But strength means more than money and material power; it demands internal discipline and a sense of duty. Nor can democratic statesmen be wise unless the population behind them is intelligent and enlightened. I believe that the British Commonwealth of Nations, which by habit we call the Empire, enshrines a great hope for the world; it is a community of nations between whom war has become impossible. I have travelled hither over many thousands of miles, over the territory of the United States, that great democracy which speaks our own language, with which war has already become impossible, and with which an increasing fellowship of ideas and ideals is to be hoped for as by no means impracticable. The Union Jack and the Stars and Stripes float over great areas of the world, a reservoir of enormous wealth, enormous potential power; they symbolize the right to life, the right to liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; they mean peace; and they mean strength. If they can stand together for arbitration in all international disputes, for settlements of reason and justice and never of violence, for opening up the avenues of trade between people

and people, for working gradually to a trade which shall flow ever more and more freely, then at a time not too far distant we can hope for a world community, a form of federation that shall be based upon nation States. It will be a long road to follow, a long process of development, at every stage made possible by the general diffusion of right education, and by right education I mean that which casts out fear, and creates peace on earth by the only sure method, by creating men of goodwill.

Let us, then, look more clearly at this conception of democracy to which we pin our faith, in spite of the contempt which is showered upon it by Mussolini and the political scribes of the totalitarian States. We can start with the words of the framers of the American Constitution, that all men are born free, and that they have a right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, or we can repeat after Lincoln the ideal of government of the people by the people for the people, or, more truly, we can say with the French, just liberty, equality and fraternity. In the light of its historical record, we shall find it easy to make fun of, with its venality and its corruption, and its hypocrisies; it is easy to make fun of perversions, and to forget that democracy is more than a political system: it is a habit of mind and a way of life. In a free country, with a free press, and the habit of liberty, there is such a thing as the general will, a very real power, controlling statesmen, financiers and journalists. The more educated in the true sense the community is, the nobler will that general will be. Now, the world has never yet seen what true democracy might be, for it has never yet seen an educated democracy in the sense in which I am using the term education to-night.

Democracy exists to guarantee for all freedom and equality of opportunity; save at the polls, it does not lay down that each shall count for one, and no one for more than one. It attempts the far more difficult task of giving to each according to his needs, and requiring from each according to his powers. It endeavours, to use the simple terms of Aristotle, which have never been bettered, to establish for all the conditions

of the good life; it stresses the perfection of the individual in and through the services of the State. It takes the view which is the reverse of the totalitarian State creed. The State is made by the free co-operation of individuals, for whom it exists, and human personality is of absolute value. It is based on the tacit agreement that in all cases the will of the majority shall prevail, and the minority shall have the right to seek to change that will, so long as in all cases they use persuasion, and never force. Democracy, therefore, is in harmony with the doctrine of Christianity, which equally stresses the value of human personality, and teaches that we are children of God and heirs of eternal life, and it is not for nothing that the Christian religion is being persecuted in more than one totalitarian State to-day.

Democracy is therefore a noble and a difficult ideal, in its perfection if you like, unattainable like the Christian ideal. And since the worst is ever to be found in the corruption of the best, its politics may descend to the level of a dirty scramble. The only power that can make it what it is capable of being is education in the full sense of the term, that education of body, mind and spirit, which can make democracy safe for the world.

I have been a long time coming to education and the work of the schools, because I do not think that this can fairly be envisaged until we realize the great world conditions in which human life is set, and the lay-out of the stage on which the next generation must play its part. But I hope now that I shall be understood when I begin by stating what is for me the great fundamental truth that a school must not only be a place of instruction, but a way of life: it must form character: it must be consistently directed to a moral end. Let me tell you something of our schools in England, of which I am most competent to speak. We have some schools which have the reputation of great efficiency, which are devoted to the great end of passing the maximum number of pupils through an external examination. They do not even ask what is the best education which they can fit within the conditions of the

syllabus of the chosen examination. They select those subjects which are likely to give the best examination result, and drive their pupils through the prescribed course of preparation. They are, to my mind, more like mass-production factories than houses of education; their products resemble the factory product in that they lack quality, and the education which they receive lacks durability. These are thought by some to be our best schools, and are, in my opinion, our worst, since they offer no sort of preparation for life. There are others which look a little further than the mere examination, and direct themselves also to producing the sort of qualities which are useful in business, and may command the approval of an employer: they inculcate punctuality, cleanliness, alertness, accuracy, and teach their pupils to have their knowledge always at their command. These qualities are not to be belittled, but it is a poor thing to narrow the horizon of education until it amounts to no more than fitness for getting a job. The duties of citizenship and the conduct of life are something wider, and go deeper. There is a third and a rare type of school which in perfection is perhaps a pattern that is laid up in heaven, but to which we have approximations which are models of the schools of the future. These are schools which set themselves to live a life devoted to a definite purpose: all in such schools, teachers and taught alike, feel themselves to be free personalities co-operating, since of their own volition they devote themselves to the common end. Each feels that he has something individual to contribute, something which he is encouraged to contribute. If he takes out, he also puts in. It is a school which is alive, and because it is alive, is sensitive to environment, and changes when it needs. It is a school which is not afraid to pioneer, and is not content unless, as a school, it does something and renders some piece of corporate service, which takes time, demands thought, and costs trouble. It is consciously directed to citizenship and to life, and it is understood almost instinctively that the best preparation for these is gained not by talking about them, but by living

and doing. Therefore the chief burden falls upon the teachers whose duties in all their difficulty can be very tersely summed up. They must not only know what they want their pupils to know, but they must also be what they want their pupils to be. It is a hard saying, but the vocation of the genuine teacher cannot be placed lower than this.

This is to give a religious basis to education, and it is a conclusion from which I do not shrink. Either the spiritual values are real, and therefore dominant in life, so that life cannot be rightly lived save by honouring them before all else: or they are not real, and can safely be left out. A secular education assumes that they can be left out, and therefore cannot help leaning to the side of materialism, which holds the economic values to be alone real. Life must become a scramble, a competition of all against all. And therefore it becomes for the great majority intolerable, and, sooner or later, recourse must be had to a tyranny. It does not matter for my purpose whether it be Fascist or Communist. My contention is merely that without a religious basis to its education, democracy cannot last for long. It must seek through its schools a totally different kingdom of values, and teach that, first and before all, must be sought truth, beauty and goodness, qualities which are the reverse of those sought in the economic spheres, in that they are increased by being shared. The more you have of them, the more there is for everybody else: they can enlighten the schools, they can enlighten the whole life of the citizen community. Indeed, on any right view religion and education are two sides of one living process of development, in which education fits for life, and religion inspires.

Let us now come to closer grips with the content of education which is necessary for a democratic state in the present day. A modern nation is a very complicated piece of social mechanism, and to maintain it and develop wisely and well a steady supply of highly trained, specialized ability is required for its service. People often fail to observe how rapidly things have changed, and how occu-

pations which used to be simply discharged by rule of thumb methods, whereby each generation learned and carried on the methods of its predecessor, have developed into sciences, with a changing and developing individual technique. Agriculture and stock-breeding have become sciences, and so have insurance and banking. All the activities of war and peace are governed by specialists. The learned professions have become subdivided since one individual, however able, cannot hope to be master of all that is to be known. The Civil Service requires some of the best brains of the country, and in Britain it gets them. Now the amount of this type of ability is limited, but it is produced in every class of the community, and is to be found in men and women alike. No country can afford to waste any of it. Every wise government, since there is no known way of producing it in greater quantity than nature is willing to grant, will seek to use and develop it. It must therefore put its standards high, and maintain a system of secondary schools, technical colleges and Universities of the highest standard, so that a young person of talent may readily pass from stage to stage and be fully equipped to play that part in the service of his country which his ability permits.

It is a dangerous policy of which some doctrinaire democrats are at times guilty, to believe that every one should have the same education, and that it is undemocratic and unfair for the state to give to A what it does not give to B. The effect of such a policy is to lower standards and to penalize ability. The penalty for any modern state adopting it would be to fall rapidly behind in the race; its first-rate minds would leave it, and only the second and third-rate would remain. What true democracy requires is equality of opportunity, and even this is very hard to secure: once it is secured, the highest achievement must be made possible for the ablest children, and must be expected from them.

I stress the necessity of an educational ladder ascending to the highest levels, because I do not want to be misunderstood. I do not want it to be thought that I am anxious

to lower standards, though it is true that I am mainly interested in the education which is to be given to the normal child, the not-specially gifted. At present the mass of the children enter on life after an admittedly imperfect elementary education; the lessons, so far as they go, can easily be forgotten. But it is becoming more and more clear that every child should have a basic training for citizenship and for life, and that this, however elementary, should be a course complete in itself, and directed exclusively to the two ends which I have just named, the needs of life and the claims of citizenship. It must shake itself free from academic requirements, and many presuppositions as to the character of a school education, which have come down to us from a pure tradition.

I hold, therefore, that every child should enjoy an education both free and compulsory, which would divide itself into two stages, the elementary, which would terminate soon after the eleventh birthday, and a post-primary, or a secondary education, which would go on for at least four and, in time, I should hope, for five years. It is with this later stage that I will concern myself in the time that remains, and show in brief outline how it shapes itself to my eyes. It would fall into three provinces, of which the first and the most important would be that of physical education. This would indeed be part of a whole social policy which would not only extend the care of health from the ante-natal period to adolescence, but would stress the importance of good housing, of a living wage, and, as a result of these, continued good nutrition. Doctors, nurses and dentists can do a good deal, but mothers, by good nutrition, can do a great deal more. Given all this, the business of the school would be to give a physical education which would not merely make the bodies of the children fitter, not merely fill them with a consciousness of a physical ideal to which they could attain, but would also form and strengthen their character. For the object of the new physical education is not merely physical, it is moral: it holds fast to the truth that the spiritual and the material

cannot be separated, and has recovered the old Greek doctrine that you can train character through the body as well as through the mind. Its object is to produce self-knowledge, self-control, self-confidence, alertness, initiative, courage, and that quality called 'poise' which means that body and spirit are in harmony with one another. All these qualities are moral, and all can be developed most easily by the right type of physical education.

The second province of this education would be in the spheres of art, music, housecraft and handicraft. These subjects have made great advance of late in the schools of Europe, but, so far as my observation has gone, they do not receive in Australia the time, trouble and respect which are their due. It is by the use of the eye, the ear and the hand that most children learn about the objective world which surrounds them, and first acquire a sense of achievement and a means of self-expression.

This side of education is emphatically a training for life, a means of raising public standards of taste, a way to fill leisure with pursuits that are worth while. It would take a bold person to claim that there exist anywhere in the world standards among ordinary folk which are not capable of being raised to a very considerable degree. It is stupidity to regard this side of education as effeminate. It means training the eye to distinguish beauty from ugliness, to observe what is relevant and full of meaning, and to take an intelligent share in nature study. It means training the ear to know good music from bad, to respect rhythm and harmony, and to abominate mere noise. It means training the hands of the boys to be useful and creative, and the hands of the girls to be capable in all housecraft. It is indeed a province too much neglected in the past, and full of infinite hope for the future.

The third province is the academic, which has hitherto bulked so largely as to seem all-important, but is of no more importance than the other two. The first aim will be to create ability to use the native language, not in the sense of training boys and girls to pass a written examination

about a book, but to speak it and to write it, simply, clearly, and accurately; to recite, to debate and to act. It is a thing easier to say than to do, but surely it is common sense to attempt it. It is certain that it must not be taught for examination purposes only, since the qualities which we most desire to produce cannot be so tested. Literature can become a treasure house which the teacher can use at his discretion, and a love of reading might grow up, free from the shadow of the impending question paper. After all, English is the instrument that the children will use all their lives. Why not try and give them real command of it? Secondly, we should try, through simple arithmetic, to give readiness and accuracy of calculation; but if we are wise, we shall not, through long hours in school, attempt to force into incapable and resistant minds the elements of algebra and geometry which they will never use. Similarly in science, we shall not try to build the foundations of an advanced study of physics and chemistry to which they will never proceed, but by a carefully-thought-out course, perhaps mainly biological, we shall try to send them away with some clear knowledge of what is meant by a scientific fact, a scientific law, and scientific method. Incidentally, we shall hope to teach them something of the laws of health, and the origin of life, a knowledge of which most go sadly short.

There will remain the study of history and geography, which seem to me to be the subjects directly related to citizenship, and therefore obligatory upon all. In history in the early years I would impart the stories and the traditions about the great men of our race and of the world, which are part of our natural heritage. But the last two years of the course I would devote to tracing the genesis of the modern world. Beginning from the War of American Independence and the French Revolution, I would trace the political, social and industrial history through the rise of the nation states to the Great War and the so-called peace which has followed it. Without this knowledge, I do not see how a voter is to cast his vote intelligently.

Equally in geography I would teach to everybody the broad facts of the physical features of the earth, and deduce therefrom the areas of production of raw materials and of manufacture, and the great trade routes which link together the peoples of the world.

I have said enough, and will only add that we can be too ambitious: we must not expect too much of the ordinary child of fifteen or sixteen. But at least we shall have given to him an education which will be directly related to the needs of life, and which he will regard with very different interest, because he will know that it is so related. We shall seek to create not a body of knowledge which can be tested in the examination room, and then forgotten, sloughed off like a snake's skin, but an attitude of mind: not a mass of unrelated and unnecessary facts, but a definite character: a child looking forward to life with a new outlook and a new enthusiasm. We shall, if we are wise, exact a discipline so tempered as to become readily self-imposed, and not felt to be other than it is, the condition of true freedom. We shall inculcate the ideal of service to the community, but more by example than by precept. Pericles claimed for ancient Athens that they were lovers of knowledge without effeminacy, and lovers of the beautiful without extravagance. If education is based on religion in the sense that I have sought to give to religion, it is a noble ideal for the educated democracy of the future. If we could send forth from our schools a generation imbued with a respect for knowledge, with good taste which had become innate, both virile and sensitive, and, above all, with an instinct of good will, they might begin to rid the world of fear and of ugliness, and start in good earnest to lift humanity to that higher level of existence, which gleams so tantalizingly before our eyes, but which we are so powerless to reach.

A LIBERAL EDUCATION

SIR PERCY MEADON

THE phrase 'a liberal education' goes back to the works of Plato and Aristotle and the word 'liberal' there refers rather to the type of character that is to be produced by it than to the curriculum or the method followed. Education that then seemed suitable to a free and leisurely life is what would have been meant by a liberal education. The things which free men would not be called upon to do were vulgar, servile or il-liberal, and a liberal education would be that sort of training and those subjects that a free-born Athenian citizen would require in order to take his place in society and to carry out his duties as a free-born citizen. Liberal was then opposed to servile, and applied only to a limited class of privileged citizens.

Some seven centuries later we find the phrase 'the seven liberal arts.' They were the arts which are meant in the Middle Ages when we speak of the Bachelor and Master of Arts. The first three—grammar, dialectic, rhetoric—formed the Trivium, while the remainder—music, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy—constituted the Quadrivium, and the seven formed the basis for study in the higher faculties of theology, law and medicine. Latin, natural and moral philosophy, Greek, and sometimes Hebrew were added. A man who had been trained in these arts could set up as a teacher.

These were two ancient conceptions of education called liberal and it is interesting to observe their character and their relation to the life and conditions of the time. In both cases it is affected in its character by the current conditions of life. In the first case it is a training for a privileged and elect few who led a leisurely life and turned away from professionalism. In the second, it is mainly a preliminary training for professional scholars. Men's ideas of a liberal education were coloured by the social outlook of their day.

The great difference between those early days and the present day is due to the great increase in the mass of observed and established facts. As a result there has developed a class of specialists. Moreover, the general public now expects to have its share of knowledge, which is no longer to be in the hands of a few trained specialists while the great majority of men remain in ignorance. The specialist, too, will depend for a large part of his activities on general knowledge like other citizens who are not specialists. Knowledge is now broken up into separate compartments. Some know more of certain things than anyone ever did, but no one can grasp the whole as men once hoped to do. On the other hand, all men are now called upon to take their part as citizens and to make decisions of importance to the community.

Aristotle's distinction between the free man and the slave had almost disappeared during the Middle Ages when a new distinction between the man-at-arms and the clerk had emerged. The idea of a liberally educated class living a life of leisure and served by others, who were liberally trained for labour, has broken down. Comenius made clear the ideal to which the modern world responds—'all human beings should have a training in all that is proper to their common humanity.' Towards this ideal the world is slowly moving.

Now let us consider some more recent definitions of a liberal education. The most famous of all is, perhaps, Milton's: 'I call a complete and generous education that which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war.' Milton would have us fix our thoughts on the fulfilment of a man's duties in life as the chief aim of a liberal education.

Huxley, the scientist, lucidly, though somewhat fastidiously, stated his conception in the following passage: 'That man has had a liberal education who has been so trained in his youth that his body is the ready servant of his will, and does with ease and pleasure all the work which

as a machine it is capable of; whose intellect is a clear, cold, logic engine, with all its parts of equal strength and in smooth working order; whose mind is stored with a knowledge of great and fundamental truths of nature and of the laws of her operation. One, who, no stunted ascetic, is full of life and fire, but whose passions are trained to come to heel by a vigorous will, the servant of a tender conscience; who has learnt to love all beauty, whether of nature or of art, to hate all vileness and to respect others as himself.'

Matthew Arnold defined it in terms that have become very well known: 'Culture is the study of perfection' or 'getting to know oneself and the world.' For this knowledge 'it is necessary that a man should acquaint himself with the best that has been thought and said in the world.' In view, however, of the increased and increasing mass of knowledge, this would impose a great task upon the student. H. G. Wells has, however, helped us to appreciate the advantages of a wide view.

Nearly twenty years ago, when Sir Michael Sadler was in India as President of the Calcutta University Commission, his colleagues asked him to write a description of a liberal education. (This is what he wrote: 'A liberal education should be given under conditions favourable to health. The body should be developed and trained by systematic and vigorous exercise. The eyes should be trained to see, the ears to hear, with quick and sure discrimination. The sense of beauty should be awakened. The hands should be trained to skilful use. The will should be kindled by an ideal and hardened by a discipline enjoining self-control. The pupil should learn to express himself accurately and simply in his mother tongue. Through mathematics he should learn the relations of forms and of numbers. Through history and literature he should learn something of the records of the past; what the human race (and not least his countrymen) have achieved; and how the great poets and sages have interpreted the experience of life. His education should further demand from him some study

of nature and should set him in the way of realizing both the amount and quality of evidence which a valid induction requires. Besides this it should open windows in his mind, so that he may see wide perspectives of history and of human thought. It should also, by the enforcement of accuracy and steady work, teach him by what toil and patience men have to make their way along the road to truth. Above all, a liberal education should endeavour to give, by such methods and influences as it is free to use, a sure hold upon the principles of right and wrong. It should arouse and enlighten the conscience. It should give experience in bearing responsibility, in organization and in working with others for public ends, whether in leadership or in submission to the common will.' *

Analysis of this comprehensive definition indicates that a liberal education is the result of more influences than those of the school alone. It is also clear that it continues after one's school days. It is important, therefore, that we should remember that it is the concern of the home, of the school, and of the various experiences which constitute adult education.

SECTION III

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

HOW MAY WE ABSORB OUR SURPLUS MAN-POWER IN SOCIALLY USEFUL WAYS

F. W. HART

SURPLUS manpower is the fuming, quaking volcano on which the economic and social security of the world is now sitting. Surplus manpower means low standards of living, poverty and starvation; these, in turn, lead to social unrest, economic strife, industrial warfare, political upheavals, civil war, revolutions, and may lead to international war, world war and world devastation. Surplus manpower is an unsolved social problem, and like most social problems, it is extremely controversial. But controversial problems are the only problems worthy of the thoughtful consideration of intelligent people. We waste a lot of time, energy and precious intellect on questions to which the answers are already known, or are unimportant if unknown, while great controversial issues challenge the world and cry out in despair for intelligent thought and constructive action. Furthermore, such consideration as we ordinarily do give to controversial issues is little short of stupid. We have our own point of view, a view consistent with our own personal interest, and we then do our reading and collect our evidence to support our preconceived position. We read the newspapers, the magazines, and the books that are on our side of the issue—'right down our alley.' We listen to the radio programmes that flatter our vanity by supporting our views, and 'dial out' anything that is opposed. We may even go so far as to heap vituperation, derision and abuse on any and all who do not see eye to eye with us. Until more abusive words are invented, we may call them communists, fascists, socialists or capitalists, as the case may be. We stew incessantly in our own juice—nothing could be more futile, nothing more stupid.

A more intelligent approach to controversial issues would be an unbiased critical study of all of the evidence on all

sides of the issue. Such a studied approach may not be possible for all of us on all issues, but the least we should do would be to read calmly and listen thoughtfully to the other fellow's arguments. If nothing else, that will serve to put us in a position the better to defend our own beliefs. That isn't easy, and at times it takes real fortitude. I know, for I always read all of William Randolph Hearst's signed editorials on social and economic issues. If for no other reason, I read them just to know how it must feel to think like that.

In approaching this issue of surplus manpower, I shall submit to your consideration a series of statements beginning with statements upon which we can all agree, and move forward, statement by statement, to a position on which there may, and probably will be, divergence of opinion. Further on we may be wide apart—we may be at polar opposites—but that should not matter if our disagreement compels us to do more critical thinking. That is the world's greatest need to-day, critical thinking.

I shall begin by making this statement:

- (1) *Organized society owes no employable man a living.*

Now, there may be a few maudlin, sentimental humanitarians who feel that the world owes a man a living just because he happened to be born into it, regardless of whether he is willing to work or not, but I believe they are too few to justify further argument. So far I shall assume we are all in agreement.

Let us, then, pass to the consideration of a second statement—a statement upon which I hope we shall all be in full accord, namely:

- (2) *Organized society owes every employable man an opportunity to earn a living.*

It may be that here and there is a man so little removed from the life and law of the jungle that he would not agree that organized society owed its members the right to earn a living, but they are too few to give us grave concern, at least in a democracy. No organized society can long lay

just claim to being civilized if it allows its members to starve for want of an opportunity to earn a living.

A third proposition I would state thus:

- (3) *The natural resources and potential power to produce throughout the civilized world are such that every man, woman and child could enjoy a comfort standard of living.*

The truth of this statement has been borne out by every critical study of our productive capacity in the power age, and it's a well known fact that the world wide depression was a paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty. Every country in the world to-day is seeking against odds a market for its over-supply of goods.

The two preceding statements, if accepted, lead logically to another, namely:

- (4) *By the application of our collective intelligence to the problems of employment we should be able to make it possible for every one to earn and enjoy a comfort standard of living.*

If, as agreed, organized society owes every employable man an opportunity to earn a living, and if, as further agreed, there exists a potential comfort standard of living for all, for us to fail to bring the two together is to admit that, collectively, we are socially, politically and economically stupid.

Now we come to the consideration of the causes of surplus manpower. It is at this point that divergence of opinion—disagreement—will begin to appear, but, as previously stated, divergence of opinion is a healthy state of mind with which to tackle social problems, providing, of course, we seek evidence upon which to reconcile our disagreements and have collective action.

As the basic cause of surplus manpower, I shall submit and defend the following statement:

- (5) *The application of science and technology—power and machinery—to the work of the world—to production—is responsible for our surplus manpower.*

Those who challenge the truth of this statement will con-

tend that, with every new discovery, with the introduction of every new machine, new fields of employment are created, and they will cite many convincing examples to prove their point. There is the internal combustion engine, for instance, which has made possible the great automobile industry, with its vast armies of employees throughout the world. Hundreds upon hundreds of thousands are engaged in producing, selling, repairing and supplying automobiles. Directly and indirectly, unnumbered thousands are engaged in building highways, garages and gas stations. To these should be added the increased demand for the services of traffic policemen, lawyers, courts, doctors, nurses, ambulances, hospitals and gaols. The number of new jobs thus created by the invention of the internal combustion engine must, however, be discounted heavily to compensate for the jobs it destroyed or restricted. For example, the railroads do not employ more than a fractional part of the men they would employ if they had not been driven to the point of bankruptcy by the automobile, the motor bus and truck. We would also need to deduct the men displaced in the manufacture, sale, distribution and repair of waggons, carriages, buggies, harness, saddles and buggy whips, and the reduction in the number of men raising horses, growing grain, and running hay balers. It is evident that the influence of the machine on employment is a complicated one, but when all counts are taken I will agree that the automobile has created more employment than it has destroyed. If the net result of each new invention was correspondingly creative we would have no problem of unemployment, but such is not the case. No parallel can be found, and the present trend of the machine age is to eliminate manpower altogether or reduce it to as near the zero point as our mechanical genius can contrive. That we are doing well in this regard, I submit the following facts:

The Rust cotton picker is reported to be perfected, and when it drives into the cotton fields of our Southern States two million Negroes and poor whites will be denied the subsistence existence they have 'enjoyed.'

We have new packing devices which, for the same level of production, require but 10 per cent. of the former personnel.

Devices have been installed, and more are ready to be set up in the steel industry, which will throw three-fourths of the workers off the payrolls.

Linotype operators have long enjoyed fairly secure employment, but telegraphic synchronized mechanical typesetters are ready and waiting to replace them.

A machine with a photo-electric scanning eye will soon send the pattern-maker home with his last pay check.

One man in a modern plant refines as much petroleum as 240 men did in the old refineries.

On the Los Angeles telephone exchange 5 employees replaced 350.

The foregoing are merely random examples of what is happening, or is about to happen, in the field of employment, and it seems quite evident that we are only entering upon the automatic age. What the future holds is a matter of speculation, but if we continue the pace we are now setting, the machines and processes of the future will 'junk' all of our present 'labour-saving devices' for their inefficiency and excessive consumption of manpower.

If this be as true as I hold it to be, the following devastating statement is inevitably true, namely:

- (6) *We shall never again see our surplus manpower absorbed by private enterprise in what we have in the past called useful work.*

This brings us to a consideration of what organized society can do about it. If we owe every employable man an opportunity to earn a living; if there is a potential comfort standard of living for every one; if science and technology are to displace manpower to the point where we shall never again see our surplus absorbed by private enterprise, it is high time we put our collective intelligence to work as we never have before to find a solution of the problem we have created.

In approaching this issue, the first statement I would make and defend is:

- (7) *We cannot abolish scientific knowledge, discard the machines, and revert to hand-labour as a way out.*

We tried that during the depths of the depression, to supply 'relief work,' and as an 'emergency measure' it was justified, but the fact that it is futile is well exemplified by an incident that occurred in California. Several hundred 'relief workers,' with picks, shovels and wheelbarrows, were moving dirt from a bank on one side of a road and dumping it down a fill on the other. One of the workmen asked the superintendent of the job if the 'gang' was moving as much dirt as was expected of them. When assured that the amount of dirt being moved was entirely satisfactory, the inquiring workman, circulating among his fellows, got them all to agree to an assessment of 10 cents per day to hire a steam shovel to move the dirt while they sat in the shade and played pinochle. No, we can't solve the problem of surplus manpower by going backwards. We should not want to do it that way even if we could. Let the machines do the hard, grinding, devastating work; let tractors replace men and women in harness throughout the world; give the machine full speed ahead, that we may all enjoy the comforts, conveniences and luxuries it can produce in such abundance, but at the same time let us find the answer to the questions of how every employable man is to *earn* a living, a respectable, comfortable living, such as our knowledge of science and technology makes possible.

The first step toward the answer to this question, as I see it, is recognition of the following necessity:

- (8) *Organized society must formulate and accept a new definition of 'useful work'—a far broader and more inclusive definition than any we have yet dreamed of.*

There may be great divergence of opinion among us on this position, for there are many who feel that no man is 'usefully employed' unless he is producing consumption goods to use, exchange or sell for profit.

With this I disagree, and, on the contrary, hold that our new definition of useful work shall include a vast array of

new and unexplored public services, as well as far-flung expansion of existing services. As examples, let us consider the following:

- (a) *Organized society shall include in its concept of useful work the creation of beauty—the satisfaction of man's spiritual and emotional life—the production of art, music, drama and literature.*

No greater cultural influences than these are known. Why should society not invest heavily in the exploration and cultivation of every spark of creative genius to be found in its people? Why should not those who clothe the spirit, and provide food for the emotional life of man, be provided by society with a comfort standard of living and the opportunity to develop to the utmost their rare talents? It would pay socially useful dividends, and at the same time absorb scores of thousands of our people in fields of the highest respectability. In America, during the depths, we dabbled with this measure. To prevent our artists and musicians from starving to death, we organized 'relief orchestras' and 'relief art projects,' but as rapidly as a job with a pick and shovel could be found the cultural projects were abandoned. That's in keeping with the current concept of 'useful work'—moving dirt is more useful than moving the emotions and aspirations of men.

- (b) *Organized society should include in its definition of useful work the creation, development and perpetuation of a vast system of landscape gardens, parks and havens of natural beauty.*

If in America, for example, every highway in the land, of which there are hundreds of thousands of miles, was converted into a landscape garden, with trees, shrubs, vines, rose gardens, flower beds and lawns, more than a million men could be absorbed in socially useful work, and the American public, that spends so much of its time in an automobile, could collect its dividends on the investment in the form of enjoyment of beauty, and the thrill of being a party to the creation of a great and lasting heritage. Such an enterprise

would afford employment on all levels of knowledge and skill from the man who could dig only holes, to gardeners, landscape gardeners, superintendents, executives, plant and soil scientists, and expert nurserymen. A man could enter this service with a view to making it a life career, with security and opportunity for advancement.

(c) *Organized society should begin now to pay its debt to posterity.*

It's a strange paradox in man's nature that, while he will sacrifice everything for his children—his life if need be—and to some degree do the same for his grandchildren, and possibly his great-grandchildren, no one seems to give a thought to generations farther removed. Those future generations will still be of our own flesh and blood, they will have to carry on the civilizations of which we boast; why should we not leave them an inheritance comparable to that which we have inherited from the hand of Nature? We could restore the forests we have so ruthlessly destroyed, and thus conserve our own water supply, preserve such of the fertile soil as remains on our hills and mountains, prevent devastating floods, and start the cycle of building new loam for the fields and farms of the future.

Vast areas of our once fertile agricultural lands have been farmed to exhaustion, and abandoned to wash away. Future generations will need these lands, for the supply of land is not inexhaustible, and fertile land will ever be necessary to human existence. Hundreds of thousands of our surplus manpower could be absorbed in socially useful work bringing these lands back to fertility.

Again, with a merciless hand and deadly aim, we have destroyed Nature's supply of fish in our lakes, rivers and waters, and driven our game from the woods, plains, mountains and air. Life in the future, with the machine as our slave, should hold ever-increasing leisure for our people. Should we not restore something of what we have destroyed that the recreational life of the future may be richer and happier? Our children, our grandchildren, and theirs, in turn, would enjoy the sports of the rod and gun, and if we

are to play fair with them we will see to it that they have their chance. And by paying this little debt to posterity we could absorb tens of thousands of our surplus manpower in socially useful ways. In paying our debt to posterity there is unlimited opportunity for us to save ourselves from the ever-growing threat of mass unemployment.

The foregoing suggestions of useful work that organized society might undertake to meet its ever-increasing problem of surplus manpower are concerned chiefly with the creation and preservation of our material natural resources. Important as these are, the most important of all of our natural resources is the rising generation. The future of the world will soon be in their hands, and their success or failure in leading humanity to a higher plane of living will be measured by our success in endowing them with strong physical bodies, sound mental health, knowledge and high ideals. This fact leads me to state that:

- (d) *Organized society should make infinitely greater investments in the development, education and training of its children and youth.*

The opportunities for the expansion and extension of socially useful work in this area are unlimited, and would afford employment for our entire surplus of highly educated people.

It is frequently deplored by short-sighted economists that we are providing higher education for too many of our people—no jobs for them, they say. I hold that, if society would face the facts, and seriously undertake the conservation and improvement of our human resources, there would be socially useful work for every educated, technically trained mind we can produce.

I have mentioned but a few of the most obvious opportunities of society to provide useful work for its surplus manpower. The field is unlimited and inexhaustible if science and technology are to be made to serve us rather than destroy us.

Now we come to the question that has probably been disturbing you all the way along, namely: How is the cost of

such a gigantic social enterprise to be met? The answer to this question seems perfectly obvious, if not altogether simple. First, with all of our people secure in employment, and consuming goods on a comfort plane of living, private enterprise of all kinds would produce and prosper as never before. Such mass production would lower production costs and increase potential tax-paying ability. This increase in tax revenue from normal sources would thus meet a small part of the increased expenditure, but as I see it the major portion of the cost should be derived from a totally new source. My reasoning is this:

If the machine and scientific processes are responsible for our surplus manpower, then the machine and science should be made to meet the major portion of the cost to society of providing socially useful work for the manpower thus displaced.

Perhaps I can best make my point clear by example. If I wish to install a new machine or process in my industry, I should be privileged to do so—that is in keeping with the spirit of democracy, but society has an interest in what that machine is going to do to society—that also is in keeping with the spirit of democracy. A properly constituted agency of society would, in this situation, say to me, 'How many men will that machine throw off your payroll?' If I answer, 'One hundred,' society would then be in a position to say, 'Well and good, society welcomes your machine, for it can produce more goods at lower cost, but first we must consider what is to happen to this one hundred men who are going off your payroll. Your machine has been scientifically evaluated in terms of manpower-release, and the report shows that 30 men will be regularly employed somewhere making, repairing and operating your machine. Now, as stated, your society wishes you to install this machine, and is, accordingly, willing that it should be profitable to you to do so; therefore, a credit of, say, an additional 20 men will be granted your machine to compensate for your investment, and leave you a margin of profit over your former hand process. Of the one hundred men to be dropped from your payroll, there will still be 50

men for which society will have to provide employment. Society must, therefore, place a *manpower-release-charge* against your machine sufficient to carry the cost of providing work for these men.' If I protest, and charge dictation and suppression of individual liberties, as I probably will, organized society might well say to me, 'If you are to sell the product of your machine, all employable members of our society must be provided with an opportunity of earning the money with which to purchase your products, and this measure is society's means of protecting your business against bankruptcy as well as protecting our society against hunger, social unrest, industrial warfare, revolution and destruction.'

I recognize that such a solution raises many difficult problems of adjustment, but in the scientific world we have solved many seemingly impenetrable problems, and I hold that, once we focus our collective intelligence upon this issue, we can find the answer.

If achieved, what would such a programme of employment adjustment do for us? As I see it, it would, first of all, provide social respectability and economic security for all of our people, and this, in turn, would provide security for private enterprise and the exercise of private initiative. Heaven forbid that we ever adopt a programme that will destroy man's most valuable asset, ambition and initiative. Furthermore, some such solutions as proposed would, I believe, abolish industrial warfare and forestall future economic depression. A vast balance-wheel of men regularly employed in socially useful work would keep the wheels of private enterprise turning constantly with a security they have never known.

If this be a vision, what chance, may I ask, has civilization of surviving without vision.

DEMOCRACY, INDOCTRINATION, AND CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES IN THE SCHOOLS

HAROLD RUGG

IF one studies evidence concerning the moulding influence of the interaction of individual and society, the conclusion that the individual is 'indoctrinated' every hour of his life is inescapable. Use whatever terms we will—for example, moulding, forming, influencing, or indoctrinating—we cannot deny the far-reaching effects of this imposition by the face-to-face groups in which we live, by the non-personalized agencies of communication, and by the invisible, intangible climate of opinion which surrounds us. Thus it is, indeed, that the social heritage is passed on from generation to generation.

Shall We Design a New Social Order and 'Teach It' in the Schools?

But the answer to this question is not so simple. It is, indeed, one of the most insistent and difficult issues with which we are confronted.

We have already noted the answer given by the leaders of dictatorship types of society; they have built up educational systems which have been established everywhere for the purpose of teaching the masses of the people what to think and what to feel. Deliberate and systematic use of the nation's schools to build a definite idea of and attitude toward the State was the ruling educational concept in Germany throughout the nineteenth century. This idea played an important rôle, also, in the formation of the French system of education and the perpetuation of that national culture. I myself have seen its great influence in the present Fascist Society of Japan. Still more recently, Mussolini, Hitler and Stalin have used it to fasten their particular types of social order upon the peoples of their respective countries. Here, indeed, are the indispensable tools of government in an

undemocratic society. In a *made-to-order* society, the schools, the Church, economic and social organizations—indeed, all institutions—are used to bring members to the support of the national programme.

But in a democratic society we cannot accept such a plan of coercion. As we have seen, we confront two problems, that of designing a new economic-social system, and that of developing in the masses of the population, at the same time, a sufficient understanding of problems and issues for the forming of intelligent decisions concerning them.

If the democratic way is the way of 'intelligent consent,' then the route to it is clear, namely, through study and prolonged parliamentary group discussion. Intelligent group discussion can be achieved only by an interplay of minds, by the juxtaposition of different interpretations, and by group exploration of alternative courses of action. As Mary Follett has so well described it, this process of 'circular response' is a process of interpenetration of minds in group discussion. It produces at its end point, not a compromise weaker than any single proposal, but an integration of meanings and emotions that represents a definitely higher, more complete, more adequate interpretation of the situation than any one person would be likely to attain by himself.

Hence we see how, even though we grant that the transmission of culture necessarily involves indoctrination, we can at the same time deny that it is desirable to design a new society and 'teach it' in the schools. If that is what indoctrination means, then all who believe in perpetuating the democratic tradition will be unalterably opposed to it. Acceptance of that point of view is totally inconsistent with belief in democracy, for such a procedure is sheer 'imposition.' It negates freedom of speech, equal opportunity to impart all opinions (minority or otherwise) in group discussion; and it serves, in the long run, to limit the intellectual heritage to that tiny, infinitesimal minority who have dictatorial control over the lives of the rank and file. All-round development of either individual or group is impossible under such imposition. We cannot create a whole theoretical design

for a new society, and impose a specific course of action upon a people if we wish to continue the tradition of consent in a democratic society.

Shall We Have Controversial Issues in the Schools?

Two major generalizations have been established in this paper: first, that the social world about us will inevitably impose attitudes, understandings, opinions, stereotyped convictions upon every one of us; second, that it does not follow, however, that in a democratic society we shall use education to impose a specific course of action upon the people. These points now take us directly to a third important educational problem: Shall we have controversial issues in the schools?

Once again we have recourse to our fundamental postulate of government by the consent of the governed. If we decline to impose upon the people a specific 'social order,' if we desire to build 'consent' upon the foundation of intelligent understanding, then there can be but one answer: *There is no other way by which the democratic principle of consent can be carried on than the way of parliamentary discussion of contemporary issues and problems.* And this way must be applied to every phase of social life—to what goes on in the family, in the school, in the church, in the theatre, and in all the group and institutional activities of the people.

Although this conclusion seems inescapable to-day, it was otherwise in the earlier development of American democracy. Educational leaders throughout the First Industrial Revolution thought very differently. They consistently refused to admit matters of economic, political, or social controversy to the schools at all. During the formative years of the American school system a no less respected leader than Horace Mann definitely refused to permit 'the tainting of young minds with controversial matters.' From that time to this most school administrators have avoided the discussion of alternative courses of social action in their schools.

In those rare instances in which educational workers or

citizens of liberal views have initiated campaigns to build school programmes around controversial issues, the climate of opinion in many communities has imposed a rigorous censorship. Moreover, on those unusual occasions when, in spite of censorship, sections of a community have sometimes succeeded in projecting certain issues into the educational cloisters, the dominant economic class of the community has tended to control their interpretation. The doctrines of American life have been dramatized with elaborate rationalizations and defences. Issues have been warped. It has been assumed that schools were merely to pass on a particular interpretation of the heritage of American life. They were to teach youth *the* American ideal. *The* 'American dream' was to be portrayed. But issues and controversial matters—these should have no place in the education of young people. To include them would be to imply that all was not right with this 'best of all possible worlds,' and to imply that was unthinkable. It appears, therefore, that we have little historical precedent for the current attempt to inject controversial matters into the school programme. If that be true, then we shall have to face the issue alone, for certainly to-day we are confronted with the greatest social crisis of modern history. And the problems of that crisis can be solved permanently in no other way than by getting the people to confront the issues bravely and understandingly.

'Issues' are the Nub of the Psychology of Consent

Confronted by the current impasse, educational leaders recognize that the school programme, if it is to promote intelligent understanding, must be built around the study of problems and of alternative courses of social action. All that is known of the psychology of learning is offended by any other procedure. Our current arid presentation of fixed and sure solutions to bygone problems has no psychological justification, nor, of course, is it good sociology. Consent based upon knowledge of only one aspect or side of a problem, upon the avoidance of controversy, is a travesty both of knowledge and of democracy. The very connotation of 'issue' implies

uncertainty; it reeks with alternatives. It imposes the need for the consideration of many sides or aspects of a question to bring about thorough intellectual exploration and to produce needed changes of viewpoint. To keep issues out of the school programme is to keep life out of it. Thus the known facts of the psychology of learning inevitably lead to the conclusion that the whole intellectual programme of the school must be organized around issues *if* we are to carry on the democratic way of life, with its implied principle of intelligent consent by the masses of the people.

Moreover, the most effective way to bring the school programme into touch with contemporary life is to organize it around controversial issues. If this were done, the teaching of history would be made dramatic and realistic. Professors of the social sciences have long defended history in the schools on the ground that it is necessary 'to explain the present.' But history in the schools has been largely a thoroughgoing record of the dead past; the present has almost never been explained, nor even described. 'It is too controversial.'

Nor has history ever been used to confront youth with alternative courses of action. But if the social sciences were organized about controversial issues, then the history that would be selected and taught would be relevant to present modes of living and problems. Contemporary problems would control the selection of content and its organization. Indeed, every step of curriculum-making in the social sciences would be improved. Periods of history, episodes, events and movements, the personages and locale—all would be selected in terms of the psychological needs of young people to-day. In the same fashion, the school library and all other sources of materials to guide young people in the social sciences would be more definitely related to present needs and conditions. Thus, both from the standpoint of the needs of society and from that of the psychology of learning, the conclusion that much of the school programmes must be organized about controversial issues seems inescapable.

In bringing this discussion temporarily to a close, we must

recall the points which we established earlier, that, although we shall build the programme of study about controversial issues, we shall never forget that the teachers in our schools are unique personalities; that, although they live in the moulding matrix of local culture, and have absorbed the local tradition, each will handle issues with his own unique interpretation both of that tradition and of the specific facts under discussion. But we shall reconcile ourselves to this fact. We shall know that, after all, if we attempt to perpetuate the democratic method, we must accept its necessary limitations, especially the limitation that parliamentary discussion is slow and meandering and wasteful. In times of crisis it may even become dangerous. Nevertheless, it is the only course by which democratic consent can be produced among the general population. Thus we shall protect teachers' rights as unique individuals in a democracy to hold their own specific views and to exercise freedom of speech in discussion. But we shall claim the same right as well for every child and every parent in every community throughout the country.

The True Rôle of the Educator: Leader in the Study of Society

Are we not now in a position to see more clearly the true rôle of the educational worker? The current years of drastic transformation of society and of widespread yearning after social reconstruction present the educator with several options concerning his social action. He can dare to 'help build a new social order,' and to 'teach' its concepts and loyalties in the schools. Or he can heed the economic fraternity of his community, which says that he must teach according to the pattern of the prevailing climate of opinion, that he must not participate in social criticism and reconstruction. Or there remain other possibilities. He can, for example, present the concepts and loyalties both of the new social orders and of the prevailing climate of opinion, not 'teaching' any one at the expense of the others, and leaving the students as much intellectual freedom to make their own choices as

is possible, human prejudices being what they are. Which shall he do?

The problem of the educational worker is complicated by the fact that he is, at the same time, both private citizen and public servant. As an especially intelligent and informed citizen of integrity, he should participate actively in the criticism and the rebuilding of the social order. In doing this, he may be compelled to align himself with one sector of the community, and hence to oppose others. But as a public servant, in charge of education, his obligation is to no particular sector. On the contrary, it is to the total community, and he can serve this heterogeneous company only by constantly maintaining his position as a comparatively objective student and a fearless critic of our contemporary culture.

The educator's supreme function as educator, therefore, is to lead the community in the study of society. This means that he must guide both adults and young people in the critical analysis of conditions and of proposals for reconstruction. Teaching the crucial issues of changing social life by means of parliamentary discussion, he tends to build a science of society into education. Thus one of the chief attitudes or loyalties to which he shall constantly devote himself is the building of 'the scientific attitude of mind.'

This loyalty has a peculiar interest during the current impasse of industrial society. To what creeds, for example, shall the citizen subscribe, confronted as he is by the possible collapse of our economic-social system? Society is now dividing itself into two groups: the protagonists of things as they are, and the protagonists of social reconstruction. The defenders of the *status quo* maintain that the economic system is in the grip of inexorable 'law'; that the recurrence of 'business cycles' is inevitable; that we are now in the trough of one of the worst of depressions, but that all we need to do is to hold fast, produce, buy, spread confidence, and we shall recover. They hold, therefore, that the individual must be prepared to make the necessary personal adjustments to keep the economic-social system going. The other group, however, holds that the economic problem has become one to

determine the physical needs of the people and the physical resources of the country, and then to set up a system which will produce the necessary goods and distribute them to all the people. Thus one group would perpetuate the existing system, even to the point of making people change to fit into it; the other group would, if necessary, change the system to fit the needs of the people.

In the midst of this controversy there is only one possible position for the citizen, and especially for the educator. He must inculcate, day in and day out, the attitude of critically studying the system, its historical development, the factors that produced it, the most objective exhibit that can be assembled of its resources, its productiveness, its weaknesses and its excellences. One supreme loyalty will emerge from such a point of view—that of following the facts to their inescapable conclusion, whether that conclusion be to perpetuate the existing order or to reconstruct it drastically. On no other basis can a humane and democratic society be permanently founded.

With this one illustration we have shown the true rôle of the educator, namely, leading the community in the study of society. Moreover, this study should be as scientific as possible, allowance being made for the frailties of human nature and the indoctrinating character of the social world. This can be done only by building the school programme about controversial issues, and by keeping those crucial issues of changing social life ever in the forefront of discussion.

EDUCATION AS A TRAINING FOR REAL LIFE

F. C. HAPPOLD

TO the educator of the present day is given a task which is, at the same time, of peculiar difficulty and peculiar importance. We live in an era of rapid change. Before our eyes a new world order is being born, old customs and old beliefs are questioned; in the domains of science and economics, of politics, of art and of thought, new conceptions are being formed, new experiments tried. What will come out of it we do not know.

The type of education which was once appropriate and effective is now no longer so. This new age demands a new type of education, founded on the wisdom of the past, it is true, but deliberately framed to meet the needs of the present. To us comes the challenge to reconstruct, to adapt, to modify, to think out afresh both the content and methods of our work, to build up a mode of life and training in the school which will equip our pupils to live in this new age with the greatest happiness to themselves and the greatest good to the community. These boys and girls we teach are the heirs of the ages; they must also be the builders of the future. How well they will be able to build a new world depends to a great extent on us. For while many influences help to mould the character of the child, of which the school is only one, the influence of the school can be decisive for good or ill. On how well we carry out our task of adapting our educational system to new needs may depend the course of the future history of the world.

To carry out our task adequately demands wide vision, united with sound practical common sense and constructive planning. It is not sufficient to dream dreams; we must be able to turn our dreams into actuality. While we may walk with our eyes on the stars, we must keep our feet firmly planted on solid earth. To the solution of our problems we must bring that keenly critical attitude which refuses to accept the traditional, merely because it is old and established, but

at the same time is not carried away by that which is merely new. Antique wisdom and bold experiment must be linked together, realism must walk side by side with idealism, courage must be mingled with caution.

Before we can plan for the future we must clear our minds. What sort of boy or girl is this new age likely to need? To what extent is our present system producing that type? If it is not doing so, and I believe it is not, what modifications and changes in our methods are necessary to enable us to carry out our task more effectively?

Though one may disagree with, perhaps dislike, the particular philosophy and methods of the dictatorships which have arisen in so many European countries, one cannot but admire that strong sense of social obligation which these dictatorships are arousing in their youth. I am convinced that, if the type of government which is the heritage of the British Commonwealth is not only to survive—and all of us desire its survival—but also to adapt itself to changing conditions, we must train a type of citizen with the same devotion, the same capacity for service to the community, as is being trained by the totalitarian States. This, I believe, is one of our most important tasks. We need a type of citizen with a highly developed sense of social responsibility, with intelligence, conscience, and will deliberately trained to meet new conditions, with a standard of values and a balanced outlook far greater than that demanded in the past. In my country and in yours we are faced with social and political, economic and international problems, which, under a democratic system, can be solved only if our leaders have behind them an electorate with a highly developed sense of political awareness and social rightness.

We must, therefore, endeavour to instil into all citizens this sense of political responsibility. We must also endeavour, I myself believe, to give to our best-equipped boys and girls, a particularly intense training, so that they may act as an enlightened core of intelligent opinion in the body politic, a sort of broad-based aristocracy, drawn from all classes, unacknowledged perhaps, but capable, by its influence, of moulding thought and action to right ends.

Our task is much more difficult than that of educators in the totalitarian States, for our creed compels us to regard each boy and girl not only as a member of the community, but also as an individual, entitled to the fullest measure of self-development, free, within certain limits, to think and act as he or she wishes. To us the state is not something to be venerated for itself alone, to which the interests of individual citizens must be subordinate; it is an association valuable only in so far as it is able to ensure the fullest measure of good life to all its members. To us life cannot be good unless it is based on liberty.

Thus, the type of citizen we shall aim at producing is different from that aimed at in countries under dictatorships, in many ways a higher type and more difficult to train, with deeper, more complicated obligations, capable alike of original thought and social action, of being at the same time a developed individual personality and a devoted participating member of the community.

Before we can decide on the right sort of training to produce this type of citizen, at once individual and social, we must decide on his chief characteristics. What should be the characteristics of the ideal citizen of a democratic state?

The task is not so easy as it might seem. Frankly, we do not know what the future has in store, along what specific lines democratic government is likely to evolve, at what particular form of social and economic organization we shall eventually arrive. We may, however, lay down certain desirable objectives.

In the first place, the body must be brought to the highest standard of physical fitness of which it is capable. Boys and girls must be taught to take a real pride in their bodies, and encouraged to develop them beautifully and harmoniously. What Dr. L. P. Jacks calls physical literacy, which is something very different from beef and brawn, must be the first characteristic of our ideal type of citizen.

Physical health is in itself not, however, sufficient. Physical health must be linked up with mental health. Not only must

the body be balanced and controlled, our citizen must possess also mental balance and control. He must be attuned to beautiful things, capable of resisting those influences, the rush and standardization of thought and life, which war against inward contentment and peace.

His brain, too, must be trained so that it is alert, flexible, and keen, equipped with the essential knowledge for understanding and living in this new world, unencumbered with the academic lumber which clutters up our syllabuses, above all, creative and capable of adapting itself to new situations and new needs.

This mental equipment will not be complete unless the boy has been deliberately trained to think clearly and in an unprejudiced manner on those social, political and economic issues on which, as a citizen in a democratic State, he will be called upon to decide. That is not to say that he ought, as in the dictator States, to be brought up in any one particular system of political or economic thought. Even if we knew what the future organization of society will be, it is not the function of the school to advocate any special ideology. It is the function of the school, however, to teach its pupils to think politically, to inoculate them against prejudice and mass suggestion and the acceptance of those easy roads to happiness so glibly preached by party politicians. Not only must the future citizen be given that knowledge and training which will enable him to think politically, he must also be trained to feel that he has definite duties to the community of which he is a member. It is not sufficient to train intelligence; conscience and will must also be aroused for social ends.

It is one of the tragedies of education that religious differences have resulted in its so often being secularized. I can conceive of no sound educational system which is not fundamentally religious in its basis. Deep down in every man is a consciousness of a reality beyond the reality of sense, a longing to enter into that hidden place where the source of all being speaks to the soul of man. 'Thou hast made us for thyself, O God,' said St. Augustine, 'and our hearts are restless until they rest in thee.' Far more than from actual

teaching, a child absorbs its scale of values from the life, the tone, the atmosphere of the school in which it is educated. If from that school religion is shut out, if it is confined to mere instruction in the classroom, how much is lost! Surely, if education is to be complete, it must take account of that intangible longing which we call the religious sense, and must make proper provision for its development and growth. In saying this I would not have you think that I am advocating the teaching of any particular orthodoxy in the school. I would say, however, that what this distraught, unhappy world needs is a revival of the religious view of life, and that the education of our ideal citizen is incomplete unless he has received a training definitely founded on religious principles, instilled through religious practice.

If we accept the training of this type as our task, then education becomes a definite training of the whole man, of his body, mind and spirit regarded as one single unity, no part being considered as of less or more importance than the other, so that he may pass out into the life of the working world with body fit and strong, with mind healthy, flexible and alert, loving virtue and beauty, attuned to spiritual realities, clear eyed, creative, adaptable and prepared to live both as a free individual personality and as a member of the community which demands his service and zeal.

To what extent does our present system produce the most desirable type of citizen? To what extent do we deliberately make it a real education for life? If we are frank with ourselves we cannot claim to do so more than partially, and that for three reasons.

In the first place, we are not sufficiently realistic. We do not envisage clearly enough the needs of the majority of our boys and girls. We are chained to and follow too slavishly a system designed for training men and women for a limited number of professions and for a type of civilization which is passing. Thus, our present system is in its essence unsuited to the greater number of those who are trained through it.

In the second place, we are suffering under the burden of a curriculum which has been allowed to become overloaded

and top-heavy, a curriculum which has been built up on what may be called the principle of 'addition in isolation.' Starting with a manageable group of studies, other studies have been added and extended in their scope without any real consideration of the particular function of each addition or of to what extent each overlapped the other. Thus, the majority of boys and girls are called upon to attempt more than they are capable of attempting properly, with the result that their education is fragmentary and shallow, lacking in depth and essential soundness.

Finally, our current system is based on limited values and limited ideals. It tends to concentrate on academic attainment in formal school subjects, on the training of one side of the child's nature, the intellectual, while wholly or partially neglecting those other sides, the physical, the aesthetic, the spiritual, which are of equal, maybe greater, importance.

I would not have you think that I do not attach great importance to intellectual activities, to the need of bringing the brain of each boy and girl up to the highest standard of efficiency of which it is capable. Particularly in the type of school which I know best, the school of secondary type, much time may rightly be given, and much importance attached, to intellectual pursuits. If, however, we are to do our real work, we must envisage more clearly than we have done in the past, the boy or girl as a whole, and set ourselves to train the whole more completely and more harmoniously. We shall find—and here I speak from experience—that far from there being any decline in intellectual progress, that progress will increase, and will, moreover, be distinguished by a freshness of outlook which was not present before.

How are we to set to work to make something more suitable for our purpose, more effective in training the type of citizen the modern world is likely to need? The all-important requisite for our task is courageous, objective, unbiased thinking, resulting in deliberate planning.

First of all, we must put our present curriculum framework into the melting-pot. It is unscientific, unrealistic, not designed to train the sort of boy or girl we desire. It must be

submitted to a process of analysis whereby each of its parts is given close scrutiny, and the function each is fulfilling considered. If, as a result of this analysis, it is found that any part is fulfilling no useful function, then we may rightly discard it. We must, too, examine the knowledge content—the material we use in our teaching—of each part, and decide whether it is the best knowledge content for our purpose, most suitable for the majority of our pupils. If it is not, then we must ruthlessly replace the present material used by fresh, more realistic, material.

If we carry out this process of analysis properly we shall probably find that not only can a good deal of the present curriculum content be discarded, not only that a good deal not now present must be added, but also that a new synthesis will emerge whereby we can arrange the various elements comprising the curriculum in a more manageable, less cumbersome form. Let us consider how this new synthesis may be worked out.

There are two primary skills which must be taught thoroughly, the ability to write and speak one's own language clearly and correctly, and the ability to carry out a number of elementary mathematical processes necessary in ordinary life, which, to distinguish it from what is now called mathematics, may be called Number. It will probably be found that a course of Number is the only mathematical training absolutely necessary for all, that to make everyone go through the present academic course of mathematics is a waste of time.

Since our object is to train the whole man, our next task is to work out what may be called a course of basic culture desirable for all. Here extreme realism is essential. We shall construct most realistically if we dismiss from our minds the conventional division of the curriculum into formal school subjects, and think rather in terms of what may be called elements having certain functions or objectives. Our course of basic culture will thus consist of a series of activities and studies, each having a particular purpose, and each supplying a particular need.

In order to ensure greater clearness of conception, it is

desirable, also, to adopt a new nomenclature, so that the terms we use may describe more exactly what each of our new divisions is designed to accomplish.

Moreover, in working out this course of basic culture, we must endeavour not to give undue weight to one type of study or activity to the detriment of another. We shall not, for instance, regard mathematical ability as intrinsically superior to and more desirable than musical ability, or ability to construe a piece of Latin prose as more necessary than ability to draw or paint or model or make a neat woodwork joint.

While we shall think of this course of necessary basic culture as a unity, as a medium through which all the boy's faculties are trained, it will be convenient to divide it up into its essential elements or objectives.

The first element or objective one may call *the physical*. The boy's body must be brought to the highest state of physical health of which it is capable. In bringing this about, games will play their part, but games alone are not enough. Games must be supplemented by physical exercises, scientifically designed to develop every part of the body, to prevent those contracted chests and weak abdominal muscles which are a serious defect in many boys, and to ensure graceful carriage. The type of physical education one envisages will have as its object the increase of bodily self-management; it will be a training in bodily control and agility, resulting in increased mental control and agility. It will, too, have a definite aesthetic value, as it will aim at creating a love of physical beauty and rightness, and will, in practice, be linked up with music and training in rhythm.

The second element or objective one may designate *the social*, framed to give the pupil a body of essential knowledge about the world in which he lives in relation to its origin, and to train him in mental alertness and clear thinking. It may be called the introduction to heritage and environment, and will supplant that group of kindred studies which traditional practice has divided into history, geography, economics and literature. These formal divisions will be no longer regarded as either necessary or desirable. The know-

ledge content of this element will be considerably different from and much more realistic than the traditional content of our present history, geography, economics and literature syllabuses, and the methods used in teaching it will be designed to give the fullest possible training in clear thought and expression, in flexibility of mind and the use of books.

At this stage of basic culture scientific studies may be regarded rather as a social element than as training in formal science, as an introduction to a scientific heritage and environment and a training in a type of thinking of great importance in the modern world.

The third element or objective may be called the *aesthetic*, an element which in the past has either been neglected or given an inferior position in the normal school curriculum. Its objective will be the training of the boy's emotional and creative faculties through music and drama, fine literature, particularly poetry, and art. It will aim at introducing the boy to beauty in word and form and sound, not so much by talking about it as by bringing him in constant contact with beautiful things and activities, and, by increasing his skill, enabling him to create beauty for himself.

Closely associated with this aesthetic element is our fourth element or objective, *the manual*, essential in an all-round education for all, both on account of its intrinsic educative value and as a corrective to the over-intellectualized values in much current educational practice. For full development everyone should have some training in the use of pencil and paint-brush, chisel and saw. For girls, this element would include a thorough training in homecraft in all its aspects.

What place does the study of languages occupy in this reconstructed curriculum? It would appear to be best to regard training in languages as a specific skill, which may or may not be considered essential. There is a good deal of value in the study of a foreign language. Such study provides a form of mental discipline which does not seem to be found elsewhere, and I myself regard the learning of at least one foreign language as a desirable part of the normal education of a boy or girl of secondary school standard. I

should hesitate, however, to say that language skill was an essential skill, or that knowledge of a foreign language was an essential element of a course of basic culture.

So far we have considered each child as following approximately the same course of studies. Every child is, however, different, and his education is not complete unless provision is made for those differences. This course of basic culture *must, therefore, be regarded and organized not only as an all-round general cultural education necessary for all, but also as a foundation for further studies, differing for each type of child, which may be called 'studies according to special aptitude.'*

During the course of basic culture, which may be considered as occupying the whole of the first three years of secondary school life, and certain elements of which will be continued up to the end of the school career, boys and girls will begin to reveal interests and abilities in some particular study or group of studies. It has been said that it does not matter what education one gives, provided it is difficult enough. Surely it is better to work on the principle in support of which there is overwhelming evidence, that a boy is best educated through those studies for which he has a particular interest or aptitude, and which, consequently, he can bring to a high state of perfection. Languages are an excellent medium of education for the boy with linguistic ability; they are an unsuitable medium of education for a boy who lacks this ability. One could not find a better way of educating a boy than through mathematics, provided he has real mathematical ability. If he lacks this ability, his mathematical studies become at best a comparatively valueless juggling with figures, at worst a weariness of the flesh.

If his education is to be of the fullest value to each boy, to be for him a real preparation for life, he must be given the opportunity to discover where his particular ability lies, and, having discovered it, to develop that particular ability to the highest standard of which he is capable. If he is not allowed to do so, he remains only half-educated, frustrated, fundamentally uncultured.

For many boys, these studies according to special aptitude will rightly follow academic lines. Boys with literary and linguistic ability will enter on courses of languages, literature and history. Those with mathematical and scientific ability will be trained through formal science and mathematics. Full provision will be made, however, for those whose abilities are not fundamentally academic, for the artist, the musician, the boy with practical tastes.

Through this course of basic culture, which covers the whole range of the boy's nature, through the opportunities in the later stage of his education of his developing the side of his nature in which there is a predominant urge, we shall be helping each of our pupils to ensure for himself not only a happy individual life, but we shall also be making him into a more balanced, useful citizen.

For we shall continually be giving him the opportunity of discovering himself. Only through self-discovery can come confidence and balance, and consequent happiness. This process of self-discovery comes to different boys in different ways. To some it comes through realization of ability in the intellectual sphere, to others it comes through physical, manual or aesthetic activities. A boy writes a poem, which is more than a mere exercise, he does a good piece of acting in a play, he is responsible for a valuable piece of community work, he discovers ability he did not know he possessed in the artistic sphere, he develops a flexibility and grace of body through physical exercises, and he changes. There is a different look in his eyes, a fresh, more confident, attitude towards life, something that was not there before. Ultimately he may find that *grande passion*, that combination of urge and ability, which will dominate his life's work and enable him to develop to the uttermost the deepest incentives of his nature.

Essential skills, basic culture, studies suitable for the special aptitude of each, and carried to as high a standard as possible—these are the three essential elements in a reconstructed curriculum.

But how can it be carried out in practice?

There is not, nor ought there to be, any stereotyped road. The essential thing is to see the vision, and courageously to work out the general plan. How that vision may be given reality, how the plan may be put into practice, must vary with condition and circumstance. While organization and guidance from above may help, schools are individual entities, and can only reach their fullest development insofar as each is allowed to work out its own particular tradition and mode of life.

In its essence the reconstruction of the curriculum, with the intent of making the school a more realistic preparation for life, of training a better type of citizen, at once a free individual and a co-operating member of the community, is a spiritual as well as an intellectual adventure. It implies the creation of schools which are spiritual entities, each with a tradition, an atmosphere, a mode of life, which, as much as anything that is said or done therein, is continuously educating those who are educated therein. It involves the abolition of those watertight compartments between so-called school and out-of-school activities, and the conception and working out of an ideal school society, in which studies, activities and life are all thought of as training and practice in the art of individual and community living.

To every fresh generation is given the opportunity to create a better, happier world. To the schools of each new age is given the task of training men and women capable of such creation. Yet how rarely has that opportunity been seized, how rarely has that task been done! How often have schools been no more than mass-production factories, in which the fresh generation has been moulded to the old image, sent out into the world with the old ideals, the old prejudices, the old hatreds!

Born into the world with infinite possibilities for creative action, the child leaves school spoilt, with his ideals tarnished, his enthusiasm quelled, his mind dulled.

Could we not, if we wished, train up in our schools a new generation, wiser and better equipped than the old? Could we not create a new type of citizen, ~~with~~ body lovely, bal-

anced and controlled, with enthusiasm undulled, yet with mind keen, alert, analytical and unprejudiced, capable of combining in itself the urge to sweep away antique abuses with a capacity to learn from the experience of the past, inoculated against shams and outworn values, false thinking and mass suggestion, a generation clear-eyed, heroic, with intelligence, conscience, and will trained to create that better, saner world of which the wisest of all agés have dreamed?

It is a task of immense difficulty, demanding vision and courage, practical ability and constructive planning. But how worth while!

EDUCATION AND CITIZENSHIP

WILLIAM BOYD

TWO preliminary remarks have to be made. The first is, that we must think of citizenship comprehensively.

Citizenship is not merely or mainly a matter of voting or holding political office. The good citizen is the good member of society in all its aspects: good neighbour, good family man, good worker, good politician.

The second is, that we must clear our minds of the idea that we can make good citizens by imparting information about social duties or by moral injunctions. Good citizenship is a right way of life, which can be bettered by an intelligent understanding of the facts of civic behaviour, but depends on participation in community experience.

How, then, are good citizens made? How have the people who are good citizens become so? There are four factors to be stressed:

(1) *Social Loyalty*: The identification of one's self with the wellbeing of one's group or community; thinking in terms of 'us,' rather than of 'me.'

(2) *Active Interest in the Group*: Not merely belonging to the group, but being concerned with its concerns.

(3) *Good Social Judgment*: Involving (a) a reasonable amount of knowledge of the facts of social life, and (b) a sane, balanced view of these facts, free from prejudice or self-interest.

(4) *The will to serve up to the measure of one's capacity.*

How are these fundamental qualities acquired? Always through life itself. One becomes a good citizen by growing up in an intelligent home, where people talk over things, by discussion of the day's happenings with one's fellows, by reading the newspapers, by fitting into the social scheme in which one's own life is involved.

This raises the question as to the part played by education

in the moral and social spheres. The answer is that education is a conscious and deliberate attempt to do better what is already done without conscious deliberation.

In the boarding school, when the teachers act in *loco parentis*, the process is to be seen in the way standards of conduct are developed consciously in the course of the ordinary school relations, and especially through games.

The problem of the ordinary Public School is much harder, because it tends to think of all matters in intellectual terms, and to forget the experimental basis of good morals. Actually the ordinary school is a very poor kind of a community, and will continue to be so till it is reorganized on less dictatorial lines. Boys and girls cannot grow up into good citizenship in an institution which directs their lives from above, and gives them little or no responsibility in the management of their own business. They can learn to be members of the larger community only by living in a real community, on their own level of experience.

With that, or apart from that, there is need for greater emphasis on the social studies: on history, geography, elementary economics and politics, newspaper facts. These studies deserve more time and attention than the academic curriculum allows. Whatever else is not taught, the facts of current life in their setting of space and time should figure largely in the modern school.

And to keep these studies in contact with life, there must be more opportunities for forming personal judgments. Languages and mathematics deal with the dead certainties that do not occur in ordinary life. What must be acquired is the power to deal with the every-day uncertainties on which everybody needs to form the opinions that lead to action. For this there is no better training than free discussion on controversial topics of all kinds in regard to familiar situations in school and neighbourhood. The question that must always be put is: 'What do *you* think?' in the hope that it may lead gradually to the formation of a personal point of view with tolerance for the views of others.

EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP

F. W. HART

IF I were Director of Education in an organized society, that held within its power, either by conquest or otherwise, a subject primitive race, and if it were the policy of that society to keep such people in a state of subjugation, I would not permit a school of any kind to be established. I would not permit a teacher, a missionary, or a ray of enlightenment to enter the boundaries of the subject people. Abysmal ignorance is the best guarantee of docile submission to economic slavery and profitable exploitation.

If I were Director of Education in a country ruled by a dictator, I would make education free, universal and mandatory for all people of all ages. I would prescribe, in the most minute detail, the curriculum, the content, the method, and purge the schools of any teacher who did not follow the prescription to the letter of the law. Dictatorship cannot endure in the presence of enlightenment, cannot survive in an atmosphere of free, critical thinking.

If I were Director of Education in a country in which the Government derived its just powers from the consent of the governed, education would again be free, universal, mandatory for youth, and available to all ages, but, in this case, no phase of the social, economic or political life of the nation would be excluded from rigorous critical study, and no aspect of government would be too sacred to undergo searching scrutiny.

In the light of the foregoing statements, it is evident that we cannot discuss the freedom of the teacher intelligently until we have raised one all-important question and reached a common understanding of the answer to it. The question is: Do the schools exist for the purpose of preserving, and perpetuating unchanged, the form of society of which they are a part, or do they exist for the purpose of developing critical thinkers, who will seek to know the truth and apply

it to the betterment of society? If it is agreed that the purpose of the school system is to preserve, to perpetuate unchanged, the form of society of which it is a part, the content of education becomes propaganda, the method regimentation, the result indoctrination, and there is no such thing as freedom for the teacher. If, on the other hand, schools exist for the purpose of developing enlightened, critical thinkers who will seek to know the truth and to apply it to the betterment of society, the freedom of the teacher becomes an issue of profound significance.

It is from the latter point of view that we shall consider the freedom of the teacher. In America, the freedom of the teacher to teach is seldom seriously challenged outside the field of the social, political and economic life of the community, the State, or the nation. It is within this field, therefore, that I shall consider the issue.

Some three years ago, in California, a committee of educators was named by our State Superintendent of Public Instruction to consider the revision of the curriculum, especially as it related to the field of the social studies. It was my privilege to serve as chairman of that committee and to deliver its report at the annual Association meeting of all of the high school principals and superintendents in the State. The position taken by the committee can best be expressed by a direct quotation from its report. Having given due recognition to the great advances made in our schools in the fields of the physical sciences, it continued thus:

‘We are not contending for the abandonment of the pursuit of the physical sciences, for a “scientific holiday” or a moratorium. That pursuit must go on—it has served us well and will continue to be necessary. But we are contending that there must be a shift of emphasis, a re-alignment of recognitions and rewards, that will cause the social sciences to rise to a position of supremacy in the minds of men—to appeal to the genius of our people, to command our intelligence. We are not unmindful of the fact that our public school programme of to-day does offer what

purports to be instruction in the social sciences and we recognize that here and there some vital work is being done, but, by and large, we hold that most of the social science, as taught, is socially impotent, politically spineless and economically innocuous—academic apple-sauce, cultural custard.

‘It would not be just or fair to lay such a scathing indictment at the door of our schools without assuming the responsibility of explaining why such a situation exists. The explanations are not far to find. In the first place, the social science field is the pasture land of our society’s most cherished “sacred cows”—property, privilege, profit and false patriotism; and the second reason is the time-hallowed homage which we pay to college entrance requirements—may we call this our worship of the “golden calf of culture,” obsolescent culture?’

Scathing as the foregoing indictment may have been, the committee’s report was adopted unanimously by the Association, and steps taken immediately to carry the recommendations of the report into effect. Lobby discussion of the report revealed that there were those who felt that the committee had borne down rather heavily on the time-hallowed teaching of history and formal civics. They seemed to feel that, after all, that type of history teaching which hangs up the great events on a chronological clothes-line, pinning them on with important dates, may have some significance in contemporary life.

On my return to the University, I initiated a series of research studies aimed at discovering whether or not our indictment of the teaching of the social studies in the State of California was too ‘severe. Four doctorate studies in all were outlined and carried to completion.

The first investigation sought the answers to the following questions: How much information do graduating high school seniors have on contemporary social, political and economic problems and issues? What relationship exists between the amount of such information and the amount of social studies work they have taken in school?

In order to answer these questions, contemporary books,

newspapers and periodicals over a period of two years were analysed for the purpose of discovering the problems and issues raised. From this source more than 500 problems were derived and more than 200 issues were selected. More than 4,000 objective test items were then prepared for the purpose of constructing an objective social survey test. The final tests were based on 200 of the test items selected by an accredited jury as representing the types of information that a graduating high school senior should have in order to fulfil intelligently his function as a citizen. These tests were given to more than 4,000 high school seniors in 40 high schools throughout California. The tests were constructed so that a perfect score was 100 points.

The results of the survey showed that the highest score made by any pupil was 58, and that the average score was 20. The general outcome may probably be expressed by saying that graduating high school seniors in California possessed some definite information on one-third of the problems and issues, no information on one-third of the problems and issues, and misinformation on the remaining one-third. It was further revealed that the correlation between the number of semesters of social science taken by the students and the amount of information possessed by them was practically zero. In other words, it does not matter whether a student takes only four semesters of our social studies as usually taught, or ten—the amount of information he possesses will probably be about the same.

The conclusions of this research do not necessarily imply that the study of history or formal civics has no cultural value, but they do definitely prove that social science as taught provides little or no information on contemporary problems and issues of a social, political or economic nature. Social science instruction is evidently not training for intelligent participation in contemporary American life.

A second study, seeking to discover the origin of the attitudes and opinions of our graduating high school seniors toward contemporary social, political and economic issues, carried out in a similar manner, revealed this interesting

fact. The correlation between the attitudes and opinions of students and the attitudes and opinions of their parents was .61, while the correlation between the attitudes and opinions of the students and those of their teachers was only .12. Still more disturbing is the fact that the correlation between the attitudes and opinions of students and those of 88 college and university instructors in the field of social studies was .01.

From this it is evident that the attitudes and opinions of our graduating high school seniors with reference to social, political and economic problems are being formed in the home, and are very little influenced by the school. This may be desirable, but if it is true, then we are not entitled to claim that our secondary schools are society's chosen agency for training for citizenship. A generalization that may be drawn is that the influence of the teachers and college professors combined is probably less than that of the parents. The conclusions of this study form the strongest argument in favour of adult education that I have yet encountered.

The third investigation in the series raised the question of what the teachers of social studies know about social, political and economic problems. In order to answer this question, an intense research was carried out, involving 892 teachers and 424 graduating high school seniors. It was gratifying to discover that the average teacher's score was above 60, whereas the average score of our graduating seniors was approximately 20. The fact that the teachers possess a considerable amount of information in this field, and the fact that the students do not acquire this information in their classes, raised a fourth very important issue: What are the factors conditioning the presentation and discussion of controversial issues in the social studies?

A fourth study was carried to completion with as rigorous a technique as its nature would permit, the major conclusion being that while teachers are not frequently subjected to external pressure because of studying contemporary problems, they are at the same time conscious of the fact that if they did treat these issues fairly and courageously in their

classes they would be subjected to the external pressure of vested interest groups. They consequently pursue a cautious and guarded course in the treatment of controversial issues that deal with social, political and economic problems.

From the digests of the four research studies reported, it is evident, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that the indictment of the teaching of social studies in the California high schools, made in the committee report, was fully warranted by the facts. California high schools are generally recognized as standing high among the schools of the nation and, therefore, the findings in California may safely be taken to apply throughout the nation and probably in all other nations where the social studies are primarily history and conventional civics.

The obvious conclusion is that our schools should either organize their social studies around a critical study of the social, political and economic problems of contemporary life or cease claiming to be society's chosen agency for training for citizenship.

RELIGION AND EDUCATION

SIR CYRIL NORWOOD

I APPROACH my subject to-night with more than my customary measure of apprehension since, on the one hand, I do not think that it is humanly possible to say anything that is new upon the subject, so long as one has any regard for truth, and, on the other hand, in this particular audience I feel that whatever I may say will be also familiar and will have been frequently heard before. I can only hope that I may not bore you too much, and my consolation is that I know that you would not be here unless you cared very much both for religion and education, and knew that each was necessary to the well-being of the other.

I have always been taught that it is necessary in any discussion, and in this particular discussion I think that it is specially necessary, to begin by defining one's terms. I want to give the widest and the simplest sense to the word 'religion.' I mean by it a belief in the existence of God, the conviction that the ultimate reality is spiritual and that there is such a thing as eternal life. I do not mean by it denominationalism in any form or shape. I do not know that I would even confine it to Christianity—certainly not if Unitarians are not Christians. I take it that the real issue of our day lies between that party which accepts wholeheartedly the axiom of Karl Marx, that the only real values are the economic values, and that other party which maintains that these values are not ultimately real at all. It is this issue before all others which divides the modern world. Religion for me is that belief, that attitude to life, which leads men and women to attach absolute value to love, to truth, to goodness, and to beauty, because they are the manifestations of the eternal and the divine, however much they may be divided by doctrinal and other barriers from one another. And irreligion means for me

not only those who, as in Soviet Russia, deny and deride this belief, but also those who are much more dangerous to us, who pay lip service to the values of Christianity, but direct their whole life, and through it much of the economic and political life of our country as if Christianity could have no proper reference to our political affairs. This is the form in which the age-long struggle of Christ and anti-Christ presents itself in our day.

When I am asked what I similarly mean by education, I shall answer that I mean by education preparation for life, and I shall not be unduly perturbed by those persistent Socratic questioners who will ask me at once what I mean by preparation, and what I mean by life. I know that life is capable of all sorts of definitions, but I shall fall back on the simple statement of Aristotle that what we are concerned with in education is not life, but the good life. We are seeking to prepare boys and girls not merely to be good citizens—this is a necessary part of it—but to be good men and women. And I shall derive the content of my definition of goodness from Christian standards, because that is, in my belief, the best definition of goodness that is known to the world. It becomes clear, therefore, that education and religion are, and must always be, indissolubly bound together. Religion defines the good life, education prepares for it, religion inspires and education fits. The proposition cannot be denied, unless one believes, as many do, that religion is founded on a lie, and is a stage which humanity in its everlasting progress has to leave behind.

Let so much suffice for a brief statement of the case from the theoretic side, and let us consider the actual state of affairs here and now. There are not many who openly deny God, or who profess a militant atheism or agnosticism. The labour movement in England, for instance, is not by any means anti-Christian: it is full of local preachers and class-leaders, and the old evangelical influences of the Chapel and the trade unions made it. At the other end the propaganda of such a man as Bertrand Russell influences a certain number of intellectuals, and provides ammunition for the

young and clever rebels of our universities. It is dangerous so far as it goes, but not so dangerous, in my opinion, as it was. But I have a very definite feeling that it is not open opposition to religion, of which there will always be some, that has to be feared, either in this country or in America.

The trouble is one which is always present, but seems to me to be in our age more dangerous than ever. It is that in our time there are so many who serve both God and Mammon, and God tends to run a very bad second with them. They seem to take as their text, 'Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's,' and accept it readily, as Caesar asks for so much and God asks for so little. Their lives are not really lives of principle, and they put religion away into the backs of their minds. It is more or less an open question; at any rate they don't know; at any rate it can be left out, and it won't make any difference. And it always seems to me to be an attitude typified and foreshown by the attitude of my boys in the certificate forms at Harrow, who, when faced by the practical demands of the oncoming examination for the School Certificate, came to their housemasters and asked if they might drop Scripture, because they were not taking it in the examination, and it had, therefore, no practical value and they wanted the time. I am not arguing that school certificate Scripture is the same thing as religion, but I think that it is characteristic of our British practical mind that in the serious issues of business and economic life religion does not come in, and can be, indeed must be, left out. And so without any definite hostility to religion, very large numbers of men and women get into the habit of never thinking about it, and never trying to learn anything about it. After centuries of strife we arrived in Western Europe more or less at the principle of toleration in religion: the struggle was long, because human beings cared so intensely about it, and at last came to see that what they valued so much, others must value equally. But now we are in danger of accepting toleration in religious matters easily, because so few really mind about it, because so many

think that it does not matter. Hence indifference and virtual paganism make up the danger which seems to me to be most feared in the material civilization of the present day.

When we turn to education and consider the schools as they really are in this year of grace, we find much to encourage us in many ways, but at the same time few intelligent judges who know what real education is, and might be, are entirely satisfied, least of all on the side which may be called religious education. I am going to speak in the main about secondary schools in England, because these are the schools which I know much the best: they are also the field in which the battle for religious education must be fought out. Now, I think that it is not unfair to say that there are a great many schools which really conceive it to be their business to impart information in a highly efficient manner, and the test of whether they carry out that function properly is, for them, the results of the school certificate examination. This completes their horizon. They do not even ask whether the education which results in five credits in the school certificate is the best that man can devise: they do not even use the syllabus of that examination to frame an education which will be coherent and of value in itself: they just choose the subjects and the methods which experience has shown them are the most likely to produce the maximum number of credits. Their attitude is purely professional, admittedly productive of results according to purely external standards.

But I do not think that it is unjust to say that there is nothing spiritual in the atmosphere of these academies and that they resemble nothing so much as a mass-production factory of motor cars, both in their occasional efficiencies and their limitations. Their products lack quality and do not last. It is characteristic of them that Scripture is generally omitted by a sort of tacit consent of teachers and taught, as the time of the examination comes near, and that the teaching of the subject is at all times rather perfunctory, and by general consent regarded as unimportant. This is

part of the national attitude which I conceive to be so dangerous, the attitude that in the serious practical issues of life religion may be omitted. These are, I think, our worst schools. But there are many others which do tackle their job more sympathetically and with more insight. They do claim to equip their pupils for life, but their limitation is that they envisage this as equipping them for a job. Certain qualities are required in business—punctuality, accuracy, command of knowledge, good manners and willingness to serve. They therefore set themselves not only to impart information, but to produce a special type of character, and to convey a certain amount of vocational training, which may be little or much according to local circumstances. They are better, and some of them much better, than schools of the first type that I sought to describe. But they are limited by material interests: to be fit to get a job in the market, and to value it entirely in terms of £. s. d., are the considerations which naturally fill the minds of the pupils, and they are not the highest. These two types, which really cover a great number of our secondary schools, are schools of instruction rather than houses of education. I do not mean that they are hard and fast types, since they shade into one another, and are of various degrees of efficiency and social vision. But they are not favourable centres for religious education, particularly when we remember the great limitations of time and opportunity under which religious teaching is bound to labour, and particularly in day schools.

There is a third type of school, which is perhaps rather more a pattern laid up in the heavens than one of which we see actual specimens. But we do see imperfect approximations to it, and they differ from the average by the width of the heavens, because they are a real preparation for life. I mean schools in which masters and boys, or mistresses and girls, do feel themselves to be free personalities co-operating to a common end, an end which is not forced on them from without, but one which they all *will*. I mean a school in which each member feels that he has something to

contribute, some service to render to the common end, and in which he is encouraged and helped to develop his own specific gifts without undue regard to conventions or external requirements; a school which is sensitive to its external environment, quick to respond to changing needs of social service, not afraid to pioneer; a school which does take its religion as its central inspiration, and in which religion issues in some kind of action. I remember that the present Archbishop of York, when he was Bishop of Manchester, wrote in a report intended primarily for the education committee of a county council, of a vision of even a council school functioning, internally and externally, as a youthful Christian Church, and reminding all teachers that 'in all their work they have the example of Jesus Christ, who Himself adopted the life of a teacher, gave full play to the individuality of His disciples, and relied on no system of external organization in His dealing with them.' I should not go so far as this in making religion self-conscious, since I do not think that a school should be a church. But the essence of the idea is right that a school should be a place where you learn to live rightly, to begin to love God and to love your neighbour as yourself, and where you learn for the most part by not being talked to, or talked at, or by talking at all, but by living and doing.

The best of schools is but an imperfect copy of this ideal, and there are not too many in the world which are free enough even to try and realize it. Many, or so it seems to me, have not brought religion into relation with education, and have become places in which religious instruction is perfunctory and disorganized, and religious education does not exist at all. I do not want to exaggerate. We live in a period which is experiencing change and development more rapidly than any other period known to us in the history of the world, and the sphere of religion is no exception. We are a nation of men and women who, when I was a boy, could still be said with a real measure of truth to have been bred on the Bible, and on a literal acceptance of the Bible, as the specially inspired Word of God. We are now a nation

which has got the impression that the Bible is only like other books, and that you do bits of it at school, but you do not read it afterwards. The Old Testament is certainly in common opinion entirely discredited, and the New Testament really hangs together with it, and falls under the same suspicion. And the great part of the population knows nothing about either in any case, since they do not read them, and do not go to any place of worship. They substitute the evening papers and the Sunday papers, and their minds are what you would expect as a result of long courses of that type of intellectual food.

It has, of course, made a profound difference that there has ceased to be any real religious teaching in the home: it is hard for the best of teachers to take the place of the mother. All through the nineteenth century the examination of the Books of the Bible by scientific criticism, and the revision of Biblical values, were going on. I think we know that the result of that tremendous process of searching has been to leave the Bible more impressive than ever before, a progressive revelation of God which you can study stage by stage up to the supreme manifestation of the Divine in Christ. But for the popular mind it meant that the old ideas were all wrong and had become obsolete. And I cannot acquit the clergy of their share of fault in making the translation of the old view to the new so difficult, so delayed, and so dangerous. I need not remind you that many of them met the new light by starting heresy hunts, and that very few ever had the courage to teach from the pulpit anything that would hurt the feelings of the fundamentalist. Religion, organized religion, as I remember being told by my Oxford tutor, always hallows the *status quo*, and I am afraid that the position of some ecclesiastics is more frequently that they have been guided into all truth rather than that of the words of the promise that by the spirit they will be guided. However, it is no good to criticize. As Homer observes, even a fool knows a thing when it is done. What is clear is that a new interpretation and a new understanding have to be created.

Summing up the unfavourable features, I find that there was, and is, a general failure to teach the Bible in the home, and a general failure to tackle any thorough and connected exposition of it in the pulpit. Consequently a whole generation grew up which enjoyed no intelligent Christian teaching, but received the impression that old views of the Bible were no longer tenable. The case was allowed to go largely by default. It is not justifiable to say that this was due to the Great War, to which we ascribe readily most of our troubles, for all this happened in the generation which preceded the War. I think, if I were asked to be precise, I would say that the situation changed definitely for the worse in the twenty years between 1894 and 1914. There is a danger always in generalizing from a particular instance, but when it is one's own experience it is at any rate worth while to contribute it for what it is worth. I was a young man in that period: I left school in 1894. I was taught my Scripture on the understanding that all higher critics, especially German ones, were quite mistaken, that there were no errors of fact in the Bible, and that traditional interpretations were always right. The manifest inaccuracies of some of the arguments which were presented to me had an unfortunate effect in throwing me into opposition, so that for a time I thought that none of the orthodox ever told or wrote the truth. It was only little by little after I had become a schoolmaster that I was able to put together the elements of a new interpretation which was not compelled on frequent occasions, like the ostrich, to bury its head in uncritical sands. That being my history, I am naturally inclined to think it probable that it has been the history of a good many others. Had I not become a schoolmaster, I do not know that I should ever have felt inclined to thresh out the questions for myself. I might have continued in a state of sceptical indifference. At any rate I cannot help thinking that many did, and that the Church has been even more injured by its own indifference to modern teaching than it has been injured by open attacks upon it by enemies from without. I maintain that a generation was lost to the Church

before the War, and it is with their children that we are dealing.

Of course, we have got to add to this the fact that there has been an enormous growth of secondary education in England and the world since 1902: in fact, in England the whole system of state-aided secondary schools has been created. I have formed the conclusion, as I have already indicated, that while on the whole there have been, and are, notable exceptions, religion has generally in these schools been considered to be exclusively a matter for the homes, and religious instruction has been haphazard, and incomplete. But there has generally been no religion in the homes, or at any rate, little religious guidance, and the total result has been that boys and girls have gone out with an alarming ignorance of all things appertaining to religion, but yet with the conviction that they have had a very good education. It is not their fault if they think so, for they are told so often enough. And one has to remember that these pupils, who from their education are doubtless in positions of some leadership throughout the middle-class of our country, are now men and women in the prime of life. It is really not at all surprising that many of them do not know what Christianity is, not at all surprising that superstitions of various kinds flourish in our day more than they have done for a long time past. These people are being hit by the realities of life, and they have no sure ground on which to fall back.

I am not forgetting the bulk of the nation, who left the elementary schools at 13 or 14, and then generally proceeded to drift out of the range of the Sunday school and the organized congregation. I am not decrying the religious instruction given in the elementary schools, hampered as it has been by the bitter animosities of sectarian politics. It has been, I think, surprisingly good. But when it is not strengthened by home influences, it has not been sufficient to mean much. It is a seed which, finding no depth of soil, withers away. What can be taught to a child up to the age of fourteen is not enough to build a reasoned Christianity capable of standing against both destructive criticism and the

materialism of our civilization. The work ought somehow to have been carried on by the Churches, but it has frequently not been attempted, and at best the ground has only been partially covered. I can only say that, looking at the facts as they present themselves to me, I am surprised that the position is not very much worse than it is. Some little time ago I read the little book by Bernard Shaw, *The Adventures of a Black Girl in the Search for God*. The story, as you will remember, is told with a good deal of 'go,' with a proper element of blasphemy put in to astonish the religious bourgeois, and a great deal of verbal wit. I am not going to criticize it in detail, but the point which I wish to make is that Shaw honestly thinks that he is putting a new and an arresting point of view. But he says nothing about the nature of God or the Bible which has not been a common-place in all the good Christian teaching that has been given in the schools for the last twenty years. Take this passage from the end of his exposition, 'I take it that the missionary lifted her (i.e., the little black girl) straight out of her native tribal fetichism into an unbiased contemplation of the Bible with its series of Gods, making stages in the development of the conception of God from the monster Bogey-man to the Father, then to the spirit without body, parts or passions—and finally to the definition of that spirit in the words, God is love.' Why should so clever and observant a man as Shaw think that he was here announcing something new, and something which particularly wanted saying? Let me quote a further passage, because it contains a good deal that is valuable. 'The study of the history of the development of a hypothesis from savage idolatry to a highly cultivated metaphysic is as interesting, instructive and reassuring as any study can be to an open mind and an honest intellect. But we spoil it all by that lazy and sluttish practice of not throwing out the dirty water when we get in the clean. The Bible presents us with a succession of Gods, each being a striking improvement on the previous one, marking an ascent of man to a nobler and deeper conception of Nature, every step involving a purification of the water

of life and calling for a thorough emptying and cleansing of the vessel before its replenishment by a fresh and cleaner supply. But we baffle the blessing by just sloshing the water from the new fountain into the contents of the dirty old bucket, and repeat this folly until our minds are in such a filthy mess that we are objects of pity to the superficial but clear-headed atheists, who are content without metaphysics and can see nothing in the whole business but its confusions and absurdities. Practical men of business refuse to be bothered with such crazy matters at all.'

I cannot help interrupting my argument to point out that Shaw enjoys representing the confused religious people as objects of pity to 'clear-headed atheists, who are content without metaphysics,' and practical men of business who refuse to be bothered—this in spite of the fact that he has just said that a contempt for metaphysics is a sure symptom of a fundamentally stupid mind, and that the business man who has contemplated the universe all through life without ever asking 'What does it all mean?' belongs to the predestinately damned. So perhaps it does not matter so much if the religious are objects of pity to them. But my point is this, that we have not got very far with a reasonable and enlightened presentation of religious teachings if Shaw can, in apparent good faith, write this sort of thing. Or perhaps we might say more truly that he is out of touch with the realities of religious teaching at the present time. And perversely he declines to recognize the fact that never in the history of the human race has all the dirty water been thrown out when we got in the clean. That is not the way things happen, or ever can happen. Always the new gradually replaces the old. It took thirty or forty years before the main results of Biblical criticisms became present, even in part, to the minds of ordinary men and women. It always takes something like that time before any new revolution in thought percolates down to the general public, and its practical applications to accepted ideas become apparent. It has taken thirty or forty years before the new teaching of the Bible has percolated through even to the mind of

Bernard Shaw, who is generally quick at observing what is going on. But great is truth and it will prevail, and what we who care about these things have to do is just to stick to our task, and have the strength to go on without allowing ourselves to be discouraged.

Of course, I have not given a completely exhaustive account of all the influences that are making against religious education, and I do not propose to do so. For if I had the ability, I am afraid that I have not got the time. Our problem is, it is obvious, something wider than the mere question of the Bible and Biblical criticism. We have to make ourselves acquainted with the arguments which will come from the side of modern science, remembering that the present generation regards the man of science as its prophet and its inspired man of God. So true is this that you can get away with almost anything in the newspapers or elsewhere, if you begin your proposition with the words 'Science says.' We have, under the name of modern science, to be equally aware of what the science of the end of the 19th century said, this being the science of which the popular mind is most fully aware, and of what the science of the present day says, which is a remarkably different thing. We have, moreover, to make ourselves acquainted with what modern psychology says, a branch of knowledge which is adolcescing through a very dogmatic infancy, and which, without intention to do so, has popularized a good many disastrous half-truths. We must know something about comparative religion, a valuable study if it does not have the effect which it not uncommonly has on the clever young, and the half-educated adult, of inducing the belief that every religion is very much the same as every other, and all of them equally false. We must be sympathetic with the extreme fundamentalists, and we must not be intolerant of the extreme modernist even when he reduces Jesus Christ to the status of a poor blinded dervish who did not know what He was doing. It follows, therefore, that the good religious teacher at the present time needs to be well educated and widely read, sure of his position and able to

defend it and explain it with clearness and sympathy for others. And here comes the difficulty of the situation, that the demand is very much in excess of the supply.

It is right that we should face frankly the difficulties of the situation as, for instance, they present themselves to the secondary school headmaster who is anxious to do his best for religious teaching. It is a rare thing for him to come across a master who is at all willing to take the subject. They allege that they have not got the knowledge and in the majority of the cases the statement is undoubtedly true. They say that they are afraid of the questions that might be asked, afraid of either giving no answer at all, or an answer which might be misunderstood, and cause trouble either in the home or in the school. They claim to be specialists, engaged either to teach modern languages, or mathematics or science, or history or geography, and on the very ground that they are specialists to be absolved from any duty of reading Scripture. It is the duty of the form master. But the form master tends to become more and more of a shadow in the modern secondary school, often no more than the man who is responsible for adding up the marks of that particular group of boys. Consequently, when you do with some trouble get a sufficiency of teachers, you find that they take refuge in teaching the Old Testament purely as history, and the New Testament as something to which you set questions on the notes, laying stress on the miracles which are peculiar to the Gospel, or the particular method in which the Jews celebrated the Passover, or the salient points of the life and career of Herod Antipas, and taking great care never to get off sure ground. 'Safety first' is their motto, and the teaching is only too frequently dead. I am one of those who deplore the obsolescence of the old form master, who took his boys twice or three times a day, and was their guide, philosopher and friend. I feel that in the modern days, when almost everything has fallen into the hands of specialists, the level of instruction has tended to improve, the level of education has tended to fall. I have fought hard most of my life to preserve the

reality of the form master system, but on the whole it has been a losing battle. Particularly I have fought for the principle that the form master should teach Scripture, and I have besought men to equip themselves. I have provided small libraries for them to use, but only infrequently do they make use of them. I suppose that the plain fact of the matter is that, to be qualified to teach the Bible well in the present day, you need a long course of definite study, probably at least a year's steady reading before you have got any real grasp. The literature is immense, some of the problems are baffling, and there is always the danger of insincerity.

Reluctantly, therefore, I have found myself, as the result of my experience, driven to the conclusion that this subject of Scripture teaching is one for the specialist, like the rest. The danger of that is that it loses its universality, it may become no longer thought of as something which all ought to know, part of the mental outfit of the Christian citizen. That cannot be helped. Scripture must be taught, and must be taught well. Accordingly one practical issue of my reflections is that we need to aim at providing simple one-year courses which intending teachers can take at the universities, courses not primarily theological and not directed to Holy Orders. We should press on heads of schools generally the importance of having the subject as well and as efficiently taught as elementary mathematics or French.

I am very sceptical of the value of including Scripture in any general scheme of external examination. I have had occasion to read through a considerable number of papers done for the eight various examining bodies who in England award the School Certificate, and I am not inclined to think, as a result, that this particular type of work aids the development of a true religious spirit in the schools. I won many Divinity and Scripture prizes in my boyhood in a school in which the subject was taken very seriously in an old-fashioned way, but I cannot remember obtaining any religious inspiration or real help for life. On the whole, as I have hinted, it probably worked the other way. I am

conscious in all that I say that my subject is religion and education, and that I am regarding both as necessary to life in that they produce a strength and reliance in the character which will enable it to meet, as they should be met, the chances and changes that are bound to come. So far as the class-room side of the matter goes, I think that the most helpful contribution that can be made is to work throughout the school on a carefully thought-out syllabus designed to make the Bible intelligible and helpful, to show that right through the Old Testament the Jews are making progress towards an always nobler and truer conception of God, and not only that, but that the Old Testament also contains some of the highest thought about the Divine to which humanity has yet attained. I want to see the New Testament so used as to present to the pupils a living picture of Christ as He was, and I do not want it used for examination purposes. Here are the words of life.

1 This view of the Bible which I wish to see universally set forth in all our higher schools is one which it is equally important to try to set forth both in churches and in study classes of all kinds. I believe that it would be a valuable thing if parish priests would set aside regular successions of Sundays to the task of teaching the Bible and directing a more enlightened reading of it. I believe that it could even do good if the lessons which we read in Church were preceded by a very brief explanation of the time and circumstances when they were written, such as would make the passage intelligible. For as things are the lessons for the ordinary congregation are just a succession of words, sounds often without any living meaning to the hearers. In every way I want to see the Bible better understood, and more widely understood because for us as a nation, speaking broadly, this is our most natural approach to religion; here are the words which make the most living appeal to us. I confess that I am always a little impatient with those who press the reading of the Bible upon us because it is such splendid literature. Of course it is, and it is very lucky that it was translated for us at a time when our language was

at the height of its nervous strength. But it is much more than this. It is not verbally inspired in the old sense, but in a real sense it contains the words of eternal life. And that is why we must do our utmost to see, in every school, that it shall be properly understood and intelligently honoured.

I am not, however, among those who think that the study of a book, even if that book is the Bible, is enough, or that mere teaching can make boys and girls, men and women, religious. If we go back again to the world of the school, which is for me the most familiar ground, I recognize the fact, patent in the time-table of any ordinary secondary school, that the pupils who spend five years in such a school probably devote 180 lessons to religious instruction, and six times as many to mathematics. And there is something equally obvious to be observed, and that is that true religion is not a matter of instruction at all. It is something which either grows from a good environment or, more often, is lit like a flame from some personal example. As has so often been said, it is caught and not taught: it is a living thing, and passes from a life to a life.

Consequently I believe that it is a help at any rate in boarding schools to have a chaplain, for whom the school shall be as a parish—a man to whom the boys can bring their difficulties, to whom they can resort in trouble, in the secure knowledge that their confidences will be respected, and that their secrets will not be passed on. Such a man should do some teaching in the school, not necessarily all of it Scripture, but he should have a very light time-table. If he is the right sort of man he can exercise a wide and deep influence, and can be of the utmost service at the time of Confirmation preparations in particular. I am not going to discuss the problem on the narrow ground of boarding school conditions, important as they are, because, after all, that type of school covers only a very small part of the youth of the country. But if something has been found to be of value in them, the question naturally arises whether it cannot be transplanted into the day-schools. But I have often thought it would be a help if the staffs of day-schools

contained a member, not necessarily a clergyman by any means, whose main business it was to be what a good club-leader is in a boy's club, a friend and an adviser, an organizer of out-of-school activities, a visitor in the homes, a man who had some gift of showing forth his religion, not only with his lips but in his life. But this may not be practicable, and I do not press it. Its success would depend upon the right personality being available, and I am afraid that the right personality is limited. To make an appeal through wrong personalities in a formal and conventional way, because it is a thing that is expected of a school, would do more harm than good, or at any rate prove itself to be a waste of effort. What is certain is that the school itself ought to be the kind of place in which the pupils grow into religion naturally. That will depend ultimately on the head of the school more than anyone else, and that is what makes the work of the head so vitally important. I do not say that the head of a school or an institution can do all that needs doing single-handed, nor do I assert that a school with a weak, inefficient or unspiritual head will be altogether lacking. I should only say that it would be inevitably and seriously handicapped. If the school is to be a seed-bed of religion, it must feel itself to be a community, a place in which each one feels that he has his work to do, and does it with a will because he feels that nothing less than his best is worthy of the community of which he is a member; a place in which each feels encouraged and not checked; a place where he learns in ways greater and less to help his neighbour. And the inspiration which leads to that will be the desire to render praise and service to God.

I do not in the least mean that our schools should be encouraged to talk religion. I confess to having sympathy with Benjamin Jowett, the famous Master of Balliol, who, when told by the earnest undergraduate that he had found Jesus, is said to have replied that he was very glad to hear it, but he hoped that he would not talk about it. But I think that every school should have its regular services, and its Bible readings; that a good deal of thought and trouble

should be devoted to making them as good as possible and as beautiful as possible, and that the pupils should always be called in to take a part in the services, and to play that part as worthily as they can. And in all schools I would set apart one day in the year for a service of commemoration and re-dedication, however new the school may happen to be, and borrow the parish Church for the occasion if, as is possible, the school has no adequate place free from completely secular associations.

Moreover, once in the year I should make an effort to get a visitor from outside to come and talk to the older boys, on some one of the great questions which always arise in the minds of the intelligent as they grow to be adolescent. In my own case I do not object to the presence of young masters at the talks themselves, but I always require them to leave before the subsequent discussion begins, so that the boys can feel themselves entirely free to talk. As a definite example of what I mean, may I quote the following? On one occasion at Harrow, I had the late Bishop of Ripon to talk to the sixth and fifth forms on the subject of 'Man versus the Machine,' which is only a journalistic title for the old issue of the spiritual and the material. The first evening there was a talk which all had to attend: on the next two evenings there were talks attended only by those who were interested, and who wished to be there, followed in each case by a discussion. And the fourth evening was set apart for private interviews, if there were any who wished to bring their private problems in the hope of help and enlightenment.

Another point before I draw to an end. I feel it to be most important that the religion of the school should issue in action: the school ought to do something. I do not know what it may be—a school mission, a boy's club, the local unemployed, it will depend on circumstances, so long as the pupil is not led to believe that by a vicarious shilling, or an annual half-crown, he can discharge all the obligations of social service and practical Christianity. A lot of trouble

needs to be taken over this: one of the worst abuses is apt to be the compulsory levy for foreign missions.

In all these ways we can, by talking thought, help to create an atmosphere favourable for the growth of real religion. But at the last, for all our planning, we shall come back to the final hard truth that we can only make the world better by making ourselves better; only make boys and girls grow up naturally into being Christians by being Christians ourselves. And that thought must leave us humble, for I am afraid that when we look back upon all that we have done, if we are honest we have to confess that we are apt to be unprofitable servants.

SECTION IV
EDUCATION AND RURAL LIFE

RURAL TRENDS THE WORLD AROUND

E. DE S. BRUNNER

IN this talk I propose to select certain trends that to some extent at least are common to a number of lands, and here and there to suggest certain implications for education. Perforce such a presentation involves a measure of superficiality—but this is a lecture, not a lecture course. Doubtless what values it may have will best accrue to you if you will constantly check what I have to say against your knowledge of conditions in your own country.

I shall limit the discussion to the present century, not because important trends did not begin before that time, but because it is the period which is closest to us and during which the tempo of change has been most rapid. It is a period which for the farmers of many nations has been marked successively by well-being, unusual prosperity, and economic disaster. It has witnessed abrupt shifts in export trade and the rapid development of co-operative marketing. It has experienced the shock of a world war, and felt the drain of an unprecedented migration of rural people to the city. It has seen in many lands the passing of the hoe, the horse, and the mule, and the coming of the tractor, the combine, and the automobile. It has had an amazing output of agrarian legislation dealing with land, credit, marketing, and even production. It has observed the growing intensity of the interplay of social and economic concerns and the reorganization of some types of rural communities and their social utilities, and it marks the dawning awareness of the interdependence of farm, village, city and nation. It is to some of these matters in their social aspects that we now turn our attention.

One of the more important of these is the urbanward drift of population, which dates from the beginning of our modern industrial era, but which has become especially pronounced in the last half-century. In terms of human experience, this

has been a profound change. Until yesterday, ours was a rural world, with family and social organization governed by the necessities and the *mores* of agriculture. In the days of my grandfather, the United States was almost 90 per cent. rural; to-day more than half our people live in places of over 2,500 population, and 46 per cent. in places of over 10,000. When the present era opened in Japan, about seventy years ago, she was 80 per cent. rural; to-day her urban areas have the larger part of the nation's population. Most spectacular has been the shift in Australia. In her relatively brief history, this continent, dedicated originally to primary production, has reached the point where the strictly rural population is less than two-fifths of the total, the metropolitan almost 47 per cent. The drift is quite clear in the rural Balkan countries and in China, and it has begun in India, in much of South America, and elsewhere. It was, of course, first noticed in England a century or so ago.

This phenomenon is important from many points of view, of which I can mention only a few. The farm family has a unity and cohesiveness that has never been equalled by the urban, as its sharply lower divorce rates show. The farm family is bound by a single interest—the co-*o*peration of man with animals and plants in the task of helping to answer the world's prayer for daily bread. It lives and moves and has its being at the seat of this enterprise: hence the dictum that agriculture is a way of life as well as a mode of making a living. The urban family is different. Its locale is a dormitory from which its members sally forth daily to their several pursuits, and, often, their several recreations. *Function after function the home used to perform is taken over by society on a commercial basis.* The cohesion of a single, major, binding interest is missing. The tensions of crowding, of artificiality, of conflicting, competitive purposes weaken and undermine the soil-born stability of those who work with Nature rather than with machines.

Poets like A.E. have joined the sociologists in telling us this, but we cannot follow the poet's solution and return to the days of old. The urban world must find solutions for its

problems, the rural world must adjust to them. Educationally at least, this adjustment has been but poorly made. The rural school was charged, and with some justice, with training its children away from the soil and towards the city. So we in America began to teach vocational agriculture, and tried to keep rural youth in rural areas. In India and some other countries 'agricultural bias' schools attempted to achieve a similar objective. Meanwhile migration cityward continued. And for the most part two groups of young people left—a somewhat disproportionate share of the best, thereby draining off potential leadership, and those who for lack of training or ability swelled the ranks of unskilled labour in the cities. The migration of those young people, reared and schooled in rural areas, represents a sizable social and economic contribution to the city, both direct and indirect, for which in few, if any, nations is an adequate return made.

It is important, educationally and socially, to take a new look at this situation. Migration is inevitable. The schools must allow for it. But agriculture is indispensable. Its values must be stressed and re-phrased in terms of the present age; and the life of rural communities must be enriched by whatever agencies are at society's disposal, for a rural population of unlettered persons, or even one inferior to the urban in outlook, culture, and ability, is dangerous for any nation, especially any democracy. Such a danger is more acute in some lands, more remote in others, but school and society need constantly to appraise the trends of population movement and to act accordingly.

This is the more necessary because of the declining birth-rate. In the United States, as in much of Western Europe, the cities are no longer producing enough children to maintain a stationary population. Rural areas have become the seed beds of these nations, and it is to the city's high interest to safeguard them. It is education's task to preserve that part of the rural heritage that should survive and help perpetuate it in city and country alike.

The whole complex trend of population movement towards urban centres raises a second and related matter.

Recent years have seen a growing sense of the interdependence of country and city. In the past there has been much conflict between them. In my own country in the 1920's there were several important congressional votes on which party lines were completely obliterated, and the issue was decided on a straight rural versus urban alignment. In some lands there are agrarian parties, often important if the balance of power falls into their hands. The theory is that this conflict is inevitable. The city wants its food as cheaply as possible, the country naturally prefers the highest prices it can get.

But in the complex, delicately adjusted economic order in which we live, especially in the Western world, that philosophy, while persisting, is dangerously erroneous. When in my own land rural purchasing power was cut in half by the collapse of prices, the economic illness quickly spread to the city. At the peak of our unemployment, half of it was attributable either directly or indirectly to the drying up of sales in rural areas. And when the Government payments under our Agricultural Adjustment Act began to flow to rural communities, it was not long before freight car loadings from the industrial to the agrarian States increased almost 50 per cent., the total volume of goods exceeding many times the value of the bounty paid. I hope the lesson will not be forgotten. It has lately been shown that the rise of Hitler in Germany was made possible in large part because the Republic failed to understand this fact of rural-urban interdependence. The support of the farmer had been a highly significant force in the establishment of the Republic, but its indifference to the needs of agricultural Germany helped to bring its downfall.

In many countries much legislation, such as that dealing with credit, the control boards and price fixing in New Zealand, and with the rice purchase plan in Japan, indicates that this interdependence is being recognized. In feudal society the exploiting of the husbandman was perhaps not very serious, but in this machine age it is suicidal. For in practically every land the primary producers make up the

largest single economic group. Minority though it be, the economic and the social well-being of this group is a factor of major importance in the economic and social health of the nation. The dawning recognition of this fact is one of the brighter spots on the horizon of our clouded era.

There is a corollary to this trend which I cannot forbear mentioning because of its sociological and practical importance, at least in the three countries in which it has been demonstrated—Denmark, Czechoslovakia, and the United States. I refer to the changing influences of the city as one proceeds outward from its centre. All nations that differentiate at all between rural and urban in their various censuses combine all rural, or at least all farm data, in one total. If, however, these data are tabulated by concentric tiers of counties grouped around the city, interesting variations begin to appear.

It is obvious, of course, that fluid milk and perishable food crops, such as vegetables, must be produced near the major sources of consumption. But it has only recently been discovered that social phenomena vary similarly. For instance, in the United States the birth-rate rises with each tier of counties out from the city, and the decline in the birth-rate has been since 1910, and especially since 1920, inversely proportional to the distance from the urban county. The proportion of tenant-operated farms increases with distance. Land values during the War and immediately afterwards rose more rapidly in the further tiers than in those closer to the city, but in the deflation the land near cities suffered far less than that further away, and had a lower ratio of mortgage indebtedness to true value. In those States with considerable emphasis on a large measure of local control in education the expenditure per pupil was highest in the city county, sharply lower in tiers one and two, slightly higher in tier three, and almost as high in tiers four and beyond as in the city, but the depression losses were in reverse order. A study (as yet unpublished) shows that the votes in our national elections of 1932 and 1936 conform to a similar pattern, and from what several representative citizens in Australia and

New Zealand have told me I am inclined to suspect you might discover the same thing. So far as I know, this rather new tier technique has not been applied 'down under.'

On the assumption that such services as education and social welfare should be somewhat differentiated in their approach to rural and urban populations, these facts suggest that within the rural areas there should be some adaptations among the tiers. We have come to believe in the United States that the failure of some State-wide programmes, put forth by well-meaning State and national agencies, lies not so much in the oft-complained-of lack of local leadership, as in the failure of the programmes to allow sufficiently for the sociological and economic differentiations that parallel the agricultural.

In view of these trends, it is not surprising that in pioneer countries the automobile has begun to make possible a new organization of rural life, socially and economically, around the village and town. In pioneer countries the farm or ranch used to be all but self-sufficient. Sometimes there was a neighbourhood convenience centre for the purchase of a few necessities, but trips to the shopping and banking centre were relatively infrequent. To-day that is changing. It is still perhaps the usual pattern in stock-raising areas, but even in wheat areas the farmer is tending to use the village and town centre more and more. In the United States the proportion of farmers in the membership of the churches in places from 2,500 to 10,000 population has gained five-fold since 1920. More than half the youths in the high schools in villages of less than 2,500, and nearly two-fifths of the members of social organizations, come from the farm. The more intensive the type of agriculture, the higher these proportions are likely to be.

This emerging type of village- or town-centred rural community is, of course, the usual form in the older nations such as Japan, China, and much of Europe. It is newer in the pioneer belts, but it is coming. It will make the conduct and organization of the educational and social services far less difficult than formerly. In our range States, comparable

with much of Australia, high school service areas of 500 to 1,200 square miles are quite common. In some places where dormitories have been established, they are even larger. This makes for larger student bodies, larger staffs, and enriched curricula. It also makes possible an increasing number of commercial and social services and the beginning of industries which offer employment to youth. In the Orient such industries are sometimes conducted on a subsidiary basis, operating when the farm work is slack. Even in the British Isles and America this latter possibility is attracting attention.

Many theorists foretold quite a different fate for these smaller centres of population: they were soon to become as deserted as Goldsmith's village. If I read your statistics correctly, your trend, like that in America, is beginning to be quite the contrary. In the United States the population in these service station villages and towns, as we call them, is gaining somewhat more rapidly than that in the nation as a whole. The number of commercial services and outlets has more than doubled since 1910, and the gain was never more rapid than during the recent depression.

It is this fact which accounts for the final trend that I desire to mention. The interests and thoughts of rural men and women have broadened with the process of the years. In a period when bread itself became a prime necessity for millions, the conviction deepened that man lives not by bread alone. Increasingly, rural people have sought to understand, perchance to utilize, the forces that baffled them. They have recognized the end of their isolation, the inevitableness of interaction among all groups. Increasingly, too, they have sought outlets for expression in drama, in community service, in recreation. Often in this they have blindly followed urban pathways, even to the bridge table. But frequently and encouragingly they have given a cultural turn to activities in terms authentically expressive of rural life.

True, there are backward communities as there are retarded individuals. True, too, there are conservative, unimaginative, even defeatist localities and persons; and there are those whose every nerve, to the point of exhaustion,

must still be strained to meet the problems of survival and subsistence. But study of the record of social life and the story of the progress of adult education against the background of economic stress and suffering of the 1930's leads to the conclusion that rural people are on the move towards a better, more wholesome and more functional social life, and warrants the high hope that the impetus already developed may be powerful enough to achieve and hold that good.

I have, of course, had no opportunity to discover whether this summary applies to your nation as it does to mine and certain others. In the United States, our volunteer social organizations have, of course, sociability as their major objective, but their activities have expanded and deepened. Educational programmes, self-conducted inquiries into the social and economic phenomena of our times, heightening interest in music, drama, and art, are all marked. The programme of our Agricultural Extension service has expanded and become more socialized. There is increasing emphasis on planning for community life. There has been earnest exploration of local resources, material and human. There has been a determined effort, often in co-operation with our work-relief organization, to improve the facilities of community life in terms of parks, playgrounds, swimming pools and community houses.

But this has been by no means confined to the United States. Early in the depression Japan sought to make use especially of those who left the city for the villages, to broaden and intensify the social programme through their young men's and young women's associations and their agricultural societies. As always in a crisis in Japan, the programme turned back into the rich cultural life of the nation, though it was coupled, of course, with teachings on other matters desired by the Government.

The social progress in the rural areas of Russia, and the amazing response of the peasants to it, are too well known to require more than mention. But such work has gone on in democracies as well. Some of the South American countries have met with equal response. Community programmes

and the general enrichment of community life have been prominent in the educational policies of several, notably the Colombian Republic, where appropriations for education have increased six-fold in a decade.

The educational aspects of all this work to which I have alluded seem clear, and, significantly enough, they touch adults to a considerable degree. They will doubtless make the adult more appreciative of the school and its functions, but they will also tend to make him expect more of the school and its teaching force.

A look around the rural world, then, discloses much of interest. The times have been out of joint, but not all the changes have been losses, and over and above trends in organization, in social and economic life, the rural peoples seem to be taking a place of new importance in a society that is becoming increasingly interdependent. The problems created by these changes are many, and are as yet unsolved. The race too often adapts to changes after they occur rather than plans to influence them as they develop. But just as the machine age changed the England of the eighteenth century, so the forces of to-day, at heightened tempo, are altering under our eyes patterns long familiar. It is the task of educators to watch the more important trends and to be ready to see the implications they hold for the service it is theirs to render to the citizens of to-morrow.

THE SCHOOL AND THE RURAL COMMUNITY

E. DE S. BRUNNER

THROUGHOUT much of the world at the present time there seems to be an increasing interest in an integration of the school and its community, a trend the sociologist views with both enthusiasm and concern—enthusiasm because whatever else it may be, the school is also a social institution, operating in, and in some measure dependent upon, a given community, and subject to the laws of social institutions; concern because enthusiasm for the idea has sometimes run ahead of adequate understanding of the concept of community.

Let us begin, therefore, by attempting to define the rural community. There are those who insist upon a psychological definition. They aver that, if a student from a Chinese village attends Oxford, the community of that village has been expanded to include the influence of this University, conveyed to it by this student. I do not deny the possibility of such an influence, but what we are after to-day is a working definition, one of use to the authorities of a given rural school which draws its pupils from the families of a given and determinable area. It is just at this point that, in the United States at least, troubles begin.

After some years of research the rural community has come to be regarded as village- or town-centred, and as embracing the people of an area within which more than half the open country population turn to the centre for more than half the services they need. In closely settled areas we find some overlap between adjacent communities; but as a rule, when one passes the 50 per cent. line, the influence of one centre falls off rapidly, and that of the next begins. This is even more true of the social than of the economic services.

It should be added that there are some countries, and localities within others, where the problem I am discussing does not exist, but this is rarely so in new, pioneer lands. In

Japan and much of the Orient and Europe, for instance, the farmers are village dwellers. They leave their homes in the mornings, and walk out to their fields. At night they return to them, and, the evening meal finished, the men of the village gather around its headman and elders under a tree, by the village gate, or in the square, and converse about affairs of common interest. It is upon occasion a natural and quickly convened community council. There is no problem here of community areas. A community is made up of people, and in this situation all the people are villagers.

It may interest you to know that in the United States (and I believe this would be found to hold in Canada also) there is a twenty-five-fold variation in the area of our communities among the different regions and crop areas, but a maximum variation of only about 33 per cent. in the open country population. In other words, it takes about so many people, regardless of the density of settlement, to sustain the functions of a modern village- or town-centred rural community.

I am sure you begin to see the importance of a careful determination of community boundaries. Here, for instance, is a locality that decides to become a consolidated school district. But the area is laid out by guess, or on the horse-and-buggy scale. The automobile begins to enlarge the area of daily contact, agriculture is mechanized, farms grow larger, population smaller. Soon there is not enough population to support or justify a consolidated, twelve-standard school. Or take the reverse of this case. Here is an area in which the many rural schools, mostly one- and two-teacher buildings, have each developed a considerable social life under parent-teacher association auspices. Enthusiasm for consolidation develops, and a huge area is incorporated into a consolidated district, centred in a village of 1,800 population. The area far transcends the service areas of the social and economic agencies of the village. Those living within the new district, but outside the other service areas, have to adjust to a new centre which they know but slightly. There is a clash in habits, perhaps in loyalties. The little school

buildings are closed, removed or sold. The village parent-teacher association tries feebly to enlist the interest of these outlying neighbourhoods, but there is no community of feeling, and it fails. Criticism of the long bus trip develops. Gradually there is a cleavage between the group within the villages and the area normally a part of its community, on the one hand, and those outside the community, but within the school service area, on the other. This reflects itself within the student body as well. Conflict, especially in extra-curricular activities, develops. Meanwhile, an accustomed social asset has been removed from the outlying neighbourhoods with the closing up of their parent-teacher associations and their places of meeting.

Both of these are actual cases from the United States. In the first, a neighbourhood, or minor centre with a town-centred community, aspired to a status sociologically impossible of attainment. In the second, an existing community attempted, whether by design or because of over-enthusiasm, to assimilate a population bound to it by no valid social or economic tie. In both cases there was social and educational loss. In the first, the school was actually abandoned upon the absorption of the neighbourhood in its proper community. In both cases a school and community programme failed, because the conditions were such that, short of a miracle, it could not succeed.

What is true of the school in this respect in relation to the community is equally true, I may say in passing, of other service agencies. The so-called 'larger parish movement' in the United States, designed as one answer to our serious problems of over-churching, has frequently failed because it has ignored the sociological factors that help to define, explain and make the rural community. The local organizations of our Agricultural Extension services have at times been similarly self-defeated.

Granted, then, a well-integrated rural community, or even, in sparsely settled areas, a neighbourhood, what is the relation of the school to the community, or, if you prefer, what are the community functions of the school over and above the

formal education of its children? These functions may be divided into three parts: community services, curricular and extra-curricular activities with a community emphasis, and public relations. The last I shall not discuss. It hardly seems a problem in your country.

As to the first—community services—there is some argument as to whether or not the school has any responsibility, even if the opportunity exists. There are those who say that it is too hard on the teachers, that the work takes too much time, and thus interferes with the educational programme. On the other hand, the school is all but an omnipresent institution. In some places it is the only social agency. Community conditions may be such that the educational programme is interfered with if community service is neglected. Moreover, a school teacher is also an individual, a citizen, and is never freed from the obligations of citizenship and of social life.

The 1934 N.E.F. Conference in South Africa grappled with this problem, and came to the following conclusion:

‘Closer relationships of the rural school to its community are highly desirable. To this end it is advised:

‘1. That the farm school teacher should know every family and visit every home in the district.

‘2. That he should promote the general understanding, appreciation and support of education among parents and patrons: this to be done by organizing a parent-teacher association or by conducting similar activities in an informal way.

‘3. That the farm school teacher should co-operate with all other social agencies, as the home, church, agricultural union, child welfare and social work organizations, in such of their activities as are educative to children of school age.

‘4. That the farm school building should be used after school hours as a general meeting place for the agencies and activities of the community.

‘5. That school fairs, sports, agricultural and handicraft exhibits, etc., as now developed by the better farm

schools, should be more widely extended throughout all districts.'

The ways in which these principles can be worked out vary in detail with specific communities. There is no one formula for success. Perhaps the best approach to this part of the discussion is to give you at some length two illustrations, one from North Carolina and the other from New Zealand. In each case I am depending on articles by the present leaders in these respective situations, and on many discussions of their work.

Ellerbe, North Carolina, is a small service station village serving a farming area of several hundred square miles. Its high school enrolment is 350, its lower school enrolment almost 700. Ellerbe is in the sand-hill region, where a granulated soil eats fertilizer and turns up under the plough like dirty sugar. It is a country of open pine woods, tobacco barns, peach orchards, short staple cotton and long-eared mules. The farmers come of old sturdy Anglo-Saxon stock, but not all of them can read, and their houses often look as if they did not intend to live in them very long.

Years ago, under the direction of a teacher who believed that the school should take an active part in the life of the community, the students of Ellerbe started a nursery, transplanting young trees and bushes they found in the woods. They planted hedges about the school, in time extending their landscape gardening to the town's church grounds and to 250 homes in the community. Every day one can see, on the running board of a school bus (which the students drive themselves) some shrubs destined to mask in green the brick stilts that lift the farmhouses above the naked sand.

The children have made themselves completely responsible for the cleanliness of school grounds and classrooms. One can see groups of small figures scouring the hedges for rubbish like squirrels after nuts. With no teacher in sight, a small boy will run ten yards to put the paper that wrapped his lunch into a trash basket. In the high school a very businesslike inspection committee, two girls and a boy, visits all classrooms. They peer under desks, run their fingers

along mouldings, and meet outside the doors to compare samples of dust, if any, and give the room a mark.

The students of Ellerbe have built their own tennis court and a log-cabin; they have calcimined their classroom walls, mended their stairs, built bookcases, and put in drinking fountains. The State cannot afford to do it for them, so they do it for themselves, voluntarily. Every year they give the school—their school—about 100,000 hours of work.

North Carolina was seriously hit by the depression. When the teachers have been paid there has been very little money left for bare necessities. But the Ellerbe students have a school store which sells stationery and candy and makes a profit of 35 dollars a month, and a print shop which nets about 60 dollars a month. These and other activities have earned for the school almost 7,000 dollars in the last nine years—an income which has made it possible for the school to have a telephone, to get new books and bind old ones, to frame its pictures, to equip its workshop with tools, to put uniforms on its basketball team, and to do a hundred other things that in most States are accepted items in the cost of public education. Nine years ago the school had 650 books. Now, entirely through its own efforts, it has 13,000. The library is always crowded, and after school hours is open to the public. It has three times the number of books found in the average library in a community of this size.

The printing press at Ellerbe was once given up for junk; its type was mixed with decayed mattress stuffing. The students put the press together, and sorted out the forty-one fonts of type which were all pied together. They learn the craft of printing from one another without a teacher. They do the job-printing for the town of Ellerbe, and, of course, all the school printing. They filled a private order for a book of poems, and it is a first-rate job of book production.

The burden of discipline has somehow been passed from the teachers to the children, and in the process it has mysteriously disappeared. The buses load and unload their young passengers without supervision; the teachers all go home to lunch, and leave the children to themselves. In the high

school, the student council is responsible for all discipline, and punishes all breaches of it. Yet the calendar of this court is strangely blank; these children behave because they are interested in their work. The teacher is a teacher only, and not a cop.

They learn by doing, at Ellerbe. The curriculum wanders over into life, eats big chunks of it, and comes back into the classroom permanently enriched. One of our faculty saw a class spending one of its periods giving blood tests to a neighbour's chickens, and another which went outdoors to study Cæsar and fight battles with the Helvetians in North Carolina's sand.

The New Zealand story may be familiar to you, but it will bear re-telling. It is the account of H. C. D. Somerset's superb work. It is significant both in itself and because it illustrates a different approach to the community through adult education and with the teacher operating as an individual citizen.

The population of the whole county was only 1,660, of the township 800. In this little community there were no fewer than nine religious denominations at work. All were busy organizing guilds and societies and associations within their own groups. There were also the usual sports bodies, women's organizations, etc. The general opinion was that adult education classes would have no hope of success. 'There are so many organizations as it is,' was the usual comment. It did not take long to find, however, that many of the groups were dying on their feet for lack of support. (This, by the way, might just as well serve as a description of hundreds of rural communities in the United States, and, indeed, in other countries.)

Mr. Somerset early discovered that the countryman resents an outsider *forming* classes for his edification, and that a great deal of time can be saved by using, as far as possible, the existing groupings. With these two axioms in mind, he and his wife accepted every invitation to address church groups, temperance organizations, women's associations, etc., always stressing the need for study in these days of rapidly widening educational horizons.

The beginnings of organized work came, however, in an unexpected way. They decided to hold open house on Saturday nights, starting by asking a few friends and reading a play, some lyrical poetry, or some favourite passages from literature. They said, in effect, 'This is the way we live; these are some of our interests. We find them satisfying. If you find it worth while to do so, come in and share our books and some of our thoughts.'

The Saturday evening group grew. People got into the habit of dropping in; when all the chairs were taken they sat on the floor. They always ended with a cup of tea and talk. This was the group that formed the committee of the first adult class. Next they started a branch of the Workers' Educational Association, with a preparatory class in English literature and an enrolment of sixty.

There was little of the school about this group. They met on Monday evenings in a little hall capable of holding about eighty people. Mr. Somerset avoided the use of a black-board and everything else that suggested the traditional methods of the schoolmaster. They began very humbly with short stories—O. Henry, Saki, Katherine Mansfield, and Galsworthy. Before long they had gone on to study two plays of Shakespeare, Shakespeare's England and Tudor music. They received abundant help from the school teachers, who found in the class new interest not usually associated with teaching in the country.

This class, generally known as the Monday night class, has continued ever since. Besides English literature, it has studied general psychology, child psychology, art, music, economics and the international aspects of art, music and science. A survey made at the end of eleven years showed that 234 individuals had attended this particular class—over one-third of the adult population of the district. More than half had attended for two years or more, and seven had attended regularly for eight years. Half of the students were farmers or farmers' wives, sons and daughters; many of them came from eight to ten miles to the classes.

But that is not by any means the whole story. The classes

were in their second year when a drama circle was formed as a Thursday evening class, and it has produced nearly one hundred plays in ten years, and has studied possibly a hundred more under Mrs. Somerset, who had had some experience in this field. The story of the early attempts at acting is an amusing one. Plays were produced in an antiquated and very inconvenient hall. There was no stage equipment, no scenery, no electric light. A first set of curtains was made of paperhanger's scrim, and the motor cycles of some of the farm youths in the cast used to stand in the wings, their headlights a good substitute for 'floods'!

The attention given to drama soon made the district conscious of a new want—a town hall adequate for every need of a modern rural community. In 1931, after many years of discussion, the new hall was opened. It is a handsome building in ferro-concrete, fully equipped as a Little Theatre, with an auditorium capable of seating 450, over one-quarter of the population of the entire county. Here the community-owned cinema is operated every Saturday night, and, of course, the hall is the headquarters of the drama circle. A special feature of the hall is the large supper-room, with an entirely electric kitchen. The supper-room also acts as the headquarters of all the farmers' organizations in the district.

Another offshoot from the drama circle is the girls' club. It was formed to give some scope to the younger girls of the district. The club now has a junior and a senior division, each meeting weekly in the town hall. The activities of the club are gymnastics, first aid, hygiene, folk-dancing, song and mime. Every year it gives an amazingly polished display of its work.

Two years after the commencement of W.E.A. work in this district another important educational advance took place. Five of the eight small schools were closed, and a new consolidated school was built on a central site. This marked the beginning of more liberal courses of study. The secondary department of the school was able to experiment with a farm-and-home-life course, and a great deal of the experimental work was taken out into the farms in the district.

Scientifically-minded farmers were persuaded to co-operate with the school, and large-scale experiments in irrigation, top-dressing, variety tests in fodder plants, comparative tests in the fattening of lambs, etc., were carried out. The accounts of one farm were used for a school course in farm bookkeeping. The school has also served the community in undertaking a survey of the health and nutrition of the children of the district.

Mr. Somerset's own connections with the school, on the one hand, and the adult class on the other, have made it possible for him to bridge the gap between community and school. It is scarcely necessary to enumerate the many advantages of this arrangement. The pupils leaving school look forward to joining in the activities of the adult groups. While at school they co-operate in community drama, and take part in experimental work that is not merely a school exercise but rather something that is vitally affecting the lives of the farmers in the district. Above all, they learn by daily observation that education is not something that is left behind in adolescence; it is a progress that goes on for the whole of life, and the educated man is he who determines quietly and with purpose what his adult life is going to be.

In the United States at least, there has been a tremendous increase in this sort of thing in the last seventeen years, and especially in the last six or seven. Increasingly, school facilities are being made available to the community, in some places not only gymnasiums, but also tennis courts, libraries, and the like. As one field-worker wrote of such a situation, there seems to be no distinction whatever between school property and village property in meeting community needs. In some places, school property for community use and community parks and playgrounds were supervised by N.Y.A. students.

In one village, field-workers found, the school had sponsored concerts by the music department, home-talent plays, child-study dances, a father-and-son banquet, ice-cream suppers, a men's quartette and a chorus, a lecture course, and dances, and had opened its clinics to adults. In 1935, when

a new school building was asked for in this village, the bond issue was carried by 13 to 1. Similar programmes were not unusual elsewhere. Visiting nights were instituted by a number of schools, art exhibits were noted, and field-workers described several school buildings as being 'hotbeds of community activities.' One school operated the only 'movies' in the community, and had quite a large tree-planting programme. So, too, the music, drama and art activities of the schools, most often conducted on an extra-curricular basis, make a very real contribution to the social and cultural life of many rural communities.

Often such programmes are carried on by parent-teacher associations. I can do no more than list some of their more common activities. These include hobby clubs, handicrafts, gardening, music, drama, pageants, discussions of educational methods, and of problems of childhood and youth; Christmas celebrations, community picnics and dinners; securing, and often operating, playgrounds, skating-rinks and swimming holes; and study classes in a wide variety of pertinent subjects from handicapped and problem children to school legislation.

Some of these associations and some schools attempt also to know their communities not by hearsay, but at first-hand. Their methods vary from simple visits to schools, libraries and other community organizations, to a serious comprehensive study of the community either by a survey, or by recording pertinent social data on pupils' enrolment blanks, or by a combination of both these methods. This study of the community seems to me to be highly desirable. I have never known a school community programme based on actual knowledge derived in this way to fail if the facts secured were properly analysed and used. There is much talk of making a school curriculum consonant with the needs of the community and of the school meeting its social obligation for a measure of community leadership. These are high-sounding aims, and, like many such, meaningless unless the efforts to actualize them are rooted in a thoroughgoing knowledge, kept up to date, of the social and economic life and trends of the community. For, to close as I began, the school is a social as

well as an educational institution. It is anchored to a definite locale. It must serve a particular population. Especially in its community service, its programme succeeds, and can only succeed, when based on the sure knowledge of the assets and liabilities, the needs and the capacities, of its locality and population. That achieved, the school becomes a power indeed in helping the rural community to achieve the ever more abundant life.

THE RURAL SCHOOL CURRICULUM

E. DE S. BRUNNER

IN some respects this subject you have chosen for me has caused me more concern than any other. It seems so much like carrying coals to Newcastle, or better, sheep to these two Commonwealths 'down under.' For I find in operation in your rural schools many procedures which we in the United States are but working towards. I refer to such things as grouping the grades or standards in your one- and two-teacher schools, alternating subjects, use of correspondence instruction and the like. In all of these you seem to have gone further than we, though an increasing number of our schools are adopting or experimenting with such devices. They are, of course, only techniques that may be used with a curriculum that is good, bad, or indifferent. Moreover, how we judge a given course of study depends wholly upon our preconceptions, our philosophy of education.

I shall begin, therefore, by listing a few principles that seem to many of us to underlie the construction of any modern curriculum. These principles may be stated in terms of the basic interests or questions of youth, questions in regard to which, sooner or later in their lives, young people want information, if not help. They are acute problems at the secondary school age, and they are on the threshold of interest for upper primary school pupils.

The first of these interests comes early. From the time the small boy yearns to be a train driver or a postman, he is concerned with what he is to do in the world. What kind of work can he secure and hold which will bring him, not only the respect of his family and associates, but also, more important, personal satisfaction and self-respect? Given his particular capacities and disabilities, what can he best do? Given society as it is, what is most likely to be demanded of him, and what jobs are most likely to be open to him? What can the curriculum in a city or rural school do to help answer such questions?

Again, children are born into a family group; their earliest impressions are of its functioning, their earliest play simulates its organization. Naturally, with maturer years, there come such insistent questions as: Shall I marry? What type of mate do I desire? What sort of adjustments will be involved, not only biologically, but financially and psychologically? Some of these queries involve not only the mate, but also the complex of relationships within and between formerly unrelated family and other social groups. Questions, needs, interests like these go far beyond the province of traditional home economics. Has the school a place for them in its programme?

A third group of questions begins as soon as the child commences to ask the whys and wherefores of creation and the universe, and evenuates in those questions which rise to the surface in adolescence and concern the intensely personal, fundamental philosophy of life every sane person must somehow acquire. Who can trace the subtle processes by which such a philosophy is built? It is a product of life itself and all its experiences. It is compounded of the observation of parents, teachers, friends and enemies. Religion, music and art are woven into it. The beauties of Nature, the intricacies of human nature contribute to it. Its development can be helped a bit by formal institutions, such as the so-called character-building agencies, but it is essentially a thing of the spirit, and, whatever the curriculum, only the teacher who uses it as a tool to help each student in his selection of values for his life philosophy is truly a great teacher.

Finally, there come those questions that concern the individual's relation to his social group, to our economic system, to a democratic society. This group of questions is perhaps more insistent and significant to-day than at any previous time in our modern industrial era. Rebellion against the control of society is, in greater or less degree, a familiar mood to all of us. Even highly regimented, primitive societies—the Maoris of New Zealand, the blackfellows of Australia, the red men of America—knew the mood, erected their taboos against it, and had their penalties for any transgression

of these taboos. The lands of the free, thank God, have escaped the regimentation alike of primitive society and modern dictatorships. It was no accident that the doctrine of *laissez-faire* was enunciated by an Englishman. But the basic problem of these very democracies to-day is to build up by the free consent of their citizens the social controls that they feel are necessary to preserve their very life.

In relation to all these things, time-tables, systems of grading and class grouping, and scores of other devices are seen merely as useful techniques, which are valueless unless tied to definite objectives. To supply adequate answers to the questions of youth that I have listed might be one such major objective. Another statement of objectives, which refers especially to elementary education, has been made by the Regents of the University of the State of New York:

'Every child should have help (1) to understand and practise desirable social relationships; (2) to discover and develop his own desirable aptitudes; (3) to cultivate the habit of critical thinking; (4) to appreciate and desire worthwhile activities; (5) to gain command of the common integrating knowledge and skills; (6) to develop a sound body and normal mental attitudes.'

These considerations I hold to be basic to any philosophy of curriculum-building applicable to any school whether in city, town or country. But it does not follow that the curricula adopted, or, better, the subject matter used, in rural and urban schools should be identical. Quite the contrary. The environments, and to some degree the functions, of the two types of school differ. Granted a basic philosophy of curriculum construction, or of education itself if you will, and granted also the necessity of basic or core subjects and skills, there yet remains the need for differentiation from that point on. This differentiation should use the vividness and reality inherent in the rural child's life. Rural applications can and should be made in teaching the core subjects.

There is a further problem in this connection that both our countries share, if I read your census figures aright. In normal times perhaps two-fifths to a half of American rural

youth eventually migrate to the city, but few of the urban youth of comparable years move to the country. Hence the rural school has to consider that its pupils will face one or other of two sharply contrasting environmental experiences. What this means for the curriculum is, in the United States at least, not finally determined, but it does lead to one important negative conclusion, namely, that the rural school is not a farm or agricultural school. Such institutions or courses may be necessary in some countries, and for those who are reasonably sure of entering farming as a life work. That is not to say that vocational agriculture should not be included as one branch within the total curriculum—indeed, it is so taught in thousands of the rural high schools of the United States. The problem, then, is to keep such teaching from becoming too narrow, and, at least so far as the United States is concerned, too opportunist.

We, for instance, find that the proportion of schools teaching agriculture—a Federally-subsidized subject—varies with farm purchasing power. During the worst years of the agricultural depression, hundreds of schools dropped agriculture and substituted commercial courses. They turned out stenographers and bookkeepers far in excess of the local need at a time when the cities were least able to absorb such a surplus. Where agriculture was retained, instruction continued in terms of segmented courses in this or that.

Granted, again, that some subject-matter courses are necessary, it would seem that some of the basic objectives I outlined at the opening of these remarks could be achieved by a broad approach. I can, for example, conceive of a unit entitled 'From Wheat to Bread,' which would start out with the seed and its selection, the soil and its preparation and care, the cultivation and harvesting; which would proceed to take up the marketing process, including co-operative marketing, treated not merely as a device but as a social process dependent upon group consent and the mutual trust of the co-operators; which would then follow the wheat through the market board or exchange to the mills, the baker and retailer to the table of the city consumer, and would indicate

to the pupil the physical and economic importance of bread to the city dweller and show the interdependence of city and country. Similarly I would prefer to courses or units in animal husbandry a course on the world of life, biology if you wish, which would be a truly cultural as well as a semi-vocational course.

In short, I am interested in courses in which form and arrangement are incidental to function and purpose. This, I believe, was the position of the N.E.F.'s rural section at the South African Conference in 1934. Their conclusions stated:

'The curriculum of small farm (i.e., rural) schools should be revised in terms of the life-experience and needs of country children. This may be done in part:

'1. By co-ordinating and teaching the social studies (geography, history, civics, health) under three units or centres of interest, the Home, the Farm, and the Community.

'2. By teaching tool and literary subjects in relation to these units in the social studies.

'3. By reorganizing and classifying the entire school into three groups so as to reduce the number of oral recitations in the daily time-tables, thus affording better opportunity for activity and life-related teaching.

'4. By stressing Nature study and gardening throughout, and by introducing a course in agriculture for all children fourteen years of age or older.

'5. By developing club organizations within the school, which will afford experience and training in group action, such clubs to be organized in co-operation with the Agricultural Extension Service.'

These suggestions seem to express fairly well some of the tendencies in the United States among rural schools, at least those in the village- or town-centred rural communities, though there is much progress still to be made.

There is one other tendency in the United States that may be of interest. I have already suggested the importance of using the environment of the child in building his educational experiences. A decade or more ago this and other

procedures were summed up and advocated under the term, 'the child-centred school.' Some are now raising the question whether a school can be adequately child-centred unless it is also community-centred. This means not merely that the school, so far as its resources and facilities permit, should be something of a centre for community activities, especially if none other exists, but it involves also a reasonably thorough-going knowledge of the socio-economic life of the community and its history, which cannot help but bring understanding and vividness to the policy and teaching of the school.

RURAL EDUCATION IN ENGLAND

SIR PERCY MEADON

THE title 'Rural Education' may convey one of two ideas. It may be taken to refer to a general education given in a rural environment, or to a specific education for rural occupations. The latter includes technical instruction in agriculture, horticulture, dairying, poultry-keeping, and other forms of vocational training for adolescents and adults who wish to earn their livelihood in rural areas. It is obvious that the two conceptions somewhat overlap, but in view of the limited time at my disposal I propose to refer only to the former, which is related more to the needs of individual children and young persons who live in rural areas.

As we are thinking of them as separate individuals, who possess varied aptitudes and interests which should be allowed free development, we have not in mind the idea that the chief aim of rural education should be to keep children in the countryside to work on the land after they have grown up. We agree that a virile and flourishing rural population is essential, and we desire to encourage more and more a love of country life in the rising generation both in urban and rural schools. But we realize increasingly the importance of broadening the aims of rural education and of placing emphasis on both the individual and the social development of children, whilst not forgetting the need of relating what is taught in the schools to what is happening outside. Our aim, therefore, is rather to consider the rural school as a social unit whose members have cultural and other needs to be satisfied by an education which freely derives much of its inspiration and content from the environment of the members and the traditions of the neighbourhood. It will not, of course, restrict itself wholly to peculiarly rural interests, and many of the methods followed in rightly developing interest in such studies as art, history, literature and music, will not differ materially from those followed

in urban schools whose environment is markedly different. But perhaps we cannot do better than take as our model the summary of what the Board of Education for England and Wales consider the school can do. Their statement is set out in the recently issued *Handbook of Suggestions for Teachers* and is as follows:

‘We may sum up the function of the school as being (1) to provide the kind of environment which is best suited to individual and social development; (2) to stimulate and guide healthy growth in this environment; (3) to enable 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 fulfilment of this function is not a simple business in the rural schools, since it implies the development of each child according to his bent and capacity, and shifts the emphasis in teaching from the subject to the child. It follows, too, that freedom must be given to the teacher to develop his own curriculum. The differences in the range of intelligence and the degree of social adaptability between the brightest and the dullest are generally so great in the mixed group of pupils in charge of one teacher in a rural school that little reliance can be placed upon class teaching, and the provision of suitable, systematic and progressive instruction for the children presents difficulties. It must, however, be admitted that some progressive rural teachers have succeeded in developing a technique which, even under these unfavourable conditions, has enabled them to do work of outstanding merit and to blaze a trail which has since been followed by their colleagues in the more favourably placed reorganized senior schools. Nevertheless, it seems unreasonable that the teachers should have to contend against such obstacles.

The disadvantages from which the rural schools tend to suffer are those which naturally arise from their smallness and isolation. There are many rural schools in England in

which the head teacher and an assistant teach forty or fifty children ranging in age from 5 to 11 years, and others in un-reorganized areas with children of from 5 to 14 years of age. The organization of such a school clearly presents difficulties in regard to the provision of a wide, varied and practical programme of instruction and the classification of the pupils in separate and homogeneous classes according to ability and attainments. It is not easy to provide suitable facilities for instruction in science, handicrafts and domestic subjects; the teaching of backward children is a real difficulty; organized games cannot be effectively arranged since there is not a sufficient number of senior pupils to make up a team; the staff is too small to provide specialist teaching, and there are also the intellectual drawbacks which tend to follow from the teacher's isolation.

In these circumstances, and with a view to approaching the ideal of bringing together 'the right teachers and the right pupils in the right conditions,' with a school curriculum in a more extended and generous form, many education authorities are finding it convenient to consider as the normal unit of organization not the single school but a group of schools. By inter-community reorganization, and after first selecting the pupils for entry into secondary schools, they are transferring all the remaining children of 11 years of age and over from a group of schools to a centrally situated school, either in a separate department or as part of the whole school, with a clear line of demarcation between the senior and the junior divisions. Such an arrangement gives a better classification of pupils both in the junior and in the senior schools, and both types of schools are able to concentrate upon their particular problems. Moreover, it is likely that the change from one school to another at the age of 11 has a stimulating effect upon the children. In the rural areas the senior school which is thus established is usually of the non-selective type, and it has to draw its pupils from a substantial group of contributory schools in order to provide a practicable unit for reorganization, a unit large enough to permit the development of a variety of courses and a

vigorous corporate life, and to justify a sufficiently large staff of teachers with varied attainments and interests. Creaming the contributory schools to form a selective central school is rarely effective or practicable in the thinly populated rural areas. In some rural areas where the travelling conditions are difficult and the climate somewhat harsh and trying, the local education authorities are exploring the feasibility of bringing the senior children from the neighbouring schools to the area school during the spring and summer seasons only. It is suggested that these visiting children shall concentrate on practical work during this period and then in the winter remain in their village schools and concentrate on the more academic subjects of the curriculum.

It is in the practical application of these proposals that the rural areas present special problems. One difficulty that is usually met in carrying out such a scheme arises from the parochial system, the idea of 'one village one school.' The community feeling in the parish or village is usually very strong and this local patriotism for their own school for all ages of children is strengthened by the preference which so many parents have for a school as near as possible to their homes. Sometimes, too, there is a feeling that the school which is to be recognized for junior children will suffer in prestige, and that the change may lead to the removal of the village schoolmaster and thus result in a serious loss to the community. Parents, too, require to be thoroughly satisfied about the arrangements for the transport of the pupils and the provision of a midday meal. These have to be recognized as serious obstacles which demand the most careful attention. The hasty imposition of a scheme of reorganization on unwilling representatives is to be deprecated. It is therefore essential to exercise patience and to bring home to school managers and parents the definite advantages of a centralized system of education for their older children and, where practicable, to let them see for themselves such a school at work. My own experience is that once they appreciate the more generous corporate life

and the wider educational opportunities and amenities which the reorganized school offers they are unable to resist its appeal. In this connection it is also important to see that the removal of the older pupils does not mean any lessening of the efficiency of the junior school which is left. These younger children, as much as older ones, need well-trained and experienced teachers. For this reason many education authorities have wisely decided that the head teacher of even the smallest junior school shall be a college-trained certificated teacher.

Some authorities attribute a good deal of the success of their reorganization schemes to the comparatively limited area from which the schools draw. They feel that it is easier to retain valuable local interest in a school which is readily accessible to parents and others interested in the pupils. Other authorities hold the view that the test is not so much the distance to be covered in journeying to a regional or area school as the time taken for the journey, and that in view of improved transport facilities it is practicable to draw pupils from a wide area. Thus one authority has established a school which draws its senior pupils from an area of sixty-six square miles. Of the 119 senior pupils on the roll of the school, drawn from nine contributory schools, 92 are conveyed in four buses, which pick up the children along the whole of the routes. Arrangements have been made for the children to shelter in houses in wet weather. The majority of the children are picked up near their homes and have less distance to walk now than they had formerly, and it has been found that children can now be conveyed a distance of several miles to the senior school in less time than it took them to walk from home to their village school.

In the senior section of this school the classification has been arranged according to the age of the pupils. There are three groups or forms corresponding to the number of years covered by the school course, and each group is again divided upon the basis of ability into A and B sections. For this organization the school has a headmaster, an assistant master,

two assistant mistresses, and the part-time services of teachers of domestic subjects and handicraft. The headmaster takes the mathematics. The assistant master (B.Sc., honours in science) is generally responsible for Form III. He takes all the science (rural and domestic) with both boys and girls, geography, and gardening. An assistant mistress (certificated), who is responsible for Form II, takes the art, needlework, craftwork, and music. Form I is supervised by an assistant mistress (B.A., honours in English), who is responsible for the English and history of the school. She is also very interested in the delightful country dancing of the girls.

The school is divided into four houses and the prefect system is in operation. The prefects have definite duties to perform, and the advantage of the system is most obvious in the arrangements made for dining. Practically all the children stay for the midday meal and the school has a separate dining-room and kitchen. In some areas the school canteen is becoming a normal feature of these schools, and meals are sometimes provided at the low charge of three-pence for two courses. The authority usually provides the building and equipment for the setting up of a canteen and pays the wages of the cook and her assistant. Each canteen has its own canteen committee, on which the managers and the teachers are represented, and this committee undertakes the purchase of the food and fuel and replacements of crockery, etc. Sometimes the school garden supplies the vegetables. Frequently the pupils wait at table in turns, and a good deal is done to emphasize the social value of the meal and to use the opportunities it affords for training in courtesy and good manners. In England we are likely to see a great extension of this provision in all types of schools on both educational and social grounds.

These new senior schools usually have spacious playgrounds and playing-fields, and the sites permit generous planning and disposition of the school buildings and afford ample provision for gardens. Some authorities are wisely viewing the school site and grounds as a whole, and are

encouraging its development as an attractive estate laid out with trees, shrubs and gardens. The results are not only delightful in themselves, but they have led also to interesting forms of practical activities for the pupils. Often the land set aside for the general gardening instruction exceeds an acre and provides room for vegetables, roses, herbaceous borders, rock gardens, lawns, a pool, fruit trees, bird tables and nest boxes. Usually the pupils spend the first two years of the gardening course in general training and then are given special responsibilities. Sometimes a team of older boys keep in order the model cottage gardens they have laid out and there enjoy the delight of looking after a beautiful garden as well as gaining experience in gardening operations throughout the year. In some schools the cultivation of fruit trees, roses and flowering shrubs is undertaken and instruction given in the use of manures, hot beds and cold frames and in the management of a glass-house. Sometimes farm crops of various kinds are grown in the garden, and the pupils visit neighbouring farms for the study of farm crops, machinery, the feeding and care of animals, and seasonal operations. Occasionally experimental work is attempted with the co-operation of the authority's horticultural or agricultural organizing staff. A few years ago at our county agricultural show a model school garden was laid out, partly by elementary schoolboys and partly by students from our county horticultural station, with the object of stimulating local interest in the work of the rural school and showing what could be done in a school garden on both the cultural and the utilitarian sides. There was a constant stream of interested visitors, and hundreds of teachers and thousands of children were given special facilities to see the model garden.

In the rural schools from which the senior pupils have been transferred the gardens are being retained for the use of the juniors and infants. The juniors use them as nature study plots and take only a simple course of light practical work, while the infants have flower gardens or borders.

A growing number of schools find that the care of

livestock is a suitable activity. The last published return of the Board of Education in 1934 indicated that the following courses of instruction in the care of livestock were in operation:

Bees	207 schools
Poultry	107 "
Rabbits	29 "
Pigs	3 "
Goats	2 "
Other Livestock	4 "

Use is made of the practical work to illustrate simple biological principles. The boys do the heavy work, including the erection of the houses, the making of hives, brooders, frames, etc. In a few cases the activities of young farmers' clubs and calf clubs are associated with the work of the school. In one village school, the Board of Education report that the activities include instruction in first aid and personal hygiene, meteorological observations, a land utilization survey, attention to the flower beds round the war memorial, the management of a branch of the county library, and folk-dancing.

There has been a striking extension during the past few years of the amount of dairy work taught to the senior children in rural schools. The practical work is sometimes done at a neighbouring farm, sometimes in a room at the school temporarily equipped as a dairy, the instruction usually being given by members of the county agricultural staff or by instructresses who are engaged full-time to travel round from school to school. In addition to the practical work, the course generally includes lessons on the properties, composition and food value of milk, the production of clean milk, and milk products.

The new senior schools in the country have separate practical rooms fitted for science as well as handicraft. The science teaching schemes vary greatly in scope and content, but generally they are closely related to the garden, and include a simple general study of some such topics as the following: air, water, soils, weather, tillage operations,

life-histories of insect pests, principles underlying the working of pumps, farm implements and machinery, and pond, plant and animal life. Illustrations are drawn from the every-day life and work of the countryside. The bird and tree competition of the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds has greatly encouraged bird and tree studies in our country schools. Under this scheme the older pupils are enrolled as cadets and each chooses a bird and a tree. All make detailed observations, notes and sketches of these throughout the year. In this way thousands of girls and boys are encouraged in first-hand observation and accurate recording, and many of them form life-long interests and hobbies.

The craft work is becoming more varied, and is slowly giving evidence of improved taste and skill. It may be divided into three groups: plastic crafts, book crafts, and textile crafts. With a view to improving the standard of taste, one authority has collected specimens of woven designs executed by outstanding craftsmen and specimens of good pottery for circulation round the schools.

The same basic work in housecraft is necessary in rural and urban schools, but in the country schools it is common to place additional stress on different methods of using farm and garden produce, the preservation of fruit, eggs, vegetables, etc., and jam-making. Quite often we find that the boys are growing the fruit and vegetables and the girls canning or bottling these products. The varied courses in cookery include a study of food values and the need for balanced diets, and the girls also gain a knowledge of the daily routine of a house.

Perhaps the most striking advance of recent years is the increased provision for training in handicraft in our rural schools, with a view to the encouragement of handiness and ingenuity. Formerly handicraft was often regarded as a specialized subject separated from other activities, but the tendency now is to look upon it rather as complementary to a broad course of practical education. Construction in wood and metal is therefore undertaken in connection with

other practical activities, such as gardening, science, geography, mathematics and the care of livestock.

As the pupils at present leave at the early age of 14, and only a few of them will subsequently return in the evenings for further organized instruction, the instruction in arithmetic cannot be carried very far. Most schemes, therefore, aim at securing a sound knowledge of simple and fundamental arithmetical processes, with the ability to apply this knowledge to the problems arising from the everyday work and play of the children. Material for arithmetical calculations is, therefore, frequently taken from the pupils' activities in housecraft, gardening, handicraft, poultry-keeping, etc.

The methods of approach for other branches of the curriculum, such as English, history, geography, art, music, social studies, and physical training, do not differ much from those followed in urban schools. It can, however, be noted that increasing attention is rightly being given in rural schools to training in spoken and written English. The comparatively recent establishment of branches of the county libraries in most villages has made available a wider range of books suitable for the children and this is helping the work of the school. It is very important that children in rural schools should have ready access to good books.

It is hoped that these brief comments on some of the activities of the reorganized schools will indicate that the aim in view is the provision of more vigorous and enterprising institutions. Agriculture and the countryside need well-educated men and women as much as do other industries and the towns. The fact that the educational needs of the country villages are more difficult to meet than are the needs of the towns is no reason for delaying reorganization. If efficient work is to be done, it must be planned not for this or that village, but for each area as a whole. Moreover, if we believe in the policy of providing, as far as is possible, equal educational opportunities for all our pupils, it is essential that the schemes of reorganization should be carried out as thoroughly and effectively in the

rural areas as they are in the less difficult urban centres, and that the teachers should have freedom to develop their own curricula and not be limited by a prescribed syllabus, prescribed text-books and inadequate equipment. With their special opportunities, their practical outlook, and their close relationship to the everyday life and work of the countryside, the new senior schools should help to stimulate the interest of all sections of rural communities in education, and this should lead to the recognition and use of these well-equipped schools as rural colleges providing favourable opportunities not only for the rural child, but also for the adolescent and the adult to develop as fully as possible his three-fold function in this world—to make a livelihood, to be a citizen, and to be a man.

CULTURAL AGENCIES IN AMERICAN RURAL LIFE

EDMUND DE S. BRUNNER

AUSTRALIANS, I am sure, will recognize the difficulty of the topic assigned. For, like yours, my country is huge. What is true in the South is by no means necessarily true in New England or the Pacific Northwest, even in terms of the pattern of cultural agencies.

I propose, therefore, to discuss some trends that seem to be appearing under certain national influences, and beyond that I shall give major attention to what we sometimes call our Great Plains, an area that in its economic base (wheat and livestock) and its population density, more closely resembles much of your vast rural areas than anything else in the United States.

In these days of interdependence and of rapid communication no cultural agency is uninfluenced by the cultural forces of the region and the nation. But with these qualifications our local agencies fall into three loose categories.

(a) Those supervised or better guided from without, but based on local groups and responsible local leadership.

(b) Those largely indigenous, with only more or less tenuous connections with any recognized source of suggestion or leadership.

(c) Those forces, rather than agencies, entirely extraneous to the local community.

Before proceeding to describe and illustrate these types it may be useful to attempt a picture of the structure and social organization of the American rural community, always remembering the qualification with which I began.

The automobile and better roads produced a rapid change in structure. To-day rural America is largely and increasingly village or town centred. In these centres the farmers buy most of their supplies and goods, trade, bank, ship their goods, and to an ever-increasing degree worship, educate

their children and form social ties of an organizational nature. Thus, in the Great Plains about one-half of the village church members, more than half the village high school enrolment, and about two-fifths of the membership of social organizations, come from farm or ranch homes.

The area from which these villages and towns so draw is reasonably large. In the cattle and dry farming country communities of 500 to 800 square miles are not at all exceptional, though the national average is not much above 110 square miles. These central or primary service stations, as they are sometimes called, vary in population from a minimum of 600-700 to a maximum of up to 10,000. Smaller places are likely to become mere neighbourhood convenience centres. The usual place, however, has from 1,000 to 3,000 people in the centre, and about one and one-fourth times as many persons in its service area as in the town. We have found that, in terms of averages, the variation in population is only one-twelfth as large as the variation in the size of the service area in which that population lives. In other words, it takes just about so many people, regardless of the density of the population, to support the average service station village or town.

We find in each of these communities a bewildering variety of social organizations. They average about twenty, excluding the schools, churches and the subsidiary organizations of each. In the Great Plains the number is slightly above this average. In addition, there are, on the average, five and one-half churches in each village, and three and three-fourths in the open country area of each community. The Great Plains and Pacific Coast have only about one open country church per community. In addition to the village school system, there are about nine and one-half open country schools, almost all small one and two-teacher affairs. The number of open country schools and churches is steadily declining.

The twenty social organizations are of about fourteen types. They range from small bridge clubs, which are almost exclusively village in their membership, to large

civic, political or farmer organizations. Few communities have every type represented. The large number of social and religious organizations finds its explanation not merely in the American tendency to formalize group interests by organization, but also in sociological factors. Negroes and foreign-speaking or foreign stock groups are very apt to have their own churches and organizations. Denominational and organizational lines are often drawn not so much in terms of ideology as in terms of economic status. Thus farm tenants are likely to join the Farmers' Union, farm owners the Farm Bureau. Farm labourers and unskilled labour in the villages tend toward the more emotional sects. Farm owners and the professional workers in the villages tend rather to the Protestant Episcopal, Presbyterian, Methodist, or similar bodies.

But even allowing for these elements there is often a considerable amount of overlapping of effort and objective and of competition for the time and resources of the population—doubtless natural in a democracy that has developed as ours has and that includes so many racial strains.

This, then, is the type of community and the social setting in which the cultural agencies of rural America work.

First among these agencies is the so-called Agricultural Extension service, supported jointly by federal, state and county governments. It also includes extension work in home economics. The extension services operate in conjunction with the state colleges of agriculture through so-called agents in each county. Behind these agents are many so-called subject matter specialists stationed at the agricultural college, who develop materials, lead conferences and are available to local groups. The original concept of this service was purely vocational. In the last dozen years, however, and increasingly through the depression, this service has discovered 'the human side of agriculture' and become a great cultural force. The programme in this phase of the work has two major aspects, the cultural arts and the discussion of public affairs.

Music and Art

In the other cultural activities of the Extension Service, the set-up is much the same as in that for the drama. This is true in reference to organization, leadership training, and county or regional festivals or demonstrations, as well as to the appearance of local orchestras, bands, choruses, glee clubs, opera groups, and the like at state college Farm Weeks, or at state fairs, or on radio programmes. These enterprises are being carried on in twenty states; and are therefore second only to drama in their popularity. The Extension Service assists, not only in training, but also in organizing, such groups when requested.

The programme is not limited to participation alone. Some states have a definite programme in music appreciation, and use phonograph records which are loaned, together with explanatory notes, lectures, and demonstrations on the air. In South Dakota, there was a study course in music appreciation in which 16,000 farm and village women enrolled. Every home demonstration club in the state was represented. An example of the type of work carried on is furnished by an Iowa pamphlet entitled *Marching through History*. This tells how music began to be related to marching, and then gives the history and setting of some of the famous march music of the world, together with a little about the composers. Suggestions to chairmen of local music groups conclude this neatly illustrated, popularly written document.

Twelve states are engaged in a wide variety of art projects; and this work, in most states, is closely co-ordinated with the other phases of the extension programme. Beauty in colour, line, and design is demonstrated and developed in home and community life, in clothing, in the beautification of houses, grounds, and parks, and in planning for new projects in these fields of activity. Art appreciation has been encouraged through demonstrations, by loaning copies of prints of old or new works, by holding exhibits of original productions, by arranging for groups to visit museums or galleries where available, and by issuing simple suggestions

for the hanging of pictures in the home. There has also been a considerable expansion in parent education and in recreation.

Public Affairs

The other cultural influence relates to a far-flung programme of the discussion of local and national affairs. One of these was the effort to bring the farmers of a county together to look at their agricultural enterprise in the light of the changed local, state, national, and world conditions, and to plan for the future. In the winter of 1935-36, planning conferences were held in over 2,000 counties. This effort to challenge existing procedures, to develop the agricultural enterprise on the basis of facts and constantly changing conditions, may have wide significance in the future. Interestingly enough, the criterion for such planning is the use of land in such a way as to win a better standard of living, including both material and non-material elements.

But changing conditions not only affect farm management; they raise issues of national importance which in a democracy must be understood by the citizens. Opinions on such issues are often formed from insufficient evidence or are swayed by propaganda. The Extension Service, therefore, in some states organized discussion groups which considered public affairs, using materials that stated all viewpoints on a given issue. The plan began experimentally in the winter of 1933-34 in ten states, and was greatly expanded the following year.

The material used also varied widely. A few states issued pamphlets, one on each major topic discussed. Others contented themselves with mimeographed suggestions. Apparently the best discussions were secured on an informal basis and with simple topical outlines and bibliography. One farmer, interviewed by a field worker about this programme, expressed the opinion of many when he said: 'We sure learned a heap about what makes markets and prices.'

Only in New England has this service been made available to village and town dwellers. In these centres reliance has

had to be placed on the public school. Its contributions to the cultural life of the community has been made largely, though not exclusively, through adult education activities. I shall leave for our discussion to-morrow everything except the adult education of the public schools. Like the Agricultural Extension Service, this was, in its inception, purely vocational and, in rural America, confined almost solely to agriculture and domestic science. About one-third of the village and town high schools now have adult education on the local tax budget, especially in states that aid their schools. About two-fifths of the offerings are now non-vocational and include in the order of frequency, physical education and recreation, music, public forums, with occasional classes in art, social science, literature, foreign languages.

The curriculum in a Middle Western village includes Spanish, typewriting, drama, story-writing, interior decoration, tap dancing, orchestral music, and current events. Some schools, especially in smaller villages, have been quite ingenious in utilizing other agencies to assist in their adult education activities. One enlists a nearby municipal university to staff courses in world problems and public speaking; calls upon the Red Cross for offerings in home-nursing and first aid; and uses its own staff for the vocational subjects. In another village of just over 1,000 population, through the help of the joint extension department of the state college, well-attended courses were started in sociology, psychology, education, and economics. These carried college credit if students desired to have it. The enrolments ranged from 12 to 15.

That villagers would respond to more work along this line is demonstrated by the results from what we call our emergency adult education programme. It has been tried in about three-fifths of our rural communities and has been quite successful in one-third of our rural communities. Again vocational subjects lead, but one school in eight has work in social science. Dramatics, music, art and literature are also found, though less frequently.

The best illustration of the success of the emergency adult education programme in these centres comes from a Middle Western village where, until spring planting interfered, 1,500 persons were enrolled in 24 classes, including government, grammar, elementary and advanced typewriting, bookkeeping, play-production, art, business training, parliamentary law, orchestral music, Spanish, German, chemistry, mechanical drawing, commercial arithmetic, manual training, shorthand, home economics, agriculture, choral singing, and Bible.

The library is a third cultural agency operating in rural America. About one county in twelve has a county-wide tax-supported service with libraries in the villages and towns and local stations in schools, post offices, stores, garages, homes, farmers' co-operatives in all the neighbourhoods or crossroad centres. These and the schools are served by automobile and the resources of the state.

Local libraries are found in perhaps half of the communities of the type I have described. Five-sixths of these have tax support, but even so they are small affairs, averaging about 300 dollars a year income and having, on the average, collections of slightly less than 5,000 volumes. In many states the state library commissions send out travelling libraries of 50 to 200 books, which are retained by the community for three months. In some places, schools open their libraries at hours when they are not needed by the pupils. Circulation has been steadily increasing, as have the number of borrowers, despite the patent inadequacy of the libraries. Indeed, circulation per borrower gained 70 per cent., or from 9·5 to 16·3 volumes per year.

In other places the school library was also the depository for state travelling libraries. Only one community in ten, therefore, was without any library facilities. In this respect, the two Western regions made the best record, all but one of the Far Western villages and two-thirds of the Middle West having public libraries. Though this was true in only one-sixth of the Southern communities, all but three of the thirty in this region had some facilities.

The larger the village, the more likely it is to have a public library. In 82 per cent. of towns, 70 per cent. of the large villages, 57 per cent. of the villages of medium size, and 45 per cent. of the small villages, there were public libraries. Fortunately, only one-sixth of even the small villages are without library facilities of any type. Six per cent. of towns, 10 per cent. of large villages, and 7 per cent. of medium-sized villages also lack them.

This discussion is concerned only with the regular, organized independent libraries in the regions surveyed. In passing, it may be noted, however, that some of the make-shift arrangements just referred to unquestionably met a real need with some success. For instance, in a Far West community of 2,300 population, there was no library except the 2,800 volumes in the school, which were available to the public at certain non-school hours. Yet the circulation in the year 1935-36 was 40,000. Out of such situations may eventually grow a demand for better service, especially if the demand is stimulated by state leadership.

This topic should not be left without indicating that here, too, agricultural extension helps somewhat. Its greatest contribution is in the actual publication of bulletins and the so-called simpler circulars. The circulation of these titles is very large: in only a few states is it below 100,000 a year, and in several it exceeds a million. In a majority of states it exceeds half a million annually.

The average Texas farm and village home requests a pamphlet every three weeks. In New York, a request comes from every rural home about six times a month. It should be recalled that in more than two-thirds of the states, publications are sent out, with a few small exceptions noted later, only on request, so that the recipient has spent at least one cent for a postal card and the time involved in writing.

The fluctuations in distribution are interesting. In most states, the circulation turned downwards in either 1931 or 1932; and began to increase, often sharply, with 1933 or 1934. Distribution in Kansas, in 1935, for instance, was more than three times the 1933 total. In New York and

Missouri, 1935 circulation showed a 25 per cent. gain over 1934, and in Texas more than 50 per cent. These fluctuations reflect both reduced publishing in the first years of the depression for economy and heightened interest in many subjects later on.

Distribution is in part related to the number of titles issued. These range from six to more than 100, with an average of 27 per state. It should be remembered that the range of subjects is equally diverse. They cover very phase of work of the Extension Service, as described in an earlier section of this chapter. Publications on interior decoration, child development, and remedies for hog cholera may go to the same family in the same week.

We turn now to those indigenous organizations that operate with little or no suggestion from outside the local community. These are, of course, among the twenty organizations already noted. Some of them, like the P.T.A.'s and other educational groups, civic, musical, women's clubs, drama and socio-economic groups, have programmes that are concerned with educative and cultural values to a considerable extent. Lectures and study groups are frequent activities. Much of the work, however, must be classed as opportunistic. It changes with the interests of leaders or of small directing groups. The significance of this activity is, however, in the changes in activities over the years. My field workers report that programmes are better than at any time in the past fifteen years we have been studying samples of this type of community. The study and lecture topics are more specific than they were, more concerned with basic problems, less with more ephemeral things. Speakers are of a higher calibre and have responded to the increased seriousness of the people. The quality of music attempted has similarly improved and the drama work is far less likely to be of the farce variety. A number of plays, for instance, have come to grips with the farm problem.

If one of us should visit such a community for the first time our evaluation of the cultural contribution of these

local agencies would doubtless classify them as mediocre, especially judged against our level of cultural appreciation. But had we visited these communities for the third consecutive time, as my field workers and I were doing just a year ago, and if we viewed their activities against what they were when we first knew them, even though our verdict were the same, our forecast of their future course would be optimistic rather than the reverse.

Moreover, the important thing about these agencies is that they are indigenous. They reflect local ideas and ideals. They are officered by local leaders. They make their own way or they fail. No outside force, leadership or subvention saves them. When, then, it can be reported that these local groups, weak though they are, compared to government-directed activities as, say, in the cultural organizations of a Japanese village, show a higher level of achievement and culture, it is a fact of social significance for a democracy. It is also an indication that, if invited to do so, the public servant, whether teacher, librarian, minister or public health nurse, should join them in the rôle of citizen and thus help to lead them toward still better things.

There are indications of the truth of what I am saying in the experience of two other cultural agencies that are entirely extraneous to the local community, namely, the radio and university extension.

You have asked me to talk about cultural agencies in the rural community. I have had experience with such in a number of lands, most unfortunately not in your own. I have confined my discussion to the United States, though much of what I have said applies also to the great and virile British Commonwealth to our north, Canada. I have done so because, on the basis of what I have read, and through meeting many Australians, I have acquired a feeling that the experience of our young nation, our effort to weld many racial strains into a community and nation under a democratic form of government, might be at least of passing interest to you who are also citizens of a democracy and of a young nation. I am sure, too, that the experiences of

the farmers of the world, facing the impact of industrialization and of the great depression, have been sufficiently similar for at least the spirit of inquiry and of courage I have tried to portray to have its counterpart on the far-flung farms and stations of Australia.

SECTION V

ADMINISTRATION, RESEARCH AND TEACHER
TRAINING

CREATIVE ADMINISTRATION

F. W. HART

MANY critical observers find it difficult, if not impossible, to justify the importance ordinarily accorded administrative positions in our schools or to see why administrators should receive salaries so much greater than do the classroom teachers. In the final analysis, the only purpose for which schools exist is teaching, and the teachers do the teaching. Why, then, shouldn't the successful classroom teachers be recognized as the high point in the system and rewarded accordingly in both prestige and compensation?

Being a teacher of administration, I have searched diligently for a satisfactory answer to this embarrassing question, and I am frank to admit that, as I observe the hosts of superintendents, directors, and principals sitting in swivel chairs checking reports, fumbling over requisitions, fussing over budgets and scores of like clerical and routine duties (wheel tapping),¹ I am deeply troubled. But as I cast about for bits of evidence in support of the prestige of administration, I find here and there, not too often, outstanding examples of what administration should be and what it must come to be if it is to justify its present prestige and rewards. In these examples I find, as a matter of course, knowledge of and command of the routine business affairs of administration—those must be taken for granted. But, in addition, I find that rare quality that I choose to call creative leadership. If an administrator is at the same time a creative leader, his importance in the school system cannot be over-emphasized and the value of his services cannot be over-paid.

[1.—The reference is to a very effective story told by Professor Hart concerning the employee of a railway company who, at the completion of a record term of years of faithful service, was tendered a farewell and given a presentation. In expressing his appreciation of the honour done him, the employee said that, as a last favour, he would like to know what he had been tapping the wheels for all these years.—Ed.]

In analyzing the characteristics of creative leaders, I seem to find a series of specific abilities that set them apart from the routine process workers who see nothing more in administration than to see to it that the machinery runs smoothly. The specific abilities which I hold to be essential to creative administration are as follows:

1. *Ability to recognize the especially worth-while things that are being done in a school or school system.*

Recognition by one's fellows is, in my opinion, the most potent driving force behind all human endeavour. As teachers we may do commonplace work for common compensation, but we rise to our greatest heights of achievement in response to the recognition of those whose opinion we respect. The administrator, therefore, who knows an especially worth-while piece of work when he sees it, and, at the same time, lets the one who is doing it know that it is especially worth while, has at his command a great creative power. Searching your experience, if you have been fortunate, you can find such an administrator—they do exist. Few as they may be, there is one gratifying fact about this first ability—it can be acquired through training.

2. *The second ability essential to creative administration is: the ability to so organize one's school or school system that the especially worth-while things that are being done by one teacher or in one school shall be spread to all appropriate situations within the school or school system and, if of sufficient merit to the teaching profession at large, through publication over the name of the one making the contribution.*

This ability is, in a sense, the practical application of ability number one above. It requires of the administrator outstanding skill as an organizer and a sense of common honesty and justice, neither of which are native traits but are acquired through training and experience.

3. *The third ability essential to creative administration is the ability to set goals that are within the reach of those one would encourage to rise to higher levels of achievement.*

It is one thing to recognize especially worth-while achieve-

ments—to locate sparks of genius—it is still another to have the ability to choose challenging goals to dangle just within the reach of the aspiring teacher. The exercise of this ability requires an appreciation and knowledge of research, which, again, is something that can be acquired through properly organized training.

4. *The creative administrator must have the ability to overcome the inefficiency of others without losing their good will.*

If good will is lost the inefficiency is not overcome. This is an ability which, so far as I know, one cannot acquire through any organized course of instruction. Each case is an individual one and ability to meet the requirement successfully is the ultimate product of experience and of human sympathy.

5. *The fifth ability I would list is the ability to make everyone feel the worth-whileness of his job.*

Unless one feels that the particular thing he is doing is worth-while, he is not likely to do it well—he will certainly not put his best into it. Unfortunately, we have made little effort to capitalize this ability in our schools. We have in the past pretty generously paid higher salaries and accorded higher social and professional standing to teachers of older pupils, those, for example, in secondary schools. If anything, this is the *inverse* of the importance of the service rendered. The most important years in a child's school life are his early years, and teachers of young children should be made to feel, thus, the importance of their work.

6. *Finally, among the abilities essential to creative administration, I would defend: the ability to make everyone personally happy.*

The five abilities previously listed have to do with the work of the school, but, as I see it, the genuinely creative administrator cannot stop there. He must see to it that all who are associated with him are as personally happy in their lives outside of school as possible—that they have a sense of belonging, that they are recognized by the community as being important to the life of the community.

This is an ability not acquired in organized courses of instruction, but an ability very closely associated with the exercise of common sense. Every administrator in every community has at his command, if he will but call upon them, a vast number of individuals and organizations that will gladly respond to his appeal to give the teachers of their children their rightful place in the life of the community.

No administrator who possesses and exercises the abilities enumerated need fear that the prestige of his position is founded upon a false foundation or that he is being paid too much for the service rendered. The value to society of a really creative administrator cannot be over-emphasized or rewarded beyond desert.

CENTRALIZATION AND DECENTRALIZATION IN EDUCATION

E. G. MALHERBE

*System of Administration: The Product of a Country's
History*

THIS is a very wide and somewhat dull subject, yet I can think of no other subject of more vital importance to the rank and file of teachers.

T. H. Green, probably the greatest of modern English philosophers, has said that: 'The two questions of our time which compete with each other in a reputation for dullness are about the most important that we can discuss. One is the organization of charity and the other the *organization of schools*.'

There is, very likely, a good deal of truth in this remark. At the same time, it has also been observed by men actively engaged in the work (e.g., Graham Balfour in England) that 'the administration of education, much more than education itself, seems to have had the power of raising in the breasts of politicians of all parties, more hatred, more anger, and uncharitableness than any other subject.' The reason for this is undoubtedly that a nation's system of education is the most vital part of its whole social structure. It is something more than the mere organization for the imparting of knowledge to a rising generation. It is something more than merely 'one of those subsidiary services which are in themselves without value except in so far as they secure the success of their object.' More adequately than any other phase of national life does the educational system express the innermost beliefs, ideals and aspirations of a people. In short, 'a nation's school system is but the reflex of her history, her social forces, and of the political and economic situations that make up her existence.'

The reason I mention this is to show that each country's educational system, whether it is centralized like yours in

Australia, or decentralized like that of America, is the product of the country's social and economic history. It has its roots in the country, like any other social institution. It is therefore dangerous to try to superimpose upon one country systems or pieces of systems originated in other countries which have had quite a different political and economic history. It is for these reasons that I am somewhat hesitant about giving advice to you and telling you how to reform your system. I feel that when you have the facts you should decide these matters yourself. The history of education in South Africa affords many examples of the folly of blindly borrowing pieces of systems from overseas. In fact, it can safely be said that so often have such superimpositions taken place from England and elsewhere, that at no time in her history has the educational system in South Africa been the spontaneous expression of the *ethos* of the South African people. For example, we blindly borrowed the 'payment-by-results' system in the early 'sixties, together with the concomitant system of individual inspection which has worked so much woe for our education. The peculiar thing is that 25 years after England had discarded this system as a result of the fulminating criticisms of Matthew Arnold, we were still retaining it in certain parts of South Africa, and it has been very difficult for us to improve our inspection system as a result of this early association with the 'payment-by-results' system.

I have not been able to ascertain definitely why it is that Australia has developed within each of its States such a highly centralized system of educational administration, whereas a similar pioneer people with very similar traditions founded such strong forms of local control in building up education in the United States. Some authorities tell me that the centralized system in Australia had its origin in the fact that in the early days with the convict settlements the control was military, and emanated from one centre. Later on, when social services were developed, they automatically followed this pattern of centralized control. Other authorities say that it is due to the fact that, after the people

had managed to scale the Blue Mountains, the population spread fairly rapidly into the interior, without any check from hostile tribes such as were encountered, for example, by the early settlers in America. In America, as soon as they managed to conquer a particular area, the people were obliged to hold and to organize it as a means of defence. Thus originated their strong forms of local government. In Australia, on the other hand, as there was no such need for the consolidation of any particular position in the inland settlements, the people did not develop forms of local government, but continued their connections with the population centre at the coast, whence they obtained not only their food supplies, but also their social services, such as education. From early times, therefore, they looked to the centre—that is, to the main coastal city—as the source of authority and support, and even later, when similar cities developed outside the main centres, they did not feel the same necessity for developing independent units of control for education, as did the people in America. This subject is a most interesting one, and I would very much like to see somebody competent to write a doctor's thesis contrasting, say, the historical development of the centralized system in Australia with that of the decentralized system in the United States. The Dominions of South Africa and New Zealand should afford very interesting comparative material on this particular question.*

I quote these theories for what they are worth. The problem, I must confess, rather intrigues me, as I studied it for South Africa and even wrote a book about it, covering the period from 1652 to 1922. Perhaps somebody in your country will be just as crazy as I was and will write a similar book about Australia.

Specific Aspects of Educational Control:

If we keep the above points in mind, it would seem that the main problem under discussion does not lie in having to choose for Australia between complete centralization of

*The New Zealand Council for Educational Research has just recently published an excellent study by Leicester Webb: *The Control of Education in New Zealand*.

education on the one hand and complete decentralization of education on the other. Either procedure would be extreme and therefore absurd. The problem lies rather in deciding *which functions* of education should be centralized and which should be decentralized. For example:

1. *Financial Support.*

In discussing the question of the finance of education it is necessary to distinguish between the responsibility of three types of units:

- (i) the National or Federal Government;
- (ii) the State or Provincial Governments;
- (iii) the Local or Municipal Governments.

In the United States, education is financed to a large extent locally. The Federal Government makes no contribution towards the maintenance of the ordinary schools. On an average the State Governments contribute less than 20%, whereas the local communities, whether in cities or in rural areas, contribute about 80% of the cost of education. In Australia the Federal Government also contributes nothing towards education. The State Governments pay practically 100% of the cost of public schools, and the local communities pay nothing in a regular way. They do, as a matter of fact, raise small amounts by means of bazaars, fêtes, etc., through their Parents' and Citizens' Associations. The latter constitute, however, only a very small proportion of the cost of education, and this is confined chiefly to the support of certain extra-curricular activities, e.g., sports fields, libraries, etc.

The result of a decentralized system is that the rich communities can have very good schools, and the poor communities very bad schools. There are high peaks and very low valleys in such a system. The best schools I have ever seen I saw in the United States, and also the worst schools. In a centralized system like that in Australia, one does not find these peaks and valleys. The money of the State is spread out more or less equally over the State's schools. We have the same system in South Africa. A rich city like Johan-

nesburg, for example, has no better or worse schools than the small rural village a few hundred miles out in the country. Herein lies both the strength and the weakness of the centralized system, because, while it guarantees that the poorer communities shall not fall below a certain level, it does not capitalize the local interest of the larger and wealthier communities in support of their schools. For example, if one could isolate the city of Johannesburg from the education system of the Transvaal, and give it its own Director of Education, with its own education department, I am sure that it would be able to develop to much greater heights educationally than it does at present, where it shares alike out of a common fund and is under the control of the provincial department. Under the present system, however, the people of Johannesburg would not give money towards the schools, because they say that they do not believe in giving money to the Government. The schools are looked upon as the State's schools, and the people hardly ever feel that the schools are theirs. The ideal system would be if one could use the State's funds to equalize educational opportunity throughout the State, and thereby prevent the poorer rural communities from falling very low, while at the same time give the richer communities a large measure of autonomy and thus a definite incentive to go beyond that average and rather mediocre level. Just think what the rest of the country could learn from the experiments which such an independent community could afford, but which would never be tried by a State department.

If one accepts the principle upon which the Australian system is founded, that the State is responsible for equalizing educational opportunity throughout the State, I feel that one could, with equal logic, apply this principle to the larger unit—namely, the national unit. Australia has not done so. She probably has perfectly good political reasons for this lack of consistency. I feel that it is in the interests of the nation as a whole to see to it that no group of children is penalized in their education simply because they happen to be born in a poor State. I would therefore be inclined

to shift the burden of equalizing educational opportunity as far as possible on to the National or Federal Government. This does *not* mean Federal control of education. The application of the hackneyed maxim, 'who pays the piper must call the tune,' to this situation is one of the plausible fallacies of our time. In South Africa, for example, the Union (i.e., National) Government pays a subsidy to the provinces of about £15 per pupil per annum. This ensures to every child in the nation at least a minimum education (and a very high minimum, too, if one compares it with £11, which is the total cost per pupil in Australia). The Union Government pays this subsidy without any concomitant control over the education conducted by the provinces. This subsidy is only part payment, because the provinces go beyond it and spend £22 on an average per pupil.

Generous as this subsidy is as a total State contribution, its distribution between the four provinces is not equitable. The four provinces (that is, States) differ very considerably with regard to two factors—(a) *educational need*, and (b) *taxable capacity*. By *need* I understand the relative expensiveness of education due to providing it in sparsely populated areas. For example, I find that in certain sparsely populated areas of the Cape Province it costs £25 per annum to give one child an education. Within the city of Capetown it costs £10 to give a child a similar, if not a better education. Now, in proportion as a province (or State) has a large number of these sparsely populated areas—in that same proportion education will be relatively expensive if one accepts the principle of the equalization of educational opportunity. This is what I mean by *need*.

The relationship between *cost* of education and *density* of population is not exactly a linear correlation—it is more in the nature of a curve, and we have found that the critical point at which this curve turns upwards is when we go outside population centres of 2,500 people and over. Then the unit cost in teachers' salaries, for example, rises very rapidly. For *primary* schools the critical point is when one

goes outside centres with 1,000 population and more. If one includes the cost of high schools, the critical point is at 2,500, because the provision for proper high school facilities becomes more expensive with an increasing rate, because normal sized classes become impossible as soon as one gets to places smaller than 2,500.

Let us call all those living outside centres of 2,500 population '*rural*.'

An equitable formula for subsidizing a particular province according to need by the national government could therefore be framed as follows:

£ x per pupil, irrespective of where the pupil lives, plus £ y for every pupil living in '*rural*' areas (that is, outside centres of 2,500 population). The values of x and y can be empirically determined according to the government's policy and the amount of money available.

Some such formula would compensate States which have large, sparsely populated areas, and thus really equalize educational opportunity in the different States. For example, a State which has 50% of its children in sparsely populated areas would get a greater total subsidy per pupil than one which has only 30%.

There is, however, a second point to be remembered, and that is the differences between the States as regards *taxable capacity*. One State may, on account of its natural resources or its position, be in a better position to tax itself and go beyond the minimum provided by the national government, than another State. One should, therefore, bring in a correction in respect of this factor and deduct from the amount arrived at by the formula above, z pennies in the £ of taxable wealth within that State. The richer States, because of their greater wealth, will have a larger amount deducted, and the relatively poorer States will have a smaller amount deducted in this way. The total subsidy that a particular State will receive on this equalization principle (i.e., taking into account the two factors of sparsity and taxable wealth) can be summed up as follows:

£ x per pupil in average attendance, *plus* £ y per pupil in

'rural' areas, minus z pennies per £ of taxable wealth in that State.

Some such formula would, I imagine, more adequately distribute the burden of the support of educational services in a Federal Commonwealth than at present, as it would give some rational basis (at least as far as the major service of education is concerned) to the system of grants which the Federal Government makes to the different States for various social services. And let me repeat: The fact that such a subsidy will only be part payment and that every State will go beyond it, renders control by the Federal Government superfluous.

So much for the relationship between the Federal and the State authorities as regards financial responsibility.

Coming now to the third group, viz., the local communities such as municipalities, it is very difficult to make any definite statement, as it depends on the taxation machinery which such bodies can control. If it is at all possible to let them contribute anything, one should let the local people pay for the things which they can see, namely, buildings, etc., and leave to the central and financially stronger organization (i.e., the State) the payment of the teachers' salaries. Whether or not the locality raises money, I feel that there should be some devolution of authority or latitude regarding the specific ways in which money of the State is spent on the *externa* of the school, otherwise one does not find the local interest in education which it deserves. Furthermore, when it comes to requisitions for equipment and repairs, there is often considerable delay if one has to wait for authority from the head office—a waste of time and energy which cannot but hamper the efficiency of the schools.

Where no local committees or boards exist the responsibility for such matters of detail should more and more devolve upon the district inspectors and the school principals. If there are local boards they must be given some latitude and responsibility, otherwise good men will feel that it is a waste of time to attend meetings merely to contemplate rubber stamps from head office.

2. *Supervision of Education.*

This includes the question of inspection which, as I pointed out above, on account of its association in early days with the 'payment-by-results' system, even to-day still savours of espionage. I hear that you have in some parts of this country still what is known as surprise visits by the inspectors. Why should that be necessary? It is a reflection on the integrity of the teaching profession.

The trouble lies with the word 'inspection.' As F. H. Hayward, one of the most famous English inspectors put it, 'the very name inspection spells "non-constructiveness," unlike its American equivalent (supervision). There is no comparison in helpfulness between the work of some of the American superintendents, who put their thoughts in book form, and the work of such English inspectors as do the same; there is futile charm in the latter; there is life and hope in the former.'

For my sins, I have had to read through probably more inspectors' reports than any person I know of, and I have found them such models of official caution, such inventories of the commonplace, that I can hardly recommend any duller reading, even for the severest penance. They seem to put a premium on colourlessness. Perhaps they do it out of self-protection. Is it not true that one positive slip is more damning in the eyes of the 'administration' than thirty years of silent but graceful unoriginality?

If teachers are well trained, an inspector should be much more of a link between the community and the school than a policeman to watch whether the teachers are doing their duty. I feel that the whole inspection service should be looked upon as a community service, and the inspector should be the educational leader of his district in such a way that he can be sensitive to the needs of the community, interpret them and make the necessary adjustments within the school according to those needs.

It is quite conceivable to have a system of centralized support, together with professional decentralization. The fact that one recognizes the value of the State in so far

as it has the power and the funds to equalize educational opportunity does not mean the sanctioning of a central department's love of uniformities. What I mean is that more power and responsibility should be given to the inspector as agent of the department, in order to experiment and adjust the education (curriculum and methods) of his district to the needs of that district. Similarly greater professional freedom should be given to the principals of individual schools. Many of the evils ascribed to centralization in Australia could be obviated by this method, and there seem to be signs of a tendency in Australia in this direction. In this way Australia might be able to give a lead to the world by developing a system which has the advantages of a centralized system without its disadvantages. Under such a system the department would superintend, while the inspector, in conjunction with his local community and teachers, would initiate various experiments and adjustments. The system must, however, much more than is the case to-day, allow for experimentation and for local variation, otherwise the whole personnel of teachers, inspectors and administrative officers would 'present the spectacle of an army immobilized by its own defence works.'

Those in favour of a decentralized system claim that under a system of local finance it is possible for the school to adapt itself much more rapidly to a new demand brought about by changing needs within a particular community than if they had to wait for all authority from some central office. As soon as the need arises they can immediately make the necessary adjustment and pay for it. Under a centralized system such needs may arise in local communities, but one has to wait until the man at the centre realizes those needs, or gets a 'brain-wave' of his own. And even then he does not always introduce the necessary adaptation, simply because he cannot make this adjustment applicable to all schools. He does not try it in centres (a), (b) and (c) because he cannot do it in centres (x), (y) and (z). The result is that there is a considerable lag between what is considered as advisable by educators in

general or even by an education department, and what is actually being introduced in practice. The advocates of a decentralized system contend that this educational lag is greater in centralized systems than in decentralized systems, because it takes sometimes 10 to 20 years before all the communities in a particular State are ready for a particular advance, and then such an advance is long overdue. This question of the assessment of educational lag in centralized and decentralized systems respectively is one which should be investigated, and it may be of interest to note that Professor Paul Mort, Director of the Advanced School of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, has developed a good technique by which such a comparison would be possible.* At the present moment he and I are working together on a preparation for a survey to be made of the schools in the United States under a decentralized system, in comparison with schools in the three Dominions which have centralized systems—namely, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand. The question of financial support is crucial to this whole problem, and therefore its implications had to be fairly fully discussed above.

3. *Teaching Service.*

The training, certification and registration of teachers should be a function of the central State department and should not be left to local communities. Further, I feel that the whole nation's teachers should be available for the whole nation's children, and that the inbreeding within particular areas or States is not healthy for educational development, particularly in a pioneer country like Australia. In determining State-wide salary scales, it should be remembered that the salary scale which starts low and goes high is much more liable to attract a high type of person into the profession than salary scales which start fairly high and do not go very high, even though the averages may be the same in the two cases. The attractiveness and prestige of a profession is determined by the number of *plums* in that profession.

* *A Guide for Self-Appraisal of School Systems*, by Paul R. Mort and Francis G. Cornell. Bureau of Publications, Teachers' College, Columbia University, 1937.

4. *Courses of Study and Examinations.*

While the State and central authorities should determine the minimum essentials of the curriculum, they should not prescribe the detailed content of the courses of study. This should be left to local communities and should be developed by inspectors and teachers locally, according to the needs of their particular areas. This is what I mean by professional decentralization. As far as possible, examinations should be decentralized—that is, much more importance should be attached to the pupil's record (combined, if necessary, with internal examinations) than to State-wide external examinations, at the termination of the primary and secondary stages of education.

5. *The Balance between Lay and Professional or Expert Control.*

Every system of administration must have both lay control and expert control. At the centre lay control is important because it is the function of the Minister of Education to tell the experts just how much the public will stand. On the other hand, the professional head should not be subordinate to a mere administrative official who has absolute control over the distribution of educational funds.

In the local area local interest will be enhanced if one can entrust to the local committees some definite responsibilities, commensurate with the calibre of man one desires to see serving on such committees. To them might be entrusted the supervision of the *externa* of education, namely, such things as the buildings, libraries, swimming pools, assembly halls, sports fields, etc. But the professional control of teachers should in every case go through the professional channels, namely, through the inspector, and the department's experts.

The warning of John Stuart Mill, who held that no amount of centralized efficiency will ever compensate for an inferior interest in the result, should be taken to heart here. Unless an education department can take the public with it and make them feel that the schools belong to them

in the last instance, progress and adaptation will be slow. After all, a department will have as good or bad schools as public opinion will let it have.

6. *The Rôle of the Organized Teaching Profession.*

I feel that the organized teaching profession should have representation on all departmental committees dealing with such matters as teachers' conditions of service, matters of discipline of teachers, examinations, selection of text-books, and courses of study. Moreover, they should actively co-operate with the central department in writing *Books of Suggestions to Teachers*. In this way there will be provided a regular channel through which creative ability and inventive spirit can flow like an irrigation canal and fructify the barren spots in the teaching profession. Teachers can thus learn from each other's experiments (failures as well as successes), instead of each hoarding his own peculiar methods like trade secrets—afraid lest a colleague might steal a march on him and obtain a higher 'grading' by an inspector, and consequently a higher post.

7. *Propaganda.*

Lastly, there is one point of view from which it is definitely more advantageous to have a centralized machinery, and that is political.

Where the population of a country consists of very heterogeneous elements and one wants to weld them together into a compact political unit or nation, the education system can become a powerful propaganda instrument. National policy can be determined at the centre which has control over all the machinery for propagating it, not only through the schools, but also the cinema, the radio and the press. In this way it can inculcate certain common ideals into and disseminate a common culture amongst the rising generation. For example, it is the highly centralized system of state administration of schools in Germany to-day which has made it relatively easy for Hitler to 'put his Nazi principles across.'

Where, however, a country is racially and culturally

homogeneous, as, e.g., the countries of Australia and New Zealand, there is hardly any *political* justification for a centralized system of education in order to build up national unity through the schools.

Conclusion.

Let me, by way of conclusion, list a few principles which underlie wise educational administration:

- (a) The nature of the administration (i.e., whether it should be centralized or decentralized) will depend on the type of thing to be administered;
- (b) control from above should be general, not specific;
- (c) no amount of centralized efficiency will ever compensate for an inferior interest in the result. There should therefore always be a certain amount of *lay* control;
- (d) no power can be handed down in the form of effective supervision until it has been consciously handed up by the people who see the need for overhead direction or supervision;
- (e) the financial resources and the co-ordinating power of the State Government should not be an excuse for a central department's inherent passion for uniformities;
- (f) the unit of local administration must be conscious of its relationship to the entire system—that is, the link between the central authority and the local authority must be as short as possible in order that all transactions may be conducted as expeditiously as possible;
- (g) the size of the units of administration should be small enough for effective supervision, and big enough for effective financial support, if local financial support is part of the administrative system;
- (h) whatever organization there is, there should be a guarantee of the academic freedom of the schools, and there should be a ready means by which to promote the professional standards of teachers and officers;
- (i) one important criterion of the efficiency of an education system is its capacity to tolerate, at a given moment, differing philosophies of education.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF EDUCATION IN ENGLAND

SIR PERCY MEADON

EDUCATIONAL administration has rightly been stated to be one of those subsidiary services which are in themselves without value except in so far as they secure the success of their object. Learning and teaching are the most important acts of education, and the duty of the administrator is to remove hindrances from the path of the teacher and to place him in a favourable position to practise his art with the utmost scope for initiative and individuality. The central problem of administration is the provision and equitable distribution of education consistent with the needs of society and adapted to the aptitudes of the individuals to be educated. The object of educational administration should, therefore, be 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.'

The development of such an educational system in a democratic country is not a simple matter. In countries where the aim is to prepare the child for complete absorption in and subservience to the corporate state, and where the liberal idea of free individual development has therefore been abandoned, the concentration on this single aim greatly simplifies the work of educational construction. Our system of education, on the other hand, stresses the rights and possibilities of the individual, and so has to adjust itself to many differing demands, including not only those of the state but also those of the individual pupil, of the community, of the parent, and of industry. These demands, too, are not quite the same to-day as they were yesterday, and will not remain constant. The valuable asset to be assured is free experimentation or adaptation to local needs

in order to obtain rich variety of character and full development of personality, or, as Sir Michael Sadler has expressed it, 'variety set in a framework of national organization.'

The theory underlying the administration of education in England was stated by John Stuart Mill in his essay, *On Liberty*:

That the whole or any large part of the education of the people should be in state hands, I go as far as anyone in deprecating. All that has been said of the importance of individuality of character, and diversity of opinions and modes of conduct, involves, as of the same unspeakable importance, diversity of education. A general state education is a mere contrivance for moulding people to be exactly like one another, and as the mould in which it casts them is that which pleases the predominant power in the government, whether this be a monarch, a priesthood, an aristocracy, or the majority of the existing generation, in proportion as it is efficient and successful, it establishes a despotism over the mind, leading, by natural tendency, to one over the body. An education established and controlled by the state should only exist, if it exists at all, as one among competing experiments, carried on for the purpose of example and stimulus to keep others up to a certain standard of excellence.

In England, therefore, state control is now exercised through the annual grant which is distributed by the central Board of Education under conditions which it prescribes to ensure the attainment of general standards. The relative positions of the central and the local authorities for education are now very different from what they were last century. The Act of 1870 was very regulative and the powers, duties and procedure of the school boards were laid down in considerable detail, while the control of the central authority was secured by means of the Code of Regulations for Public Elementary Schools. This Code is now much less detailed than it was, and its 130 articles, with sub-sections, have been reduced to about two dozen, with a view to giving the local authorities wider discretion. The local authorities now have full power to supply or aid the supply of higher and elementary education as they think best after considering the needs of their areas and consulting the Board of Education. Through the grant the state can define standards for premises and equipment, qualifications

and remuneration of teachers, the school medical service and the efficient co-ordination of the system. It does not prescribe courses of study, and the introduction to the *Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers* which is published by the Board, contains the following important paragraph:

The only uniformity of practice that the Board of Education desire to see in the teaching of Public Elementary Schools 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. Uniformity in details of practice (except in the mere routine of school management) is not desirable, even if it were attainable. But freedom implies a corresponding responsibility in its use.

The relation of the state to education in England is thus characterized by flexibility, stimulus, advice, consultation and financial encouragement and reward. Gradually a system of partnership has been developed between the central and the local bodies, and local surveys and planning have been fostered by the requirement that schemes of development should be submitted by the local authorities. The procedure adopted for the submission of these educational schemes to the Board of Education is an example of the opposition to central control. The Education Bill of 1917 provided that the Board of Education might refuse to approve such schemes when submitted by local authorities. In the Act which was passed in the following year, this power of rejection was dropped and provision made that the Board might either approve a scheme, or, if not satisfied with it, must invite the local authority to discuss it in conference. In cases of disagreement, the report of the proceedings must be laid before Parliament. So successful, however, has been the method of conference between the two bodies that no case has yet been reported to Parliament.

The gradual development of this system in England has followed the line of avoidance of the disadvantages which follow from either a wholly centralized or decentralized system of administration. Centralization has some advan-

tages, particularly in the case of a young country in which there is a number of different nationalities and ideals which need to be welded into a homogeneous whole. Under a centralized system duplication can more readily be avoided and overhead expenses be kept reasonably low; it is perhaps easier to secure a more uniform standard over the whole area; schools can more readily be placed in thinly populated districts which are so remote that it is difficult for a local authority to function there; generally the teachers have greater security of tenure and of salary standards. On the other hand, such a system tends to bureaucracy in education and to the stifling of individual and local initiative. There is a loss of local interest and application and a tendency to leave matters to the state and its officers; it is easier for the state to use schools for purposes of propaganda; standardized curricula often are required and generally result in undesirable uniformity. It is significant that few educational experiments have come from countries which have for some time had centralized administrative systems. Sir Robert Morant, one of our ablest administrators and for some years Secretary to the central Board of Education in England, once said that the limit of useful state control is to be found at the point where it ceases to be an expanding and stimulating force and tends to fetter or sterilize.

Whatever system is adopted, it is essential that it should give freedom to the teacher in every type of school and be based on trust and confidence between teacher and administrator. For effective functioning it is essential that the administrative and the teaching services in an administrative area should have a common outlook and have the desire to work together in the best interests of the pupils. The aim of the administrator should be to weave related units into a harmonious system. The inspector should be a friendly adviser, welcomed by the teachers and carrying from school to school the best ideas. Valuable results have followed from the short courses, either week-end courses or vacation courses extending over two weeks, arranged for

teachers by the Board of Education and conducted by the Board's inspectors of schools.

The educational system should certainly be a unified one, so that the one education authority is in effective control of primary, secondary, technical, and adult education, and responsible for their progressive and co-ordinated development throughout all parts of the area. And the chief officer of the authority, whether central or local, should be an educationist with high ideals and full knowledge of the various types of schools, their needs and difficulties.

A well conceived system of education, fostered by the education authorities, sympathetically administered, carried out by zealous teachers, and backed up by the interest and support of the parents, is one of the surest guarantees of well-ordered progress.

THE INSPECTION OF SCHOOLS

F. W. HART

THERE is a place for the inspection of schools. The water supply should be inspected and the building should be inspected with reference to its safety in the event of fire, earthquake and panic; the heating and ventilation systems should be inspected, all machinery and apparatus should be inspected rigorously, and all necessary rules, regulations and precautions strictly enforced. All of these things are of an objective nature, and can therefore be inspected and reported upon with reliability; but from my point of view, that comprises the only inspection that should be tolerated in a school, and the inspector who performs that type of service should be the only inspector permitted within gun-shot of a school.

Inspection of teachers and teaching, as now required and performed, should, in my opinion, be abolished, and in its place should be substituted an organized programme of supervision, supervision being defined as helping teachers to teach. In condemning inspection, I am not condemning the personnel, the inspectors—I am condemning the system. Your inspectors are splendid men, men of the type that one would be glad to see appointed superintendents, supervisors or principals of schools; but these men are caught in the machinery of a system and are as much its victims as are the teachers themselves.

If supervision of instruction is to be effective it must be divorced from administration. The supervisor must not be called upon to submit administrative reports on the teacher with whom he works—reports that are to determine the teacher's salary and his chances of promotion—for just as soon as the supervisor becomes an administrative officer, he loses the possibility of being a genuine teacher of teachers.

As I see it, the three main evils in the State systems of Australia are segregation, examinations and inspection. Of

these the examination system is probably the greatest curse imposed upon pupils, and inspection the greatest menace to successful teaching; and if a function of education is the social adjustment of the individual, then there can be no defensible grounds established for the segregation of boys and girls of adolescent age. Social adjustment, in my opinion, cannot be achieved under conditions of segregation.

RESEARCH IN EDUCATION

E. G. MALHERBE

I.—INTRODUCTION

ONE of the demands of modern society is that practices affecting the lives of human beings should be based on scientific principles. We expect this from medicine; we expect it from engineering; we expect it from agriculture and industry; I think we can legitimately expect it from education and other methods of social control.

Though some valuable work has been done in the psychological field, on such matters as the laws of learning and intelligence tests, etc., educational research is still in its infancy. We have in reality only a relatively small number of facts and principles which can be regarded as based on strict scientific inquiry. We have a large number of opinions concerning the efficacy of certain teaching methods in school, but very few verified principles. Hardly any work has been done to gauge in a scientific way the ultimate effects of such methods on the lives of people. Whenever I hear extraordinary claims made for certain schools and methods, I often wonder whether the success of the pupils in after life can be ascribed to those methods with any scientific certainty. Perhaps the schools merely *selected* a high calibre of intellect which would survive almost any method. Of course, I realize that this is very difficult to prove. Firstly, because it is so difficult to distinguish between the effects of *nature* and *nurture* respectively; and secondly, because of the absence of adequate criteria by which to judge whether or not a person's life is successful. Occasionally in the case of criminals and delinquents investigators have attempted to work backwards, and to trace in the lives of society's failures, the origin of their maladjustments. One of the most brilliant of these studies is that of Prof. Lange on twins: *Verbrechen as Schicksal* (Crime as Destiny), published in 1929. I feel that similar studies should be

made also of society's successes with a view to finding out exactly what were the crucial factors influencing their lives for the good. Galton in his study of *Hereditary Genius* (1869) was the greatest pioneer in this field. But I have in mind something much more thoroughgoing than working merely backwards by means of biographies. One has to work forwards as well. That is, carefully to trace the educational influences working in and upon a certain group of children from infancy, and to follow them up right through life. Terman, in his *Genetic Studies of Genius*, has started on these lines. Much more needs to be done also on people other than geniuses before we can be sure of our conclusions.

II. THE HANDICAP OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

The fact that these investigations are all of a long range nature and involve such very complex factors makes educational research particularly difficult. Apart from this inherent difficulty, however, I would like to mention a few reasons why so little advance has been made in research dealing with educational and social data. I shall state them as briefly as possible.

1. *The popular pre-occupation with the conservation of our material resources, and the concomitant neglect of the conservation of our human resources.*

Man's mastery over external nature was his first consideration. His advance can be judged according to the ways in which he succeeded in achieving control over material forces. In this way developed the exact sciences of chemistry, physics, engineering and their various applications to industry. To-day a great deal of research is devoted to the *elimination of waste* in industry, in ascertaining methods by which by-products can be used successfully. Big industrial concerns, like the Bell Telephone Company, in the United States, the Ford Motor Works, and armament manufacturers in different countries spend millions of pounds annually on research in these fields—researches which aim at the improve-

ment of their methods and procedures as well as in evaluating accurately the results of their products.

While man has gone very far as a result of these researches in eliminating waste with regard to his material resources, he has been almost culpably indifferent to the elimination of waste with regard to his human resources—for example, if one could but obtain one-hundredth part of the money spent on research in armaments and defence, and use that money rather in research as to ways and means by which the human passions may be manipulated and controlled so as to make all this fighting unnecessary, I am sure that we would be able to do much to make people see the absurdity and futility of warfare, and the folly of spending such vast sums of money on the ways and means for destroying human beings and human culture.

Let me contrast for a moment what Australia is spending on research in the purely industrial and material field, with what she spends on research in the educational and social field. You have established in this country a very fine institution, namely, the Commonwealth Council for Scientific and Industrial Research. The main functions of this Council are: (a) to initiate and carry out scientific researches in connection with primary or secondary industries; (b) to train research workers, and make grants in aid of pure scientific research in these fields; (c) to test and standardize scientific apparatus and instruments.

For this a sum of £250,000 was appropriated in 1926 under the Science and Industry Act.

While this institution is doing excellent work also in connection with the improvements of methods of agriculture and the combating of plagues and diseases amongst the crops and cattle, it is strange that the State in Australia spends hardly anything on educational and social research. The little that it spends—for example, on the post of a research officer in the State of New South Wales—is almost negligible in comparison with the ten million pounds which is spent annually on education.

Imagine any big industry with such a large expenditure

as ten million pounds per annum proceeding blithely along without spending any money upon the scientific evaluation of its procedures and the accurate measurement of products. In a sense education may be looked upon as a big industry, because it employs thousands of teachers, and represents a vast amount of capital in buildings. I do not wish to indicate that you spend too much on education. On the contrary. Australia spends comparatively little on education if we take the money which the State contributes to the education of the children of the nation. The State spends £11 per annum in Australia on every pupil at school, whereas in South Africa the State spends twice that amount per pupil.

And with regard to research in educational and social problems, the South African Government maintains the National Bureau of Educational and Social Research at a cost of, roughly, £8,000 per annum. This Bureau was established in 1929. Besides four men holding the Doctor of Philosophy degree, who are responsible for different divisions of research, it has a staff of sixteen, of whom about half a dozen are university graduates. An outline of the work of this institution will be given later.

You have, however, in Australia the *Australian Council for Educational Research*, of which Mr. Tate is the Chairman and Dr. Cunningham the executive officer. I would like to avail myself of this opportunity of paying a special tribute to the excellent work of this organization, not only for the way in which it has organized this Conference, but also for the splendid work of research which is being done in the field of education under the auspices of this Council and the various Institutes through which it operates in the different States. This Council has to its credit the publication of more than 50 reports of research in the educational field, covering such topics as the history of education, comparative education, the organization of education in the primary and secondary field, various methods of teaching procedures, and the standardization of intelligence tests (verbal and non-verbal), achievement tests in scholastic work, etc.

It was largely owing to the success of the work done by

this Council in Australia that I was able to prevail upon the Carnegie Corporation (which finances this Council by a grant of £7,500 per annum for 10 years) to make a grant also to South Africa for educational and social research.

The point I wish to make here, however, is that this excellent research to which I referred above has been made possible, not by grants from within Australia, but from America, so that the most that we can say of the State in Australia is that *it permits educational research, but does not actively foster it.*

You find that the Australian Government spends a great deal of money in research on such matters as bitter pit in apples, spotted wilt in tomatoes, blue mould in tobacco, pulpy kidney and blow-fly in sheep. And if you raise cows or pigs, the Department of Agriculture is almost tearful in its solicitude to tell you the best way of caring for these animals. But do you raise children? No, they are too expensive!

The reason I mention all this is because I feel that, as the grants of the Carnegie Corporation are soon due to terminate, some plan must be devised by which the States and the Federal Government should support this institution, which has, it seems to me, become practically indispensable to education within the Commonwealth. It is to be hoped that Australia will rise to the occasion, and make possible the continuation of the excellent work done by this Council.

While I am speaking on this question of the value of research as regards our human resources, I wish to draw attention to the fact that even your universities seem to have neglected the systematic study of *psychology*. In most of your universities it is a mere appendix of the department of philosophy. I think that the time has arrived for Australian universities to recognize psychology as worthy of an independent department of its own. If it has to be connected with any existing department, it would seem to be more correct to link it up with the study of the natural sciences, such as biology, and with mathematics, than with logic with which it is usually associated. A fact which strikes most overseas visitors as strange is that, in the six universities of Australia,

there is only one Professor of Psychology and one Lecturer in Psychology, who are in charge of independent departments. The former is in the oldest university—namely, in Sydney, and the latter is to be found in the youngest university—namely, at Perth, where some excellent work is being done.

2. *The point of view which regards education as an art, and not as a science.*

Many people look upon teaching as an art. They say that teachers are born, and not made. Unfortunately, the birth rate is too low. They say that what is needed in teaching is experience and personality. Unfortunately, however, these things die with the possessor, and what we need in education is to pass through research from the subjective or personal experience to principles of objective validity and universal applicability. Let me explain this by reference to the science of medicine. Teaching is an art in the same sense as surgery is an art. The art of wielding a scalpel effectively in performing a surgical operation is an individual matter, yet that does not detract from the fact that medicine is a science. Before this operation can be performed there must have been a diagnosis based upon scientific principles, and it takes the medical profession many years to master these principles. Similarly in teaching, where we have the interplay between the mind of the teacher and the mind of the child, we can say that its success depends upon the interplay of personalities, and in that sense may be looked upon as an art. Recognition of this fact does not detract, however, from the equally legitimate point of view that education, with all its ramifications, should be based upon established principles which are the results of scientific inquiry. Sympathy and insight are not diminished, but enhanced, by scientific knowledge. The complaint against the old-time teacher is not that he did not solve the problems of education, but that his self-complacency prevented him from seeing them.

The trouble is that educators live by faith to a remarkable degree. They prepare material for their classes, meet the

classes, explain, describe, exhort and listen to the lessons with the perfect faith that the children are learning the things which they are supposed to learn. Occasionally home-made tests are given. If the test is hard, the class results are poor. If the test is easy, the results are good. The home-made tests measure efficiency of instruction in the way a home-made clock would keep time.

I mention this because I know that both teachers and parents, and the public in general, have a tremendous faith in the results of examinations. Recent investigations have, however, shown that the traditional examinations are extremely unreliable measuring rods.

These studies were also made possible by generous grants from the Carnegie Corporation, which enlisted the services of some of the best brains in the educational and psychological field in England, U.S.A., France, Germany, and some other European countries. The results, which were published in *The Marks of Examiners*¹ and in *Conference on Examinations at Folkestone*,² will serve to disillusion all but the most blind worshippers of the examination fetish.

Lack of space does not permit me to quote illustrations. You can find them for yourself in the publications referred to above.

The thing, however, that amazes me most is the fact that many men of scholarship and learning, such as professors of science, who are used to scientific methods and to performing accurate measurements in their respective fields, can have such a blind faith in the reliability and validity of methods of measurements in the traditional examination, which, if they were applied in their own sciences, would be regarded as of no value whatsoever. Our traditional examinations are deplorably unscientific. Yet we sanctify such institutions as the Matriculation or University Entrance Examinations, and have a faith in methods which would, if we were shopkeepers using such methods, land us in gaol.

The point I want to make is that, if we must have examina-

1.—Hartog, Rhodes and Burt. *The Marks of Examiners*. Macmillan & Co., London, 1936.

2.—Conference on Examinations, Folkestone, England. Bureau of Publications, Teachers' College, Columbia University, 1937.

tions, let us, at any rate, make them accurate as measuring devices. Otherwise it is better not to have them at all, because examinations have other disadvantages besides being inaccurate measures. They tend to focus the attention of the teacher on the end-products in education, rather than on the *process* of education.

In the absence of a scientific basis for the methods employed by teachers and parents, it is a wonder that many of us have survived our education. Perhaps it is due to the resiliency and the powers of resistance in youth that the damage they do is not greater.

Let me mention briefly two more handicaps.

3. *Lack of trained investigators.*

It is doubtful whether much of what parades under the name of research, particularly in the social sciences, really deserves the name in any scientific sense. That is why some wag has described educational research as 'trying to find out for the hundredth time what everybody knows, and then expressing it in language that nobody understands.'

Then, too, many investigators are apt to rush into a particular project without first acquainting themselves with what has been done in kindred fields by other workers. Thus they are apt to confuse ignorance with originality.

A knowledge of statistical technique has become a pre-requisite for most research work in the educational and psychological field. It must be remembered that statistics, while a good servant, can be a bad master. A display of formulae and tables often lends a spurious reliability to procedures that are questionable. Particularly when collecting data in the educational and social field, students are apt to forget that a consensus of worthless opinions is a worthless consensus of opinion, and that there is no magic in statistics that can give it any worth.

4. *High relative cost.*

In contrast with investigations into the natural sciences, educational and social research is relatively expensive. Not

only do social data not lend themselves so readily to precise measurement and classification, but the professor of physics or chemistry, for example, can carry out experiments and train his students in research, to a large extent, within the four walls of his laboratory. The professor in education and in social science, on the other hand, cannot do this. His problems lie mostly amongst people in the world outside. In order to investigate them, he has to go afield. To make surveys and collect data often require travelling to and staying in areas away from the precincts of the university. This a university professor cannot very well do except in vacations. And as such investigations are time-consuming, holidays do not suffice. The result is that he does not go because he cannot absent himself from his regular lectures during term time. Is not this one of the chief reasons why so little research is done in the educational and social field? Any research project in these fields, therefore, requires funds which will not only pay for the out-of-pocket expenses of the investigators, but will also pay for their substitutes. Otherwise, one cannot do more than merely tinker at the basic problems affecting the conservation of our *human* resources.

Some countries, especially the U.S.A., have recognized this to some extent by the generous bequests which their Foundations (e.g., Carnegie and Rockefeller) have made to foster research in the social sciences. We in the Dominions do not have such Foundations, and it becomes, therefore, all the more the duty of the State to see that this important aspect of research is not neglected.

III.—THE VALUE OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH IN ENHANCING THE PRESTIGE OF THE TEACHER

The above remarks have certain important implications for the training of teachers. While the main function of the teacher is to *teach*, it is necessary, in the interests of the profession, that every teacher must at some time during his course of training be given the opportunity of catching something of the spirit of research.

What I mean has been well expressed by Dr. Carl Becker, Minister of Education for Prussia before the Nazi régime came into power. He says: 'The most precious endowment which a period of training can bestow on a teacher is not a mass of knowledge or learning, but rather a hunger therefor. We want to create in our teachers a yearning—unfulfilled but always irrepressible—for their own self-improvement and the improvement of the youth entrusted to their care. Real culture does not consist in having heaped up masses of knowledge, but rather in that respectful disposition of mind which comes from acknowledging the difficulties of the task of knowing.'

In order to realize this ideal, it is essential that every university should develop in connection with it a strong Faculty of Education, where teachers can be trained even in the minutest details of the art of teaching, as well as in the underlying sciences. Moreover, they should receive that training in association with those who are being trained for the other professions, such as medicine, law, engineering, etc. The fact that teachers associate with people who are exploring other fields of knowledge will prevent that impression which is often gained when teachers are trained in a separate institution, namely, that when they have completed their course of training in a Training College, they have exhausted the fields of learning, and know everything that there is to be known. This university connection has also the advantage that, if teachers are to work in close co-operation with members of the other professions in the little communities where they are placed as leaders in the educational field, they have at least learned to associate with members of the other professions on an equal footing, and do not develop those inferiority complexes often noticed amongst teachers.

Such a status for the educational profession will be gained only if those who practise it can justify their methods before the bar of science. Before this can happen, educational research will have to receive much more serious consideration, not only as a university subject, but also as worthy of generous financial support.

ADDENDUM

DESCRIPTION OF THE NATIONAL BUREAU OF EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIAL RESEARCH IN SOUTH AFRICA

This Bureau, which falls under the Union Department of Education, consists of five sections:

The Educational Research Section.—This section acts as a liaison office between the various Provincial (State) Departments of Education. It acts also as the Secretariat of the sub-committee of heads of Education Departments to the Inter-Provincial (inter-State) Consultative Committee, which meets every three months to discuss matters pertaining to education in the whole Union. Research work done in the field of retardation has led to grants towards special classes for deviate children in addition to the ordinary grant of £15 per pupil made by the Union (National) Government to the Provincial Councils. Research work which showed what becomes of boys after they leave school has led to the establishment of vocational guidance bureaus, and the creation of high-grade posts for vocational guidance officers in connection with the schools. As the representative of South Africa on educational matters in connection with international organizations, such as the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, under the League of Nations, etc., this section collates a vast amount of educational statistics and other data dealing with education, and acts as a central clearing-house of such information.

Social Research Section.—This section not only collects statistics on child welfare, but acts as a clearing-house of information pertaining to voluntary organizations performing social work and all matters affecting poor relief, charitable institutions, etc. It has recently done valuable research work on delinquency, which led to the taking over of all reformatories by the Education Department from the Department of Justice. This section has successfully organized various conferences on social work, and has been chiefly instrumental in professionalizing social work. Social

workers are now university-trained people, with at least a three years' course, which leads to a degree in social work.

Psychological Research Section.—This section deals with the standardization of the individual and group tests of intelligence, of vocational and scholastic tests.

Recently it has devoted attention to the standardization of intelligence tests at the lower and higher age levels, and to the standardization of intelligence tests for African natives. These will, to some degree, make it possible to effect a comparison between the intelligence of the African native and the white people.

Incidentally this section serves Education Departments by testing backward children and selecting them for special classes and other differential treatment.

National Library on Educational and Social Research.—This is a free library, which is extensively used by teachers and other workers in educational and social fields throughout the Union. It is run under a trained librarian, with a staff of three graduate assistants. It is maintained by financial contributions from the Union Education Department, the Union Department of Social Welfare, and the South African Council for Educational and Social Research. The lastnamed body draws its funds from the Carnegie Grant referred to above.

National Film Institute.—This comprises a National Film Library, to which the Provincial Education Departments contribute £2,600 and the Union Government £1,000 per annum. Though it is the youngest addition to the Bureau, it has already over 1,000 sound and silent films (16 m.m.). These are issued at a nominal cost to the schools. The purchase of projectors by the schools is made possible by £ for £ grants by the Provincial Education Departments. This Film Institute sponsors the production of educational films. It is the Secretariat of the National Film Advisory Board, which aims at improving the general level of films shown also in the commercial cinema theatres. The latter is achieved by the Bureau's certifying as educational good films which have an educational value, and thereby rendering them free of

import duty. As the duty is fairly heavy on films, this procedure places a premium on good films, and has done much towards improving the general level of short films shown during the first part of the cinema programme.

THE FUNCTION OF THE TEACHER

H. R. HAMLEY

The Teacher as the Custodian of a Cultural Heritage

THE teacher must preserve the learning and wisdom that are his cultural heritage. In India to-day, as in the distant past, the *guru*, or teacher, still transmits the wisdom of the ages through song and story. Our schools and universities ought to be regarded as repositories of learning, where all that is best in our cultural heritage is in safe keeping. The teacher's mind should be richly stored. It is for him to conserve the best that is in the past. If I were asked to decide the subjects that should be included in the school curriculum, I should reply, in the words of Sir Percy Nunn, 'any subject which represents one of the grand achievements of the human spirit.' If this were our criterion, history, language, literature, mathematics, and science would each have a place.

The teacher should speak with conviction, as one who can say, 'I know.' The teacher who cannot speak with authority cannot inspire confidence. We hear much in these days about authoritarian States. There is a psychology of authoritarianism which we teachers should learn. Conviction and authority give a sense of security. No teacher can impress others who does not believe that truth can be relied upon, who does not believe in the efficacy of clear thinking. If we know the truth, the truth will make us free.

The Teacher as the Exemplar of the Spirit of Adventure

One writer has said that teachers are of all people the least adventurous. I do not believe this, but I feel that, as a body, we are prone to conservatism. As things have been, so they remain; as schools have been, so we tend to maintain them. It is a common criticism of our schools that the marks of adventure are so seldom to be found upon them. This is less true to-day than it has been in the past. Traditional

education seldom went beyond the provision of a fixed and ready-made scheme of knowledge. Adventure was expected in the playground, but never in the classroom. Professor Alexander has said: 'Only the adventurous can understand the greatness of the past.' He could have added, with equal truth: 'Only the adventurous can appreciate the potentialities of the present.' Security is the condition, but adventure is the agency of all growth and development. It may be said, with truth, that progression is a sign of mental health, as it is a recognized sign of physical health. The teacher must keep himself fresh and keep his children fresh, by intellectual exploration, by research, and by travel. Teacher and pupil should be comrades in adventure, sharing both intellectual resources and discoveries. In the Practising School attached to the Bombay Training College, with which I was for many years associated, there used to be a rule that no subject should be taught the same way in two consecutive years. I do not urge that this rule be universally applied, but I do suggest that the spirit of adventure should be everywhere observable in our schools.

The Teacher as the Guardian of Individual Freedom

It is well to remind ourselves constantly that the child has certain psychological needs; among them are the recognition of personality, and its corollary, the recognition of freedom. The teacher—I speak of the teacher in England—demands freedom for himself, freedom to express himself in his work, freedom to obey the behests of his own spirit. In the best schools, the head master or head mistress recognizes the teacher's freedom, just as the inspector recognizes his freedom in his management of his school. Nowhere in the world is there such a diversity of curricula and methods as in England, because nowhere in the world is there such freedom. This is the glory of English education.

If teachers demand the recognition of their own personalities, they have a right to recognize the personalities of others. 'The child has his rights as well as his responsibilities and duties; these rights should be respected.' The healthiest

relationship between teacher and pupil is what I would call the 'man-to-man relationship.' The school is no place for repression, condescension or pomposity. Where the man-to-man attitude prevails the problem of discipline ceases to exist. The man-to-man attitude implies straightforwardness and justice, but it also implies patience and tact. Justice does not demand that all the child's faults and failings be brought to notice. Blessed is the teacher who knows when to ignore failings and overlook defects.

The Teacher as the Cultivator of Social Co-operation

In the past the teacher has been obtuse to the child's need of corporate living. The playing fields, with their rivalries and contests, have been the only recognized media of social intercourse. Co-operation in work is of even greater importance than co-operation in play. This co-operation is best seen when children work in groups of two or three. (Illustrations were given of group work carried on in relation to the ordinary subjects of the curriculum.) If the teacher's personal influence is to be felt in the school and beyond it, he must cultivate sociability; he must be able to speak many languages, of the rich and of the poor, of the cultivated and of the ignorant, of the business man and of the politician. Above all, he must be able to speak the language of children. Education for knowledge is not enough; the teacher must educate for social living. Such social education may be narrow, as we find it in Italy and Germany; but it may be, and should be, as wide as the world itself.

The Teacher as the Inspirer of Human Affection

It is usually taken for granted that teachers must be fond of children, but such statements are apt to sound sentimental. We cannot help liking some children more than others, but our preferences should not be too obvious. It may seem paradoxical to say that, although we have a right to have feelings, just as we have a right to have opinions, we should, as far as possible, be objective, and unemotional, in our attitude to children. We are all prone to respond emotion-

ally to the emotions of children. One of the best head mistresses in England remarked, when I commented upon her ability to manage difficult girls with calmness: 'I will not allow any girl to bring me to her emotional level.' We can, at least, show the child simple human kindness, which is the first step to understanding his real nature. We cannot understand the child until we recognize him as a person. The unrecognized and unloved child is the potential neurotic and abnormal adult. One of the child's fundamental needs is security. The child must feel secure in the affections of his elders. There is a high correlation between the child's love of his teacher and his success in school work. The child needs security, if he is to have faith, and without faith he cannot live. Again, let us remember that the child's need to give affection is as fundamental as his need to receive it, and that this need continues through life, if the spirit is not quenched. If these things are so, schools must be places where knowledge, adventure, freedom, co-operation and affection are always to be found.

THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS

WILLIAM BOYD

THE existing systems of teacher training are everywhere unsatisfactory, both on the side of theory and on the side of practice. The theory is generally superficial, and the practice is too often craftsmanship without knowledge of principle.

There are two outstanding weaknesses that beset most systems of teacher training. The one is the divorce of theory and practice, due to the fact that the teachers of teachers-to-be are either practitioners with limited general culture, or academic people weak on the practical side. The other weakness is the shortness of the time devoted to training in colleges designed by Government Departments of Education to give only the minimum preparation required. Within the space of the two years or so given to the task, it is impossible to give more than a scrappy training, far short of real professional requirements.

Actually a thorough training for the teacher's office makes necessary a very comprehensive programme of studies. The well-equipped teacher needs four things: (a) a broad background of general culture; (b) a good body of knowledge in the school subjects; (c) a considerable knowledge of the philosophy and science of education; and (d) competence in teaching and school organization.

How can these requirements be met? The foundations of the training must be laid on a good secondary education. Following that, there ought to be a course of professional training comparable with the course of medical training, and occupying at least four years. Following the medical analogy, we may think of this professional course beginning with the philosophical disciplines which underlie education—philosophy, ethics, sociology and psychology. There might follow studies more definitely related to school work—a survey of curricula and methods, on the one hand, and,

on the other, the psychology of subject-matter and of the child. The culminating studies would deal with the actual work of the school in all its aspects. Somewhere in relation to the cultural interests there might come in the content subjects, studied not only for their future use in school, but for their personal value to the student himself. And alongside this general course of study, there would, of course, be plenty of opportunities for practical work of all kinds, to ensure teaching skill, without which educational theory is of no avail.

Where should this professional training be given? Obviously in the university, because of the opportunity that the university provides for a generous view of life and contacts with students preparing for the different professions. All the work would lead up to a university degree in education. The degree course would not necessarily be taken by all teachers-in-training, but would be within the reach of all. The existing training colleges might become schools of education within the university system.

SECTION₆ VI
EXAMINATIONS

EXAMINATIONS

LAURIN ZILLIACUS

EVERYWHERE in the civilized world where there are centralized examinations there is discontent; but the various factors in the situation are so tangled, and so many conflicting interests are involved, that it is by no means easy to point the way to a solution.

In most countries teachers are, on the one hand, dissatisfied with the examination system, and, on the other, going about to bring their pupils up to the standard demanded by the examiners. University teachers everywhere are complaining about the scholastic achievements of those coming from the secondary schools; but the only remedy they have to suggest is the raising of the standard of examinations by making them more specialized and more competitive. Parents complain about the pressure brought to bear upon their children, and at the same time themselves bring pressure to bear on the teachers to get the children through examinations. Doctors are constantly pointing out the physical and mental dangers of examination strain. Next there are the employers who insist upon a matriculation certificate. (Perhaps you have heard the story of the employer who asked an applicant for a position if he had his matriculation certificate. The answer was, 'I have my M.A.' 'I don't care about your M.A.,' was the reply, 'have you got your matriculation?' That magic word goes a long way in the world of employers.) Finally, the administrators of our school systems also have their views on examinations, which they regard as a means of evaluating and controlling the work of the schools. All these factors together make up the examination tangle.

Examination systems have grown up gradually with the increase in the number of candidates seeking certificates which entitle them to further education or open the doors to vocational or social advancement. They are the attempt of

society to obtain a guaranteed product in the face of large numbers and a huge machine. But, unfortunately, they have become highly centralized, and have more and more tended to exercise a dominating and standardizing influence on the whole education system.

As the examination system developed, however, doubts as to its efficiency and criticisms of its general effect on education became more and more common. This in turn led to research into the examination problem. Some of the first researches I know of were made in the United States about the year 1910, and were concerned with the reliability of marking. The investigators raised the question whether two different examiners would give the same marks for the same paper. The results were most disconcerting. In England similar investigations into the reliability of examinations were carried out, Dr. Ballard and others investigating examinations at different educational stages. These investigators paid special attention to the examination used to select children for secondary education, and found its reliability to be very low.

In 1927 the New Education Fellowship appointed an International Commission on Examinations, which reported at the next World Conference in 1929, and again at the Nice Conference in 1932. The main conclusions of this enquiry have been published by the Fellowship in its book, *The Examination Tangle and the Way Out*. As it was clear that much more research was needed, the Fellowship turned to the Carnegie Corporation and asked for funds for this purpose. Part of the projected research so interested the Carnegie people that they undertook it themselves, and the International Examinations Enquiry was begun.

Out of all this discussion and research certain definite questions emerge: What is the examination supposed to measure, and what does it in effect measure? Are the measurements reliable and valid? What is the actual effect of examinations on the school system, what is it supposed to be, and what should it be?

We shall take these questions separately. What is the examination supposed to measure, and what does it actually

measure? What it is supposed to measure is difficult to say. Sir Philip Hartog likes to ask this question: What can the candidate do who has just passed a school examination? Does that pass tell us what he is able to do? He has never yet, he declares, had a satisfactory answer. He says it is a different matter if you put the question to one of the professional bodies. The Institute of Chartered Accountants, for example, will tell you that the candidate who has just passed its examination can take full charge of all the work that comes into an accountant's office. In the same way, if you go to the College of Surgeons and ask what the candidate who has just passed his final degree can do, the answer will be, 'He is safe to let loose on the public to practise.' But when the question is asked concerning the ordinary school examination there is no definite reply, because the purpose of the examination is so complex and so vague. It tries to combine two functions, first a diagnosis of what the candidate has taken out of the school course, and, secondly, a prognosis of the child's capacity to profit by further education. As for the question of what the examination does in effect measure, the answer must be that the actual results expressed in marks are the net product of a great number of different factors. How the candidate feels on the day of the examination, his power of expressing himself in writing, his knowledge, his capacity to interpret examination questions, his nervous stability—all these and many other factors contribute to the result. Hence it is not surprising that investigations to date show a low correlation between examination indications and true conditions.

The results of investigations into the reliability and validity of examinations have been startling. In England, for example, 15 school certificate history scripts which had been awarded exactly the same 'middling' mark by the authority concerned were marked in turn and independently by 15 examiners, who were asked to assign to them both marks and awards of failure, pass, or credit. The marks varied from 21 to 70! It was found, further, that when these examiners re-marked once more the same scripts after an interval of

from twelve to nineteen months they changed their minds as to the verdict of fail, pass and credit in 92 cases out of the total of 210. Nor must it be imagined that these discrepancies in marking were confined to such subjects as English and history; they were found in every subject tested, including Latin, chemistry, mathematics and French. In France the same kind of investigation was conducted. The French are inclined to be rather complacent about their education system, and, indeed, they have much to be proud of—no one can fail to be impressed by the intellectual vigour and power of expression found among Frenchmen of all classes. Yet, disconcerting as the English results had been, the French showed even more astonishing discrepancies in marking. Investigations in other countries, for example, America, Finland and Sweden, also exposed the unreliability of examinations in a striking way.

I come now to the function of the examination—what it does, what it is supposed to do, and what it ought to do. What it actually does is only too well known: the ruler has become the 'ruler' in another sense of the word. In every centralized system I know of, both the content of the syllabus and the methods employed are to a very high degree determined by the examination. What it is supposed to do is to help administrators to assess and to control the work of teachers, and to select children for further education. Personally, I think that at least two of these functions are in themselves undesirable.

On the other hand, whatever may be said about external examinations, there will always be a place for internal tests. They are necessary as a test of the effectiveness of our methods of teaching and as a means of discovering the interests and abilities of children, and what, from the point of view of the demands of society, it is best to give them. As teachers, we should, I think, use such tests extensively, and make careful records of the development of the children. In this way we shall, in time, develop a technique of testing and guidance that will replace external examinations.

I shall conclude with a practical suggestion. The School

Leaving Certificate should, I think, be free from university entrance requirements, and in no instance accepted by the university as the entrance examination; but no candidate should be allowed to sit for the university entrance examination before he has gained the School Leaving Certificate. This certificate should be the guarantee of a good all-round school course, and what constitutes such a course should to my mind be left to the teachers themselves to determine. As for those few who wish to study at the university, it is the business of the university itself to find suitable means of selecting them.

THE REFORM OF THE EXAMINATION SYSTEM

WILLIAM BOYD

EXAMINATIONS have always had their critics, but never so many or so well-informed critics as to-day.

Within the last ten years there have been two important inquiries regarding the working of the examination system in different countries—one by the New Education Fellowship, the other by the Carnegie Corporation of America. Approaching the subject from very different angles, they have reached a similar conclusion, and the joint effect is most damaging. Under examination, the examination system in all its phases has come out a rank failure. It proves to have two very serious weaknesses: (a) the measurement of human capacities and their products, which it professes to make, is most unsatisfactory; (b) the effects on the educational and personal sides of school life are demoralizing.

In regard to the examination as a measuring device, there is serious weakness in respect of both validity and reliability. Criticism has mainly been concerned with reliability because it has been easy to demonstrate that no two examiners ever assign the same marks to a paper, and no examiner marking the same paper at different times ever succeeds in repeating his marks. But there is no less doubt regarding validity. It is always open to question whether an examination really tests what it professes to be testing: the more general an examination paper is, the more reason is there to suspect its validity.

But even if the examination instrument were perfect in the estimation of abilities, the system would still deserve condemnation because of the evil influence it exercises on school life. At the demand of the examiner, the schools are compelled to standardize both subjects and methods of instruction, in general disregard of varying capacities and needs; and the stress of teaching is laid on the external examinable

aspects of subjects rather than on the deeper spiritual aspects. Much time which might be given to education is devoted to examining and the preparation for examination. The scholars are subjected to periodic strains and anxieties which have adverse effects on the health of body and mind. Initiative and spontaneous work are discouraged in them as well as in their teachers, because they do not make for good examination results.

What is to be done about examinations? Should they be abolished altogether in an ideal scheme of education? The new educator, as a practical man, would hesitate to let his logic carry him to this conclusion. He cannot but recognize that, with all their limitations, examinations are a valuable administrative device: that they do serve to keep teachers and pupils up to the mark; that they do provide a guarantee of educational efficiency for the State which finances the school system; that they do enable a more or less satisfactory selection of persons to be made both for promotions from one school stage to another and for posts requiring special knowledge and capacity.

The question as to substitutes for examinations is really a very complicated one. What is possible for a school with a highly efficient staff may not be possible for an ordinary school. What is possible for a single school may not be possible for a national system of schools. The ideal would seem to be the disappearance of the examination. If one can trust to the moral atmosphere of a school in the realm of character, one should be able to have a like faith in the realm of intellect. But actually, with a tradition of examinations firmly established, it would be difficult to give effect to this view on any large scale. However, this does not mean that it could not be put into practice in a well-ordered school, especially in a school outside the routinized State system. There are some progressive schools which ignore the examination demands until they come very near, believing that their pupils, if really educated, will be fresh-minded, and take the examination hurdle in their stride. In place of the organization of work for the passing of examinations,

they generally follow some form of the Dalton plan or a similar technique.

For schools which are not in a position to go all the way towards the abolition of examinations, the working ideal is the abolition of external examinations, putting in place of them the cumulative school record, which depends on the judgment of a succession of teachers throughout the whole career of the pupil. If need be, this regular testing of the pupils by their teachers could be supplemented by a more formal testing at special stages (for example, at the close of the primary period and at the school leaving age). For purposes of certification there is some advantage in a joint judgment of the teacher and an outside person of recognized competence. But even in this case it is important that such testing as takes place should be limited to a few subjects, and should be concerned mainly with the minimum essentials in the subjects. The danger is that internal examinations may be as grievous a burden as external, and make no addition to the opportunities for free development. That has happened in some of the schools, like those in Victoria, working under an accrediting system.

PROBLEM OF EXAMINATIONS

I. L. KANDEL

THE issue in the discussion of the problem of examinations is not whether examinations should be abolished, but how they may be improved and made more accurate and reliable. For the central problem in education in a democracy is how to provide and distribute education in ways consistent with the needs of society and the aptitudes of those who are to be educated. Examinations may be used (1) as a means of social control; (2) as a method of educational administration, that is, as a test of the teachers; (3) as a method of admission to schools, professions, public services, etc.; and (4) as a means of instruction, that is, as a method for discovering the progress of pupils and of improving instruction.

The importance of the problem in contemporary education is illustrated by the fact that, since 1931, an International Examinations Inquiry has been conducted in which representatives from England, Germany, France, Scotland, Switzerland, and the United States have participated, and to which Norway, Sweden, and Finland have recently been added. Reports of investigations began to be issued in 1935, and prove that, despite all kinds of safeguards, the marking of examination papers is inaccurate and unreliable. The same examiner is as likely as not to give different marks to the same paper after a short interval between the two markings; two or more examiners rarely agree on giving the same mark to the same paper, even after receiving carefully detailed instructions on methods of marking. These facts have been known in the United States for the past thirty years, but the attack on the reliability of examinations had already been made fifty years ago by Professor R. Y. Edgeworth, of Oxford. In the United States, the history of two external examining boards has paralleled the history of similar boards elsewhere, but in the last ten years there has been a tendency

to secure greater reliability by the introduction of what are called new type, or objective, or short written tests.

It has been found desirable in the United States to supplement the system of accrediting, whereby students are admitted to the universities on the recommendations of the headmasters of their secondary schools, by a system of State-wide or even nation-wide examinations of the new type. The new type or objective tests are not an American invention, but are based on theories and principles first elaborated by two English scholars—Sir Francis Galton and Professor Karl Pearson.

The general trend of the investigations conducted under the auspices of the International Examinations Inquiry is, therefore, not in favour of the abolition of examinations, but rather of discovering in as many different ways as possible the aptitudes and capacities of each pupil as a growing personality, so that 'the right pupil may obtain the right education under the right teacher,' to quote an English educational leader. These ways include a variety of examinations and tests, and records of teachers' estimates and of the pupils' characteristics and interests, in order to furnish the basis for educational guidance. The purpose of examinations will then be, not to separate the successes from the failures, but to diagnose the amount and direction of a pupil's progress, to improve instruction, and to adapt school work to the capacities and interests of each pupil.

SECTION VII
THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM

PUPIL ACTIVITY IN MODERN EDUCATION

BEATRICE ENSOR

THERE have been very great changes in the theory and practice of education during the last twenty years, and these have hinged largely upon the findings of modern psychology. We have come to see human development as a whole and continuous process, and to sort out those elements in the environment which are likely to encourage or obstruct it. We have come to see infancy and childhood, not as a fairly passive prelude to adult destiny, but as the chief shapers of that destiny. We have, therefore, come to see the child, not as a passive recipient of knowledge, correction and encouragement, but as an active learner, practising ways of getting on with his fellows, and of using his own powers. Thus the rôle of the teacher has changed from that of instructor to that of co-operative guide, and the scope of the school has widened from a mere filling and drilling room to a laboratory for experiments in living.

When I was an inspector of schools, the elementary school teacher's chief equipment was a bagful of 'teaching devices'—i.e., tricks by which he could hold his pupils' attention on matters that did not interest them. The schools were drab; the classes numbered anything up to 70; the desks were nicely screwed to the floor, and children had to put up their hands for permission to move. Discipline was rigid, and many activities, such as sewing and handkerchief drill, were carried out to numbered orders, like a soldier's movements on parade.

Thus the children feared the teacher, and the teacher, in his turn, feared the head and the inspector. Payment was by results. A good inspector's report meant promotion, and this led to a distressing servility on the teacher's part, and a slavish carrying out of the inspector's lightest word. The printed syllabus and a cast-iron time-table ruled both the content and order of instruction, and examinations cast their shadow even over the infants' school.

However clearly we may see that these old conditions were wrong—that they could not constitute a framework for education in any true sense of the word—it is obvious that they could not be changed by decree. No fiat from the powers that be: ‘Trust the child; free the schools,’ could have had the desired effect. Only an inner change—a change of heart—on the part of teachers, inspectors and education authorities could have done that. The chief work of the New Education Fellowship during the twenty-two years of its existence has been to foster such a change of heart in teachers and administrators all over the world, so that those who are working—sometimes in isolation, sometimes as part of a great local experiment—for the liberation of the child, and, through him, for the building of a freer and better social order, need no longer feel themselves alone, but as part of a great community.

We all want the same thing—an education that shall be real and deep-rooted, a soil in which the child’s whole personality can flower, in which not only his mind, but his spirit and his emotions, can find the food they need and can develop their own ways of life, their own inner discipline. It is evident that the desire for such an education is as ardent in Australia as anywhere else in the world. The problem, with you as elsewhere, is how best to set about achieving it. With you, as elsewhere, the first steps must be taken within the existing educational framework. There is no need to waste energy in rebellion. Each teacher who wishes to do so, and who feels within himself what freedom means, can set about here and now to make the children free.

I suppose that the only really essential first step is to cast out fear. If you can trust the child—not fearing his curiosity, his great energy, his wish to create, his eagerness for action and responsibility—if you can disabuse your mind of the old classifications into goodness and naughtiness, and wish with the child that he may ‘have life, and have it more abundantly’—then you will already have embarked upon the new education. Fresh activities, new ways of doing things, new solutions to old problems, and a discipline based on the needs

of the group, instead of upon adult orders—all these will follow, once the initial step in trust is taken. But the original act of faith—the casting out of fear—must be a wholesale, not a piecemeal, act. The teacher cannot say, ‘I will trust the child,’ and still continue to fear the authorities, or the parents, or the rulers of his own or other countries. Still less can he continue to fear or mistrust himself. That was the mistake of the early experimenters in the new education—of the parents rather than the teachers, perhaps. They determined to trust the child, but they feared their own unworthiness to help and and guide him. So we witnessed a short generation in which the children of progressive parents were left without the support and guidance which every child expects and needs from adults. The result must have been a bewildered anarchy in many small hearts and minds. The teacher must accept his natural rôle as guide as well as the native initiative and energy of those he is guiding. That is why I never grow tired of repeating that the initial approach to the new education can only be made through the inner life of the teacher.

There has already been a great general advance in education, though much still remains to be done. If you were to ask me how to set about joining in this advance, I should be obliged to say, building from your own soil and your own foundations. No hasty borrowing of methods or techniques can help, for unless education springs from the background and traditions of a child, and borrows examples from, and explains, his ordinary daily life, it cannot seem very real or important to him.

This does not mean that there is not a great deal to be learnt from the writings of the educational pioneers and from the application of their theories in other schools. It only means that, until digested and re-applied, educational theory is without true significance.

Madame Montessori was, I suppose, the first great educational innovator in this century. She realized the young child’s immense powers of concentration, his eagerness to experiment, his potentialities as a self-educator whenever he

could find the material on which to practise. She set about to devise such material—apparatus with which he could play in such a way that his play itself would train his sense of colour, his perceptions of weight, his musical ear, his powers of numbering, contrasting and comparing. The early Montessori schools were a revelation to child-lovers. I shall never forget the impression which the first one I visited made on me. *To see the children so utterly and happily absorbed, learning so smoothly and rapidly from their own direct experiences,* gave one a new vista of the learning capacities of the whole human race, given the proper environment. One does not often see now a pure Montessori school. We have come to realize that the system is too narrow, and does not give sufficient scope to the imaginative and emotional needs of the child. But much of the apparatus has been adopted and adapted in many schools all over the world—giving numberless children joyful exercise in their powers of perceiving, comparing and remembering.

What Madame Montessori did for the young child, Helen Parkhurst has done for the older child and adolescent. Her Dalton Plan has shown that, given a sufficiently rich environment and proper guidance, a child can learn for himself more thoroughly and more quickly than he can be taught under a rigid classroom system. The Dalton Plan abolished the old patchwork time-table—40 minutes English, 40 minutes mathematics, French, history, etc.—and in its stead gave each child an ‘assignment’ of work in all subjects, to be covered in the course of the month. The school was converted from form-rooms to subject-rooms. The teacher sat in her own subject-room, helping over difficulties, suggesting new lines of approach, correcting the completed work. The child moved from room to room in search of what apparatus, books or teaching he needed. The result was not a nomadic listlessness, but an atmosphere of unwonted purpose and hard work. The child who was good at some subjects and weak in others could polish off his easier subjects quickly, and so give more time to those he found difficult. The child who was good ~~at~~ ^{round} settled down to what really amounted to

research in the subjects that interested him most. Thus the plan suited both the slow and the quick learner.

The plan has affected the régimes of many schools of many types. It has been adopted in a modified form in most progressive schools, and in its entirety in certain State schools in England—notably in Wood Green Junior Boys' School, London, by Mr. A. J. Lynch, and in a big senior boys' school in Yarmouth by Mr. Albert Corlett. It makes heavy demands upon the teachers, and upon the headmaster, perhaps, in particular; but where the staff is unanimously enthusiastic about it, it can lead to startlingly happy results. The objection that it is likely to impair the corporate life of a school is unfounded, since that life depends upon the whole spirit of the school and its out-of-class activities rather than on anything that happens in lesson-time. But I think that the objection that something very valuable is forfeited if class-teaching be entirely abolished is valid. A good class-lesson that sweeps the whole class into absorbed interest, and is then followed by keen discussion, is an experience to be cherished in the schools, and probably the most profitable division of the school week would be into fifty per cent. individual work and fifty per cent. class-teaching.

Two other great educational thinkers of this century are Professor John Dewey and the late Dr. Decroly. They both insisted that interest and emotional awareness are essential incentives to learning, which means roughly that we can only come to *know* what we love, all the rest we either ignore or forget, or at best 'know about'—a very different thing. As the direct result of these two men's thought we have the Project Method and the Decroly Method, both of which have enlarged and enriched the activities of the children in a great many schools.

The Project Method centres all the activities of a whole class round one central theme, which is usually chosen by the children themselves, and which continues to hold the stage for as many days or weeks as are necessary for its complete working out. The themes vary enormously—from geographical subjects, such as 'How the Eskimoes Live,' his-

tonal subjects, centering round life in the mediæval manor or monastery, to such every-day themes as ships, milk production, or the post office, or such half fairy-tales as the circus. All activities—reading, writing, arithmetic, painting, singing, and all handicrafts—are called into use in the elaborate working out of the theme. The proof of a good project is that it should call upon all these varied abilities of the children and set them to new and ever more ambitious uses. And the proof of a good project teacher is that, when the project is done, the children shall feel it as their own, not as something executed to his design, however interesting and ingenious. An example of a bad project appeared in a class in a progressive school, which concentrated its whole energies one term on primroses. An inspector's innocent remark that the class, no doubt, knew a lot about primroses, evoked from one boy the brief explosive comment, 'Damn primroses.'

The Decroly Method is best seen at work in the Ecole Nouvelle, the school founded by Dr. Decroly himself, near Bruxelles. But the method, more or less modified to suit local conditions, has been introduced into the whole State school systems of Belgium and Columbia, and into many isolated schools all over the world. Until recently, the subject-matter considered during any one year at the Ecole Nouvelle was organized round several pivotal ideas, or 'centres of interest'—the choice of 'centre' being largely dictated by the season of the year.

This organization by 'multiple centres' is still employed, in the first and second grade classes.

In the other classes, Dr. Decroly has organized the programme round 'single centres,' using each year one of the following fundamental needs as the centre of interest for the entire year:

1. Food.
2. Protection from the elements.
3. Defence against enemies and dangers.
4. Work.

Each of these centres of interest is considered both in relation to the child and his needs and the child and his

environment: the family, the school, society, the animal world, the vegetable world, the mineral world, and the heavens.

It is a very heartening experience to see a group of children working on these lines, which have been devised for them by the tender heart, the deep insight of Dr. Decroly. It is so obvious that they are working joyously *with*, not against, the grain, and that what they are learning will be a permanent source of growth to each one of them.

Parallel with the work of these pioneers runs a very great work in the investigation of the child's potentialities as an artist. Cizek's is the outstanding name in this sphere, but his work has been continued and amplified by many teachers all over the world. Thanks to them we have come to a much fuller and more exciting view of the child's creative powers, and of their importance to his full individual development. These creative powers, once released, find many channels—not only in painting and the plastic arts, but in drama and dancing, and also I shall be inclined to say, in the creative and spontaneous atmosphere of the modern school and of the human relationships within its walls.

THE CURRICULUM IN THE CHILD-CENTRED SCHOOL

HAROLD RUGG

ON the 'New Psychology' we have built up in other meetings, we can build a new programme of education with some assurance that it will advance the world's experiments in government by consent of the governed. With it we can make good tentative answers to the questions we have asked concerning the best form of activities, the general character of the materials of education, the departmentalization of the school, the organization of the work around problems, and the like.

We know now the desiderata of our new curriculum if it is to produce a large minority of informed, thinking citizens. It must

1. Provide every person with an opportunity to use all his powers of assimilation; that is, it will consist of many-sided activities and varied materials.
2. Organize these on the principle of integration, assembling together in close relationship all the meanings needed for understanding.
3. Provide for verbatim repetition of all socially worth-while skills.
4. Give constant practice in confronting the important problems and issues of modern life.
5. Practice youth everlastingly in scientific thinking, so as to break down the universal and chronic tendencies toward wishful and empirical thinking.
6. Recognize and give play to the child's purposes and motives; build on the child's intention to learn rather than on the teacher's intention to teach.
7. Recognize the competitive self-defensive drives of most people, and build a programme of social co-operation through self-governing school communities.

8. Provide frequent opportunity for creative expression and the building of æsthetic awareness.

Doubt Cast on the Existing Subject-curriculum

If the schoolmasters of the First Industrial Revolution had possessed an adequate psychology upon which to build a great education of understanding, they could not possibly have organized the curriculum in the form of a score of narrow, idea-tight, mental compartments, and conceived of learning as the giving back to the teacher of words memorized from text-books. The curriculum has become a mosaic of narrow academic subjects, the content of which is unrelated to our crucial current needs. Certainly the present curriculum in geography, history, civics, economics, business English, and the like does not present the honest, intelligent and intelligible description of man and his changing society which is required by our youth if democracy is to survive.

The content of these 'subjects' has been assembled by research scholars in academic compartments of knowledge, and presented to young people in encyclopedic text-books. For example, meanings dealing with man and his physical environment have been presented in a 'subject' called 'geography,' which is assigned to 'periods' of about thirty minutes a day. Certain phases of the story of government have been set up in a subject called 'history'; this has been divided further into American history, ancient history, medieval and modern history, and the like. Certain other meanings dealing with industry, trade, finance, property, and the like are assembled in another subject called 'economics'; still others describing the structure of governments are given in 'civics.' Thus, the subject matter of human cultures has been cleverly cut up into many mature logical classifications. This was probably inevitable because, as we have seen, our text-book curriculums were made originally from scholarly researches on the assumption that units of study in the school should be presented to youth in blocks similar in content and organization to the fields of research.

There are four factors in the educative process:

- (a) The *school*, which means essentially the artist-teachers, the designers and guides of the educative process.
- (b) The *society*, that is, the civilization and culture in which the child lives.
- (c) The *child*, the person being educated.
- (d) The *curriculum*, that is, activities and materials, the great intermediary between the child and society.

Or, to assemble these factors more succinctly, reducing them to two:

- (1) A *person* living in a society.
- (2) A *teacher* helping him, by means of the *curriculum*, to understand that society, and to take his best possible part in it.

The last factor, the curriculum, is in a real sense the educative process, and its design, construction, and operation, therefore, constitutes the crux of the teacher's work.

The 'curriculum'—an ugly, awkward, academic word, but fastened upon us by technical custom—is really the entire programme of the school's work. It is the essential *means* of education. It is *everything* that the students and their teachers do. Thus it is twofold in nature, being made up of activities, the things done, and of the materials with which they are done.

The curriculum, then, is the great intermediary between society (the culture) and the child. The culture (for purpose of definition and discussion only) can be thought of as revealing three aspects: first, its external, physical civilization; second, its institutions; and, third, its subtle 'psychology.' In making these distinctions, let us be forewarned, however, that we do so only for purposes of convenience in study. In reality, the ongoing, shifting stream of social life is a weld of all three of these aspects of culture. The physical production system, the family and government systems, the carrying on of social organizations—all are propelled and guided by the drives and taboos of the people. Hence no phase of culture exists by itself; all are fused

together. For convenience in explanation, however, it will serve our purpose to distinguish them as separate aspects.

The New Curriculum, Built on Understanding Units

The starting-point of curriculum organization for the study of society will not be the learning of the facts in 'subjects' called 'geography,' 'economics,' and 'civics'; it will be, rather, one or more realistic problems of individual and social life with which young people will grapple directly. One question, and one only, should guide our search for a sound curriculum organization: What meanings and attitudes must be developed as integrated units to enable juvenile minds (or adult minds for that matter!) to understand modes of living and social problems? *The chief criterion of design must be human understanding, not conformity to conventional categories.* So the new programme of the social sciences is being organized into 'units of work' instead of into conventional 'subjects.' In this way a new synthesis of knowledge is being created in the new curriculum.

Broad New Units-of-Study Mark the Educational Transition

First and foremost, the new schools are going through a transition in arrangement as well as in content. Not only are they courageously beginning to confront young people with the realities of our contemporary culture, but they are experimenting with varieties of organization of programme. No one of these laboratory schools would claim to-day the ultimate success to which it aspires, but there can be no doubt that these new courses give promise of building real understanding.

The new curriculum has six outstanding characteristics:

(a) Longer and more flexible time programmes make broad integration of learning possible.

(b) Many kinds of activities are integrated to form units of study: orienting activities, building activities, practice activities, expressing and appreciative activities, research activities, form activities. (Note that the conventional

subject-curriculum is an activity programme, but of a very limited kind.)

(c) The entire school plant and the surrounding community is used.

(d) Trailing the 'new-school' group and recording what it did would also reveal a whole new organization of 'learnings.' Instead of learnings neatly acquired within the categories of the traditional school subjects—reading, arithmetic, algebra, physics, geography, and the like—we should find all or many of these kinds of learning going on and organized in new relationships in any one hour of study. For example, the study of the water supply of a community in the ninth grade would involve such a variety and mixture of learning as:

Appointment of committees to visit the City Engineer's office and other municipal offices, and to collect, study and report on maps and bulletins.

The assembling of library materials dealing with various phases of the problem.

The preparing of maps, graphs, and other pictorial representations of various phases of the system.

The study of and report on methods of purifying water.

The making of a working model of the purification plant.

The study of and report on principles of hydraulic and other scientific problems involved in pumping and distribution system.

The writing of historical accounts of the development of the system, and its relation to other trends of growth in the community.

Now, if the multitude of specific learnings that went on in such a unit of study (lasting perhaps a month, with an hour or more a day spent on it) were classified into the conventional high-school subjects, we should find most of the latter in the list, for example:—

Mechanical drawing—blueprinting, designing and the like.

Mathematics—arithmetic, geometry, algebra.

Reading, writing; English composition, oral speech, discussion.

Industrial arts, manual training, handicrafts.

Community civics, local history, geography.

Physics, chemistry, bacteriology.

Thus, in the new school, there is a vast amount of what is conventionally called 'subject-matter.' Meanings are acquired, but in a totally new organization. The organizing centre is the need of the young people *to understand* how water is supplied to the people of their community.

(e) A new conception of 'subject-matter' is emerging, and the new education is founded in it. Every element of experience is a type of subject-matter. For example, meanings, facts, data, principles, thinking with them, and creative expression and appreciation with any media—all are 'subject-matter.' Obviously, people cannot understand without the building of meaning. They cannot think without data with which to think. They cannot express themselves creatively or appreciate sensitively without the media of expression—words, tone, light and shade, the rhythmic movement of the body, gesture and so on. No human response can be made except with the data of experience. *And the data of experience constitute the subject-matter of education. Hence it is absurd to set 'subject-matter' against 'experience,' 'reaction,' or similar concepts; for they are in reality synonymous.*

(f) The new curriculum, while emerging partly in the spontaneous behaviour of young people and their elders; essentially must be planned, at least in outline, in advance.

SOCIAL STUDIES

F. C. HAPPOLD

IT is necessary first of all to be clear what is meant by social studies.

Social studies is not a new subject added to an already overcrowded curriculum, but a fresh orientation and grouping of existing subjects. Its introduction into the curriculum involves the abolition of the old divisions between history, geography, economics, and, to some extent, English literature, and their combination in a new synthesis.

The working out of this synthesis involves both subtraction and addition, that is, the discarding of old material no longer useful, and the addition of new material of greater realistic value for our own age.

The primary object of social studies is to enable the child to understand the world into which it will go, and is thus fundamentally a training for citizenship. Its concentration is on the present, but, since the present is not understandable except in relation to its origins, it also includes a study of the past.

Social studies also aim at training in thinking and in the use of tools. Through them the pupil is trained in oral and written expression, in the use of books, in the collection, correlation and arrangement of facts and ideas, and in clear, logical, unprejudiced thought.

In working out a syllabus of social studies, therefore, one must consider, first, knowledge content; second, method.

A SOCIAL STUDIES SYLLABUS

Syllabuses must vary according to environment. The syllabus worked out at Bishop Wordsworth's School is as follows:

First Year: The study of world heritage and environment.

Second Year: The study of our national culture in relation to its history, geographical environment, economic life and literature.

Third Year: The study of our own age, its economic organization, political institutions, current history, and general manifestations, such as communications, roads, cinema, press, etc.

Fourth Year: In this year the school certificate is taken, and syllabuses are determined by examination requirements. The history of Europe, 1815 to 1920, and the geography of the world, of Europe, and of the British Isles are studied. The examination requirements fit in adequately with the social studies course of the previous three years. In history, the precise and detailed study of a short period of modern history is valuable as a corrective to the necessarily broad treatment of the earlier parts of the course. In geography, it is possible to draw together a number of threads which have previously been followed in a different way.

POST-CERTIFICATE STUDIES

Some of the most valuable work in social studies can be done in the years between 15-16 and 17-18, when pupils who remain at school are engaged in specialized studies according to their individual aptitudes. At this stage, with more mature minds and wider experience, boys and girls can be given a fuller training to fit them for their duties as citizens when they go into the greater world. All sixth form work should include opportunities for acquiring further knowledge about the modern world, for training in clear, unprejudiced thinking, and for exploring in an objective manner the social, political, economic and international problems of our age.

METHOD

The methods used in teaching social studies should be designed not merely to give essential knowledge, but also to train the pupil in written and oral expression, in the collection and arrangement of facts and ideas, in the use of books and in flexible thinking. Unadulterated class teaching cannot accomplish these objects. Opportunities should also be given to children to work by themselves or in study groups. A

library of carefully selected books is an essential piece of apparatus in a social studies classroom.

The following methods, among others, have been found valuable in practice:

- (a) Classroom lectures by boys, starting with little speeches on simple things of the boy's own choice, and lasting a few minutes, and going on to carefully prepared lectures on historical, economic and geographical themes lasting up to ten minutes.
- (b) The preparation of note-books. In the first stages, these note-books should be an expression on the material studied in pictorial, diagrammatic form. Later, the pupil may be given skeleton headings, by means of which, with the aid of his text-book or a number of books, he may draw up his notes in verbal form.
- (c) The preparation of development and other types of charts, made by groups with the aid of a library. Charts may be made on such things as the evolution of transport, industry, building, etc., and on the production and distribution of various commodities. The making of charts based on statistical material is a valuable form of training, while interesting and vivid chart work can be done on local occupations.

SOCIAL STUDIES AND EXAMINATIONS

Eventually it may be necessary to alter the syllabuses and methods of public examinations to make them conform more closely to social studies syllabuses and methods. That time is not yet. Preliminary experimental work, both in the right knowledge content of the course and in a suitable technique in examining it, is first necessary. During the last six years an experiment designed to discover a better way of examining history, and known as the Salisbury Experiment, has been carried out at Bishop Wordsworth's School, in conjunction with the Oxford University Local Examinations Delegacy. The object of the new type of paper is to try to test, not merely the knowledge gained, but also the abilities and qualities of mind which have been acquired as a result of the

history course. The paper is in three parts, the first an objective test of facts, the second a test of writing about the facts which have been learnt by means of four questions of the essay type, of which the candidate must attempt two, the third a test in *handling material, in which the memory factor* is eliminated, and the material needed by the candidate to answer the questions is provided.

GEOGRAPHY AS A CULTURAL SUBJECT

F. DEBENHAM

GEOGRAPHY has suffered from a multiplicity of definitions, so much so that it is now customary for experts to refuse to define it, lest they become entangled in the coils of their own definitions.

Nevertheless, we must recognize the fact that modern geography is a new subject, or, if you object to that, an old subject with a new meaning, and, therefore, we must not shirk the danger of being too precise.

Let us glance for a moment at some of the phrases which have been used in recent years to describe this Cinderella of a subject, even though we may reject them as either too picturesque or even too comprehensive.

A very able speaker, Professor John L. Myres, of Oxford, once described geography as answering the question, 'What is it, where is it, why is it where it is?' This, perhaps, is only another version of Dr. Hugh Robert Mill's definition of geography as 'the study of the distribution of phenomena.'

Perhaps the most eminent of English geographers at the present time is Professor H. J. Fleure, of Manchester. His description of the subject is 'the study of man in relation to his environment.' Before we criticize this definition, we must recollect that Professor Fleure has always held the combined Chair of 'Geography and Anthropology' both at Aberystwyth and Manchester, and that his recent election as a Fellow of the Royal Society was on account of his contributions to anthropology.

Others, again, amongst whom might be mentioned the late Professor J. W. Gregory, would prefer to transpose that last definition, and call geography 'the study of the environment of man.'

As a basis for the argument, I would propose a combination of those two phrases, and suggest that we may, for the

moment, consider geography as the study of Man and his Environment.

You can imagine, if you like, that there will immediately rise up a host of protestants, clamouring against such a comprehensive title. The host will divide into two sections. The real students of Man, the historians, psychologists, ethnographers, and even political scientists, will insist that they cover the subject of Man quite adequately, and need no assistance. On the other side will be all the geologists, ecologists, meteorologists, all the band of students of natural philosophy, in fact, who will proclaim that for centuries they have, in effect, been studying man's environment, and will brook no trespassers.

The answer to both these groups is a simple one, namely, that each group studies only one side of human experience, and to that extent their view is incomplete.

One might make the point more clearly, in fact, by writing the definition with hyphens as 'Man-and-his-Environment' to show their organic unity.

It must have been something of this dual approach that was in Professor Mackinder's mind when he said that geography was not a subject, it was an attitude.

The proposal, then, which is implicit in that definition, is hardly less than that the geographer is concerned with the whole of human experience, that it is the very father and mother of all subjects, that it usurps the field of philosophy itself (you will note, in passing, that it is not a collection of subjects, an *omnium gatherum* of other studies, it must have a field that belongs to it alone).

At once you will exclaim, 'Is it possible?' 'Is it even reasonable?' and, perhaps, 'Is it useful?' The answer is that it is only just possible, that no study can be beyond reason, and that it will probably be more useful than any other fundamental study. Remember those hyphens. We are not to study Man alone, or Environment alone, but Man together with his Environment, indissolubly connected as they are in that intolerable way which so incensed old Omar Khayyam:

'What, without asking, hither hurried whence?
Another and another cup to drown
The memories of this impertinence.'

It is now time to collect the dry bones of definition and clothe them with living flesh, to show, in fact, what this superhuman geographer we postulate can do for us.

Let us boldly transport ourselves to that fateful council chamber of Versailles in 1919, not to observe the great minds there, nor to moralize on the mistakes we now know they were making, but merely to note the kind of problems they were engaged upon. Remember, in passing, that, although we are accustomed to think of them as politicians, the gathering included engineers, scientists and philosophers, and each politician had at his beck and call a whole university of specialists for advice on what he called technical questions.

Now, that Council was engaged upon the formation of a grand compromise, a re-orientation of man towards his local environment on a grand and, unfortunately, an experimental scale. Figuratively speaking, they were taking great groups of Man, great slices of territory, great tracts of tradition, religion, outlook, and building a new jigsaw puzzle out of the old one. History has shown that there are as wide gaps and as many broken corners in the new fitting of the puzzle as in the old. There is a universal feeling of disappointment, a conviction of man's ineptitude at governing himself, when after such sacrifice, such giant endeavours, the result is little or no better than before.

Why was this? What was left undone? Which of these many errors was avoidable, and which inevitable? How shall we do better in the next World-Council?

The only answer is that we must provide more wisdom, or what comes to the same thing, a better understanding of the problem, and the problem was and will be, Man-and-his-Environment, nothing less.

You have discovered now where this argument is leading, and no doubt you will variously interpret it either as a suggestion that the Big Three, Wilson, Clemenceau and Lloyd George, should have known more geography before they

began altering the map, or that professional geographers, if such could have been found, should have been summoned to the Council of the Allies.

My suggestion is not so bold, and cannot be taken as anything more than that the modern geographer is a student of *all* the affairs of man, and that the subject does afford a background for men of affairs. One would never venture to assert that geographers can save the world, but there is room for the idea that closer attention to modern geography will lead to a greater understanding of world problems.

After making such magniloquent claims for geography, it will be more than proper to turn to an analysis of the subject as it is taught to-day. An imperative warning must be given at this stage, without which misunderstanding, if not utter confusion, is bound to arise.

Not only is the geography of to-day a very different thing from that of our youth, but it is necessary to distinguish between the scope of geography as a school subject and as an adult subject. Throughout this address I am referring to geography in the latter sense, conforming to no boundaries set by school curricula, not even to those in common usage by geographical societies. It is, in fact, of geography as a student subject that I am speaking, the age of the student being anything from seventeen to seventy.

Should you take the trouble to consult the syllabus of any modern department of geography, you will be amazed and confused at the many kinds of geography into which the authorities find it necessary, or at least convenient, to divide the subject. While one may accept economic geography, for instance, one may be excused for asking the exact meaning of agricultural geography, or puzzling over the precise meaning of the quaint term, anthro-po-geography. Even while agreeing with the possibility of such a branch as regional geography, as at least relating to regions, one might well have doubts about such a name as human geography.

Let us have nothing to do with all these fine shades of distinction, which, however useful they may be in appointing lecturers or drawing up time-tables, can do little towards

clarifying our ideas as to the nature of the subject as a whole.

The most we shall need in the way of division is to admit that, even while the subject is a whole and non-divisible, it has both a physical and a human aspect, according as one is seeking to emphasize for the moment either the environment at work upon the man or man affecting and affected by his environment. For without acceding to the dangerous claims of the determinist school of thought, we may—and must—admit the close interaction of man and his surroundings.

Granting for the moment some such aspect, it will be evident that the more fundamental aspect is the physical, and that, therefore, a grounding in physical geography is a prerequisite to the full expansion of the subject as a whole. We must leave it to the profession itself to debate how far the physical geographer is to penetrate the mysteries of earth, air and water, and whether he is to state them only and leave the specialists, such as geologists and meteorologists, hologists and bydiologists, to explain them. The somewhat vague but eminently useful word, 'physiography,' is, perhaps, the best for expressing the fact that the physical side of geography must include things as far apart as stars and soils, must call on both the art of the autographer and the science of the geophysicist.

It may be remarked at this point that the geographer cannot be interested in pure science, but only an applied science—the effect of science on man is his aim. For that reason science, as usually taught, is not quite suitable for the geographer. The geologist unravelling the history of the earth, the hologist seeking the processes of cell-division, the physicist calculating the orbits of electrons, are all increasing the sum of human knowledge, but it is not their purpose to apply their discoveries to man or to estimate their effect upon man.

The engineer, the agriculturalist, and the doctor are applied scientists, and their aim is to ameliorate the lot of man. Their results are of prime interest to the geographer, who must, therefore, have enough general science at his command to be able to interpret the results correctly, and, indeed,

be able to understand the language of applied science generally.

Of the many physical factors controlling man, perhaps the most obvious and important are climate and soil, neither of which can be appreciated properly without a good grounding in the general principles of meteorology and geology.

In a general address such as this is, however, there is no need to go into detail about which sciences are the more important in forming the background to geography; what must be emphasized is that, without such, a full understanding of those human problems, which are the subject of geography is out of the question.

Human geography, in its broadest sense, is the study of human distribution and human activities in the light of their environment.

It is obvious that physical environment must explain only a small part of human affairs, which are controlled by many apparently abstract things such as history, and religion, as much as by concrete things such as soil and climate, relief and drainage. The environment of man is, in fact, something more than the earth he stands upon and the air he breathes. If we are to understand why he lives where he does, and how he lives, we must study other things besides his physical surroundings.

Hence we have an almost embarrassing series of branches of geography, which we must be careful to consider as a whole, however convenient it may be to give them separate names and study them at different times and from different books.

To those who still picture geography as merely a glorification of the subject as taught in schools of 10, 20, or 30 years ago, this new conception of its scope and aim is puzzling. They are apt to say that modern geography claims too much, that it involves acquaintance with too many branches of knowledge, and that it is beyond the cultural capacity of ordinary people.

While admitting its wide scope, and confessing that it demands, perhaps more and deeper study than the better-

defined subjects, we must insist that, if we accept the definition of the subject as given above, we cannot avoid the logical consequence of that definition, namely, the necessity for calling upon the results or findings of many other subjects.

There should, however, be fewer qualms if we realize that every well-informed man uses just the same wide field of knowledge whenever he describes a place and its people in an ordinary conversation. Let us take a simple case as an example, the strange Bushmen people of South Africa. The narrator must obviously begin with a brief description of the place they live in, the arid lands bordering the Kalahari (sheer physical geography), and follow that up by saying why they live there, driven out of the better lands by the more cultured Bantu races (historical geography). That naturally leads to a reference to their origin, physical appearance and culture, which is straight from anthropology. Their small numbers, and their mode of life, perhaps prevents him from using political and economic geography, but in the case of the Bantu races the problem of what to do with the native politically and economically would transcend all the other remarks.

In other words, we cannot picture any people without running through the whole gamut of the different branches of geography.

If we take a more complex subject, such as Poland, the only difference is one of degree, in that a reasonable description of Poland would involve us in more economics, politics and religion than in the simpler cases.

I hope I have now established the fact that, if we take geography to be the study of human controls, the factors that govern people, then we must be prepared to claim all knowledge as our source, to invade every field of inquiry, to become as eclectic as a philosopher, as comprehensive as an encyclopædist.

We might well, in fact, describe modern geography as the philosophy of regions and peoples, or, in the language of Le Play, the study of Place-Work-People.

Naturally, the emphasis will be placed differently by

different students; some will find their chief interest in the place, some in the work that is carried on there, some in the people themselves, but in spite of such special stress, the study is a complete one, not a mere adding together of different subjects. It is a fusion of special data from other subjects to give a new and comprehensive picture, a better understanding of regions and their inhabitants.

This broadness of scope is often taken as an inherent dilemma in the subject, for it is so easy to say that everyone is a geographer in one sense, and that no one can be a perfect geographer in another sense. Both statements are true, for geography is largely a point of view, common to all of us, yet fully cultivated in none.

There are other criticisms of it which might be mentioned, though this address is not intended as a defence of the subject, but rather an explanation. It is sometimes said that geography must be a kind of world-wide sociology. It cannot properly be so described, since geography should be free from the ethical and philanthropic standards which are normally a part of sociology.

Nevertheless, geography is bound to differ in character, or rather, in its emphasis in the hands of different teachers, just as history at Oxford is somewhat different from the history at Cambridge, and each, again, different from the history at Adelaide.

THE TEACHING OF POST-PRIMARY MATHEMATICS*

PROFESSOR HAMLEY said that he had first thought of speaking on the methods adopted in England at present, but realized that there were no peculiar methods standardized there: a school inspector in England does not dictate to the head of the mathematics department of a school, but merely suggests things to him, and often finds them not carried out. Not even Mr. Durell follows his own books—he is far in advance of them! Also, the note of formality in Mr. Siddons' books is not carried into his classroom, where there is plenty of adventure.

The speaker therefore chose to speak rather on 'Developments in Secondary Mathematics' followed by him in India and England. The mechanical, abstract, and artificial methods of twenty-five years ago were now superseded in most places by freer, more elastic methods. At the time when he did his Arts course at the Melbourne University, the end of the first year's course was marked by 'problems leading to quadratic equations,' but it was felt that mathematics was 'a good mental discipline and good for the soul.' The pioneers of the new methods were Perry and Nunn. The former once visited Professor Hamley's school and gave a problem leading to the equation $(16 + x)x = 35$, which called forth the ingenuity of the students, some of them obtaining a graphical solution correct to three significant figures. From this example the lecturer set out to make his examples valuable from a practical viewpoint. He advised teachers to re-read Nunn's *Teaching of Algebra* in conjunction with a pre-Nunn and a post-Nunn textbook. He considered this book to be the best of all Nunn's works and one of genius.

Apart from the principles that one should not be so

*Notes on a paper read by Prof. Hamley, Chairman of the London Branch of the Mathematical Association, to the Mathematical Association of Victoria, during the currency of the Conference in Melbourne.

intent on either the logical or the utilitarian aspects of the subject that the other is lost sight of, and that all teaching should lead to University requirements (although not dominated by them), Prof. Hamley came to the conclusion that the central theme of a mathematics course could well be the unifying theme of *functionality*. The main idea was first enunciated by Klein in 1893 and was adopted by Nunn in his book in 1913. Since then the scheme has passed into common possession. In 1904, Klein outlined a course of study at Breslau which was later adopted by the German government. This was based entirely on functionality. Hedrick and D. E. Smith carried out similar work in the U.S.A.

Functionality involves more than graphical representation: speaking mathematically, we have to consider the concepts of (1) class; (2) order within the class; (3) variable aggregate of the class; (4) correspondence of elements of classes, the law of such relations, and hence functionality: speaking pedagogically, we have to regard addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division as not basic but incidental, and the central theme is dependence, and functional dependence at that. Hence statistical implications are natural, and serve to explain certain human phenomena even to boys of ten. Here the professor told several stories of his own children and gave examples of arithmetical and logical problems based on an example of a manifold distribution; in such problems the quoting of the answer should be sufficient—it is only infrequently desirable that the ‘steps’ of an argument should be set out in logical order.

Graphs, and the ideas of directed numbers, are introduced from the ‘picture of an array’ (and the notion of an array could be brought in quite early, even into the playground). This picture leads to a statistical curve with an upper limit, a lower limit, a median, and a mean. This latter should be shown to be very close to the median, while not necessarily being the same thing. Ordering the class from the median gives the idea of various types of *ordering* within a class and leads to the use of $+$ and $-$ as ordinal

signs. The 'rule of signs' is then shown in its true colours as a convention. An array of the heights of boys will so interest them that they will seek to perform other experiments in statistics themselves, e.g., with cranial measurements, lengths of leaves.

The above terms should be introduced, but not taught: most pupils will remember them. The idea of correspondence emerges from that or order in teaching series; the use of finite differences helps pupils over the difficulties of predicting terms.

Geometry begins with the principle of similarity induced from a comparison of models made by the pupils to different scales—the law of relationship of corresponding elements is discovered. Non-metrical notions in geometry are important, and should be introduced early; e.g., the number of points determined by n straight lines may be determined empirically, but some pupils may find it logically; the notion of projection may be derived from the use of the episcopo, and illustrates the principle of similarity. Time as an element in geometry should not be neglected, especially with regard to angular change. Next come areas, progression of areas, areas under graphs, bar-graphs, curves of best-fit, slope of curves, and simple maxima and minima. Congruence comes relatively late in the course, but as another example of correspondence—not as a 'proof'—but as a fundamental idea growing out of the drawing of figures to specifications and the class-discussion of the possibilities arising from the set of data, with some measure of academic thought therein. Next comes parallelism, based on the idea of similarity. Prof. Hamley thinks that there is a strong psychological basis for this approach, but said that the new report of the Mathematical Association has left the matter quite open. The simple riders which follow should involve indirect measurement, Scout problems, and the introduction of the tangent of an angle. Thence follows the theorem of Pythagoras. A special study should be made of variation, but direct and indirect types should be brought together and in contrast, and many physical applications be made.

Thus at the end of the *second* year of the secondary course, the way is clear to express functionality by means of curve tracing: the expression should be dynamic, after the manner of Professor E. J. Nanson. The general type studied should be of the form $y - b = \Delta f(x - a)$. The course for later years is outlined in two books of the Goschen Series, by Beutel and Lietzmann.

There was no discussion at the end of the address, owing to lack of time, but Professor Hamley replied to several points raised by the chairman. The printed account of the ideas outlined above is in his work, *Functional Thinking* (published by Teachers' College, Columbia University). Other indispensable works to the teacher are the reports of the Mathematical Association, Branford's *Mathematical Education*, Siddons' *Teaching of Algebra*, and Nunn's treatise. The last cannot be applied as a whole, but a method is not to be set aside because it seems hard. All the schemes put forward have been worked out in detail, tried out, and are applicable to any normal child at a secondary school.

In moving a vote of thanks to the speaker for his address, Professor Cherry stressed the importance of the first two years of the mathematics course in the schools. He urged the senior teachers to persuade their headmasters to let them take the junior classes and put these revolutionary ideas into practice there. In doing so, the thought of examinations should in no wise enter in. Examinations should be completely forgotten during the first three years, and later examinations would, in consequence, be better faced.

THE TEACHING OF HISTORY IN THE SCHOOLS

Notes on a Lecture by G. T. HANKIN

I AM taking it for granted that I am talking to history teachers, so that I can talk 'shop.' My experience is that history is the easiest subject to teach badly, and the most difficult to teach well. Anyone can cram a few dates into children and get them back again in an examination, but it is not worth the trouble. Now, it is very difficult to realize what effect our teaching is likely to have on the people we teach. Really, one ought to test knowledge by an examination five or ten years after leaving school. You do not expect children, when they grow up, to believe all you taught them. Most of it is merely text-book knowledge. We have to face the fact that children will forget what we teach them, and, as has been said, the test of all education is what is left after you have forgotten what you learnt at school. When children leave school they forget, but, in spite of this, history still remains for me the most important subject in the curriculum.

I will start with the aims first, because until these are clear you cannot think about the conditions and you cannot settle your methods. Hence I will start with the aims, and then proceed to conditions. If I want to think out a syllabus, I like to stand outside a railway station at 9.30 a.m. and watch the crowds, and say to myself, 'What is the worthwhile history for that man to learn? This woman is a typist, that man a clerk. What will be best for them to learn?' I do not want to turn out little historians—the professors at the universities will look after that. I want first of all to make history understandable by making it happier. I am taking for granted that this means living a fuller life. I believe that a caterpillar lives a fuller life than a cabbage, and I think that a human should live a fuller life than a caterpillar. They want to enjoy life, and to be happier because it is fuller and more real. Let us translate that. If a man understands the place of his particular

occupation in the world, and its growth, and sees how it fits into things, his life will be happier than if he did not. I hope you will forgive me, but I always think in terms of towns because I have always lived in towns. Furthermore, I want the child who lives in the country to know something of agriculture. I want people who go for a charabanc trip to know something of the history of their own district, and to get some pleasure out of seeing their country from an historical point of view. There are other things beside tea shops.

There is another point of view, but I am not discussing it, because everyone is always talking about citizenship. You all know that it is absolutely vital, and you all know that democracy depends on an educated people. To me, history is the most important side of that education, so that I am taking it for granted.

Now let us consider our first aim a little further. We want to be happier, and I say that we want to have a larger sympathy and understanding because I believe in the human mind. Some talk in terms of geography, and some in terms of economics or civics. I like to talk in terms of history, because you cannot understand other peoples, or those of your own State, unless you have some knowledge of history and unless you realize that everywhere we are in a state of change. This is not a new idea. You want to look at modern events from the point of view of the cause. Take a thing like the understanding of the history of the Industrial Revolution. Unless you understand that there has been a change, unless you have watched the rise of mechanization, you cannot envisage the problems of to-day with understanding. You want to know the reason for these things, and I want my history to help to supply an understanding. I have taken an example from inside the country because it is very true that you must know the history behind a thing in order to know the cause.

Arising straight out of that idea, we come to a most important possibility in the teaching of history, namely, to give people some idea of the importance of searching for

the truth. I never take a lesson without saying at least once, 'I do not know this thing. How can we find out?' You cannot be expected to be a specialist, to be compared, for instance, with a man like Firth, who has spent his life in the study of Oliver Cromwell. Nevertheless, it is vital that a history teacher should attempt to find out the truth as far as he is able. It is important that the children should realize the difficulty of finding the truth. We should give them the idea of the need for finding it, and make them realize that we are all searching for it as best we can. Too often our history is a series of tombstones with illegible inscriptions.

I have stated as my aim making life happier, from which arises a broadening of sympathy and understanding, and from which I get the reason for the claim of history as a vital subject of the curriculum. We are trying to train those qualities which are essential in the modern world. Nowadays, with the power of the press, the cinema and the radio, it is most important to train people to listen intelligently, critically, and with pleasure, and if history does not, what is it worth? You are looking for the truth. Does that mean that you are going to speak the truth in everything and, for example, get an objective view of communism? Are you going to deal objectively with the various types of religion in the world? Here is the type of problem which confronts the history teaching of to-day. How far are you going to give the objective truth? The only things I care about are the effort to appreciate the truth, and the training to make students look for the truth and joy in the finding of it.

If you have read the publications of the Board of Education with regard to teaching in the schools during the last ten years, you will see that opinions have changed. If you read the suggestions about history, you will not find them stated as strongly as I have put them, but there has been a considerable change. I have talked about aims, and I suggest that when we have talked about conditions and methods, we start on questions under these headings.

Let us have some idea of the aims of teaching as laid down in other countries of the world. A committee has been established to enquire into the teaching of history all over the world, and we are collecting statements from towns everywhere. Nearly all are slightly different. You can see the aim of their history by the content of the courses they are going to teach in the schools. How are you going to select? In England we have no lesson syllabus in history. We expect every school to work out its own, and, in the primary schools, there are no examinations. In the secondary schools we have examinations at about the age of 16. I believe that you have to teach what you know. Of course, if you are teaching anything up to eight subjects you cannot know them all, although you are paid to do it. I believe that it is better to choose the sort of history you know and the sort of history you are interested in. If you believe in world history and you know some, and you are allowed to teach it, you will put more into it than otherwise. The point is that these sorts of aims can be carried out in any type of history. I believe that teachers can get what they want in this country. I have great belief in the collective powers of teachers. I do not know your syllabus, but I do think that if all teachers pull together they will get what they want. It is not the business of a government department to try experiments. It is the business of the individual teacher to do so and to stand the ragging. We do not expect a state to encourage an experiment until it has been tested.

I am quite certain that all history nowadays has to include far more than the purely political aspect. I dislike talk about the economic aspect, the naval aspect, the military aspect, etc., but the problem is, what are you going to stress? Do you think that the history of dress or of Jacobean customs is worth teaching? If you do think it useful, and you can make very interesting lessons on it, use it. If not, avoid it, but remember *1066 and All That*, which is the best attack on ignorant history that has been written.

Now we will talk about methods. I do not know how

you people teach history, but I will start with a few things that I hate. I think I hate most the taking of notes, that is, classes taking notes when they have maps and pictures and such like. They may keep children quiet, but they are useless for getting through examinations. By this I do not mean the case where you discuss a question on the board with a class, and finish by having written there a summary of the main points, after which you say, 'That is worth putting in your books.' This is quite different; they get a general impression, and it may be worth it.

I also hate very much hearing the tactics of a naval battle taught by a girl who does not know which way the wind is blowing. I defy anyone who does not know anything about navigation to do it, and this also applies to military tactics. I have done a certain amount of work on the subject and I do not think it is worth anything to children. Unless you know something of the arrangement of troops and other points of military organization your efforts are useless. Children certainly do not like it, although you can make children listen to anything and they will pretend they are interested, especially in the case of some girls.

I hate this business of personification. I suppose you have heard people who say, 'Spain wanted this, or France wanted that.' This presents enormous difficulties. Just think of the way that we to-day say, 'Germany wants' If we said 'Hitler wants,' it would be a different matter. It is just the same with Italy. Certainly we could say, 'Mussolini wants,' but do the peasants have any say in the matter at all? We lead ourselves into untold dangers by the personification of countries.

I have mentioned these things because they have something to do with the methods employed in teaching history. I would like to talk now about some of the things I like. I do like a notebook that the children make for themselves, and in which they can draw their own maps or any other illustrations they wish. If you have a notebook, I suppose you could get a blank book so that the maps would be unspoilt by blue lines running across them. Another point

to be considered is, 'Do you want their written answers to be done in the same book as the one in which they collect their own facts, diagrams, pictures?' In the case of younger children, it is good to have handwork connected with their history. As a young schoolmaster I was teaching Latin to boys and we were doing the chapter in which Caesar's troops build a bridge over the Rhine. I said casually, 'I wonder if anyone could make it?' A month later two boys came and showed me a model of that bridge which they had made in their spare time in the workshop. It showed what these boys could do in their own time if given a chance. This kind of work is extremely beneficial. It is a good test of a class to see to what extent the children will come to you the day after a certain lesson has been given and show that they have done extra searching for themselves. On one occasion I had been talking to a class about monasteries. We wanted to know how much a monk had to eat, that is, to find out how much three ounces of bread is. The next morning a little girl came and showed me that she had taken the trouble to weigh out the exact amount. That history lesson was worth something to that little girl. Another example occurred in the case of a boy from Ipswich, where agricultural machinery is manufactured. We were interested in the steam threshing machines, and this boy went to the trouble of going to the library and finding out all manner of facts about these machines.

The next point is the handling of text-books. I suppose that in this country you have homework, and I think that the problem of how you are going to handle the history book is important. If you give the child a portion of the book to read at home, what do you expect him to know the next morning? This is one of the things you must solve for yourselves.

I have mentioned local history as a means of making history live. My aim is a natural training on matters that concern the boy. We want to produce a certain attitude of mind towards life to-day, that is, to life as a private citizen of the state and the world. By doing this we are training

the mind. I am not worrying about people who talk about social science, but I do not want to see this idea of social continuity allowed to sink out of sight, as it will do if we take too much notice of social science. People do not realize that everything is in a state of change and that in the modern world we must find what is worth preserving.

SECTION VIII

SPECIAL ASPECTS OF EDUCATION

RECREATION AND PRESENT NEEDS

PIERRE BOVET

THIS subject on the agenda of an educational conference is, I suppose, to be considered from an educational point of view, and that is what I shall try to do, being, however, well aware of the great importance of other aspects of the problem, the medical, for instance, or the economical. I shall therefore translate my title in the language of education: 'How are we to conceive present day education so that free time and leisure may be truly re-creative?'

'Education for Leisure': that may seem at first sight to be an absolutely new problem. Leisure for many comes as a novelty, due to unemployment or to the shortage of the working hours rendered possible by new conditions in industry.

But, as the Bishop of Croydon recently pointed out in an address just published by the *Parents' Review*, the constant want of leisure, long working hours for the many, is a state of things that only began with the industrial revolution. It lasted from 1770 to 1920, one and a half centuries which will perhaps be known in history as the No-Leisure Age. At the very dawn of that age two of my countrymen, Pestalozzi and Fellenberg, drew the attention of all the world, the first by propounding, the second by realizing something that seems to us very far off, the industrial school idea, a régime where the child was taught the three R's and something beside that *while* earning his living by industrial or agricultural labour.

If we look at the history of education as a whole, the tale it tells us is completely different from that of our first impression. *School* means *leisure*. The word *school* in all the great European languages: *école*, *Schule*, *scuola*, *escuela*, is derived from the Greek *scholê*, which means leisure (just as the Latin word for classroom and class work is *ludus*, which means *play*). A *liberal education* is an education for

a free man, a man of leisure. The history of education is the history of leisure. Think of the place taken in Greece by athletic and musical contests, of the pageants and tournaments of the middle ages, of humanistic poetry and oratory in the cities of the Renaissance, and of the place given in the educational institutions of these different ages to the arts preparing for these noble public recreations.

'Tell me what your leisure is, I'll tell you what your education has been.' Recreation is the test of education. (That is how I understand the somewhat paradoxical statement of Bishop Burgmann: 'Recreation, the life-blood of democracy.') These sayings are rather hard on us and our peoples to-day. I remember how a most attractive young man in the New Education Fellowship team, Mr. Van der Leeuw, contrasted before us in Nice and Capetown the way in which we Europeans make use of our leisure in simply watching the activities of professional men mechanically transmitted by radio, cinema and gramophone with what he had witnessed in Bali and generally with the active participation in recreational activities of people more primitive than ourselves, but perhaps better educated.

We currently contrast *recreation* and *exhaustion*, *leisure* and *labour*, *play* and *work*. This last contrast, although a very usual one, is not satisfactory. *Work* expresses a notion best defined by economics; *play* belongs to biology if we know how to connect it with *instinct*, and to *psychology*, if we emphasize the *pleasure* concomitant to all instinctive activity. The same activity may be *work* for one individual and *play* for another ('professional players' are 'workers'), *work and play* at the same time for the same individual in ideal circumstances, for the scientific researcher, for instance.

If we define work as utilitarian activity, required by and answering, directly or indirectly, the wants of man, then we recognize that there has always been a place in man's life for non-utilitarian activity. 'Man does not live by bread alone.' From the very first religion (re-creative in the fullest sense of the word) has held a most important place in the development of mankind. *Ora et labora*. All non-

utilitarian activities, all plays (poetry, drama, painting, music) have their origins connected with religion. And to this day art remains the type and symbol of non-utilitarian activity, 'avocation' and noble hobbies. Now, what is the part of the school in the education for leisure? In an address given in Brisbane on this subject, Dr. Norwood has told his audience that he did not like the expression school is to educate for life, not for leisure. I agree with him. That might furnish a new interpretation of the old saying: *Non Scholae sed Vitae discimus* (We are learning for life, not for leisure). Still, school must succeed in educating for freedom. We have always known it. All over the world inspectors tell us that they know the value of a teacher by what his pupils are going to do the moment they are left alone, at leisure, free, when the teacher has been called away from the school room.

Mere rest, just resting, may, of course, be re-creative. When William James presented to his fellow-Americans what he called 'The Gospel of Relaxation,' he was propounding a great truth. (To look into the different aspects of idleness is *the* problem of school clinics. What is there behind loafing about?)

When in school we are speaking about *education for leisure*, let us not forget the truth of the reversed slogan: *Leisure for education*. Our regretted Vice-president of N.E.F. Conferences, Dr. Becker, has put it very strongly in the *Richtlinien*, which reorganized on New Education lines the whole of Prussian secondary education: '*Wertvolle Schularbeit kann nur aus Musse entstehen*' (School work of any value requires leisure). The child must be given in school the opportunity to do what he likes, if he is to learn to make good use of his leisure.

A newspaper report tells us that Mrs. Ensor complains that ninety per cent. of what she learnt in school proved to be useless. Let us not interpret that saying as if the schools should always be preoccupied to teach only useful skills and useful knowledge. I might remind you of the first chapter of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, contrasting the truly valuable

and the immediately useful, but to an Australian audience I shall rather tell what I learnt of two Welsh educationists: from Jesse Jones insisting that any good education given to African natives should take into account recreational activities; from Rev. Gwilym Davies complaining that the schools had not taught more hobbies to the youth now unemployed in the neighbourhood of Cardiff.

All ways of making use of one's leisure are, of course, not equivalent. There are negative values to consider. Some leisure activities, as we know too well, are physically, morally, socially harmful. ♡

But positive values also are not equivalent. We have to weigh them, and we do it according to our education and our philosophy of life. I have visited one school in New South Wales, a girls' private boarding school, and a very fine one. Whilst we were looking at the very beautiful gardens, a distinguished visitor from abroad asked a question: 'Are the girls taught gardening?' 'No,' said the headmistress; 'you see, they have not got time, with all the games.' Then we saw the kitchen. The visitor asked: 'Are the students taught homecraft? Is cooking part of the curriculum?' And the same answer came: 'Oh, no; games would not allow time for that.' There was no reaction from the visitor. If there had been any, you might have decided by it whether the visitor had or had not an Anglo-Saxon education. That games should, as a matter of course, be considered as of greater educational value than gardening or homecraft is surprising to most Continental people. I am not discussing whether they are right or not. I just wish to point out that this current answer, 'There is no time for . . . I have not the time for . . .' is simply a polite way of saying: 'I do not care for this or that sufficiently to find time for it.' Since I have discovered this fact, I am very cautious in using those pregnant words.

Many non-utilitarian subjects are included in all elementary school curricula: national and local history, literature, art. We should do more, if we consider what interest those subjects might provide for leisure in after life. Astro-

nomy might be advocated. In Holland there is a movement to teach chess in schools, with a specially arranged vertical chessboard. Foreign languages, beginning with the easiest of all, Esperanto, as an introduction to all others, open wide doors. (May I advocate international school correspondence—and Mrs. Thorvaldson's bureau in Sydney, under the auspices of the League of Nations Union—not only for its value to stamp collectors, but as a modest way to better international understanding?) After school, you know what magnificent help some states have given to leisure activities in the Russian *Cultural Parks* and the Italian *Dopolavoro*. In Switzerland circulating libraries and free concerts are rather prominent.

A well-known English story is often quoted among Swiss educationists. 'What are the children doing?' cries the mother. 'I don't know.' 'Tell them not to.' We shall only have reached the goal when the story will be told the other way. 'What are the children doing?' 'I don't know.' 'Tell them to go ahead; to stick to it.' To reach that result, let us give our children right now more leisure during the school hours and the habit of filling their leisure with pleasant and harmless activities which, in broadening and stimulating their interests, shall contribute to their fuller culture.

MUSIC, ART AND DRAMA IN THE SCHOOL

F. C. HAPPOLD

EVERY child is potentially a creator; he longs to create things, to express himself in word or form or sound.

He longs, moreover, to work for the community of which he is a member. It is because art, crafts, music and drama provide unique opportunities for developing creative ability and engaging in community activities that they are of such great value in the life and curriculum of the school.

To neglect them, to deny this training to the child, is to thwart him, to give him an education which is essentially one-sided and unbalanced. The child is not solely, perhaps not primarily, an intellectual animal. There is an aesthetic and emotional side of his nature which, if education is to be an education of the whole personality, must not be disregarded.

The function of the school, moreover, is to enable each child to discover himself, to gain that self-confidence which comes through his finding out his particular ability. To some this process of self-discovery comes through the realization of ability in the intellectual sphere, to others it comes through realization of ability in physical, aesthetic or manual activities.

This, briefly, is the argument for giving arts, crafts, music and drama an important place in the curriculum of every school.

Training in art, crafts, music and drama in the school is not the training of artists, musicians and dramatists. It is primarily a release of creative activity. Nevertheless, the highest standard possible for each child must always be aimed at. Most children, and, indeed, most adults, are skill hungry, and can gain satisfaction only when that skill hunger is satisfied by definite accomplishment. Thus the best form of training in the school is that through which both a definite skill is acquired and through which opportunities for creative expression are given. Lessons in art and musical

appreciation, though valuable, are not enough. There must be definite doing.

This point may be illustrated by reference to art training. At an early age a good deal of free expression work is appropriate, but at the age of about eleven deliberate training in the use of tools should begin. This training in the use of tools should not be made too stereotyped or formal, and as soon as the pupil has learnt to handle pencil and paint-brush with a certain amount of fluency, he should be allowed to progress through work as imaginative and creative as he is capable of. As many media of expression as possible should be given to him, so that he may find those through which he can work best. Some will do their best in drawing, some in painting, some in clay or metal, while others will be most successful in such activities as carpentry or bookbinding.

Artistic activities should not be confined to the art room, but should permeate the whole work of the school.

In the school of which I am headmaster, many opportunities for creative, artistic expression are given in the courses of social studies and religious instruction, especially in the early stages.

In the first year social studies course (age $10\frac{1}{2}$ to 12) each section of the work done is expressed in the form of a record chart, i.e., a diagrammatic representation of the main facts of the piece of work being studied, which, with paint and crayon, boys are encouraged to make as beautiful and individual as possible. This method of work not only arouses their interest and gives them opportunities of artistic expression, but has also been found a particularly good way of fixing in their minds the facts they must know.

In the courses of religious knowledge each boy prepares as the culmination and record of the year's work, a beautifully written book, which he is encouraged to illuminate and illustrate.

Students of Plato will remember that he advocated that the highest type of citizen, the guardians, should be educated through music and gymnastics. The possibilities of music,

not only as an emotional, but also as an intellectual training, have not yet been fully explored. They may be much greater than is at present realized. As in art and crafts, so in music, training in skill must be balanced with creative expression and emotional release. Appreciation of the great works of music and a refined taste may be engendered by listening and explanation, but precise, steady training in the reading of a vocal score, in the control of the voice and in rhythm, combined with practice in elementary composition, should be continued throughout the school years. If the learning of an instrument can be also included, so much the better.

The music used need not necessarily be simple in character. One should never play down to children. The choristers of Bishop Wordsworth's School Chapel are brought up on Bach, Byrd and Palestrina, and there is definite evidence to show that they have a real appreciation of and liking for the very difficult polyphonic style. While it is unlikely that many children will learn to compose music of their own, original composition should be encouraged.

Drama is an activity worthy of serious attention in the school. Let it be regarded, however, not as an academic philological study but as a training in speech and movement, as a means of getting rid of self-consciousness and gaucherie, as a release of emotional urge and an expression of the love of beauty.

There is only one sound way of teaching drama, by placing it in its proper setting on a stage. Shakespeare wrote for the stage and not for the study. His plays can be appreciated by children only if they are allowed to act them. Provided an early start is made, most boys and girls quickly get rid of their self-consciousness and enter into a drama lesson with keen enjoyment.

The proper environment is necessary. The youthful actors should be allowed to deck themselves in simple coloured cloaks, make the properties needed in the play they are acting, and move about freely. If a room, equipped with a small curtained stage, brightly decorated and freed

from the impedimenta of desks, can be set aside for dramatic work, such work is likely to be more effective. This room, if equipped with piano and gramophone, could also be used for music and should, if possible, contain a library of books on music and drama.

In the early stages of dramatic teaching the language and rhythm of Shakespeare is perhaps too difficult. A start can be made with the speaking of simple verse, with mime and with acted ballad. From these the child may be led on to suitable modern one-act plays in prose and to selected scenes from Shakespeare. Later^o full-length Shakespearean plays may be acted.

In all dramatic teaching the play is the thing, and intelligent interpretation of the play on the stage the main objective. It does not matter if every word and allusion is not understood. Interruptions in the flow of the acting should be as infrequent as possible. Discussion on such matters as development of action and character is best left to the end of the lesson; philological study is best avoided.

Play-acting may lead to play-making. The making of a full-length play by a group is a fascinating and a valuable activity, but it demands time, patience, and sustained effort. The writing of short scenes in either prose or verse offers few difficulties, however, and is as useful in the social studies and religious knowledge lessons as in those devoted to the study of the English language.

The production of a school play is now a normal practice in many schools. To have its full value, however, it must be regarded as a serious occupation for which it is worth while making sacrifices, even if those sacrifices entail interference with the usual academic work.

Let the play chosen be one worth producing and within the capacity of the actors to make of it something of definite artistic worth.

Round the production of a school play a number of valuable activities can be gathered. There is work for the artist and carpenter, the electrician and musician, the dress-maker and the handyman. Stage settings must be thought out and constructed, dresses and properties designed, made

and decorated, lighting systems arranged, music chosen and rehearsed, posters painted, advertising, ticket-selling and general organization worked out, not to mention the training of the actors who will tread the boards on the opening night.

There is no reason why a school production should not be entirely satisfying from the artistic point of view nor why a school should not create a definite dramatic tradition within its own community. Many plays are as effective—sometimes more effective—when performed by boys and girls as when performed by adults, or even by professional actors. Religious plays, ancient and modern, many of Shakespeare's plays, some of the lesser known Elizabethan plays, poetical dramas and certain full-length and one-act plays by modern authors all lend themselves to effective production by young players. Eighteenth century drama and most plays written for West End audiences, which demand a particular sort of adult technique, do not lend themselves easily to school production. Plays written especially for the dramatic group which will perform them are often the most successful of all.

Art, music and drama are all essential elements of a truly liberal education. Through them the child may be given emotional release, may learn to develop his creative faculties and to see and appreciate beauty of word and form and sound; most important, to feel as well as to think. When these activities are present in a school, children are vivid and happy and are receiving that training which may enable them to use to the best advantage the leisure of their after-school working days.

Much that is now done in schools is of little importance in the after-life of the child. But if at school a child has been taught to hold his part in a madrigal, to play an instrument in an orchestra, to use chisel or pencil, paint-brush or modelling tool, to act, to hear, to feel, he will have gained something of infinite worth, something which will enable him to resist the rush and standardization and futile amusements of the modern world, something that will remain when much that is now given so much importance is consigned to the limbo of forgotten and useless things.

EDUCATION THROUGH ART

ARTHUR LISMER

IN the educational plan in most countries of the world, art is a subject languishing through ignorance and neglect. It is the despised and rejected period in the affairs of schools that is a closed book to about seventy-five per cent. of administrators, teachers and parents. With inspectors, principals and directors it receives the least attention of all the subjects. Consequently it has diminished and deteriorated until it has assumed the appearance of unimportance and disrepute. As art is always supposed to suffer precarious existence in any age, and artists have the picturesque habit of starving gracefully and silently, nobody worries about the health and vitality of the subject of art in the schools. A lot of us would like to forget it, for we still belong to that good old school of thinkers, and are rather sentimental about picture-making. We still like to think that imagination and aesthetic taste are specially-sent gifts from the gods and that only a few possess them and only a few survive. The doings of these are set down in biographies, and their pictures are reproduced in journals and hung in art galleries, and when we have nothing very exciting to do we may give a little attention to the contemplation of this strange half-world that occupies the attention of artists and connoisseurs of art. As a matter of fact, we are horribly self-satisfied about factual and documentary things, unemotional efficiency and industrialized systems of training. Education itself is suffering internally from a parallel state of affairs—as is the rest of the world, political, industrial, racial and religious. We are in a state of cultural chaos and all we can think of is to increase the range of remedial and defensive mechanism to protect us from destruction. Our educational programmes are devoid of idealism, of real cultural enlivenment, and are mechanized to the limit.

At least, this is how the artist views life to-day, and it

includes a conception of educational procedure. How else can we regard the administrative army of marshals, generals, adjutants, sergeants-major and shock troops that make up the army of educational workers. The gradings, promotions, penalties, pensions—the cantons, barracks, outposts, mobile units and huge camps that constitute the material and non-material impedimenta that clutter up the business of public instruction.

This may be too sweeping and devastating a picture for peaceful acceptance. It is not intended to be otherwise. It is essential that we conceive the idea of education from another standpoint before we can grasp the essential needs of art in education. Hitherto we have regarded art as an isolated subject—a matter of skill and special talent. We have cheerfully and blindly surrendered the teaching and the organization to the idea that the instruction in rules and techniques, in dimensions and precisions, and fine-lining the universe in terms of verisimilitude, is the beginning and end of our responsibility.

As a matter of progress and information about origins, art in the schools came into being at a bad time—aesthetically speaking. The beginning of public instruction in art, as far as the English-speaking world is concerned, coincided with the worst period in British art—a period of stuffy sentimentalism and over-elaborate techniques in concealment of real truth and structure—an age of gimcrack decoration and refined accomplishments, when culture in art was confined to knowledge of pseudo-romantic classicism and banalities in genre and portraiture. It was an age of passive but ineffective resistance to industrialism and it marked the demise of the last surviving remnants of 18th century culture. It was a time when to do pretty little things in water-colour, to 'etch' prettily with a pen, was as amiable and dutiful as playing the harp in order to display a well-rounded arm. It was the refining touch to a polite education. But industrialism was a stern taskmaster and the markets had to be considered seriously and a public had to be nurtured and trained to the idea of buying British.

Consequently every loom and lathe in the British Isles began to turn, and turn with a purpose; and the conspiracy between industrialism, education, the manufacturer, and the consumer commenced in earnest. Someone has said that the Albert memorial and public art instruction are contemporary in date and origin. We are still using Albert memorial methods in the 20th century and the structure in taste and achievement is just about the same in style and effect. Our schools, in all the Dominions, are still using these effete standards as their model. Still the art lesson or drawing lesson drags its weary way through the potted periods. The apparatus has changed a little. The teachers are a little more enlightened, but the classes are just as dull and the results, although they have a little more colour and perhaps a livelier interest in design—are just as medieval and tepid. If the aim has been to increase skill—where is the result in the populace? If the aim and purpose was to develop taste and sensitivity to beauty, one has only to look around at our cities and see what the results have been when the creation and execution have been left to public taste. If the results of such education showed a more sensitive people, or a more gifted few, then its achievements could be counted as valuable contributions to our national and individual life.

That is why we must re-value in terms of to-day's needs the whole plan of education and that is what is being done. Art, however, remains the weak sister among the subjects of public instruction. So long as we are content to employ academic and sterile methods of teaching—things that are the weak echoes of foreign, and English, schools of a generation ago, with all their inherent decay and dry rot that blight so much worthy instruction—just so long shall we put off the discovery and development of character and personality in our children, and it is maintained for the purpose of argument that this is our prime need in education. When we learn the ill-effects of regimented skills and tasks and step-by-step instruction in adult methods of achieving illusions and dexterities—at that moment we shall

begin to discard our theories and pet methods for the larger sphere of discovery and enjoyment. As it is, one has only to look around at the average school art exhibit to wonder how we can go on further wasting the creative hours of youth by subscribing to school curricula that have the odour of decay and 'shades of the prison house' in their formal and systematic control of the thoughts and direction of teacher and child.

(Education is an art form.) That is, it has, or should have, design. The design element in life is the vital principle of growth. It runs through all created natural forms. It is the foundational basis in all art work. It is through design that we are introduced to our own creative selves. The design element in life unites all the apparently unrelated forms, shapes, colours, types and characters in natural and human species and things. It is the common denominator in animate and inanimate life. It is growth, action, imagination and co-ordination of technique and purpose. From the creation of a world to the shaping of a pot, we find the process of design—from idea, concept, and the shaping of the pattern of things to the details—from the rough-hewn concept to the particularization of details. Education should have something of this process. It should unfold like a plant or grow like a tree, any simile that expresses the process of living and growing. The education of our young children should pass through a similar progressive series of growth.

Discussing education in terms of creative life, we can see that the business of making programmes, plans of work, rules for doing, examinations and skills is a comparatively unimportant factor in art instruction. We are concerned not with vocational and professional practice—we are concerned with character, personality, individual effort, happiness and emotional well-being and no formal programme or curricula can achieve these things alone. Behind and through all such approaches and administration must be the idea of design—design for creating individual and vital character. That is the job of the teacher, to find new

paths to the discovery of the nature of childhood, new concepts of the meaning of art in the life of the individual, in the story of mankind and in everyday action and thought.

Education as an art would begin by forming a co-ordinated plan of progressive thinking and doing. It would seek to study the artist and his work as one who puts a line round his imagination, who visualizes life in terms of growth. It would seek through all the phases of subject matter to present the rough-hewn picture first and then, advancing through many and varied channels, seek the essential factors that will create a human character, aware of his environment, socially desirous of serving and with the critical exploratory faculty to slowly form his picture, leaving the details and the analyses, the formulae and the data to fit into his design for living as the years go on. From the infant to childhood, through all the stages of growing man the creative unfoldment of the purpose of living is identified and made clearer by the understanding of this process of design in life.

The essential needs for a wider understanding of the meaning of art in education include a wider conception of art and a newer idea of childhood.

The elucidation of the eternal mystery of what is art is an impossible task—remove the question mark and the hidden core of the meaning still escapes us. When we have solved the nature of beauty and art we have solved the mystery of life itself. Definitions are as easy to acquire as any other formal evidence. They are as easily discarded as the clothes we wear. No hypnotic slogan will trick us into understanding. We can sense the lack of it, we know what art is not, just as we know where faith exists, good works, sacrifice and service and all the attributes of the religious life. But in the life of the child, in education and in daily living, wherever the curiosity of mind and spirit is stirred to some conception of order and wonder at the universe, we have a glimpse of art in action. Wherever and whenever we meet an individual to whom life can offer new surprises and wonderful vistas, one to whom every day is a new beginning, wherein form, design, colour,

movement and action of his environment have a meaning and a purpose, there we shall find the artist-mind speculating, contemplating the world of ideas and forms, objectively and subjectively establishing the quality and character of living truths into personal and individual character. As it is, millions of children approach adult life and proceed to later phases of life's earthly cycle without catching a glimpse of the divinity within their souls that would enable them to sense the beauty and purpose of life. Education has failed dismally to project this image of beauty and order on to the growing nature of childhood. It is in childhood that one can use their vital strength and curiosity about life as a means to a larger unfoldment and richer growth for the future happiness and well-being of the individual.

As it is, many thousands of children leave school without the slightest conception of what they can feel, see and do with their hands and eyes, not as tools to vocational and professional practice, but as extensions of personality, enabling them to see and listen to, to create and appreciate, the whole panorama of human achievement and striving, to make the world they live in a more harmonious habitation for the spirit and doings of men.

Art is not drawing, technique, and vocational practice. These are but means to an end. It is neither connoisseurship nor antiquity, history nor biography. These are but the records and story of achievements of others.

Art is experience—environment—racial experience, social and individual attitudes to living with others. It is neither moral nor utilitarian. It is a developing force within man enabling him to achieve his own pattern and design for worship and praise.

It results in songs, poems, paintings, sculpture, architecture, fine writings and noble histories. It reveals the inner eye to the individual himself. It reveals the capacity for beauty and the response to sights and sounds of beauty. Every path we tread, every new season and skyline, all things in nature and in the human mind become as parts

of the greater design. It re-interprets the song of the bird, the budding of the leaf, the suffering and poignancies of men and nations. It gives to religion an outward form of beauty and an inner glow of warmth. It forms in the mind understanding, and sympathies with other peoples everywhere. It seeks to illuminate in every individual something of the cosmic divination and ordering of the stars in their courses and the way of rivers seeking the ocean. It eliminates hatred and class consciousness. It is against racial prejudices because *art* is the truest barometer of human change of ideals and purpose.

With this conception of the nature and function of art, education becomes a question of developing, encouraging, releasing and eliciting the finer and sensitive nature of human character. Art becomes the motivation factor in growth as it has always been in the story of man through the ages.

The next step is a new conception of childhood. In this vast field for exploration great discoveries have been made. We now know a little more what we need to discover about the nature of childhood. We have found out that the child is, before all, a creative, a clear-living creature—that he has energy, exuberance and pleasure in producing drawings, designs, illustrations and constructive handwork.

We know that it is no use cutting across this activity by teaching rules and regimented habits of doing things. We realize that the child travels quickly and surely by his own efforts and from his own experience. We know that observation, theories, laws and adult methods of doing things are not his way. Therefore we work *with* the child, to help him to create his own standards.

The commonly accepted idea that a child of five or six years of age is just a miniature, unformed adult may be all right in the physical sense, but in the emotional and aesthetic sense he is another being entirely.

It was never intended in the story of man's growth from infancy to old age that he should be a passive absorber of facts. For the first twelve years of childhood, at any rate,

he is, by nature of his child character, an active agent in his own education. It is to the child we must go to find the real artist. It is the child who is being educated, not the teacher. If we understood the history of man in all its stages, we should recognize the primitive and the adolescent, and all the stages to full growth. Human beings in their forward growth 'onward and upward' pass through all the progressive phases of man's earthly history. Art is a process of digging oneself into life—it is mankind 'talking to itself' in terms of plastic and graphic realism, in symbolic design and craftsmanship. "Child psychology has contributed many and convincing truths of the nature of growing man. But, it deals too often with the abnormal, fears, inhibitions, sex and subversive habits. Out of the mass of experiment and data emerges a few facts of importance to our understanding. Child psychology is not an exact science, a series of ready-made formulae to be unloaded and imposed on all children. The danger is in making a rigid mould in which we prematurely fix the child nature—grooves in which we compel the child to follow slavishly at our behest. From the standpoint of a creative psychology we learn from the child to respect his own desire for self-expression and enable him to release those dynamic and vivid images that are the evidence of his 'five senses tingling with delight.' We attempt through what we call art to help him to achieve his own standard of living, to bring into creative life his thoughts and actions, to interpret and reveal to us the kind of world in which he finds himself. It is a world of ideas and imagination related to language, speech, physical action and character.

Therefore education, to be of value to the child, must go more than half way to meet his desires. It must seek to enlarge experience for the child and enable him to grasp reality, to seek beauty and to recognize his place as a social being—as a part of a vast organism in which he has an important function. Practically the whole of primary school life, ages six to twelve years, is concerned with the child—with creative and imaginative childhood. It is in this period

that nearly all the formal tasks for class procedure are devised—theories of perspective, theories of colour and principles of design, accuracies and skills, neatness and meticulous routine—all designed to give the child the formal shackles of conventional school life. They sit at impossible desks, in badly lighted rooms. They are taught to 'behave' in a manner giving the least trouble to the teacher. They have to observe other mentor's actions. They are restricted and cajoled, enticed and bullied into acceptance and reception of adult patterns of life, given over to them in potted 40-minute sections. They are the sad victims of others' experiences. After this they are 'examined and tested in factual knowledge and documentary evidence. As educational qualities, memory and absorption are placed high above imagination and response. Consequently the child forms, early in life, routine habits of mind, body and aesthetic spirit. He learns about life from others whose experience is usually limited, emotionally at any rate, to the pages of books, to a limited professional and vocational life, and who dare not, even if they would, challenge the whole process of grading practice and formal procedure that has produced themselves. The child grows up without at any time in his school hours experiencing the joy of expression of his own outlook on life, of telling others how he feels about the world in which he finds himself. These repressions of childhood are sad spots in our educational system. We relieve it occasionally by story-telling and free play; there is kindergarten and child welfare, and a lot of other warm-hearted intentions for the good of the growing child.

But the system, the brittle, over-organized plan for intellectual development and progressive movement through the grades, is at the mercy of administrative and academic minds. And the academic statistical mind is totally blind to the intensified emotional quality and character of the child mind. It is unaware of the purpose and meaning of art in the story of mankind. It deals in facts and knowledge. The visual cause—the creative capacity—the plastic

graphic world and the significance and beauty of craftsmanship of the hand escape such minds entirely.

It is logical, therefore, that the best efforts of the teacher in training schools, colleges and in the classrooms are directed to the imitation of things—to representation and to formal copying of plant forms, objects, designs and records. Accuracy and correctness of detail of appearance, and realism of execution remain as desirable objectives that can be classified and examined. Imaginative expressions in the form of children's drawings are hard to classify and to put into some coherent and intelligent place in the education of knowledge and progress.

That is why children's art is judged from the standpoint of likeness—that is, actuality of appearance of the object copied. That is why we still pin our faith in skills and formal copying—in techniques of pen, brush and pencil. In design it results in what we call conventionalizing of natural form into shapes and spaces, crowding natural objects into decorative devices for the purpose of adorning material. It has a time element, an exacting preoccupation with accuracy and neatness that masquerades as integrity of craftsmanship and concentration on the task well done. Actually it fills more than spaces, it fills in time. It satisfies the academic mind that here is a task performed, and we quote platitudes and captions about the beauty and significance of the crafts, when we are merely helping by means of such subterfuges to gloss over the lack of imagination in our school programmes and to fill in the period of the class instruction with as little trouble to ourselves as possible.

These are regrettable inheritances that we inflict on our children in school, weak echoes of South Kensington and second-hand versions of art school practices that have neither virtue nor value in education. They but serve to waste the creative hours of youth and shut out sunlight sustenance from our children. Manual training, with its regimented precisions and dimensions and its total lack of beauty or valid excuse for existence, is guilty of similar devices to hold down the spirit of youth to the commonplace tasks of

the average work bench in our educational system. One has only to see the dull array of badly-designed objects that clutter the average school exhibition to realize how we identify reformatories, penal systems and forms of punishment with the idea of art, as the training of hand and eye to perform routine tasks. Unless there is beauty in every constructive purpose and use of tools there is no educational value, except a routine practice of precisions and tasks. The child is always free to do what the teacher likes.

Domestic science, embroidery, cardboard modelling, physical training and a number of other subjects of the school programme—all suffer from this same attitude—they lack *art*.

The foregoing is a rather pessimistic view of education as it stands to-day in art. In many cities there are worthwhile manifestations of creative experiment in action. In many schools in Australia there are individual teachers who are trying valiantly to relieve the pressure on the child of the same exacting demands in art as is suffered in the learning of other subject-matter. But in the vast majority of schools, there is neither life nor imagination. The teacher is well trained on the whole, but the administrative powers are very badly trained to advance the teaching of art. There is too little encouragement of the worth-while teacher of art, too much suspicion of the very thought of freedom. There is very little consideration given to equipment and to the adequate provision of space and of actual material to work with. Principals of schools mistrust the intrusion of art into their curricula and do little to further the cause. Our schools are badly equipped for craft work, such as weaving, modelling and wood work. The class rooms need floor space, movable desks, running water, simple benches and cupboards. Above all, we need recognition of the art teacher as a valuable ally in the educational plan. In the secondary schools we need to recognize the teacher of art as a co-equal in intellectual and educational standing. There are too many cases of repression and mistrust from academic colleagues of the status and ability of the art teacher.

The specialists in science and mathematics, in religious history and languages, have a decided tendency to mistrust the value and character of art teaching *and* the teacher.

There is no conventional pattern of art training that, in their opinion, approximates the intellectual concentration and effort of their own subject. Consequently there is, from the start, an active suspicion that the art teacher came into the secondary schools by some unauthorized 'back-stair' method. So long as art is kept in a separate 'art' room, and so long as students are permitted to choose the subject, it can be tolerated as a mild soporific, but not at all important to the stern business of acquiring knowledge. The subject itself is hard to classify and to organize into the school programme—harder still to estimate, from the results obtained in class, the standing and progress of individual students. Examinations, grading, promotions in art are difficult to apply in comparison with other subjects. Therefore in secondary education where art becomes conscious and where education for it needs encouragement and co-operation, it is either neglected or languishes in a weary round of imitations and wasteful hours and effort. Secondary education in art suffers from the opposition of intellectual and non-co-operative forces.

THE TEACHING OF ART

ARTHUR LISMER

TO find remedies and palliatives for the present state of affairs in art education is merely to apply another and exacting form of embroidery on to an already overloaded structure. During the last decade there have been many and varied attachments grafted on the outside of formal education in many subjects. The whole attitude of administrative systems towards this business of learning from text-books, from the wholesale distrust of the real value of visual education, is due to change. The use of the eyes and hands as valid contributory evidence leading towards the education of a more sentient and intensely alive human being needs sympathy and understanding. Until we learn to understand what art means in the life of to-day, we shall not go far with mere surface disturbances.

Education is an art form and the artist has the remedy. Not the professional artist nor any particular type; but the whole evidence of man in history, in his home, and in industry proves the case over and over again, that art is a way of creating new life with ordinary and common materials, making inanimate things glow with an orderly beauty of thought and craftsmanship.

That is what a programme for teaching art in the schools should be. Instead of a series of detached exercises in drawing, design and colour, which are related to systems, theories and the formal tradition that art is the imitation of life, it should be conceived as a design for living, as related to the capacity, growth, and personality of individual character.

Before we can have new programmes we must recognize and acknowledge the changing attitude to life that we call art. There will have to be educational pioneers in this new phase of clearing the ground of obstructions. There always have been whenever the need was great. Sacrifice of old

objectives and purposes, acceptance of newer and more vital ones that concern the whole man, the prizing of one's own culture and the glorification of one's native environment—these are social duties and acts of praise and worship.

To have a universal culture as opposed to a mere class culture is comparatively easy in a new country. At least, one would think so; but it is really more difficult to develop new ideals and to impregnate old patterns with new life in the overseas dominions than it is in the old countries. In Canada, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand, educational systems are, to say the least, less inclined to experiment, to develop and to give freedom than is the case in the more enlightened and more generous attitude of Britain. Especially is this the case in art. We are using old-time methods that belong to older lands. We in the new countries do not know how to get rid of them. Education is for youth, but the method is aged.

The first step should be the study of all possible channels that lead to the understanding of art as an integral part of general education. This leads naturally into the breaking up of the formal step-by-step principles of formal instruction in graded tasks in drawing, theories of design and colour, perspective and biographical and statistical data on historic art study. It leads to the essential ventilation of old traditions and stuffy formulae, to new expressions of individual concepts about life and art in the story of man, and to the lively manifestation of personal reactions to the life of to-day.

The integration of the individual child is more important than integration of subject matter. To find and understand varied personalities through the medium of art instruction is perhaps the most essential need. This is not to be judged from the techniques and skills only, but from a wider grasp of the fact that individuals, like nations, unfold through art.

A more effectual standard of living, an intensification of enjoyment in listening, seeing, and doing things, the development of self-confidence and self-expression, are all

possible through art. The willingness to accept the youth's emotional expressions and ideas in design, taste, and craftsmanship, as valid proof of knowledge and experience lived, is essential to the understanding of character and growth.

Text-books, factual documentary evidence and verbal authority can supply intellectual and scientific data and knowledge of things that have been proven and things that have happened in history, in industry, and in social sciences. But it is the visual, the aesthetic, the sights and sounds of beauty, the cadence of poetry, the lines and structure of architecture, the plastic experience of modelling and painting, the recording of personal experience in illustration, the understanding of art as the expression of man's ever-changing ideals and desire for harmonious life, the development of personal taste and selective discrimination in choosing simple and pleasing things to wear and to live with—all those things that help to connect art with social happiness, dignity of living, and moral character—these also are important and prove that we are searching for the whole man and not for specialized beings.

Such a view does not mean that we should neglect the teaching and study of skills and objective tools classified under such headings as design, drawing, hand work, or the industrial arts. But it does mean that all these things are understood only as means to ends, and not as ends in themselves.

A wiser and more stimulating interest in art would attempt to relate every experience of drawing, design and craftwork, to an individual need. We can call this the personality, the character, the cultural enlargement of life for the child, or any such phrase we wish to use. But it should never be a task imposed from adult experience—it should definitely seek the child-nature and commence with a sympathetic wish to understand the fundamental character of youthful expression.

To illustrate: A lesson that is based upon correctness, neatness and factual proof of observational accuracy such as the drawing of ellipses, the imitation of naturalistic colour in

still-life, the repetition of some historical form of design, any routine and objective aim such as these, will achieve the thing the teacher set out to do, and perhaps gain a series of lifeless but fairly accurate representations. It may even have aided the growth of visual perception in the child. But to what purpose? Why do we do such things? Are neatness and accuracy and observation of inanimate objects valuable at all age-levels? Have we thought that perhaps about 75 per cent. of the class feel nothing about our desires in the matter? They are neat, accurate, and accept adult standards of the appearance of things, only because we wish them to be. Do we really know what they see? Does it help them to see with our eyes? Has the study aided character, personality? Has it added to the experience of reality? Do we understand that child better because he has given us our idea of correct observation?

Is it not better that we should understand that every child is different and every child sees differently and feels differently about objects, about colour, about life? It would be a better thing if, first of all, we realized that we are wasting the creative hours of young children by trying to make them do things at nine or ten years of age that they could do quicker and better at twelve or thirteen.

Whilst we are fussing about formulas and theories, the child is thinking about what *he* wants to do. We should listen and let him tell us what he knows and feels about objects. Neatness and accuracy are not natural to children, neither are they qualities, or even remote essentials to artistic expression. Ellipses are false illusions, especially as a child knows them to be circles, doing adult stunts to annoy him. Why drag these counter-irritants across the natural feelings of a child who does not travel by sight, but only by experience, and by what he knows? So it is in drawing trees, houses, engines, ships, flowers and figures. They all have their stages and the growth of the child takes care of the progressive steps in his way of presenting them visually. Our job is to see that we give him countless ways of doing all the things we want him to do, and the child

wants to do for us, in which he can tell us how he feels about life and doings. The result is that *we* learn to understand *them*. They are not interested in understanding us—who we are and what we know.

The best teachers are not those who can do expert things with technique and who are specialist in imitations of appearance. These are the ones who should be in technical and high school. They are valuable, but they are not the standard or ideal type for the young.

If art cannot be taught by the general class teacher in the primary schools, then it had better be left alone. And that is just what happens—the teacher has an inferiority complex about the skill of the expert teacher of drawing and imitation. Therefore she uses a text-book—written by the aforesaid type—and does her teaching second-hand.

Teaching has not only to do with what we know—it is also how we *feel* about children. The teaching of art to children needs the same thing that mothers have—love and sympathy and willingness to guide and entice them to do things. In short, a good healthy illiteracy about art is not a bad thing to recognize. A dancer, a swimmer, an artist, or a gardener is no better for being an M.A. or an A.R.C.A.

The teacher who can teach English, history, hygiene and nature study and make it interesting, can teach art. She can take it in her stride along with the other subjects. A wise teacher will never neglect to illustrate all her lessons with visual illustrations of how things grow, what people and countries look like, the shapes of letters, helmets, boats and landscapes. The children do not mind how badly *she* draws. But the actual attempt to talk in their own idiom, sitting, as it were, with them and looking at life with child eyes and understanding, helps them to express in thousands of ways *their* visual experience of our teaching. Such a teacher should be given a large measure of freedom to develop her class into a unit of growing, eager souls with minds and pencils tuned to experience living and learning.

The subject of art in the schools should offer no difficul-

ties to the good teacher—every subject has difficulties for the bad teacher.

The training of teachers is the next in importance. Indeed, it is of primary importance, especially of those for secondary school teaching. The type of training given to teachers of art in secondary schools should include a thorough study of design and craftsmanship. It is in the high school that the adolescent student should learn his grammar of techniques, where the interest in imaginative ideas badly expressed breaks down his confidence and gives him a sense of incompetence that throws him back to the herd for protection. Individual talent should and can be more frequently encouraged and developed in the secondary schools. We need to understand the adolescent attitude and to work with it. Through craftsmanship and design and stimulating study of pictures, architecture, and drama, we can provide an experience link with the imagination of childhood.

As it is, this curiosity-provoking period, when all the instincts of youth are turned towards his future and to the lively happenings around him, is given to absorbitive tasks and weary reiteration of text-books, memory exercises, and dead patterns of other ages. The art lesson should be *re-creation*—in the best sense of the word. Again, there should be no attempt to specialize, no isolation of the subject of art into skills and theories for the primary grades. For these children, we need warm understanding of childhood and affection for teaching and for watching things grow; better psychology and less pedagogy.

The training colleges for teachers should be, in addition to the courses offered, centres of taste and culture. The splendid training college at Sydney is a fine example of environmental influence, where art, music, fine furnishings, objects of beauty meet the eye. Modern pictures, textiles and sculpture provide the harmonious setting for learning. It is fair to say that such an influence must carry far into the class room experience of the teacher in Australian schools. Taste is largely a matter of contagion.

The right kind of education depends upon the right kind of teacher. It is obvious that not all teachers are potentially good art teachers and it is too much to expect that, without selective knowledge in the training of young teachers, we shall not know how to discover those whose character, personality and ability fit them to instruct and guide children in the art experience.

In the first place, an art teacher must, above all others, show a sensitive and lively capacity to enjoy those experiences in life that include the creative arts and acts of others, the quality of environment and the actual enjoyment of personal expression. He must possess insight and sympathetic understanding of children's efforts to express themselves, an understanding of the psychology of all such activities in child growth, and a willingness to sacrifice personal knowledge and static formulae in favour of the child's needs. Humour, good-will, and personal charm in appearance and sympathies, a desire to create in the school and in the child a reflection of beauty and order is an important factor in furthering the essential atmosphere in which ideas and expressions grow. The art teacher must be youthful in spirit, willing to share and to lead others to see and feel that art is a full and youthful sentiment about life and not an aged repetition of skills and tasks. He must be capable of trusting the validity of visual experience and believing in it (in spite of all the powers that be who believe that art is a fringe and a subordinate expression, not as important as mathematics and languages). He must be social in action, able to combine individual expression into social acts, that is, to organize and direct the good and the average and the non-expressive types in the class towards a realization that art experience has many facets and standards of expression and skill, and that no one individual possesses all. He must be able to make of the art lesson a team play, a bringing together of many ideas and different skills towards a social synthesis which enables the young to grasp the idea of unity of a well-ordered society.

The good teacher need not be a finished artist, but most

decidedly must be a stimulator, an inspiration and a friendly guide through all the growing experiences of man that we call art through the ages. This includes the understanding that child expression is a repetition analogous to the history and achievements of mankind in history.

The artist-teacher is a dual personality, combining the function and attitudes of both expressive participator and co-operator in the conspiracy of child growth.

Imagination is not a dangerous gift—it is the manifestation of a live and eager personality. Children have it and they shed it quickly. The teacher's aim should be to encourage and preserve it, for the longer we can retain it in the child, the happier and richer will be his after-school life. Imagination, sensitivity, broad-mindedness and sympathy rather than exceptional skill and personal ambition are the essential qualities for the good art teacher. How are we to produce these? Obviously, we need first of all to find them, and that is done only by people who recognize and value such qualities in others. Our present plan of teacher standards is neglectful of personal character in this respect.

Teachers are not potential administrators, where organizing routine, logical statistical minds, factory planning methods and mass instructional knowledge is essential. A touch of the dictator and a rigid code of disciplinary belief towards school practice is needful for such worthy people. But they are not of the style that art teaching needs.

Teacher training in art or in any creative thing, such as music, drama, nature study, literature and folk lore, where original research and expression must be an active part in the process of growth, must follow the selection of suitable types.

That is where our plans fall down. There are so few people who can recognize by subjective judgment the sensitive and eager ones that have survived the class rooms of their 'teen age. So few inspectors and administrators are sympathetically aware of the importance of analysis and understanding of how people teach. The code is imposed with dictatorial inflexibility.

The teacher needs freedom to develop, within a pattern certainly, but not to submerge entirely the unique and expressive values of art teaching to formal and inexpressive curricula.

There should be an attempt to attract the able, sensitive, trained art student into public instruction. The world offers them little encouragement and the teaching profession appears like a formal enclosure, restricting their ambitions and personal expressions. But there are artist-minded folk, who, with a little training in method, could supplement a staff of more experienced and intellectual people with a quality and enthusiasm that is both infectious and valuable. There are hundreds of young people from our art schools who might find in teaching an attractive form of expression and a career adequate enough to compensate them for uncertain success in the pursuit of the more ephemeral gods of fame and fortune.

The ultimate aim of all art teaching is the encouragement of higher standards of harmonious living. It is vastly important to produce discriminating and socially-minded individuals who will serve their age and country, mindful of the necessity of creating a culture that will include taste for simpler, better designed homes and objects, better city planning, fewer slums, greater encouragement for efforts of our own artists, designers, poets and playwrights. To have these things, there must be individuals who will know what they mean, how they help to develop character and taste, all of which can be taught. Thus we see that appreciation of art is more than history and pictures, it should include industrial, civic, home adornment, and the place of the crafts in the lives and habits of home-makers and citizens. To prepare craftsmen, artists and producers is only part of the problem of fitting individuals into society.

Democracy has imposed the right of every individual to inflict bad environment on others. Education can develop social responsibility and raise the standard of such things, provide a more discriminating public, and gradually intrude into public entertainment, architecture, advertising, and

public display of all kinds an aesthetic consciousness that ugliness and utility are not necessarily synonyms in our national life. The education of the specialized professional or vocationally-minded few is a minor consideration. A sensitively-minded majority is a more vital and pressing need in the life of to-day. Education can help this social conscience to function more frequently.

Departmentalized curricula fail in their objective of creating a whole man, because, for one reason, the concentration on specialized compartmental acts of an archaic academic character presents only a part of the essential need in art education.

If we believe in the ideals of democracy, we must fight with the only reliable weapons available to common man—the tools of learning and the keys to the treasure houses. Dictatorships have a simple solution; everybody must think alike, and public taste and opinion is regimented and pre-ordained.

We must explore individual character, enthuse and develop the social responsibility to respect the right of every individual to have a share in and an understanding of the common heritage of the richness of song, word, and picture, of things in every age and country that have served the needs of man and which we put in museums, libraries, art galleries and palaces, and which we label culture. These are the treasure houses, but the keys are not for common use. But bad slums, vicious spectacles, and shoddy entertainment, industrial pollution of the countryside, these are for the common man to live with and to tolerate. Without an understanding of taste and beauty and a social consciousness of their evil effect on human beings, he can have no desire to change them. Art is a way of understanding the need for harmonious living, and education can show the path.

CHILD ART IN AUSTRIA

PAUL L. DENGLER

BEFORE the War, art was taught in Austrian schools in a dry and uninteresting way, the children generally being made to copy from a pattern that the teacher placed before them. But even in those days there were exceptional teachers. One of these was an art teacher by the name of Franz Cizek, who in 1898 founded, at the School of Applied Art in Vienna, classes for children which afterwards became famous throughout the world.

Cizek is the pioneer who discovered and developed modern child art. His first principle is that the children should work in a pleasant environment that invites them to creative self-expression. Believing that nothing creative can be developed in depressing surroundings, he makes his classrooms bright and attractive with flowers and pictures. His second principle is that the child should be free to do as he pleases. No special technique is taught to the pupil or imposed upon him, the teacher remaining in the background and leaving the little artist to struggle for himself. Little or no help is given him even if he asks for it, for Cizek holds that the effort must come from the child himself and that nothing should be made easy for him. Further, Cizek's practice is based on the theory that child art is the *characteristic expression of feeling and emotion during the period when the intellect is not yet dominant*. Later on the young people will find other means of self-expression; for example, they will keep diaries or write poems, but child art is confined to the time of pre-adolescence. Cizek is not interested in preparing children for artistic careers in later life, but only in enabling the unconscious ego of the child to express itself joyfully through art, free from the dominations of adult ideas. Above all, Cizek stands for the perfect happiness of the young artist and his classrooms are very happy places. He is not interested in the

average child, but only in those who are particularly gifted—if among a hundred children he discovers one little genius he dismisses the ninety-nine and concentrates on the one left.

Nobody took much interest in Cizek's ideas for many years. But after the War there came a new emphasis in education on the emotional life of the child and his creative abilities, as opposed to the mere power to assimilate knowledge. It was then that Cizek became famous—for the new education insisted on those very principles in all fields which he had applied in art education. In Austria the new educational ideas were adopted with enthusiasm, and Cizek himself was offered an important position in the Education Department. He refused this post, however, because he could not see how the average school could develop his principles and apply them in an ordinary class. But his own students and followers among the teachers in the public schools developed methods by which his ideas found entrance to every classroom. A happy and beautiful environment, and methods which, while leaving the child free to express himself, provided a certain amount of guidance for those who were inclined to be slow, brought remarkable success. Child art became an essential part of elementary education in Austria and the work of Austrian school children is now known and appreciated throughout the world.

THE NEW CONCEPTION OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION

SIR CYRIL NORWOOD

NO one can be at all conversant with what is being said and done in Europe and America at the present time without becoming aware that a new conception of what may be effected through the training of the body is steadily spreading through the world. Some not unintelligent thinkers are inclined to be hostile to the movement: for various reasons they hold it in suspicion. They may think that it will lead to placing second the things which should be first, the depreciation of the mind and the exaltation of the body. Or they may hold that it will end in the glorification of mere games, of which they fear that there is already too much, both in the newspapers and in the schools. Or they may find something blacker still behind it, a concealed militarism, a desire to make the coming generation more fit to march and to fight, and less ready to ask questions. It would be a pity if for any of these reasons the support of thinking men and women were to be alienated from the movement, and it will be well worth while to examine the fundamental educational principles which seem to justify the champions of the new cause in stating afresh what was indeed known long ago and has since been to a considerable extent forgotten.

You in Australia and New Zealand may perhaps say that in any case it has little to do with you: you have not got the smoky skies, the crowded slums, the bad housing, the old factories, and the results of long neglect which trouble the Old Country. No one, indeed, would deny that you stand in a more favourable position. You have a good climate with plenty of sun, you have a sound and fairly homogeneous physical stock, you have few, if any, bad slums. You have plenty of room, plenty of air, and the habit of using those advantages. Your athletes are splendid, and the reputation of your soldiers is second to

none. And yet I am told that the physical condition of the population as a whole is by no means such that it cannot be improved. I have read and I have heard of widespread and serious deficiencies in the health and physique of a large proportion of the children of all ages, and that many of these deficiencies and defects, which at present cause so much human suffering, incapacity and economic loss, are preventable. These weaknesses are not in the children when they are born: to put it bluntly, they are due to lack of proper nurture and to faults of education. It is no comfort to know that a similar state of things exists in most civilized peoples: it is a plain reason why you, like others, should take physical education seriously.

Those who, all over the world, are giving much thought to the content of the education which will fit the young people to be more worthy citizens of the great democracies than we are, tend more and more to come to these conclusions. We must place as a foundation of the new education the physical health, fitness and efficiency of the whole people considered as a national ideal: we must train the hands, the eyes, the ears, of the coming generation so that they can be more self-reliant, using their leisure better, getting more out of life, having finer standards of public good taste and conduct: we must train their minds so that they may have a better understanding of the world in which they have to live, of the causes which have made it what it is, and of the conditions which govern it. Education is a preparation for life and for citizenship, and every future citizen of a democracy ought to be so educated. Although these principles, when thus stated, seem to be so obvious that they are no more than so many platitudes, not one of them is being fully carried into effect in the education of the schools of the present day, and of the meaning of a true national physical education and the consequent changes which it will involve few of those who control our educational systems have yet begun to think seriously. We are still governed by tradition, and we still think of all higher education as the privilege of a minority and as being almost exclusively

academic: we have to put tradition aside, and, in physical education as in all other sides of the continued education which every boy and girl needs, we must think the problem out from its beginnings.

The only people that ever did so were the ancient Greeks, and I would like to begin by briefly setting their views and their practice before you. You may ask what have the ancient Greeks to do with you, and I would reply: 'A good deal.' They were a people who not only produced specimens of the most perfect physical beauty, as you can see from their portrait statues which still survive, but also set physical perfection before themselves as an ideal. If you like, they glorified the athlete and they worshipped physical beauty. But they were also intellectually the most creative of all the races which the world has seen. They originated epic, lyric and dramatic poetry; they were the first great historians. They laid the foundations of philosophy and of science, both natural and political. They were very great artists and their works which have survived are still unequalled. It cannot, therefore, be true, as some allege to-day, that to cultivate physical excellence is tantamount to neglecting the intellect, and since they were supreme in both spheres, it is worth while to consider what their theory of education was.

I can set out the essential points very briefly. You have to remember that the Greek lived an open-air life in sunlight of a quality of which that of Australia strongly reminds me. He lived in continual association with his fellow citizens, and his meeting place was the public gymnasium and baths. For a gymnasium was a place for exercise in the open air and under cover, for discussion and lectures and debate. It was not, as we know it, an oblong, dusty and ugly room with wall-bars and apparatus. The Greek theory of education was very simple, in two fields only, music and gymnastic. Music was their word for the training of the mind, for what we now know as the academic courses: it included mime proper, letters, and mathematics. Gymnastic was the training of the body. Plato, the greatest

Athenian teacher, says that this training should begin from the earliest years, and that when the boy comes to appropriate years he should be sent to a physical educator, a special and honoured profession at Athens. They seem to have had their private gymnasia, and Plato records the interesting fact that parents took more trouble to find the best trainer of their sons' bodies than they took to discover the best teachers of their minds. In more than one passage he develops at length what, in my opinion, is the chief secret which Greek education has to give us, namely, that the two arts of music and gymnastic were not really designed, as are popularly believed, the one for the training of the soul, and the other for the training of the body: the teachers of both had in view chiefly the improvement of the soul. Both were, in his opinion, necessary for the full and balanced development of the whole personality, and when we have added that he thought that careful training should continue during life, we have got, I think, the outline of his teaching.

This is in truth a noble conception. Why did the world lose it? It would be a long and interesting enquiry, but it must not detain us. (The Romans, who were a practical people not much interested in educational theory, watered it down to the phrase of Homer, 'a healthy mind in a healthy body,' which is common sense, but somehow falls short of the vision of Plato. Then came the influence of Christianity, its asceticism, its contempt of the flesh. As the Dark Ages came on, education became an adjunct of the cloister, its object the production of learned clerks, a tradition from which it has never shaken itself free. For us the important influence has been that of Puritanism, which is in the mental make-up of nearly all of us. Now, Puritanism in its higher forms cared so supremely for the soul that the body was of nothing-worth: bodily health was the gift of God, given or denied at His pleasure, and God's good pleasure covered alike infantile mortality and the results of a total lack of sanitation. In its lower forms it taught the gospel of work, the condemnation of all play as frivolity; it justified protracted hours of work in bad con-

ditions, and commercial success was taken as a sign that God was pleased. Something of all this, as I have said, is in us all, and is at the bottom of the sharp distinction which we make between the moral virtues of work, and the moral dangers of play.

It is often said that the English taught the world to play games, and in a sense it is true. But it is not often realized how recent the coming-in of games has been. Organized games in schools belong to the latter part of the nineteenth century. When, and if, the Duke of Wellington said that the Battle of Waterloo was won^o on the playing fields of Eton, he did not refer, and he could not have referred, to organized games. I stress this because I have been held up to mild derision by certain Australian newspapers for saying what I did not say. I did not say that there were no playing fields, and I did not say that there were no games. What I did say was that there were no organized games. Boys played cricket of a kind, football of various kinds, they played marbles, they played with tops. Above all, they fought. But the first inter-school football match was subsequent to 1860, and the realization that games built character, and promoted physical excellence, was the discovery of the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

But games by themselves will never do all that needs to be done. They are for the few, not for the many: they tend, thanks largely to the newspapers, to the excessive glorification of the individual: they easily set wrong standards, and lead to a low valuation of intellectual activity and excellence: they replace the amateur by the professional, and produce the crowd of spectators, and the chosen few who perform. To be honest, one must confess that they had the same trouble in Greece, and Euripides could write in the days of its decline that of all the ten thousand evils which afflicted Greece there was none worse than the race of athletes. And the real physical educator contemplating the world to-day might well be tempted in haste to utter a condemnation not less severe. The schools of England may have set games in too high a place, but they are not

responsible for the public and absurd adulation of the lawn-tennis star, the heavy-weight boxer, the champion wrestler, which is entirely due to the newspapers and the ease of modern publicity and transport: they teach higher and different standards—sportsmanship and team spirit, the ability to lose with a smile, the will to play hard and to play fair. All this is valuable, but it is not enough.

The object of true physical education is to help to bring into existence all the potentialities of the human personality, to create the whole man. Here, as throughout the universe, the spiritual and the material cannot be separated save by abstraction: they are found always in co-existence, they develop together, they interact in ways which we are far from fully understanding. Physical well-being is therefore basic to mental well-being, and *vice versa*: the object is not to produce the strong man or the healthy man for the sake of mere strength in itself, or even of mere health, but to provide the best conditions of integral growth. The object here, as everywhere else in true education, is to produce character, and this is what Plato meant when he said that the teachers of both music and gymnastic had in view the improvement of the soul, and when he said, further, that it is a process which begins in the first days of infancy and continues throughout life.

We must not, therefore, allow this great movement to be mixed up in our minds with party politics, or even educational politics, as there is some danger may happen in England. It is there alleged by some that the government policy of making great national efforts to improve physique is intended to distract the attention of the wage-earner from the insufficiency of his lot, and that physical jerks are no substitute for empty stomachs. This is to misconceive the whole purpose of our reformers. To create a nation of greater health and fitness, and therefore of greater intelligence and sounder character, we must begin with ante-natal care and wise guidance both in pregnancy and infancy. There are disabilities which become life-long which owe their origin not to carelessness or to neglect, but

to pure ignorance on the part of the parents. We need good food and good surroundings during all the years of early growth, and this means good housing and an adequate wage: we need mothers who are competent housekeepers. Good nurture represents at least three-quarters of the task, and when one begins to think of all that is included in good nurture, one quickly realizes that the whole field of social reform and social progress is involved, and that physical education is a part of it, the very important part which teaches how to make the best use of good conditions. It is no substitute for them: it can but make the bad less bad, just as it can make the good more good.

Its proper task begins when the child enters upon the stage of primary education, a stage which I think of as terminating about the eleventh year. There is needed at the start a careful medical and dental examination, the salient observations of which should be stated upon a record card, and kept up-to-date by putting down upon it from year to year all that is important, notes about growth, personal idiosyncrasy, illnesses, treatment followed, and so on. This involves that in each primary school there will be a doctor who will take this work seriously, and teachers who can and will co-operate intelligently. So long as the life of the school is one which provides facilities for play in the open air, for simple organized games, for song and dance and physical exercises which shall have in them an element of music and an element of play, I think that all will be well. But this is not so easy as it sounds, and it means that there must be a teacher, or, if it is a one-teacher school, that the teacher must have been specially trained for this work.

The next stage, the post-primary, is important because it is the stage at which the children begin to co-operate consciously in the work of their own development. It will last, soon, I hope, for all to the fifteenth year, and in the higher schools it will continue until the eighteenth. It is the time when they will form a conception of what they may become, and in this physical fitness is fundamental. It clearly needs to be taken by true educators as seriously

as the teaching of arithmetic or of English. But what is the case to-day? I am not going to say what is to be found in the schools of Australia, for I have had no opportunity of studying the question. But I can tell you what happens in most of the schools of England. The boy arrives without any medical record and often without any information of any sort being available as to his physical history or idiosyncrasy: he is placed in a form on tests which are purely mental. He is then sent twice a week to engage in physical exercises, generally taken by an ex-army or ex-naval instructor: in this group are to be found the tall and the short, the fat and the thin, the strong and the weak, and in many of our public schools, the old and the young: there may be, and not uncommonly is, an age-range of more than three years. After a certain time, when the pressure of the external examination begins to be felt, even these exercises cease, and his further development is left to his own devices, or to the haphazard results of games. It is surprising that the products of physical education are not worse than they are: still, no one can look on the boys turned out by the secondary schools of England and say that they are good. To take a favourable instance, of boys entering a certain school who all came from comfortable homes and expensive preparatory schools, the average presented between two and three remediable physical defects, and not more than one in twenty was free of them. I wish I could say that they left in different case, but truth compels one to confess that round shoulders, narrow chests, and bad posture were faults only too common, though most have been through the ordinary course of compulsory games. Is it not high time that some science should be applied?

For I take it that whatever criticisms may be made about the academic side of our secondary education, we do make some serious attempts to find out, on entry into the school, what is the content of the pupil's mind, and to provide for his being placed in an appropriate grade, and for his continuous progress thereafter. We should laugh as at a complete absurdity if we found a class all doing the same Latin

prose because they were all members of the first and second cricket elevens, or working at quadratic equations because they could all run a hundred yards in eleven seconds. The reverse of this is common normal practice, and only because it is familiar and traditional is it regarded as anything else than comic. It is better to start from first principles, and to say what is the organization, what the equipment, if serious work is to be undertaken in a large secondary school. There should be, in the first place, an adequate and well-ventilated, covered gymnasium, there should be an equal amount of levelled space in the open-air, there should be shower-rooms and changing rooms, there should be a fully qualified physical educator, and at least two assistants. The time-table must be so arranged that a group of not more than sixty boys can be taken out of the academic routine. These, on arrival at the gymnasium, would be re-divided into three groups according to their physical standards and efficiency, and would be put through the appropriate exercises. A normal and not too ambitious standard of performance should be carefully worked out of such tests as the average boy of 12, 13, 14 and 15 should be able to pass successfully. He should be able to jump so high and so far, run a hundred yards in so many seconds, lift without strain such and such a weight, expand his chest so many inches. These successive tests he should have before him, and he would soon learn that by taking trouble he could improve on himself, and reach the standard that he desires. He would begin to take pride in having a straight back and a correct posture: it would be a matter of honour with him to leave the school well set-up.

The work would have a strongly individual side, just as the good class-teacher of a moderately sized class knows all his pupils as individuals, and diversifies his methods accordingly. This means that the physical educator would not only be a full member of the staff, but an important one, and that he would have facilities for knowing every boy in the school. I take it that the method would be in the ideal yet possible educational system which I am contemplating,

that a boy on entry would present the card of his physical record from the primary school stage, and that he would again be stripped and carefully examined, this time by both doctor and by physical educator. The record card would, of course, be continued and kept up to date throughout the whole of the secondary stage. If remediable defects were discovered he would be drafted to the appropriate remediable class, for all giving physical instruction at this stage would be competent to give this treatment. In any case, on the evidence thus revealed the boy would be drafted to the squad which he was most fitted to join, and his future years should show normal progress.

Of course, the exercises would be progressive and well thought out. It would not be wise to borrow from Sweden or Denmark a ready-made curriculum and follow it slavishly. The English must think out the system which is right for England, as Australia must think out what is right for Australia: the two are not likely to be the same. They must clearly keep in mind the development of individual initiative: the element of surprise should always enter into the training: the class should be constantly on its toes, on the alert for the whole class, or some, or one to be called into action. They should be allowed, as they grow more expert, to suggest their own exercises. The qualities which we most want to develop are initiative and quickness of response, self-control and self-discipline, culminating in what I would call "poise," by which I mean in its perfection the complete harmony of the spiritual and the physical sides of a man's nature. It is to be noted that these qualities are all, in the main, moral, and can best be developed by physical education, a further proof, if it be needed, that its purpose is the formation of character.

I have criticized games as haphazard and unscientific, but I do not wish to be misunderstood. They seem to me to be an essential part of a national system of physical education, though I do not go so far as to say that every man or every schoolboy should be made to play. Their moral results are mixed: they are good and bad. In some

cases, and more in some games than others, they lead to selfishness, vanity, and self-glory: it can be so even in cricket, and much more so in lawn-tennis. It is the team games in which all the members are going all out all the time, and success depends upon co-operation, which are educationally valuable, such as the rowing eight and the football team. They are valuable also when they introduce an element of risk, a necessity to endure, a capacity to take hard knocks and physical pain without flinching. Since civilized life tends to be soft, hard games are necessary to counteract its definitely enfeebling influences. There is no fear that games will drop out, though the increasing vogue of lawn-tennis and golf among the young is not to be too much encouraged. If the bulk of the population is made much fitter than it is, there will be many more who are anxious and fit to play games.

And therefore there must be facilities for playing, plenty of public playing-fields easily hired or freely given. I do not know how you are placed in Australia, but I cannot but suspect that in the rapid growth of your cities this need may have been overlooked. It was overlooked in England, and now there is a national movement for the provision of open spaces. In the progressive township of the future I foresee not only public spaces for games, but a municipal gymnasium somewhat after the Greek model, with its covered and open areas, its rooms for instruction, its baths, its places for boxing and wrestling, and simple and cheap ball games played in courts. I hope that with that will go the cult of the open air, 'hiking' and exploring the countryside, nature study instead of spoliation, observation instead of destruction, so that, on foot or on cycle, young people will take to the open when opportunity occurs, knowing the value of doing things by their own efforts and seeing things with their own eyes. The motor-car is a convenience, but in more than one aspect it is a curse: it tempts people to be lazy, unobservant and not a little selfish, and it cannot be denied that it is a destroyer of human life. As a protest against it—and there are very definite signs of the reality of the protest in England—I

hope that horse-riding will return into favour. It is not an exercise which is within the means of everybody, but the more people that ride the better it will be.

I have stressed the value of initiative and of individual training, and I have done so for reasons which are deeper than superficial. In Europe we are in the presence of new systems of national physical education which are being developed in the states known as totalitarian, and by these remarkable results in the way of raising physical standards are already being achieved. Education in these countries, both physical and intellectual, is an education of compulsion within certain definite limits and addressed to certain definite ends. But the young people know nothing of the limitations and the compulsory element, they accept with enthusiasm for the sake of their country and its cause. It is an impressive thing to see ten thousand fit and trained young people do the same thing efficiently at the word of command. It is a good training for a less attractive spectacle that may follow, that of seeing millions march at the word of command. Let us hope that this danger may never be realized, but let the great democracies of the world never permit themselves to fall behind in the work of educating a people fit in all senses, and not least in the physical. The type that democracy needs can never be produced by mass methods: it needs alertness and initiative, self-discipline and self-reliance, a higher product than that of an unthinking but disciplined mass. It is high time that the democracies should think out and create the education which they need.

We have traced the young people in their course up to the threshold of adolescence, but our subject is not exhausted. In England, in the conditions of our cities, and I should be surprised if a comparable state of things did not exist in Sydney and Melbourne, the mass of young people pass from the control of their teachers and largely from all control between their fourteenth and eighteenth birthdays. Many of them, far too many, as a result, go to waste. Well-to-do people do not allow this to happen in the case of their own children, and a well-to-do state ought not to allow it to

happen among the young people, whose welfare it is a sacred duty to guard. Clubs and movements of various types do a little and do it excellently, but they touch only the fringe of the problem. Some sort of control, and, if possible, some sort of sympathetic friendship, is badly wanted. I hazard the suggestion that by some form of continued part-time education of which the main part would be physical, and the other part vocational, a great deal would be done, and a great human waste avoided. It is the young people who are the true capital of every country.

There is yet one field to be touched on, and that is the field of the Universities and of the training colleges, and the part which they will be called on to play. There is an obvious need for a very large number of teachers, who cannot be qualified for this important work merely by taking a short course in their spare time. There is needed, in the first place, a certain number of highly qualified experts, the training of whom is a University question. It seems to me that these men should be trained in human anatomy and physiology, in psychology, in comparative methods of physical education, and in remedial treatment. I do not see how such a course can be properly gone through in less than three or four years, and it should carry with it a University degree. I have been delighted to learn that the University of Melbourne has established a course in the subject, and I hope that the example will soon be followed in the other Universities of Australia.

There is needed a much larger number of men who are qualified to carry out the work under direction in the post-primary schools. It is important that these men should be qualified to teach in schools in the ordinary academic way, and therefore they should qualify themselves by taking an ordinary University degree. But instead of spending a post-graduate year in training for teaching, they should spend it in training for physical education, and should receive a diploma. They would have to omit the medical foundation and make a less intensive study of the rest of

the field. The schools on their side would have to offer regular vacancies for this type of master, and give them full status on the staff. Moreover, since the work of physical education is preponderantly a work for the first part of a man's life, it ought to be possible for him to be able to take a place in the ordinary work of the school. I suggest that this meets one great difficulty of the present day, that few men will take up the work because they do not see an assured life's career in it. All teachers should be trained, but some should be trained for this specific purpose, if they are by record and nature qualified for it.

Finally, part of the regular training of all primary school teachers should be a course of instruction in the much simpler methods of training young children which are advisable at the earliest stage. The work of the schools, therefore, should be under the observation and dependent upon the skilled examination of the medical profession, and in the primary stages a high degree of specialized skill among the teachers is neither possible nor necessary. But medical co-operation is necessary from start to finish of any system of national physical education, and it is probably the finest piece of preventive medicine to which they can put their hands.

It is thrilling to contemplate what may be done. In one generation there could be created a people who were not only conscious of the fundamental importance of physical health for all mental and spiritual activity, but also know something about it. In another generation could be created a people altogether more vigorous and more sane than we are. Man cannot add a cubit to his stature by taking thought, but by taking thought he can add length, strength, and true happiness to his days. And nowhere more easily, I think, than in Australia and New Zealand. You have, on the whole, a sound, homogeneous stock: you have space, air, and sunshine: your cities are pleasant, swept by sea-air, and such that slums need never become a serious menace. It is in your power by planning and by not grudging the cost, to create in this southern hemisphere a type of humanity which will not be surpassed in the whole world.

SECTION IX

ADOLESCENT AND ADULT EDUCATION

THE EDUCATION OF THE ADOLESCENT

WILLIAM BOYD

IT is useful once in a while to think of education not in terms of the school, but in terms of the scholar. This point of view is suggested when one speaks of adolescent education. It means what at other times we call secondary education, but it is secondary education with a difference. By adolescent education is, or should be, implied not so much the training by which boys and girls in their 'teens are fitted for their place in the world, but the education that is suitable for these boys and girls.

This leads us to ask what adolescence is and to an emphasis on the period of life round about puberty both on the physical and the mental side. It is not easy to characterize the change from childhood to the adult stage which takes place then. It may, however, be spoken of as a time of conversions or awakenings, by which, as an outcome of the emotional instability connected with pubertal change, the transition to maturity is effected.

It is convenient to distinguish three stages in this transition. In the first, which has its centre about fourteen, a new social consciousness—a sense of belonging to society—makes its appearance. Negatively it manifests itself in difficulties of social adjustment: rebellion, delinquency, etc. On the positive side, it issues in the case of people of artistic leanings in an aesthetic awakening, and more generally in a widening of interests that makes nothing human alien. Later, round about sixteen, comes a new moral consciousness in the period of storm and stress connected with the sex life. The difficult personal adjustments manifest themselves in a sense of imperfection or even of sin. From the educational point of view the most significant fact of this period is the clash of two opposing tendencies, the one making for a broadening of interests and ideals, the other for a narrowing of life with the urge to find a special

vocation and sphere. Then round about eighteen comes a new personal consciousness when there is a gradual settling down to things as they are and the emergence with greater or less explicitness of the grown-up attitude to life, and even, it may be, of some kind of philosophy of life.

Thinking of adolescent education in terms of adolescent characteristics, the aim of home and school for this period of life may be defined as the development of a good human personality. Three things are requisite for such a personality: health and vitality, emotional balance, and effective intelligence. These things have all to be kept in mind in the training of the adolescent.

1. *Health and Vitality.*

It is highly important to keep in mind the stresses and strains of the adolescent period. Profound physical changes are going on all through the 'teens, and life is hard for the growing boys and girls—especially for the girls. Yet this is the time when the school intensifies its demands on time and strength. Homework is piled on top of a day's labour and the adolescent is made to work harder than most adults. Not only so, but he is constantly subjected to the emotional ordeal of examination demands, which take no account of the new periodicities of this age. A matriculation certificate is a poor compensation for impaired health and vitality.

2. *Emotional Balance.*

The mental hygiene of adolescence requires avoidance of the extremes of excitability on the one hand and of apathy on the other. The two foci of emotional disturbance of this stage are self and sex. (a) It is important to avoid any treatment which hurts the dignity and self-respect of the young adolescent. The over-assertive teacher or parent who forces his own way on him or her can work havoc with personality. Discipline that depends on coercions and punishments is always wrong. What is needed above all at this time is proper consideration and wise affection.

(b) In the sphere of sex the inevitable difficulties are greatly minimized if the parents have established right relations with the children in the first years of life so that they can trust them to be candid and honest in later years. There is need for special information, but the right attitude of the elders is even more important. If they are to be of real help to their young people they must avoid appearing shocked or exaggerating about matters like masturbation. So far as sublimation of the sex impulses are concerned, it can be effected to some extent by a variety of interests and occupations; but most valuable is the companionship of the other sex. That is why co-education is the best form of education at this and all stages.

3. *Effective Intelligence.*

The ordinary school learning has its place in developing intelligence but it is apt to produce thought at second-hand for lack of mental vitamins. For real thinking there must be real problems, such as do not occur readily under school conditions. The school has a great deal to learn from the Scout Movement in this respect, and so has the home. The chum may well be a better educator than either parent or teacher.

COMMUNITY CLASSES: AN EXPERIMENT IN SECONDARY EDUCATION

PAUL L. DENGLER

IN primary education the movement for reform has won a preliminary triumph in most European countries, but this is not true of secondary education. Here the struggle goes on and theory is opposed to theory. Yet secondary education is one of the fields in which reform is most important and urgent. This reform must involve more than improvements in the details of curricula and methods; what is needed is rather a thorough-going transformation from within, which will bring the spirit of the new education into every classroom. The problem is the more difficult in Europe because of the economic crisis, which directly affects the schools—even the most urgent demands, such as those for air and light and freedom of movement, can often not be met owing to lack of funds.

Reflections and discussions which are merely theoretical do not get us anywhere if the practical example does not accompany them. So instead of writing a book for a small group of experts, I carried out some time ago a four-year practical experiment in one of the typical secondary schools of Vienna, a Latin Grammar School. I selected for this purpose a group of new ten-year-old pupils such as might be found in any ordinary school. My main idea was this. Those most obviously concerned with what happens in any class are the pupils, their parents and the teachers. Thus we have three groups to consider—the “pupils’ community,” the “parents’ community” and the “teachers’ community”—while these together form what I call the “class community.” The class community with other similarly organized classes in the same school forms the “school community.” If my scheme were generally introduced the Austrian *Gymnasium* with its eight classes would consist of eight three-fold class communities. Delegates from each

would unite to form the natural controlling body of that school. Likewise delegates from each school could form an association to act in an advisory capacity to the educational authorities of the country. Let me now describe the main features of my experiment.

The Pupils' Community. The pupils divided themselves into a number of groups and each group chose a leader, while a class leader was elected by the whole class. The task of the group leader was to help the members, so far as he could, with the difficulties they encountered in their school work and to awaken social feeling among them. As the groups were re-arranged after several months new leaders were chosen and given the opportunity of exercising their intellectual and social powers in this way. Thus the development of individuality in the leader is combined with the apparently contradictory subordination of personal desires to the needs of the group. A great deal of responsibility was thrown on to the shoulders of the children themselves: there was not a single pupil without some definite job to do, while the class as a whole decided about rewards and the very rare punishments, and even participated in the determination of grades. (At the end of each semester every child got up and said whether he should be placed in grade 1, 2, 3 or 4; the leader of the group then gave his idea and a general discussion followed. I graded the children, too, but did not tell them what I thought until the discussion was finished. On one typical occasion the grading given by the class differed from mine in only three cases—and when we discussed them I found that the children had better memories than I.) Of course, the teachers, and especially the form teacher, had the right to veto a decision of the pupils' community, but this right was very seldom exercised.

It was soon found that the passive, receptive attitude characteristic of pupils in the traditional secondary school disappeared and that enthusiasm and vivid activity took its place. As far as the classroom itself was concerned, I should mention that great pains were taken to get rid of everything suggestive of the regimentation and pedantry of

the old school and to create a pleasant home-like atmosphere. The room was made attractive with flowers and pictures, and in place of rows of fixed desks individual tables and chairs were used—generally arranged in a circle around the teacher's table, as it is important that the children should see one another's eyes, especially during discussions.

The Parents' Community. This part of the class community consisted of the parents of the boys in the class. All the parents belonged to it, and they adopted a constitution in accordance with which members pledged themselves to attend the general meetings held during the year. At all meetings at which parents were present I insisted that they should do most of the talking and that the teachers should as much as possible keep in the background. As a result, the receptive and passive attitude generally adopted by parents at meetings of parent-teacher associations of the ordinary type soon disappeared.

The parents were encouraged to visit the class during school hours and see it at work, and to fill in observation blanks on their children. Courses in such subjects as shorthand, typewriting and first-aid were arranged in which both the parents and boys sat together as pupils. The parents' community also maintained a small library and often divided itself into working groups of five to ten people which took up educational problems, made reports on books, etc. It also took care of needy children in the class, and frequently arranged trips, hikes and social gatherings with the pupils. It can thus be seen that the parents' community worked in the closest association with the pupils' community.

The Teachers' Community comprised the subject teachers of the class, one of whom became *primus inter pares*. The task of the teachers' community was to build up a harmonious system of instruction in which the subjects would, as far as it is possible on the secondary level, be mutually related. This involved a considerable re-adjustment on the part of the teachers: hitherto each had thought that *his* subject was the only important one in the curriculum and had not cared who had been in the class before him and

who would come after him. By working together in a group, the teachers were able not only to correlate subject-matter but also to make a comprehensive study of each individual pupil. Observations concerning the pupils were exchanged and joint records were made. These, together with the information supplied by the parents and pupils themselves, offered interesting material for psychological research and data for educational and vocational guidance.

Every year, as teacher-leader, I went on with my original group to the next form of the *Gymnasium* and kept a watchful eye on those in the form below. Finally, in the fourth year, there were four such² class communities which worked together under my direction, and at the end of that year I concluded my experiment. The plan attracted great interest in Austria, and detailed reports had to be made every few weeks to the Ministry of Public Instruction and the Board of Education. Soon educators in other countries became interested, and in the course of time I received hundreds of visitors, particularly from the English-speaking countries, and similar experiments were begun abroad.

Pupils, teachers and parents in my class communities became close and devoted friends. There was no lying or cheating in the classes, and punishments were a rarity. The scholastic progress of the pupils surpassed my rosiest expectations—they made the best showing of all the forms in the school. The class-community plan seems to offer a hopeful method for the reform of secondary education. One of its greatest advantages is that it bridges the gap between home and school more effectively than any other scheme. And there is a very important place for the family in the education of the future. I am to-day more than ever convinced that my approach was the right one, and I hope that some time I shall be able to return to teaching, which, in spite of the satisfaction I derive from my present work, I still like better than anything else.

THE DANISH FOLK SCHOOL

ANDERS VEDEL

IT sometimes is difficult to find the right name for a new thing. What we in Denmark speak of as 'folkehøjskole' would in English have its verbal equivalent in people's high schools. The word 'højskole' (high school) in Denmark used to be a name for the University (as in Germany). But in the English-speaking world 'high school' means school for the later childhood and for adolescence. And that is what the Danish people's high schools are *not*. On the suggestion of an American writer on these subjects, Olive D. Campbell,¹ I therefore prefer to use the name folk-schools for these schools of the Scandinavian countries. They are decidedly schools for grown people, mostly of the age 18-25. We have nowadays in Denmark about 60 of these schools, taking altogether every year about 7,000 new students. In Norway the whole number of schools of a similar kind would be about 50, and the annual number of students about 2,500; in Sweden correspondingly 50 and 4,000; in Finland about 55 and 3,000 students.

It was some time in the year 1831 that the idea of the folk-school took definite shape in the minds of the Danish poet, church minister and linguist, N. F. S. Grundtvig. He had been brooding and working for many years on the spiritual development of the Danish people, he himself being, in 1831, nearly 78 years of age; now he saw how it might be done, and he alone—his mind being in this respect far ahead of any of his contemporaries.

And his idea of the folk-school came to him as part and parcel of his whole conception of the social and political and spiritual evolution of mankind, of which he gave a remarkable explanation in his *Introduction to the Mythology of the North* (1832).

1.—Olive D. Campbell, *The Danish Folk School*, 1928. The Folk-School
Brasstown, North Carolina, U.S.A.

Grundtvig explains in some of the pages of this book how the European civilization had come to a stage in its evolution when school education would have to take over much work which had in previous centuries been left to other agencies, especially the Church, if it had been done at all.

The whole of the people of each country had to be drawn inside the great sphere of education, if the new forms of society and views of life, which were in progress all over the world, were to take shape in the right way and not end in revolutions and other ways of shaking everything out of a growing order.

But which schools could give an understanding of the new movements? The elementary schools could not do it. This was not children's work. But the Universities could not take it over, either. They had their ever-growing importance in their scientific work, in their experiments with the eternal truths of life and history. But this work could not be given to or grasped by the great masses.

Neither could it be done through the schools for the half-grown, the adolescents, called at that time in Denmark the Latin schools. Their main object was the preparation of their pupils for the University. As they worked at that time in Denmark, these schools took their pupils away from everything natural, real, and Danish, giving them everything artificial, making them believe in dead cultures and languages as the finest ideals.

But even if these schools were made better, they could not take over the new work. Their pupils were too young. At that age, from 14-14 to 18, it was necessary for the healthy growing of most individuals to have a good deal of practical work and exercise. Only after adolescence came that age of spiritual activity and receptivity, say, the age of 18-25, at which really fruitful school work of the kind thought of could be done. At that age, too, most youths might have had that experience of life itself which was also a necessary condition.

But such a school did not exist. It therefore had to be

created. A school for grown youths, not for the coming scientific workers, but for the youth of the people, and among them, first of all, the most live spirits, those 'burning souls' who, keen for anything new, perhaps difficult to handle and easily spoilt, were most important for the life of the coming generation.

At such a school the life of the present day, the life of the people itself, the language of the people as the expression of their thoughts and dreams and feelings, the history, the constitution, the economic structure, the nature of the country as well as of the outer world, should be the subjects round which everything else centred.

This new school should, then, be a school for life, not only for the future life of its students, but for their time at the school, a school which was in itself a living thing; it should teach life, give life.

To achieve these aims, Grundtvig turned to what he believed was his specific contribution to the understanding of the spiritual development of mankind: that the spoken word, or, as he liked to say, 'the living word,' is a direct expression of the spiritual power inherited in man, and that the life of the spirit is handed over from man to man, from generation to generation, through living words.

Of course, books are useful and should be used at such a school as the wonderful utensils for storing knowledge. But they are not able to create any new life within you. The way in which you are influenced by them entirely depends upon what was in you beforehand. *Deeds* are the most practical and, in some cases, the most speaking impressions of the higher powers of man. 'My father did not give me dead moralities,' Grundtvig somewhere says, 'but living words, when he himself gave a helping hand to the old man going by, to the beggar at the door, to the chained dog.'

A word is not necessarily a living word just because it is spoken. The living words at a school do not coincide with lectures. The more accidentally a remark is made, the more it comes by itself in the right moment as an expres-

sion of something important to you, the more living it may be. People who wish to give power to their words must take care not to let their mouth run loose. 'Close your mouth, or your heart will get dry,' was a saying of a folk-school master.

What Grundtvig says about the living word is therefore not to be understood only as a method of instruction, but first of all as a recognition of the real factors of life and *therefore* as an educational advice..

The idea of the folk-school is, of course, not necessarily connected with the views of Grundtvig of human nature and of the development of mankind.^o But at the same time these views of his have influenced the practical work of not only the majority of the folk-schools in Denmark, but also, to some extent, the work of those folk-schools in Denmark and elsewhere by which his views have by no means been accepted.

Grundtvig exercised an immense forward-moving power upon those followers of his, who happened to be the first folk-school masters in Denmark. And this power of his depended upon his humble but so far unshakeable belief in God and in man as his creation.

Grundtvig's understanding of the value of the living word is very much connected with this belief of his. And Grundtvig believed in nationalities, not only the Danish, but every one. Man does not grow alone; he grows in company. And the connecting power is the language, the mother tongue, not according to its grammar, but because it contains all the fine expressions of the soul and the spirit of the people. You find them in the words that come from the heart and go to the heart, you find them in the proverbs, in the wit, in the old poetry, in the new poetry, in the literature. In this sense the language should be the ownership of everybody, and therefore the mother-tongue must be a main subject at the folk-school.

And Grundtvig believed in humanity. He did not think of man as an everlasting repetition of himself, but as a growth, as he once said, as an experiment of God's

which should develop itself and reveal itself through an untold number of generations. This development is still going on. Therefore we cannot now understand its full meaning; but by studying it we might get an idea of its course and wish to be moved by and into its living stream. Therefore *history* ought to be a main subject at the folk-school, the history of the world, the history of the Danish people.

Grundtvig had been explaining these ideas of his about folk-schools in a number of pamphlets from 1836 onwards. Nobody seemed to listen. But suddenly the chance came. The German-thinking part of the inhabitants of the Duchy of Slesvig wished to germanize the whole duchy and politically make it one of the federated German states (in connection with Holstein). The Danish-speaking and thinking part of the population naturally were much against this agitation. But many of the officials were moving towards Germany. Therefore, some further education of the broad Danish population was of special importance. Some of the Danish farmers down there got hold of the idea of doing it through the creation of a folk-school on Grundtvig's lines. And some people in Copenhagen, who otherwise regarded these ideas of Grundtvig's as a subject of curiosity, understood that the idea might be helpful in this case, raised some money, and so, through united efforts, the first folk-school came into being in 1844 at Rødding, in the northern part of Slesvig.

Meanwhile a liberal movement swept Denmark in the 'forties. In 1849, after a war with some German states, Denmark got a constitution on very broad democratic lines. At that time a little, curious fellow, a schoolmaster, who had been working as a book-binder from 1841-47, because he could not be allowed to teach in the Danish elementary schools in the free way which to him was the only right one, got the idea of starting a folk-school. He came to Grundtvig in order to get his advice and help. That was about 1851. Kold and Grundtvig disagreed on the question of having within the school pupils of less than eighteen years of age.

The school was started on these lines, but Kold was soon convinced that Grundtvig was right.

Kold's school was a much more humble affair than the school at Rødding. It took much more interest in the personal and spiritual life of its students. With Kold, especially during his first years as a folk-school master, his home and the school was one thing. He created that 'home life and the relationship of equals,' that intimate touch between teacher and student, which I think even to this day is what nearly all Danish folk-schools aim at. Nearly all the later folk-school masters in Denmark are directly or indirectly pupils of Christin Kold, or at least they profess to be.

The war which Prussia and Austria waged against Denmark in 1864, and the result of which was that Denmark lost the whole of Slesvig, was at the same time the starting point of that rearrangement of the affairs of Europe which led up to the World War, and the turning point in the inner history of little Denmark. Some Danes lost courage, but others felt that now, more than at any time, all resources had to be made use of in order to save the future life of the people—and old Grundtvig, 82 years of age, more than anybody else. He pointed to the work of the folk-schools with the grown youths, as the best and shortest way of awakening the people at large to an understanding of what was happening, and he influenced some of the very best of his young followers to leave every thought of settled jobs, go out to the people, take the risk, and become folk-school masters.

The appeal of Grundtvig's corresponded in a remarkable way to the feelings of some of the most earnest and advanced people in the country districts of Denmark. And therefore we see in the years 1865-80 a great many folk-schools being started in most parts of Denmark. Many a neighbourhood wanted to have a folk-school of its own, without quite realizing the difficulties and the necessity of having a suitable headmaster. Many of these experiments died away in the course of some years; but even they left their mark in most cases, and we have to remember that the value of a folk-

school cannot be measured according to its number of students or to its age. A good many of the schools which were then started are still in existence and have done good educational work on folk-school lines for three generations.

You would of course find a great difference when entering a folk-school nowadays, compared with entering it, say, about 1870. But, looking a little more closely, you would find that the main lines on which the work is done are more or less the same. I am speaking mainly of the Grundtvig type of folk-schools.

The schools are meant for *all* grown people, rich and poor, well educated or not so well educated, through previous schools. But most of those who attend are those who do not go to the University, those who in Denmark have had little or no secondary education, but who nevertheless are very well able to profit from an education suitable for adults.

The folk-schools consequently are non-vocational. They do not prepare for any trade or occupation or profession. They wish to prepare their students for life as such, that means, for their life as human beings, as citizens, as Danish men and women, as members of the whole human family.

The schools are meant for women quite as much as for men. In a good many of the folk-schools in the other Scandinavian countries the schools are co-educational, because they only have one term—at winter, say, from October-November until March or April. But in Denmark we have at most of the schools only men in winter (November-March) and women in summer (May-July). The summer term is considerably shorter than the winter term; it is a kind of injustice to the women students.

Most of the students come for one term only, although some schools have consecutive courses of two or three terms. It therefore is a very short period of school life that is offered to the folk-school students. But the schools are day schools and residential for nearly all the students. They have to leave their ordinary practical work and give their whole time and interest to what is going on at the school.

The school is their home, as long as they are there, and

the principals more or less make the school a part of their own home-life, sharing from one to all of the meals with the students.

In all the Scandinavian countries it is considered to be of the greatest value that the students are taken away from their different occupations and given a real school-time, day after day, month after month. It makes the folk-schools different from any kind of evening classes, however useful such evening classes may be in themselves.

What subjects are taught at the folk-schools is a question very naturally asked. The answer is, principally: any subject, provided it is taught as grown people ought to be taught, and that it is used as a means of education. Most of the students want a solid brushing up of what they usually call their 'school-knowledge,' and that, of course, is given by way of subjects such as the Danish language, essay-writing, arithmetic, etc. They all have a good deal of bodily exercise, mostly in the shape of Swedish gymnastics, which are meant for everybody not physically unfit to join in, and which play a great rôle nowadays in the gymnastic unions to be found in every other village throughout the country, the women being to-day still more keen on it than men. There may be some folk-dancing (old Danish and Scandinavian) and some games. Out-of-door sports are not very possible in Denmark during the winter months. We may, then, find on the time-table geography, nature-study, physics, biology, hygiene, literature, the history of Denmark, the history of the world, the history of the Christian Churches or the history of religion, social subjects like the political and economic structure of the Danish society, social economy, etc. Some time may be spent in handwork, especially needlework and embroidery for the women students; at some schools a little woodwork for the men. In case many of the men students are farmers, you may find a few hours weekly given to theoretical farming, as a part of nature-study and biology, and in cases where you have got a specific class of house builders (bricklayers, carpenters, etc.), you would find nearly half of all their time given to technical

training, theory of house-building, etc. Thus the subjects vary from school to school, and from time to time within the one school.

As for methods of teaching, for some purposes all the students may be together in one group, for other purposes they may be divided up in small groups. But in both cases much scope is given to individual work. As a matter of fact, no two students have got the same starting point, and they have to move forward from where they start. For some particular subjects the students may be divided up in small study-circles, one or more books being the connecting point from where to work.

On the whole, not very much use is made of *text-books*.² That partly depends upon the short time at our disposal, partly upon the theory of education, as explained before. Most of our students, coming from every-day practical work, would not get much value from text-books of the ordinary kind. Although they are not at all unable to think and to follow an argument, a day reasoning out a subject through a book would not appeal to them. They would not see the crucial points. If we, or, let us say, ordinary people came across a new word or a new idea from the mouth of some other man, we as a rule get a much fuller understanding of the word or the idea than if we come across it in a book or in a paper. In the first case the *context* is, so to say, *alive*; in the other case it depends upon what you yourselves get from it. And if we want to influence people, we must speak to them. And we want to influence our students, not in order that they should just take our opinions, but to make them thinking, interested, forward-looking men and women, apt to live up to the very best of their abilities, their hopes and their wishes. Therefore we must speak to them—not necessarily in lectures, but as a matter of fact, most folk-school teachers want the lecture in order to concentrate themselves sufficiently upon what they want to say. But remember: the folk-school lecture is not a reading-aloud of some previously written essay, it

2. Old folk-school students are some of the most ardent readers of the country.

is a word spoken directly to those present, even if some notes or a great many notes have been used beforehand.

Grundtvig himself sometimes said that conversation would be the great thing, thereby being created that co-operation between student and teacher which makes for the very best results. The Danish writer, Søren Kirkegaard, who was not by any means an admirer of Grundtvig, writes somewhere in his diary: 'Accidentally Grundtvig dropped a fine note the other day, when I heard him saying: "In the ordinary schools the procedure seems to be that the teacher asks the questions, and the pupils are supposed to answer them. It ought to be the opposite, as it is the pupils who are supposed to want enlightenment."'

A great folk-school master, who died some years ago, used the method of conversation with much success. I happened at one time to be a teacher at his school, and I am now continuing on the same line, although perhaps not altogether in the same way.

It is indeed sometimes very delightful to a teacher, when he, through conversational hours, is able to see the thoughts and the questions of the students work themselves out day after day, perhaps for a whole week, at the same time as he is helping them to get to the real point of a question. Last winter, for example, one of my students asked the question: 'What is civilization?' I was going to say something about it, but I first questioned him and said: 'Why do you ask that question?' 'Oh, yes,' he said. 'Because the uncivilized people sometimes seem to me to be more civilized than the civilized people,' and he pointed to the World War, to what had been going on in Abyssinia, in Spain, etc. Then we had a long talk, turning upon words such as culture, education, what it is to be humane, what is a Christian life, the understanding of the Danish word *dannelse* (in German *Bildung*, which means *forming*, but English does not seem to have got a word quite corresponding) all these words, and the realities behind them: what the students knew, or fancied to know, about the uncivilized people, what they thought of their own private way of living,

of their own behaviour towards other people, towards women—our whole social and moral life might be brought in—until the interest dwindled away and a student asked: 'What about the Danish dialects; are they bound to disappear? Or why do people all over the world seem to leave the country and to go to the towns?'

We sing very much at our folk-schools, and although the students in most cases make a choir, the most important part of it is community-singing. We start nearly every lesson with some singing, even lessons of book-keeping or arithmetic, the teacher wishing thereby to make a point of the nice value of this 'practical work. Sometimes we sit together for half an hour in the evening, just singing. The folk-school song-book is the most important of all the books at the schools. Every student is expected to have his copy. It contains much of the best Danish poetry, old folk-songs, new songs on home life, on the life of youth, on Denmark, on the history of Denmark and of the world, songs on biblical history, some of the best Danish hymns, songs calling forward to work for a better future for Denmark and for the world, humorous songs, quite a number of Norwegian and Swedish songs. Danish composers have been very helpful in creating good melodies for the songs, and especially during the last twenty years a new school of composers has created a whole lot of melodies of a simple and beautiful character and really made for community singing.

Religion—meant as the religion of Christianity—is not taught at the folk-schools of the Grundtvig type as a subject by itself. We ask all young people to join us without regard to their religious point of view. At the same time I think all these schools wish to have their school life on some kind of Christian basis. Every day starts with a morning hymn, and probably a prayer, the Lord's Prayer in most cases; this is a part of the home life of the school, and attendance is always left to the student's own choice.

But then, it has to be remembered that the history of the Danish people, as well as the history of the world, could

not be taught earnestly without taking into account the deciding religious happenings and movements through the centuries. Indeed, we think that a much better understanding is given to the religious life, when it is regarded as a part of the whole life of man, that when it is just treated as a thing apart from everything else.

And we are not afraid of saying a word of what we appreciate ourselves. The students do want to meet not only with facts but with values. But, of course, we speak as teachers, not as agitators, and we are careful in doing so.

The folk-schools are of very different sizes, but, looked at from a big country's point of view, they are small. Very few take more than 150 students at a time, and a small school may even be down to thirty or twenty. Only the enlarged folk-school at Ackov, having three consecutive winter courses, would come up to more than 300 students at a time.

In Denmark the schools are all private, about half of them being owned by their masters, and the rest by some union of interested people from the neighbourhood; such groups of people are in most cases responsible for the start of the school first of all, but certainly without any idea of earning money in that way. Quite the opposite. In some cases the smaller schools are helped very much by the neighbourhood.

We make the stay at the schools very cheap. The union of the folk-schools have an agreement between themselves fixed for each new term, that the monthly pay should not be below a certain amount, above which most schools then do not go. This summer it was about £3/10/- per month (Australian money), for board, lodging and tuition. The schools have a certain amount of Government support (certainly not very much, compared with most other institutions of a similar kind), and the poorer part of the students, about a third of them, have some public help for their expenses at the school, up to about half of what they have to pay.

The folk-schools are nearly all situated in the open coun-

try, in the earlier times usually in one of the villages, whose people took an interest in the creation of the school.

About 90 per cent. of the students come from the country, although 44 per cent. of the Danish population live in urban districts. About 60 per cent. of the students are sons and daughters of farmers and small holders, that means holdings of from, say, 8 to 120 acres of land. The students are nearly all unmarried young people who, in some way or other, earn their own living. Many of the young farm boys live as helping hands in the homes of other farmers if they are not occupied on their fathers' farms. We like the students to have been away from home at least for a little while before they visit a folk-school; that gives them, in many cases, a more independent judgment. But, of course, we take them as they are, though, as a general rule, not younger than 18 years of age. The latest figures show only 4 per cent. under 18 years, while 13 per cent. were over 25. Government help is not given to those under 18.

Besides their ordinary school work, the folk-schools exercise a cultural influence in the neighbourhood where they are situated. They give room for meetings of several kinds, bigger gatherings of youths' unions, gymnastic training courses, their teachers are helpful in giving lectures to the lecture-societies in the different villages, and, besides that, the schools gather people to lectures and entertainment at the school itself; and then we have the monthly or annual old students' meetings, etc. Most characteristic may be the two-four days' autumn meetings at the folk-schools, when interested people of all (grown) ages come for half or whole days to hear lectures by prominent people from all over the country and have good music, or some literary performances in the evenings.

On the whole, it has to be remembered that the folk-schools are not only schools, but more or less a part of a whole movement.

And the value of giving a school time to adult or grown people has made its appeal more and more. When in the

'sixties and 'seventies of last century the farmers understood the necessity of giving some theoretical training to their young people, they started agricultural schools, giving usually six or nine months' theoretical training. But it was soon found out that only the grown ones got sufficient results from their stay, a term at a folk-school beforehand being regarded as an extra help. First the practical experience and then the theoretical training, that seems to be our order of things which has been working for *lasting* results.

A good many of the young agricultural headmasters belonged to the Grundtvig school movement. They lived with their students in a somewhat similar way. 'The Danish agricultural school is a child of the Danish folk-school,' said one of the leading masters among the old agricultural school people. Even to-day we feel ourselves more or less one company. When the folk-school teachers from the four Scandinavian countries had a common conference in Finland in 1936, a number of our Danish agricultural school teachers took part in the conference.

Several folk-school movements have sprung from the original one. For example, there are three or four schools established in the interests of the small holders. At these schools cultural and agricultural subjects are studied together. Then, again, there are about eight schools under strict Lutheran auspices. There are also two folk-schools conducted by labour organizations, in which stress is placed on social economy, political history, co-operation, and trade union principles.

A good deal of educational work is done through small study groups. Both teachers and students seem, however, lately to emphasize more and more that the school work expected and hoped for could not be done without a real undercurrent of moral earnestness and a lifting up to the values and beauties of life. And they believe in the folk-schools as such. Just before leaving Denmark I saw the headmaster of the oldest of the two schools. 'Do not forget to emphasize this point,' he said to me, 'that what matters

in adult education is a real school time, some months at a residential school, with all the time given to the educational work. All credit may be given to evening-class work, lectures, study groups, etc., of which we do a lot. But it cannot compare with a term at a folk-school—of course, for those students who come because they want to get something from it.'

This question might now be asked: What are the effects of this school work? And it would be possible to point to many different spheres of life, as it has so often been done, not least by foreigners: co-operation in Denmark; the peacefulness of the Danish people; the fine social legislation, which owes very much to the good comradeship of the country people, etc. The practical results are, of course, those most easily got sight of. But in these matters the folk-school might get praise for what is due also to other causes.

It may be illuminating to quote what some old folk-school students explained some years ago as to what the folk-school had meant to them.

All the answers were written in 1926. The first is from an old man, who attended a small folk-school, long ago forgotten, in 1868-69:

No doubt I am one of the oldest still alive from the old days of the folk-schools. In the autumn, 1867, I returned from military service. The life at the folk-school was something quite opposite. Over there it was all compulsion, here it was all liberty, of course combined with responsibility. What the teachers had in view was the broadening and clearing up of our minds, that we might understand the reasons for the upward and downward movements in the life of the people itself and in the spiritual life—and that this understanding might be a help towards the building up of our own lives. Our days at the school were full of joy and beauty; those of us who were willing receivers and earnest workers were deeply marked by what was given to us there. It was a time never to be forgotten, and, naturally, I have influenced my children to drink of the same fountains that meant so much to me.

A very quiet kind of man, a farmer and a county councillor, being much esteemed by his neighbourhood, attended in his young days first a small, later a big folk-school. Here

are some of his impressions from the small school (1873-74):

When I was twenty years of age I felt in many ways very unsatisfied. I was longing for something new and better, but I could not find the things necessary. The ordinary farm-work had tired me out, it seemed to me as if it meant fixing your eyes on the soil all the time, working for materialism. As the time passed this feeling grew, and I had a feeling that my whole life would come to nothing. Then I came to a folk-school, a small one Partly through the morning prayers, partly through the lectures on history, but mainly through private conversations, my view of agricultural work was thoroughly altered. In the course of a conversation I got this advice: Go ahead with what is just in front of you; don't ask if it is a big or a small bit of work—every good work, even if it is lowly and unimportant, has a value in itself. This was a good advice to me, and I have tried to keep it during those many years since that date.

A later folk-school teacher, who was a student at a small folk-school in 1870 and ten years later at a big folk-school, explains some of his impressions in this way:

I happened to understand that the important thing was *not only* if I personally came through *this* world in a decent way and found happiness in the world to come; but a stream of life was running through this world, broad and big and full of freshness. It would not take anything away, but it would carry you on. The important thing was to come into this stream, be borne by it and kept alive by its help. But even more than that, you might yourselves be able to help this stream forward, strengthen its course and widen its shores.

I now give a quotation from a girl who had just been to a rather small folk-school in 1925:

What a joy to be seated at the school-bench and listen to the lectures! Just to sit down and receive. It was like having everything old and bad turned out of the most far-away corners of the soul and to be filled with something new and fresh. But we had other things to do at the folk-school besides listening to the lectures. We even had much work of our own, writing of essays, arithmetic, and several occupations in our leisure hours. Besides the singing, which started nearly every school-hour of the day, we had two hours of common singing every week. Until I came to the folk-school I did not care much for singing. But something may, nevertheless, have been lying imprisoned within me, waiting for liberation. The songs helped me. I sang myself fresh and free.

It may be that some highly intelligent person might ask: What are you really taught at the folk-schools? It could not be explained; it has to be experienced.

I only want to say this: If we are going to have a new education for a complete living, if we are going to move the world by education, if we are going, through our education, to make the world safe for democracy, then it is time to remember that young people are far more likely to be influenced by idealistic and altruistic tendencies when they are grown than when they are adolescents, that education for true citizenship and spiritual responsibility can only be received by adults, and that therefore society ought to make it possible for every grown man and woman to have a real school life in their adult age.

ADULT EDUCATION IN LANCASHIRE

SIR PERCY MEADON

THE idea that adults need education is now more generally accepted, and the adult education movement which began not long ago as an experimental extension of University teaching is steadily becoming a permanent and integral part of our educational system and of national life, with a living and developing tradition of its own. If we compare the present position of adult education with its situation only a generation ago, we shall not find it difficult to discover grounds for optimism. Then the total amount of organized education of a non-vocational character for men and women was very small and was provided almost entirely by voluntary organizations, which occasionally co-operated with the Universities. The voluntary principle is still vigorous, but is now assisted financially by both state and the local education authorities, and the amount of such assistance increases each year. Moreover, the universities, the local education authorities and the voluntary bodies have each their own activities in this field of work and, in addition, show an increasing desire to enter into schemes of co-operation. In some administrative areas the number of adults in attendance at non-vocational courses established by the local education authorities now exceeds the number attending courses arranged by the voluntary bodies. More and more the part played by the local authorities is becoming an important factor in the situation, although, unfortunately, a number of authorities still hold themselves aloof from the work. Not only has the total number of students substantially increased, but the quality of both the students and the teachers has improved, and, on the whole, it can be said that, notwithstanding its many-sided character and sporadic growth, there has been an advance in the technique of adult education. But I desire to refer more to the problems that have arisen than to the degree of success which has been achieved.

With this growth in the movement there has come increased recognition of the great variety of the capacities, needs and interests of the different students. Some join the adult classes because of their desire for greater personal development—the wish to satisfy their own intellectual, aesthetic and spiritual needs so that they may lead fuller and richer lives. Others are anxious to follow a particular course of study in the hope that it will help them to arrive at a more satisfactory philosophy of life. Many attend from a desire to understand the political and economic problems which confront society to-day, so that they may take a more intelligent and effective part in their own organizations or in public affairs. Some have the capacity and previous education to enable them to follow with benefit a three-year course which demands somewhat concentrated effort. Another type of student has already developed some intellectual interest and joins the class because of this interest and his desire to advance his knowledge of it. A different type comes without having acquired as yet any literary taste or interest. There are others who do not know what they want and are not likely to know until they have obtained some experience of what is available. Some are attracted by the opportunity for companionship the class affords.

We are finding that these differences in the students themselves, in their capacities, their attainments, their tastes, their aims and their outlook, are greater than were at first supposed, and it is not always easy for the tutor to discover a common starting place when a new class is beginning its work. In class after class, therefore, we find students who cannot stand the pace, and who are unable to give that personal contribution which educational work requires. Moreover, there are many to whom the type and standard of educational work we offer makes no appeal. Although there are subjects suitable for adult education which are not academic in character, the work conducted by the universities and the voluntary associations is still in the main academic in character and practically confined to economics, literature, psychology, philosophy, history, appreciation of

art and music, and one or two branches of natural science. The work of the local authorities in this field is more diversified and wider in its range, but the small percentage of the total adult population which has so far been attracted to the movement is far from satisfactory and is an indication that either the content of our courses of study or our methods of presentation fails to appeal to many. I do not wish to suggest that we want all or even a definite percentage of the population to attend adult classes over a period of years, but rather that we want adult education to be taken for granted by the whole community,^o so that it will make its appeal to the man in the street as well as to the enthusiast, to the general public as well as to the picked students.

We have perhaps tended to concentrate our attention upon the longer and more advanced courses for adults and have somewhat neglected the simpler, less strenuous, and less abstract forms which large numbers of this generation of adults undoubtedly need. Many of them find it difficult to maintain interest in one subject for a fairly long period, particularly if it necessitates close study and critical reading. The tutorial class system has helped a large number of men and women and is a most valuable part of our adult education scheme, bringing, in a real sense, the University and its culture to the people outside its walls. It is essential that it should progress and that its standard should be kept high if the standard of the work of the movement as a whole is to be maintained. The one-year classes and the terminal courses make less strenuous demands and attract a larger number of students, although our experience is that some of these cease attendance because they find the work beyond them, while some who continue would have been more profitably engaged in attending simpler expositions with less exacting standards. For these members of the community we have to be prepared to use such agencies as discussion groups, dramatic and play-reading societies, natural history societies, literary societies, musical societies, week-end and short courses, and even single lectures. We have perhaps in the past thought of the adult education movement too

much in terms of tutorial classes, one-year classes and terminal courses, with the tutorial class as the head and forefront of the movement, and the other classes as rather like tutorial classes of a less advanced character. The recent growth in adult education is, however, taking the movement on to new lines of development and enabling it to break new ground among new classes of students, and this old conception of the movement can no longer be held if we are to cater for the very diverse kinds of students we now have. Courses should be planned and conducted with the needs of different types of students definitely in mind, and with the knowledge that they have only limited leisure.¹

Recognition of the fact that those who could not fulfil the strenuous obligations of tutorial class study needed a different kind of class with different aims and a different technique led to a striking contribution to adult education being made by the London County Council in the shape of their Literary Institutes, Women's Institutes and Men's Institutes. The popularity and success of these institutes, with the many-sided appeals they make, have served to emphasize the fact that 'adult education is the education of men and women, by all the ways and means that ingenuity can devise, for all the purposes of life.' The Literary Institutes provide classes in such subjects as literature, history, languages, social science, music and elocution for students who have received a good basis of education. The students are not drawn from organized bodies, but come singly from the general unorganized public. The Men's Institutes deal with another side of the adult education problem and cater for a different type of student who has undertaken no education since he left the elementary school. The subjects taken include handicrafts, hobbies, music, physical training and general cultural subjects. The Women's Institutes offer instruction in a wide range of practical subjects associated with the home, as well as in literature, art, music, physical training and health subjects.

May I give an account of some activities in the area I

1. Editor's Note: An interesting discussion of these issues will be found in Molesworth, *Adult Education in England and America*. A.C.E.R. Series, No. 36.

am fortunate to serve. The Lancashire Education Committee's interest in adult education is of long standing, but until September, 1928, it was almost wholly indirect and took the form of grants-in-aid to the Universities of Manchester and Liverpool, the W.E.A., and in a somewhat different manner to the rural Women's Institute movement within the county area. This procedure was typical of its attitude towards all worthy voluntary bodies and in accord with its policy of encouraging them to develop along their own lines, rather than to assume control of their activities or to dictate to them in any way. It was evident, however, not long after the War that, despite the valuable contribution made by the voluntary bodies, this was by no means enough, and that by far the larger section of the community was either receiving little attention or could not be adequately catered for by the existing machinery.

Nowhere was this more obvious than in the rural parts of the country, even though in some respects the problem presented was equally urgent in its industrial districts; but whereas the inhabitants of the latter had some kind of access to cultural amenities, the countryside was practically out of touch, possibly, too, out of sympathy, with the newer educational developments and to some extent with the many social organizations which have sprung into being in the post-War world.

The urgent needs of the large population in industrial Lancashire, coupled with the geographical disposition of the universities, made it difficult for the voluntary bodies to give much consideration to the rural areas or, for that matter, to many of the smaller urban districts, and it was, in fact, for this reason that the Education Committee decided, after consultation with the universities, to embark upon its own scheme in an area to which it alone had easy access and where it was known and recognized as the voluntary bodies were not. Another and equally important reason urging it to direct action was the realization that new methods, if not new aims, must be attempted in order that the appeal to the people might be widened sufficiently to attract the general body of the adult community.

Attempts to stimulate and direct the interests of country people were in being elsewhere and the Women's Institutes were actively engaged within the county. Not only, however, was this body exclusively concerned with women, but its activities were largely social in character: what the Committee wanted primarily was to quicken interest in 'the things of the mind,' a difficult task in an area with no humanistic links and without a cultural tradition. To have offered set and formal courses would have met with no response, to have worked at first through the channels of the evening school would have been equally fatal. It was, therefore, decided to appoint an organizer to reside in the district and to give him a generous measure of freedom to experiment. His job was to develop activities which, while of a good standard, were definitely acceptable to the people themselves. In September, 1928, the first organizer appointed took up residence in the district and, at an inaugural meeting to which all the representative people in the area had been invited, the Committee's scheme was launched.

To speak or write of a scheme at this stage is possibly a little misleading. There was in effect no scheme, only an organizer, charged with the mission—the word is used advisedly—of arousing the interest of the people in the area in what were then very vaguely defined cultural amenities and to bring home to them their needs on this side of life. It was a highly speculative venture which might easily have failed at an early date. That it did not do so is ample justification of the Committee's action. Within the short space of nine years it became a recognized organization, with its groups and branches not only in some sixty villages, but also in twenty urban centres and requiring the services of three full-time organizers and a host of part-time tutors.

The first organizer began activities by personal interviews with representative people and sometimes with casual acquaintances in Garstang, the selected focus of the work. (The difference between urban and rural Lancashire can perhaps be most readily appreciated when it is realized that

this, the largest township in the area, has a total population of less than a thousand. Many of the villages are indeed much smaller, those lying along the slopes of the Pennines or hidden in the folds of the Lake District being no more than scattered hamlets, with, in several instances, a day-school population of about twenty, so that a removal of one or two families is sufficient to upset the balance of possible attendances for either day-school or adult evening work.)

The results of the first interviews were sufficiently encouraging to make a preliminary meeting possible, and out of this came a short series of lectures or talks—the latter term was preferably employed for some considerable time—in local history. The venture thus launched, it was possible to approach other villages supported by a concrete achievement, which proved more valuable by way of illustration than a discourse on adult education and its possibilities. Although the demand for local history is not frequently urged, now that the varied activities conducted are more generally known and appreciated, the approach to a potential centre still follows early procedure. First the interviews and the hunting up of individuals, then the preliminary meeting, with a tentative programme to follow, and, if this prove successful or sufficiently encouraging, the arranging, for the next session, of a somewhat more ambitious series of activities.

In the majority of centres the appeal is made in the first instance through a single-talks programme spread out either monthly or fortnightly during the winter months and arranged for the most suitable evening of the week. To the townsman any evening might seem suitable in a village, but no view could be more erroneous. Most villages nowadays, particularly during the winter, are hives of social activities and the difficulty of finding a free evening that will suit the community as a whole is often considerable. Even where this condition of things does not obtain, another difficulty is presented by the transport facilities which make access to the cinema in the nearest town increasingly easy.

Both these factors, so indicative of the manner in which

increased leisure is occupied by the average man and woman—particularly the younger adult—have had to be borne in mind in making the first appeal to a centre and have emphasized the need to introduce activities which bear upon living interests and meet the people at their own level, which is usually far removed from the intellectual plane. Attractive titles for talks have to be employed, and the programme itself based upon the nature and interests of the village approached. In the more isolated centres constant use has been made of good lantern lectures, a typical programme being the following organized at Foxfield, remotely set in the Lake District: *An Early Reformer; Then and Now; Geology of the Lake District; The Tyrol; A Trip to the Alps; Some Victorian Novelists; How Parliament Works; East Africa; Ceylon; The Western Highlands; Do Animals Reason?* As an intermediate type conducted at Warton, a fairly large village and a little nearer the towns, the following is typical: *Romantic Composers in Music; The Villages of Morecombe Bay; Modern Tendency in Art; Old Fallacies about Birds; The Brontës; Everyday Science; Aspects of Modern Literature; Humour in Literature.*

Whenever possible the single-talks programme has been followed by a short course or courses in one or other of the subjects treated in the introductory lecture. Thus the talks on books in the above programme were followed by a short course of six meetings on modern literature. In some instances, however, the appeal to the community of the single talk has been too great to allow this kind of programme to be entirely superseded by courses, and in many centres there has been an interweaving of the course and the single-talks programme. The most notable example of this is afforded in Pilling Lane, where the work was initiated in 1929. This is a small and scattered community living on the shores of Morecombe Bay and chiefly occupied in poultry-keeping. Here, in successive winters, fortnightly lectures have been given, of a standard quite comparable with those arranged by a university extension board and as

appreciatively followed. These have been attended regularly for some seven years by an average of at least forty adults, and vigorous discussions have formed an essential feature of each meeting. The following programme is typical: Modern Literature; Music To-day; Border History; Science in the Modern World; Our Educational System; Europe as Seen from Geneva (II); National Planning; The Kingdom of the Mind; George Romney; Local Government. In addition, a smaller group has regularly, throughout the winter, listened to and discussed successive series of broadcast talks.

Although on an average some 200 single lectures are now given annually, they form actually only a small part of the work, the greater part of which is increasingly conducted in courses of varying length. Last year, for example, there were 50 such short courses and 33 longer courses (a short course being of not more than eleven, and a longer course of twelve or more meetings' duration).

Attendances for these have usually been lower than for single talks, but the substitution of the group for the audience, the maintained contact with the one tutor and the greater possibilities for discussion have given the group so formed a stability quite, or almost, lacking in the more casual audience; but only in the more remote centres have such attendances been less than ten, and the average for the course in the larger centres has been 18, although in several places much higher regular attendances have been recorded. In one centre 50 adults have followed a course in music for the past three years.

Not the least interesting feature of the work has been the constantly increasing demand during the past three or four years for talks and courses bearing directly upon the very crucial problems in the modern world and nowhere has this been more noticeable than in the men's groups which were instituted experimentally some three years ago. In a number of villages it had been noted that whereas women came readily to meetings, the men were less responsive and it was, therefore, decided to appeal directly to them by the

attempted organizing of informal men's discussion groups. They were variably successful, but in several centres the numbers who came forward seemed to justify their continuance, and such groups are now becoming an accepted and desired feature of the scheme in both rural and urban centres. All are mainly preoccupied with modern problems, although, as the following programme of a fortnightly series indicates, by no means exclusively so:

The Morning's Paper; Democracies and Dictatorships; Getting the Best out of Reading; Our Educational System; Chemistry in the Service^o of Man; The Novels of Thomas Hardy; Exploring the Sub-conscious Mind; China To-day; What we Owe to the Greeks; The Local Water Supply; National and Town Planning; Voluntary Organization in the Service of the State.

Allied with this kind of informal activity is the broadcast listening group. From the outset of the work, use has been made of the programme broadcast regularly for discussion groups, and while their numbers have fluctuated considerably—largely on account of the nature of the programme broadcast—in most sessions at least six such groups have followed a winter's series of talks with commendable regularity. Frequently the organizing of a listening group has led to the formation of a class conducted directly by a tutor, a procedure wholly in accord with the aims of the Broadcasting Corporation in stimulating through its talks-programmes the interests of the ordinary run of men and women in more formal and consequential adult work.

Although the interest in modern problems is increasing, it is still exceeded by that shown in the drama and music as living arts. Nothing else conducted under the scheme has given quite so clear an indication of the sense of very real enjoyment that comes from leisure rightly used. From the beginning the response to the drama has been remarkable, and the great majority of villages now have their drama groups which meet regularly to study plays and to follow both the theoretical and practical side of dramatic work. In the smaller centres the drama group forms an integral

part of the rural adult organization; in the urban centres special courses in dramatic technique and the choice and study of good plays have been arranged to appeal particularly, though not exclusively, to members of various amateur organizations.

Younger people in particular have been attracted to this kind of work. In the majority of instances, groups follow up the study of plays and of dramatic technique in the courses arranged by the production of both short and longer plays. The amount of extra time so given is substantial, for, in addition to the actual taking of parts, group members construct their own scenery, frequently make their own costumes and arrange lighting effects to supplement the usually inadequate and meagre fittings to be found in most village halls. Some productions of both modern and standard plays have thus been given not only locally, but in other villages, and the co-operation entailed in this latter procedure has greatly helped the general conduct of the work. The fact that the classes study and produce such plays as *Macbeth*, *Dear Brutus*, *She Stoops to Conquer*, *The Devil's Disciple*, *Laburnum Grove*, *Hobson's Choice*, *The Silver Box*, *Escape*, *Children in Uniform*, *The Merchant of Venice*, and a great number of modern short plays, is indicative both of the standard achieved and the interest shown in an art which appeals so directly to country people.

The stimulation of an interest in music, surprisingly enough, proved at first somewhat difficult, but during the past three years a growing number of music groups have been formed and musical appreciation is supplemented in them by the preparation of madrigals, glees and longer works, particularly those of Handel. The most recent development on this side has been the formation in two centres of orchestral groups.

By the end of the third winter season, it was observable that members who had remained faithful began to be concerned about the following year, and some attempt at planning programmes well in advance was made. In a sense this closed the more definitely pioneering chapter

and organization has certainly been very much easier since then. This coincided with an extension of the work to the Lake District, or that part of it within the county borders, and a second organizer was appointed to develop activities in this very difficult area.

The most serious problem here was the lack of a sufficient number of suitable part-time tutors, a difficulty only to be overcome for some time by the organizer conducting personally a number of the activities which he was able to initiate. Although this difficulty had been less marked elsewhere, it was fairly acute and still remains an obstacle to progress. Except on very rare occasions it is impossible to call upon the services of the university staffs, and the organization has had to fall back on the limited number of people in the area itself who are not only willing but suitable, both by attainment and personal qualifications, to assist in this kind of work, which often involves journeys of from fifteen to twenty miles to and from a village. At present some fifty part-time lecturers and tutors serve on the rural panel, and the difficulty of increasing this number or of making changes in the personnel is giving rise to some concern, particularly as there is every indication of continued expansion in the future. An increasing part in local organization is, fortunately, being taken by local voluntary secretaries and committees, and not the least active have been the village head teachers and their assistants. Their contribution during the whole course of the scheme has been invaluable.

A further aid towards the co-ordination of activities and the strengthening of co-operative effort has been the holding annually of a gathering or rally at Garstang for the southern part of the area and at Ulverston for the Lake District. These have now established themselves as an essential feature and are regularly attended by representatives and members of all the groups taking part in the work. Procedure for these has crystallized into a special afternoon lecture, followed by tea and an evening demonstration of plays and music performed by members of groups in the various

villages. These annual gatherings are supplemented also by excursions during the summer period and by local social activities, all of which contribute to the continuation of the work less as a scheme than as a movement.

During the past twelve months a new direction has been given to the Committee's interests by its decision to provide for the needs of its many smaller urban districts uncatered for by the voluntary bodies and to whom little more than a sectional appeal has been made. To initiate this new scheme the organizing tutor was withdrawn from rural work and a third organizer appointed to succeed him at Garstang, where, it should be mentioned, the rural organization is housed in a special building and where the Garstang groups meet for courses and lectures. This building also houses the local branch of the County Library.

As yet the urban movement is only in its pioneering stages and the main concern thus far is with the general body of the people with whom the Committee is desirous that contact shall be made. In carrying out the Committee's wishes, the organizer has conducted campaigns in the many clubs and institutions active in the towns, and the response has been very good.

All the results of the current session are not as yet tabulated, but briefly it can be said that the total number of centres—inclusive of urban and rural areas—for the year now ending has been approximately 80 and that in them not less than 1,200 meetings have been conducted during the course of the session. To these, people of all types have come with increasing regularity.

In addition to the type of work carried out under the scheme described, the local education authority has worked hard to foster the growth of non-vocational or informal courses of study in its technical schools and evening institutes, both for men and women. It also gives financial assistance to the two universities in its area in respect of their extra-mural work and to the voluntary bodies, such as the Workers' Educational Association, which conduct educational classes. The only conditions laid down for this co-opera-

tion are the usual ones—viz., that the courses shall be open to all students who desire to attend and can profit by them; that the classes shall be conducted by teachers who are properly qualified in the subjects; and that the courses of study shall be free from political propaganda.

Usually adult education classes have no rooms of their own in which to meet and are dependent upon such accommodation as is available. This means that a variety of rooms are in use and not all are well suited to the needs of adults. It is a decided advantage when the local education authority can place centrally situated premises that are heated and well-lighted, and furnished with comfortable seats and tables, at the disposal of the adult classes either free or at a nominal rental. As it is, a large number of classes meet in schoolrooms, though, unfortunately, not all are provided with suitable seats. The growth in the number of secondary and new senior schools, with their more suitable furniture, is proving very helpful for these classes. Some local authorities are furnishing selected rooms for adult classes in areas where a settlement, or club, is not available.

With the expansion of the movement has arisen the problem of the supply of suitable tutors. Leadership in a democratic class of adults calls not only for sound knowledge of the subject, but also for the skilful teacher who is able to adapt his methods to the attainments and outlook of his students, giving good-humoured and provocative lectures rather than academic and dry ones, and generally adapting his treatment to the topic under consideration. It is also very helpful if he has an acquaintance with the social background of those forming the class, so that he can draw upon their experiences and the better appreciate their approach to the points raised. He should know, too, how to stimulate discussion and to control its relevance. He has also to hold a strictly objective view of controversial subjects, often in the face of partisan opinions forcibly expressed by some of his students. The supply of first-rate tutors is, of course, limited. For-

fortunately, we now have a nucleus of full-time tutors in adult education who are able to establish a professional standard in the conduct of classes. These experienced tutors can give expert guidance to young teachers and discuss with them their difficulties and schemes of work, particularly if conferences, or week-end or summer schools are arranged as meeting places for those engaged in teaching adult classes. When these whole-time tutors are able to reside in the districts they serve, and have a close acquaintance with the life of their areas, they are much better able to bring their powers of organizing and teaching to their difficult task than are the occasional tutors whose chief occupation is elsewhere. Experience has shown that it is easy for the enthusiastic full-time tutor to be overloaded with classes. This, of course, is an unsound policy, especially if the tutor is to retain his freshness and have proper time for the preparation of his lectures and for keeping in touch with the communal life of the university or other body to which he is attached. We have now reached a stage at which we need, in every area where adult education is developing, at least some nucleus of full-time tutors of different types with whom we can associate occasional or part-time tutors. These full-time tutors, besides taking some classes, co-ordinate the work of the part-time tutors in their area and undertake the work of stimulation of interest in adult education, working up groups which can subsequently be taken over by other tutors, thus stimulating demand as well as organizing supply. There are also problems arising in connection with the development of work amongst women, and we have found that the appointment of a woman staff-tutor has led to the formation of special types of classes suitable for and attractive to women.

Quite often the tutor has to give guidance in reading to some of his students if they are to develop the habit of active study as opposed to passive listening, and to discuss with them difficulties they have encountered in the course of their reading. Fortunately, in making their lists of books for reading, the tutors are now able to draw upon the

resources of the local and the county libraries, as well as the regional and national libraries.

One discouragement which the tutor has to face is the frequent change in the membership of his class—the introduction of new faces and the losing sight of the old and known ones. This discouragement is lessened when the tutor has the opportunity of working for an adult school or college or settlement where each succeeding generation of students leaves its mark, and where he can, therefore, still observe the effect of his work after the students have left. This is one of the many advantages of a close connection between adult education and a place of learning which has a corporate life of its own. Many local educational authorities now appreciate the importance of this point of view, and are endeavouring to establish close co-operation between their technical colleges and the adult education movement by providing suitably furnished classrooms and common-rooms for adults in the colleges. This may lead to the development of a new type of local college or centre of learning which may have a marked beneficial effect on the social life of the people.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PUBLIC LIBRARY SYSTEM IN ENGLAND AND WALES

SIR PERCY MEADON

THE principle underlying the public library service is that it exists for the recreation, the refreshment, the inspiration and the training of the community through books and other forms of recorded thought. The need for a generous supply of books, freely accessible to all the members of the community, is a comparatively recent development of our civilization and naturally follows from our national system of education. In the days when a large section of our population could not read there was little demand for books. For many years we have been spending large sums of money out of the taxes and the rates to ensure that every member of the community shall at least be able to read and write. In time it was realized that it was wasteful to provide in the schools for the acquisition of these accomplishments if, when the child left school for the wider world, there was a lack of books accessible to him on which he could exercise his power to read. In the absence of facilities for reading, his mind would be barren of many of the things which it is a pleasure and a delight to know, and he would be robbed of the opportunity of spending much of his leisure time profitably and happily. His opportunities for acquiring that general knowledge, which is so helpful in assessing and appreciating what is happening in daily life, would be greatly lessened. He would not be so well equipped for the proper conduct of his own affairs, or even for keeping fresh and up to date in the developments of his own occupation. Neither would he have full scope for obtaining that balanced knowledge of public affairs which is so important if he is to do his duty as a citizen and as an active, constructive member of the community, recognizing his responsibilities for its good government. It is true that books are

not the only instrument of education. Nevertheless the ability to use and appreciate books is an indispensable element in a liberal education.

It is because these facts have become increasingly recognized that communities, both urban and rural, have been willing to provide, out of public funds, facilities for the ready supply of books available to all sections of the population. The total public library expenditure for Great Britain and Northern Ireland in 1935 was £2,440,656. In 1911 only 62·5 per cent. of the population in England and Wales were in library areas. By 1926 the percentage had risen to 96·3. This represented 24 million people living in urban areas and 12 million in rural areas. And by so providing a supply they have created a demand. Thus we find that nearly seven and a half million people of all sorts and conditions in the villages, towns and cities of England and Wales borrow regularly from their public libraries, and in the year 1935 borrowed something like 200 million library books. In the public libraries of England and Wales (excluding Scotland and Ireland) there are nearly 26 million books. The use of public libraries, as indicated by the numbers of books issued for home-reading, has been growing vigorously during the last few years. During the ten years ending in 1932 the number of borrowers from urban libraries alone increased from under two millions to nearly four and a half millions, and issues rose from 54 millions to 136 millions. Similarly, the County Libraries' issues increased from two and a half millions in 1924 to over 48 millions in 1934. These are striking figures, and show that the public interest in our libraries has greatly increased and that the public library is now not only one of the centres of the intellectual life of the area it serves, but also an indispensable feature in the life of the community, recognized as essential not only for our relaxation but also for research, for the progress of industry and commerce and for the general welfare of the community. As His Majesty King George said at the opening of the new library in Manchester, built at a cost of £450,000, "Open

libraries are as essential to health of mind as open spaces to health of body.'

In England and Wales the public library service is essentially local. The Libraries Acts under which public libraries are established and maintained are permissive, so that it rests with the local authority alone to decide whether it shall provide a library or not, and what the nature and extent of the provision shall be. The development of the library service is, therefore, entirely dependent upon local support and local enterprise. There is freedom for expansion to suit local needs, and the local library authority does its work without having to obtain sanction from any Government department except in respect of the raising of a loan to cover capital expenditure. There is no national control, no national inspection and no national grant, so that if a local authority had not sufficient vision to appreciate the intellectual and cultural needs of the community it serves, no public library would be available in that area. It is greatly to the credit of the local authorities that all but three have already adopted the Acts.

Notwithstanding the progress which has been made, the public library movement is a young one. Parliament did not interest itself in the matter until 1849, when the House of Commons set up a Select Committee to report 'on the best means of extending the establishment of libraries freely open to the public, especially in large towns, in Great Britain and Ireland.' In the same year this Committee presented a comprehensive report, drawn up on liberal lines, and recommended 'that a power be given by Parliament enabling Town Councils to levy a small rate for the creation and support of Town Libraries.' The first Public Libraries Act came in the following year and permitted, but did not compel, town councils of a population of 10,000 to provide buildings, a librarian, light, heat, etc., but not books, which it was expected would be given by interested donors. Admission to the libraries was to be free of charge and the rate levied was limited to a half-penny. Five years later the rate limited was raised to one penny and

power was given for the provision of books and newspapers. Progress for some years was slight, and just before the close of the century only just over 150 authorities had adopted the Acts; whereas in the next twenty years a further 270 libraries were opened. A good deal of this progress was due to the munificence of Mr. Andrew Carnegie, who, between 1897 and 1913, gave grants for the building and furnishing of public libraries amounting to £1,768,404, distributed among 295 urban libraries. The country owes a great debt of gratitude to Carnegie and his Trustees for all he and they did to develop the library system.

The next substantial development was due to the action of the Carnegie Trustees. It was reported to them in 1911 that, while 79 per cent. of the urban population lived in library areas, only 2·5 per cent. of the rural population were similarly placed. The Trustees, therefore, invited certain county councils to establish rural library schemes on the basis of full capital and maintenance expenditure being met by the Trustees for a period of five years. There was a risk attached to this scheme, since at the time no legislation was contemplated to give county councils power to carry on these libraries after the end of the five-year period. In 1919, however, the county councils were authorized to adopt the Public Libraries Acts, and at the same time the penny rate restriction was abolished for all authorities. It is interesting to note the growth in interest and appreciation of public libraries that had taken place in the 70 years that had elapsed since the passing of the first Act. In 1850 the Public Libraries Bill was carried in the House of Commons by a majority of 17 only. In 1919 it was carried without a division, the opposition being practically limited to two members.

The conferment of public library powers on county councils was followed by a rapid extension of facilities to a large part of the rural population, and now county library schemes have practically covered the country. The counties are now serving 18 million people who previously had no service at all. Taken together, they have accumulated a

stock of over six million books, with an annual issue of 50 millions. This is, by any standard, a noteworthy achievement in a period of fifteen years, especially when we remember how lean some of those years have been from a financial point of view. In doing this work, the county councils have very properly kept in mind the wider conception of the service as one which supplies the area as a whole and not only the rural portions, so that now it is a common and welcome sight in town and village to see the County Library sign which the Carnegie Trustees generously provided at a cost of £4,000.

During the same period many municipal libraries, particularly those in the large provincial cities such as Manchester, Birmingham, Glasgow, Bristol and Leeds, have developed their services also, and especially as regards their reference, commercial and technical libraries. The commercial libraries in such cities are supplying an information service of considerable importance to business men. One or two notable buildings have been erected, such as the Manchester Central Library, and in general the municipal library service has widened its outlook and is making itself an essential factor in municipal life. Mention should also be made of the development of university libraries; the erection of new buildings at Oxford, Cambridge, the Brotherton Library at Leeds, and the new university libraries at Liverpool and Manchester.

It must, of course, be recognized that all county libraries are still in a state of development, and that the money at present expended on them will have to be increased, especially in those areas where the cost of the county scheme was kept very low during the early years. In 1926 the Carnegie Trustees pointed out that many county library systems had the following defects:

- (a) Inadequate stocks of books (almost universal).
- (b) Inadequate staff, numbers and quality (common).
- (c) Bad headquarters offices (not infrequent).
- (d) Populous industrial areas not yet served.

(e) Lack of co-operation with independent municipal libraries in area.

(f) Failure to meet the needs of students, individual and in classes.

(g) Undue emphasis on juvenile books and failure to make adult service efficient and well known.

(h) The status of the librarian and of the committee which administers the scheme often too low.

These serious defects have been largely remedied in many areas, but they indicate what are now looked upon as the essential requirements of any library service, even for the more remote and thinly populated rural areas. It is, of course, in connection with the supply of a public library service to these small communities that the chief difficulties arise. It may, therefore, be of interest if I give some particulars of the development of the service in one of the county areas of England.

The library was established eleven years ago, in 1926, to serve all portions of the county not then supplied with library facilities. This area included the smaller urban districts and the rural districts, with a total population of 725,000. The following table shows the progress which has been made during the eleven years:

SUMMARY OF STOCK ISSUES, ETC.

Year ending March 31st

Year.	Total Stock of Books.	Centres and Branches.	Borrowers.	Issues.
1926	20,262	87	8,381	—
1927	46,525	193	31,946	248,500
1928	70,316	197	44,815	24,826
1929	93,756	227	64,281	1,020,125
1930	119,296	245	80,486	1,522,747
1931	147,285	258	101,375	1,728,378
1932	178,251	273	125,117	2,202,128
1933	210,916	286	142,748	2,637,917
1934	237,489	280	155,106	2,803,696
1935	264,443	285	157,154	2,863,363
1936	296,571	296	166,626	3,007,737

It will be seen that the total number of books issued to the public has now reached the three million mark, an increase of 143,000 over the previous year. The issues for the Reference Department have increased to 51,577. The number of registered borrowers is now over 160,000. The total number of books in the library is nearly 300,000, of which 61,500 were added during the last year. The number of books discarded has increased from 20,132 in 1935 to 29,193 in 1936. The following table shows the present distribution of subjects:

	March, 1935.		March, 1936.	
	Vols.	Percentage.	Vols.	Percentage.
General Works	1,390	.5	1,600	.6
Philosophy	2,118	.8	2,473	.8
Religion	3,000	1.1	3,359	1.1
Sociology	7,842	3.0	9,223	3.1
Languages	479	.2	572	.2
Science	6,868	2.6	8,043	2.7
Useful Arts	10,431	4.0	11,951	4.0
Fine Arts, Sports	9,239	3.5	10,753	3.6
Literature	15,344	5.8	17,382	5.9
History, Travel, Biography	27,889	10.5	32,754	11.1
Adult Fiction	139,891	52.9	153,730	51.8
Juvenile Fiction	39,952	15.1	44,731	15.1

The non-fiction is rising in comparison with the fiction, and at the majority of the branches the increase in non-fiction issues is greater in proportion than the increase in fiction issues.

Boxes of specially selected books are sent to the secondary schools each term to supplement the school libraries, and there is close co-operation between the County Librarian and the school librarians.

Sets of books were supplied to adult education classes as follows:

	No.	Books.
Workers' Educational Association	23	587
Other study circles, dramatic groups, etc.	57	984
Schools	20	555
	100	2,126

In addition to music supplied to individual borrowers, 15 orchestral societies have borrowed 105 works, comprising 2,469 parts, and 35 choirs have borrowed 47 works, comprising 1,550 parts.

In 1935 the county council decided that special library rates should cease and that all expenditure should be charged to the general library rate. This important change of policy, the first of its kind in England, will facilitate the planning of library development in the urban areas.

The total expenditure on the library amounted to £5,676 in the first year. This year it is £42,825 and the poundage rate levied is 2·2 pence; the estimated product of a penny rate being £17,250. In the first year £3,700 was spent in books. This year the amount is £17,000.

When the library started, the Central Library was housed in various rooms in a dwelling house. Since then a new building has been erected as headquarters for the library and staff. In addition, 23 branch libraries to serve the larger urban areas, and 273 centres to serve the smaller townships and villages have been opened. The branch libraries are housed in new or specially adapted buildings, are open either every day or on most days of the week, and in the majority of cases are staffed with trained assistants. The smaller centres are housed in village halls, public offices, institutes and schools, and are usually staffed with voluntary librarians.

Two monthly lists of new books, one containing specialized and technical works and the other books of a more popular type, are issued, and an annual cumulative list, *Books of 1936*, is also published.

In order to draw the attention of the general reader to a better type of both fiction and non-fiction, a general list of 'One Hundred Books for Winter Evenings' was compiled and circulated in sufficient quantities for free distribution. It enjoyed considerable popularity, and the public responded readily by asking in large numbers for the books listed. The experiment is being repeated this summer by the issue of a list entitled 'Summer Delights,' comprising

books on walking, camping, outdoor sports, gardening, motoring, travel at home and abroad, etc. .

Perhaps the most noteworthy development of recent years is the spread of the idea of co-operation. The basis of all co-operative work between English libraries has been the National Central Library, which grew out of the old Central Library for Students, founded twenty years ago with the help of the Carnegie Trustees to lend books to adult classes. The National Central Library, which receives a small Government grant, is the clearing house for all inter-library loans. Some of its work has now been decentralized by the establishment of eight Regional Bureaux in the principal districts of England, through which all requests for loans pass in the first instance, the request being satisfied locally where possible. To aid in tracing books, union catalogues are being built up, both at the National Central Library and in some of the Regions; the main union catalogue at the National Central Library already contains well over two million entries. International co-operation has also developed, some hundreds of books a year being borrowed from, or lent to, libraries in various European countries and U.S.A.

It is possible that, in due course, these developments will result in some form of national organization for the library service in this country. At present it is exclusively local, with no government grants (except for the National Central Library). There is much dispute at present as to the desirability of grants, which would, of course, imply some central control and inspection.

It is worthy of note that, while municipal library committees are direct committees of the local council, county library committees are (by the 1919 Act) sub-committees of the County Education Committee. This fact is responsible for a cleavage in professional opinion. In municipal quarters there is some suspicion of anything connected with educational administration or inspection. Those who have had county experience, though they would naturally welcome any improvement in status for their libraries, know

how much the county library movement owes to education committees. There is thus a slight cleavage also between town and country, probably accentuated by the fact that in the early days of the county movement, trained librarians were sometimes passed over in making appointments for senior posts, usually in favour of graduates with good educational qualifications. It must, however, be admitted that the educational standard of the profession was not at that time conspicuously high in many municipal libraries. Some progress has been made in this respect, but in small libraries the standard is still too low. This is presumably one of the factors that is keeping salaries down. For the future we must look above all things for a raising of the education level throughout the profession, and an increase in the proportion of entrants with high educational qualifications and degrees. We must hope also that salaries will rise sufficiently to attract such entrants into the profession.

In the last ten years the Library Association has increased in size and authority. The need for employing trained assistants is now more generally recognized. The Association's own examinations have been improved in standard and quality, and the desirability of attracting graduates to the profession is being realized, in some quarters at least. There is one School of Librarianship, at University College, London, and this now caters largely for honours graduates. The status of the profession will never reach a high point, however, till some improvement is effected in salaries. These are still poor in most areas.

The Library Association is now considering a consolidating bill to cover all library legislation and to effect certain obvious improvements in the existing law (such as the right of libraries to spend money over the provision of lectures). There are signs that municipal librarians would like to see clauses in such a bill restricting the growth of county libraries, which would be confined to towns below a certain rateable value or population (e.g., 20,000), towns above this limit being made either independent or amalgamated with adjoining large cities. This would be strongly con-

tested. The modern trend of local government services is in the direction of combination, not disintegration into small units. It should be added that during the last few years, many counties have made considerable progress with the establishment of a fully equipped branch library service in the larger towns in their area, and have shown that they are able to provide an efficient service in populous areas.

In providing an increasingly effective service, the public libraries are promoting the advancement of learning and education. We all realize that education is not a process limited to what takes place in school, but that it should continue throughout life. A large part of education during adult life is informal and non-institutional. Nor must it be overlooked that, as Bishop Creighton wisely said, 'One great aim of education is to enable men to use their time aright when they are not engaged in getting on.' This is clearly one of the aims of the adult education movement—a movement which has been greatly assisted by the public library service and which has become a permanent feature of our national life, assuming so much importance that adult education has become a familiar term. It is because education authorities increasingly recognize the truth of this that they appreciate the opportunity of co-operating with library authorities and desire that the fullest scope and freedom should be allowed for the activities of the public libraries. On the part of the librarian, too, there is an increased recognition of the fact that for the proper direction of a library his duty does not finish with the issue of a catalogue and of books to the public. The purely administrative aspect of his work is really a subsidiary one, which in itself is of little value except in so far as it achieves its end. The librarian recognizes that he also has an educational responsibility and that this should be apparent in his activities in the area in which he operates; that he must possess not only a sound knowledge of technical methods and appreciate the value of literature, but must also study the needs, possibilities and tastes of his borrowers. In the public library the borrowers enjoy and generally appre-

ciate a large amount of independence. The librarian, therefore, does not exercise constraint upon the borrowers' reading and acts rather as a friend, guide and adviser. But by his choice and suitable display of books, by his informal talks and lectures, by the opportunities he provides, the librarian can do and does a great deal to promote the development of a well-educated community. In these circumstances it is felt that, even in its ordinary activities, the public library service is, in a general and informal way, an educational agency of importance.

In addition, however, to these informal educational influences, the public library is of definite value to education authorities and voluntary bodies in their more formal work. I find that, apart from its recreational side, the Lancashire County Library is in every way auxiliary to the education service and that it endeavours to follow up the diverse processes of education, assisting at every stage.

Clearly one of the objects of the education we give in our schools is to lead the children to the use of the public library. If a boy has learnt to like books, to appreciate good literature, to desire information and to know how to obtain it, he is more truly educated than if he passed a difficult examination and then, on leaving school, had no inclination to read or to acquire information about the social, political and intellectual movements of the day, or to enquire about anything not immediately associated with his job. A taste for good literature and a zest for knowledge, when once acquired, do not lightly pass away, but remain throughout life to give colour and enjoyment to it. We are, therefore, trying to secure that in our schools every child shall read some little about many things, and also a great deal consecutively about one thing. For some years we have been building up useful libraries in our secondary schools. Some of the schools have arrived at the stage when they feel they require at least one member on the teaching staff who has undergone a short course in librarianship. Many of these schools are grateful to public librarians for the effective help they have received on matters relating to the general management of

the library and the technique of librarianship. Education authorities are now busily engaged in re-organizing their elementary schools with a view to the provision of better and extended educational facilities for the older pupils. A common feature in this new type of senior or central school is the provision of a room set apart for use as a library in which can be housed books of reference and representative works in the various departments of the school's courses of study. We hope to see a development in the free use of the school library for building up organized information. At the same time we feel that there will still be the need for the junior department of the public library as a complementary service to the school library. Our object is to help the work of the classroom, to develop self-reliance, initiative and voluntary study among the pupils, and to stimulate the growth of individual tastes and aptitudes. We hope that, in time, we shall see, as one result of this improved and extended education, a fuller and a wiser use being made of our public libraries. Already there are evidences of the marked growth of the serious reading public in the substantial circulation of books such as those included in the Home University Library, Everyman's Library, The Temple Classics, The Loeb Classical Volumes, and other series. Reprints of classics find a ready sale; literary societies are more numerous than they were; extension lecturers and others working in the field of adult education find more interested and enquiring audiences.

The practice followed by so many public librarians of circulating sets of books to schools for the pupils' general reading is a most useful arrangement, particularly when the books are selected by the librarian in consultation with the teachers of the schools concerned. The teachers tell us that, speaking generally, the children's reading ability and taste improves markedly where such a service of books is available.

The responsibility for the provision of school libraries, of course, rests with the local education authorities, and at the cost of the education authority. A good deal has yet

to be done to place these school libraries upon a systematic and effective basis, but, in my view, it would be more effective and economical if, before an education authority sets about the establishment of a complete scheme of school libraries, it first consulted and, if feasible, co-operated with the library authority, enlisting the special technical skill and knowledge of the librarian and endeavouring to cut out duplication of effort.

With the development of the school library service we shall certainly find it necessary to consider closely what should be its relationship to the public library service. Close and cordial co-operation between the different public library authorities and the local education authorities of the country is necessary if we are to increase the scope of the library service as a whole with efficiency and economy. Except for books required for class purposes, I feel that the school can co-operate effectively with the public library for general book service. The school would then perform the function of teaching the use of the means of learning from books, encouraging the spirit of independent research, while the library would perform the function of supplying the materials for this purpose and would, by its own methods, encourage intellectual curiosity.

Many librarians are attempting to bridge over the serious gap which too often occurs between the time when the child leaves school and his first appearance as a borrower at the public library. Some do this by arranging for each year's school leavers to visit the library in a body, others by arranging an 'intermediate' collection of books specially chosen to meet the needs of the adolescent. With co-operation between the education authority and the library authority, between the teacher and the librarian, there should result a better bridging of this gap and an increased reading and library habit on the part of our adolescents. We welcome the increased interest and activities which the librarians up and down the country are so wisely and profitably taking in this important problem.

Again, we have found our library very useful in connec-

tion with some of our evening classes, which are supplied with sets of general text-books on the subjects they are studying. The recent subject catalogues which our county librarian has prepared in co-operation with a neighbouring county librarian are proving excellent guides to the young student who wishes to read widely in his subject and to choose reliable books for this purpose. We are trying throughout the county to widen the scope and content of our work in the technical and evening classes and to introduce more of the 'humanities' and a social side, without impairing the efficiency and extent of the work which has so successfully appealed to the Lantashire part-time student. We are hopeful that the facilities offered by the public libraries will assist this further development.

During the last few years local education authorities have taken an increasing interest in the adult education movement—a movement which is everywhere, in all counties, receiving more and more serious attention. In connection with any scheme for adult education, it is obvious that books are essential and that a wide variety of books must be readily accessible to the student.

Many of the adult classes are organized by voluntary associations whose institutions do not possess libraries. The buying of books is nearly always beyond the means of the students. Some of the voluntary bodies are without resources for either buildings, equipment or books. In these circumstances, the public libraries are increasingly recognizing that they have here an opportunity, if not a responsibility, of performing one of their functions, viz., the encouragement of reading, study and thinking. The methods by which the public libraries are assisting in this movement are fairly common. For instance, the county libraries alone in one year supplied 836 organized classes with books, including W.E.A. classes, University Extension lectures, Women's Institute classes, Agricultural classes, etc. One library sent a collection of about 1,000 books to a summer school for teachers for use during the course and for subsequent borrowing.

At one centre we have been able to house the public library and the headquarters of the adult education movement of the area under one roof, so that the discussion groups and the adult classes meet in rooms adjacent to the library and therefore have very ready access to the books. We are hoping that this will lead to interesting developments. Already, in the rural area of which these headquarters form the centre, there are 400 books in use for the study circles, the wireless discussion groups and the other adult classes. The books are, of course, at the disposal of the various groups to take home for extended study. In some areas the librarians have, on their own initiative, issued short lists showing the books available in their library, which are likely to be of use to a class or study circle. In others, boxes of books have been sent to a group for their use.

A very helpful advance made by the county library movement has been the organization of a postal service for individual students. Teachers in particular appreciate this privilege, as they also do the benefits they derive from the action taken by so many library authorities in arranging for the urban or county library to contain an educational section.

All these functions of the public libraries have an educational aim and we should regard them as an important side of their work, which will lead to a livelier, a fuller and a better use of the facilities provided by the libraries. Even in ordinary lending centres where the books are mainly used for recreational purposes, the librarians who follow the practice of having talks about books, studying the character of the reading and drawing attention to the non-fiction side, increase their non-fiction issues and cannot be regarded as other than educators in the widest sense.

It will be observed that, so far, I have emphasized the educational status of the public library service from the point of view of one who is engaged in the service of a local education authority. I have done this deliberately because I feel that it is an important and essential part of the activities of the public library service which has repercussions on the

other work of the libraries. A purely recreational side of library work and the obtaining and supplying of information to the general reader, and industry and commerce will continue to be of primary importance and I have no desire to lessen their value or use. But, after all this work has been done, I do feel that there are certain library services which are distinctly educational, and those primarily concerned with this great and difficult work of education cannot be too grateful for the extremely valuable aid which they are receiving from the co-operation of public library committees and public librarians.

In a large number of urban areas close co-operation between the *Public Libraries Committee* and the *Education Committee* has been secured by arranging that these Committees have a certain number of members in common. No matter which system of control is adopted, the essential point is that the library should be treated as an important and valuable department of the public service and be provided with adequate funds to secure an effective service. It is, therefore, gratifying to note the tendency to break away from the old tradition under which the library committee was too often regarded as one of the least important in the local government service, and the work was left to a few keen people, assisted by other members of the council who may have failed to secure appointment to committees then considered to be of higher status.

This changed outlook—largely brought about, I think, by the good examples set by many of our larger city and municipal libraries—is the more gratifying because the increased and increasing demands, both of a general and of a special character, which our public libraries now have to satisfy, and the problems which arise from these, together with the need for concentration of expenditure on essential items, call for the services on these controlling committees of the best type of local administrators, with a wide outlook, a sound knowledge of local conditions, keen sympathy with and understanding of the ideals of the service they are administering and an active interest in its development.

LIBRARIES AND CITIZENSHIP

E. SALTER DAVIES

I SHALL begin with a platitude. The Oxford Dictionary defines a platitude as any commonplace or obvious remark, especially if uttered with an air of importance. So even the Oxford Dictionary can be funny at times. I make no apology for uttering a platitude in talking on an educational subject. I have long since come to the conclusion that the things that matter in education *are* platitudes. There is nothing new in education. No truth is new. The trouble is that, though we know these truths and affect agreement with them, our practice is not always consistent with our theory. It is like the truths of Christianity to which we so often give our lip service, but very little other service at all. The platitude is just this: I believe that libraries are an essential part of any educational system. When I say essential, I mean essential. I do not mean that libraries are a desirable adjunct but are really essential, and that no educational system can function effectively without libraries. I am sure that that is true of schools. The library is an essential part and a central feature of school education. A school cannot function effectively unless it has an adequate library. The platitude is as true of adult as of adolescent education. The library is the chief instrument for carrying on the education of young people and of older people who have left school. The justification for that platitude is this: it is not the object of education to turn out from the school the finished article. It is not the object of education to instil a certain amount of acquired knowledge and turn out a boy or girl properly fitted and labelled to enter industrial or commercial life. It is the end and object of education to instil the principles which are at the back of the New Education Fellowship. It has been urged again and again by the Fellowship that the object of education is to encourage self-activity, to teach boys

and girls to think, and to pay attention to the other fellow's point of view. I am reminded of a conference which I attended some time ago in England at which people of all shades of political thought were present. There was a young Communist there who remained silent while the others did the talking—particularly about co-operation and its advantages. He listened quietly, and at last he got up and said, 'Yes, I think there is a good deal of truth in what you say about co-operation, but for my part, when I try to co-operate with anybody I cannot help seeing his point of view, and it takes the edge off my own.' That is one of the purposes of education—to teach us to see the other man's point of view. That is the ideal which my colleagues and I are preaching throughout our own country and wherever we go.

You can see the idea I have in mind and its relation to libraries. The text-book contains a certain amount of information which can be acquired without too much difficulty, and which can be tested at examinations. Libraries require very different handling, and their effect is very different, because they encourage the habit of independent research and independent thought. For this reason I suggest that, in dealing with libraries and citizenship, we must regard the school library as the necessary starting point. The object of the school library should be to make available for boys and girls in the schools reading matter which will give them a love of reading. A love of reading can be taught, and so can a love of books, but these things cannot be taught by anyone who does not himself love books. The pity of it is that school children are given no taste for good reading, but rather, in some cases, the very opposite—they are given a positive distaste for reading. It is quite easy to give a distaste for reading. You have only to compel children to read books which adults think are good, but for which children themselves have no taste.

Last year a report was issued by the Carnegie Trustees on the subject of school libraries. It discusses accommodation, provision of books, staff, and the use of the school

library. I commend it to all who are interested in the subject. Copies may be obtained from the Secretary of the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust free of cost. The recommendations in that report may sound a little idealistic. The reports of committees should err on the idealistic side. The committee recommended, in regard to accommodation, for example, that every school should have a room devoted to library purposes which should be of not less than 900 square feet. In the larger schools the rooms should go up to 1,400 square feet. It also recommended that the minimum amount required to establish the library on a firm basis was from £200 to £250. I have been in some schools in Australia and have asked whether they had a library. They said, with pride, 'Yes.' I have then gone into the school and looked at the books and have asked the librarian or headmaster, 'Where did you get these books?' He replied, 'They were given to us.' I suggest that you cannot found a school library in any proper sense of the term upon the discards from individual persons. I was in a library not long ago from which I would cheerfully have taken all the books and thrown them into the fire. Assuming that the library has been started on a reasonable basis, there must be an adequate sum for maintenance year by year. The report puts that sum down at £40 a year. With regard to staff, the report emphasizes the importance of having as librarians people who themselves have had a liberal education and also some training in the technique of library work. The former qualification is the more important, but the latter is also important, because very often a layman or non-librarian does not understand that the technique of library work is extensive and difficult, particularly in regard to the cataloguing and classification of books. In other duties also the librarian requires special knowledge. You all know of the error in the classification of a librarian who included in his catalogue:

Mill on Liberty.

„ *on the Floss.*

The provision of a room or rooms for the school library is a matter for the authorities. The arrangement of staff—and in ordinary schools this usually means one of the teaching staff—is a matter for the school. Usually the work will have to be performed in conjunction with other duties. The use of the library is also a matter for the school staff. In literal truth the school library should be the centre of its intellectual activities. Moreover, it should allow the pupils to follow any particular interests of their own. It should influence them to form the basis of a life-long interest in reading. It should be a kind of retreat where the pupil could cultivate a taste for general reading. Those who are interested in the construction and administration of school libraries will, I am sure, be helped by the report to which I have just referred.

I come now to the public library. What are its purposes? In the first instance, is it not obvious that if we have given our boys and girls while at school a taste for reading, it is the duty of the community to provide a means by which that taste may be developed as the boys and girls grow older? For this purpose there should be maintained a good supply of worth-while books which should be made available to them. The public library should, however, perform many other functions than merely to enable individuals to follow up the interests that were awakened in them while at school. The public library should be the source from which those who are engaged in the vital interests of the country should be able to obtain the technical information which they need. There is a vast amount of research now going on in the main branches of industry, the results of which should be communicated to the leaders of industry and the workers in industry, and should be disseminated through public libraries. Information in regard to soils, manure and afforestation has also been collected by research workers, and this should be available. I have been struck, as I have travelled through Australia, by the methods which have been followed in deforestation. It is perhaps not for me to criticize them. They may be the most effec-

tive and economic methods of deforestation for this country. Ring-barking and then allowing the trees to fall in the process of time eventually results in the enrichment of the ground. I wonder, however, whether this is really the best and most effective method. I was shown yesterday a poem by an Australian poet who spoke of the beauty of these spectral forests:

The stark white ring-barked forests,
All tragic to the moon.

I have not yet been able to see the beauty of them, myself. To me they are only gaust, skeleton forests. I do not think that they add to the aesthetic value of the Australian forest. That, however, is merely by the way. I know of many countries in the old world and the new which have found, to their bitter cost, that the methods that they have followed in clearing their land have proved disastrous.

More important even than the provision and dissemination of technical knowledge is the arousing of the general mind of the public and the stimulating of the mental activity of the mass of the people. Professor Whitehead, who, in his book, *Science and the Modern World*, remarks that all our theories of political economy, all our business methods and all our theories of education, are derived from the conclusions of great thinkers and doers from the time of Plato onwards and, subject to minor modifications from time to time, the tradition had been handed down unbroken from generation to generation. We live, he says, in the assumption that that tradition remains, and that we shall be able to hand it down to our children. He adds that this is the first period of human history of which that assumption is untrue. Whether this be so or not, there can be no doubt that in the last 25 years changes have occurred more catastrophic in their effect on humanity than in any previous time. It is of no use trying to face the problems of the twentieth century with a nineteenth century brain. H. G. Wells once said that education and catastrophe were running a neck and neck race. He added that he thought at that time education was a bare neck ahead. Would anybody say

that to-day? I think that since Wells said that, the chances of beating catastrophe are infinitely less than they were. If this is so, we who believe in the power of education in schools and universities, through the medium of libraries, must redouble our efforts. The problem is one not for leaders only. The production of leaders is immensely important, but we need to influence the general attitude of the mass of mankind. In England we recently passed through a crisis of the greatest magnitude, the repercussions of which reached the farthest corners of the British Empire. If we passed through that crisis, as we did, unscathed, that happy result was due not only to wise leadership, but also to the steadiness of our people. Finally, in spite of our stupidity, leisure is bound to increase, and we must learn to use all the gifts of bountiful nature wisely. Leisure is the sort of thing we all feel to be extraordinarily good for ourselves, but extraordinarily dangerous for other people. This is not good enough. If leisure is to increase, we must train our people to use it wisely.

I come now to a consideration of Australia. My colleagues and I have been talking about the educational arrangements in Australia, but with an imperfect acquaintance with these things it is sometimes difficult to criticize fairly. I shall criticize the position in Australia in regard to libraries quite directly and without trying to mince words. My justification for that is not the knowledge that I have acquired during my few weeks' stay in Australia, but the fact that I have studied the considered reports which have recently been issued with regard to the position of libraries in Australia. Therefore I think my criticisms can be justified. I believe that Australia is by far the most backward of all the British Dominions in the provision of reading matter for its citizens. I think that statement can be proved beyond the possibility of question. Australia is, moreover, the most backward of the English-speaking nations in this respect. In Sydney there is, in addition to the Mitchell Library, which in its way is unique, a public reference library and a municipal lending library which has been

described to me as 'two rooms above a wineshop.' In the city of Melbourne there is no municipal library, although there is a State library with a lending branch. There are, in addition, some good suburban libraries. In Adelaide there is no free lending library. The State Library is a reference library only. There is a subscription lending library which receives a Government grant. I learned with great interest when I visited New South Wales that there was an attempt—and a very considerable and successful attempt—to distribute reading matter far beyond the bounds of Sydney. But provision of libraries in the chief towns of New South Wales is miserably inadequate, and the provision of reading matter for the mass of rural inhabitants is almost non-existent.

What is the remedy for such a state of affairs? I have heard it argued that Australia has a glorious climate, and from my brief experience of it I am not disposed to quarrel with that statement. It is said that, because of this glorious climate, the people of Australia do not read; they spend *their time in outdoor activities*. When we were in New Zealand one of my colleagues said he was told that the three R's were Racing, Rugby and (W)Restling. Possibly they are all pleasurable activities. But it is a very serious matter if sports of that kind constitute the main interest of a nation or even of a considerable section of a nation. The Roman Empire fell, it is said, because the mass of its people had their main interest centred in public doles and games. I have played games all my life. I play tennis still—like the King of Sweden; but it is a sad thing when interests of that sort occupy not the subsidiary place but the main place in the life of a people. However, there are other places in the world which have a climate not inferior to the climate of Australia, yet the people in those places have library services which are extensive in their operations and widely used. California, for example, has an admirable system of county libraries. The city of Los Angeles, which has about the same population as Sydney, has 48 libraries. Are Australians less intelligent than the

inhabitants of California, or is California hopelessly extravagant in spending so much money in the provision of libraries?

I have also heard it said that Australia is a new country, and as such does not need libraries so much as older countries do. The metaphor of age as applied to countries is extraordinarily misleading. A new country may have all the vices of weakness and senility, and an old country may be more active and virile in what is called its old age than it was in its youth. I think it is arguable that a new country needs the provision of libraries even more than a country the institutions of which are well established, and in which the lines of progress are fairly well marked out. Australia, it is said, is isolated, and away from the turmoil of Europe, and so has less need to trouble itself about the world and its affairs. In Sydney I was on one occasion driven by a Russian taxi-driver who said that he found enormous pleasure in the peace and security of Australia after the trouble which he had experienced in his own country. Even after three weeks in Australia, I have felt something of this peace and security, and I find myself less troubled about what is happening in Spain and China than I should be if I were reading *The Times* at Home. How far that sense of peace and security is justified I do not know. Since coming to Australia I have made the acquaintance of that most attractive and delightful animal, the koala bear. I am not going to institute any comparison between the koala bear and any particular statesman, or between the koala bear and the ordinary inhabitant of Australia; but I remember sometimes, in thinking of the history of the koala bear, that he lived and multiplied for centuries untroubled and undisturbed by any enemy, and then suddenly came the white man, who had to try to satisfy the white woman's insatiable desire to decorate her person with the skins of these lovely animals, with the result that the koala bear was almost exterminated. No doubt the koala bear believed that its peace and security would remain for ever. I am not like the fat boy in *Pickwick* who remarked, 'I wants to

make your flesh creep.' But I seriously wonder whether the peace and security of Australia can remain as they are now, and whether its failure to be impressed by the distresses of other countries is well founded. Isolation in itself does not give security. In certain eventualities I can imagine the isolation of Australia from Great Britain becoming its greatest danger. I wonder sometimes whether the absence of library provision in Australia, and whether the absence of conviction in regard to the power of the written word is not adversely affecting Australia.

At any rate, Australia⁶ has a vast amount of leeway to make up in regard to library provision. I have no doubt that the leeway will be made up, because there are signs of activity on all hands, and once the supplying of libraries begins on any effective scale, the demand will follow. I had evidence of that when I was looking at the records of the winter distribution scheme in New South Wales. It is quite obvious that a large number of people living in rural areas are anxious to take advantage of the services which the public library provides, or ought to provide. In making suggestions, one is always in difficulty, coming from England, but I believe that in this matter of libraries England has set an example to the rest of the world. America led the way in the provision of libraries, and her greatest libraries are perhaps superior to individual libraries in other places, but England has produced in the last 25 years a national library system which, I believe, is almost unrivalled. That this could have been done with such speed will, I hope, give confidence to a country like Australia, that has a great deal to do in this regard in the next 20 years.

Less than 90 years ago there was only one public library in England, and the number of books for every 100 inhabitants was estimated at 50. These books were mainly in Mechanics Institutes. Mechanics Institutes, however, tended to produce libraries which were more or less stagnant. The corresponding figure for Switzerland was 350 books for every 100 inhabitants, and in the German States

450. It was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that there was a move on any considerable scale to promote the provision of libraries. In 1849 a committee, known as the Ewart Committee, made certain valuable recommendations that foreshadowed the developments of the next few years. There was considerable opposition to the proposals of that committee when they were embodied in a Bill which was brought before Parliament. Some of the objections are worth referring to. One man said that he did not like reading and hated it at Oxford. Another said that the provision of libraries was likely to promote unhealthy agitation. Still another said the provision of libraries might make the ratepayers read the *Liberal* newspapers. Such objections might still be heard in countries other than England. John Bright, replying to that sort of objection, said that he was quite sure that nothing could tend more to the preservation of order than the diffusion of the greatest amount of intelligence and the prevalence of the most complete and open discussion among classes.

About 30 years ago, Mr. Andrew Carnegie stepped into the library arena, and his gifts did a great deal to promote the provision of libraries in England. I think it is interesting to recall the story that Mr. Carnegie himself told with regard to his interest in libraries. He said that when he was a poor working boy, he was befriended by a rich man in the neighbourhood, who offered him the use of his private library. He derived such an immense advantage from the use of the library that, when he himself became so wealthy, he decided that one of the best ways in which he could distribute his wealth was by providing libraries. He was no mere idealist. He was a practical man with sound practical sense and his views were well considered. He said, 'I choose free libraries as the best agencies for improving the masses of the people, because they give nothing for nothing. They only help those who help themselves. They never pauperise. They reach the aspiring and open to these the chief treasures of the world—those stored-up in books.' As a result of these activities, England, by

1910, had 427 public libraries, mainly in towns. Manchester, which has about two-thirds the population of Sydney, now has 25 libraries and spends twice as much on libraries as Australia does. That fact should be remembered. The minimum sum regarded as reasonable to spend on libraries in towns is 1/- or 1/6 per head. Sydney spends 2d. per head.

In 1915, at the request of the Carnegie Trust, the Warden of All Souls, Professor Adams, produced a very interesting report. Very briefly the recommendations in that report were as follows: That books are most important to children; that the real needs of the rural population have never been properly considered, that only about 2.5 per cent. of these inhabitants of the British Isles had reasonable access to libraries; that the provision and education of trained staff were of the utmost importance; and that, in order to provide libraries in the most economic and effective way, there must be co-operation between library and library. By 1935 over 99 per cent. of the population of the British Isles was in reasonable proximity to libraries. That was largely due to the passing in 1919 of the Act which created the county council an authority for library purposes. In 1935 the stock in the county libraries was 5,500,000 books, and in the urban libraries 18,500,000, giving a total of 24,000,000 books. The issues from county libraries were 47,500,000, and from urban libraries 143,000,000, giving a total of 190,500,000. The borrowers from county libraries were 2,000,000, and from urban libraries 4,500,000, giving a total of 6,500,000, or 12.9 per 100 of the population. That, to my mind, may be regarded as a reasonably successful accomplishment; but it is really amazing when you consider the speed with which it has been accomplished. More than that, there has been created in England a national system of library co-operation which, I think, is of the greatest importance and the greatest value. We have now a National Central Library at the head of the system. It has a Royal Charter, and its new building was opened by King George V in 1933. It has associated with it 454 other

libraries including, in addition to the urban and county libraries, university libraries and technical libraries representing our chief industries. It does not issue fiction. It issues no book that costs less than 8/-. The average price of the books issued is 19/7. Its purpose is not to replace the ordinary library, but to supplement the provision made by the public libraries in the counties and towns.

The whole of England has been divided into nine regional bureaux, and each of the libraries in these nine areas is associated at a common centre. These nine regional bureaux act in co-operation with one another. The National Central Library has a union catalogue which, when finished, will be a complete record of the literary wealth of the country. How does this work in practice? Take a resident in a village in my own county of Kent as an example. There are two vans, each containing about 2,000 volumes, which go from village to village three or four times a year. In addition to the provision of books by means of the van, any individual may apply at any time for any book which he wants. If it is in the county library he gets it himself. If it is not in the county library, an immediate application is made to the regional bureau. If it is in any of the forty or fifty libraries in that area, it is at once supplied. If it is not in the regional library, application is made for it to the National Central Library, and it is supplied from there. It is purchased if necessary. If it is not in the country it can still be obtained from abroad, for the international exchange of books is now a considerable undertaking. Such international exchange of books does much to increase friendly understanding among the nations. In that connection, let me say that I think it is iniquitous that a tariff of any kind should operate in order to obstruct the free passage of knowledge and of books between one country and another.

I remember two remarks made by the late King George. One of these was made at the opening of the National Central Library's new building, on which occasion his Majesty said, 'These buildings constitute a National Univer-

sity which all may attend and none need ever leave.' On another occasion he said, 'Open libraries are as necessary to the health of the mind as open spaces are to the health of the body.'

There is one objection which is often raised when we argue in favour of a large provision of books. It is frequently said that most people read trashy novels. Novels which other people read are always trashy. On this objection let me say that I think it is a very foolish criticism. People forget that novels are a necessary recreation. They are light reading and are read quickly. Naturally, more novels are read than serious books. At the same time, it is a great mistake to dismiss the novel as unworthy in comparison with more serious literature. After all, many writers who formerly would have expressed their views on life through the medium of the essay or some philosophical work express them nowadays through the medium of novels. At its best, the novel ranks with the poem, the essay, and the drama, as the highest form of imaginative writing. The case in favour of the novel has been put by George Meredith better than by anyone else of whom I know. He said, 'Light literature is the garden and the orchard, the fountain, the rainbow, the far view—the view within as well as without. Our blood runs through it, our history in the quick. The Philistine deserts it because he has no view out or in. The dry confess that they are cut off from the living tree, peeled and sapless, when they condemn it. The vulgar demand to have their pleasures in their own likeness—and let them swamp their troughs! They shall not degrade the fame of noble fiction. We are the choice public who will have good writing for light literature. Poet, novelist, essayist and dramatist shall be ranked honourable in my Republic. I am none of these, but a man of law, a student of the sciences, a politician on the road to government and statecraft: and yet, I say, I have learned as much from light literature as from heavy—as much, that is, from the pictures of our human blood in motion as from the clever assortment of our forefatherly

heap of bones. Shun those who cry out against fiction and have no taste for elegant writing. Not to have a sympathy with the playful mind is not to have a mind. It is a test. But name the books.'

In concluding my address, I shall make two references from Adams' *The Epic of America*. I shall take the great liberty of making these two passages applicable to Australia, not as Australia is to-day, but as Australia will be—as I believe—before many years have passed. In speaking of the National Library—the National Library, shall we say, at Canberra—with its 1,000,000 and more books—the observer says, 'As one looks down on the general reading room, which alone contains ten thousand volumes, which may be read without even the asking, one sees the seats filled with silent readers, old and young, rich and poor, black and white, the executive and the labourer, the general and the private, the noted scholar and the schoolboy, all reading at their own library provided by their own democracy. It has always seemed to me to be a perfect working out in a concrete example of the democratic dream—the means provided by the accumulated resources of the people themselves, a public intelligent enough to use them, and men of high distinction, themselves a part of the great democracy, devoting themselves to the good of the whole, uncloistered.' He goes on to paint a picture of a young immigrant sitting on the steps, say, of the City Public Library, where the treasures of the whole of human thought have been opened to her, and she writes, 'This is my latest home, and it invites me to a glad, new life. The endless ages have indeed throbbled through my blood, but a new rhythm dances in my veins. My spirit is not tied to the monumental past, any more than my feet were bound to my grandfather's house below the hill. The past was only my cradle, and now it cannot hold me because I am grown too big; just as the little house in Polotzk, once my home, has now become a toy of memory, as I move about at will in the wide spaces of this splendid palace whose shadow covers acres. No! It is not I that belong to the past, but the past that belongs to

me. Australia is the youngest of the nations and inherits all that went before in history. And I am the youngest of Australia's children, and into my hands is given all her priceless heritage, to the last white star espied through the telescope, to the last great thought of the philosopher. Mine is the whole majestic past, and mine is the shining future.'

SECTION X
THE UNIVERSITY

PROBLEMS OF THE MODERN UNIVERSITY

I. L. KANDEL

THE place and problems of the university in modern society can best be understood in the light of higher education. The one principle which emerges throughout this history is that the university flourished when it dealt with those questions and issues which were of paramount interest to the society of its day. The notion that is put forward to-day with the air of a new discovery—that the university must serve the public good—is as old as the university itself. However informal and unorganized it may have been, higher education emerged in the last decades of Athens' greatness; the Sophists, as much as Plato and Aristotle, who decried them, were concerned to impart a knowledge of the best that had been thought in order to serve the practical demands and the intellectual curiosity which were stimulated by the immediate problems of their day. The university was in and of its day, and whatever interested a free citizen was worthy of study. The university declined when, as in Athens and Alexandria, it devoted itself to the minutiae of research which, as Petronius was to say later, made fools of men, since they dealt with things which were rarely discovered in the market-place, but constituted the central pre-occupation of the schools. And it was the same practice that Seneca attacked when he insisted that education must be for life and not for the school. Just as soon as a body of knowledge is developed and becomes crystallized into the only content to be studied, an educational institution becomes sterile and loses its perspective. Its claim to existence is then based upon the pleas that its function is to hand on knowledge or to perpetuate scholarship or to train the mind—witness the vitality of the early mediæval community established to train men for public service in Church and State and concerned with the vital problems of their day, and their rapid decline as soon as a definite routine limited to exposition and exegesis of Aris-

total and St. Thomas was established—witness the conflict between the obscure men and the humanists, the conflict between mediæval philosophy and the vitalizing forces of the Renaissance, between the universities and those who had caught a vision of the new. Not only at this time, but later as fresh imaginations caught the vision of the sciences re-making the world, the university withdrew into the cloistered walls of its ivory tower and either ignored or refused to recognize a changing world. But the forces of this changing world were too strong for the university and new institutions—scientific and other academies—were established in which curious men and cynics could study the new world and promote and cultivate an understanding of it. So new universities were established in revolt against the stereotyped and obscurantist routine of the academic teachers. It was out of a revolt such as this that the first modern universities of Halle and Göttingen were created to expand the bounds of study and scholarship into new fields.

Oxford was not the only university which became the home of lost causes and outworn and outmoded ideas. And both Oxford and Cambridge fell into a torpor in the eighteenth century from which, except for a few individuals, they were not awakened until after the middle of the nineteenth century. With few exceptions again, the great names in the history of philosophy and science were those of men who achieved greatness not because of, but despite, the type of university that they attended. And yet, even before the reconstruction of these universities, the University of London had been established to re-define the scope and purposes of higher education, continuing the best in the academic tradition and pointing the way to new directions. It is too early, perhaps, to estimate the influence of the provincial universities of England, located in urban centres and more responsive than the old to the stirrings of a new world.

In the meantime the ideal of the modern university was re-defined by the founding of the University of Berlin to

train the leaders for the professions of public life to help in recreating the fortunes of a State almost destroyed by Napoleon. Here again, there was present a clear and definite recognition of the relation between higher education and social needs. The University of Berlin, building on the traditions already established by the Universities of Halle and Göttingen, was founded not only to train men for the everyday work of society, but as an institution in which scholars might be free and untrammelled not merely to transmit but to advance the bounds of knowledge. Academic freedom was the gift which Germany conferred on higher education; the same country has recently seen fit to destroy this ideal and to put the universities into chains of bondage to the state on the pleas that 'absolute academic freedom is absolute nonsense,' and that the function of higher education is to serve the state in accordance with its own preconceived needs. This means the death-knell of the German universities, and their place in the world of scholarship and research.

Important, however, as the ideal of academic freedom was for the German universities and, through them, for the rest of the world, there was a tendency on the part of these universities, as the nineteenth century brought new demands in its train, to draw a line of demarcation between the academic and the practical, between the development of knowledge and its practical application, between pure research and applied science. A dual system of higher education thus emerged—the universities for training in and for the advancement of scholarship, and special institutions for the applied fields in technical, commercial, agricultural and other sciences. And even in Law, secondary school teaching and other professions, practical training was superimposed upon a university education and conducted under different agencies. This trend to separate the functions of higher education into the academic and practical was followed in France, and, until recently, by Oxford and Cambridge. The provincial universities of England, partly because of their origin in some cases as technical institutions, and partly

because of a certain recognition of their obligations to the communities in which they arose, drew no such distinction, but either expanded into new fields or incorporated medical schools, law schools and technical colleges. Nor does there prevail, with few notable exceptions, such a distinction in the American colleges and universities—the academic institutions have expanded into the technical and applied fields of preparation, and those institutions which were established as agricultural and mechanical arts colleges have become complete universities.

This constitutional separation between the functions of higher education—to promote research and to implement its practical applications—was not the only symptom of the nineteenth century trend towards specialization. There was another and more serious tendency which developed with increasing intensity toward the end of this century and affected both secondary and higher education. For nearly two thousand years the world of scholarship was founded on a common education, resulting in a common language of discourse. Whatever the differences due to national characteristics may have been, secondary education provided this common language of discourse through a thorough foundation in the classics. The emergence of new interests and new demands, accompanied by increasing enrolments in the secondary schools, led to increasing differentiation of curricula which, however justifiable on psychological and other grounds, did tend to break down the common foundation upon which higher education was built. The common foundation disappeared in the last decade of the nineteenth century, and was replaced in Germany by three different routes to the university and higher technical school; by two, then three, in France; by a variety of subject combinations in England, and in the United States by graduation from high school, often with English as the sole required subject for entrance to college.

No one, whatever his faith in a classical education may be, would to-day advocate its restoration as the sole requirement for admission to higher education. And yet some-

thing seems to have been lost with the disappearance of a common language of discourse and understanding, whether at the secondary or higher level of education. Proposals to correct this deficiency have been made frequently in the last two decades. In Germany a group of scholars recommended the introduction of a year of pre-university study following the secondary school, in which the dangers of specialization would be counteracted by a common philosophical synthesis which would bring the differentiated disciplines together into a common core of understanding and co-ordination. A similar proposal was made by M. Paul Lapié, Rector of the University of Paris, shortly before his death, despite the existence in the secondary schools of courses in philosophy as the culmination of the different disciplines leading up to the baccalaureat. More recently still, a strong appeal to the British universities was made by Sir Ernest Simon, the founder and chairman of the Association for Education in Citizenship, for the introduction of some form of integrating study through training in the social sciences as the basis of that common understanding which is essential to citizens in a free society. And in the United States the same tendency to disintegration and individualization of studies, which had its origin in the elective system, is being counteracted by the introduction of common courses of integration or synthesis in contemporary civilization, the sciences and the humanities.

If this tendency means anything, it points to the recognition that the modern university has a responsibility for general education in the sense that every student must at some point in his education be brought to a realization of the bearing of his own special field of study, whether it be education, medicine, law or engineering, on the social and intellectual life of his day. Education suffered untold harm from the distinction which arose more or less accidentally during the Renaissance period between the humanities and sciences. No such distinction should any longer be tolerated, for everything that pertains to man—and that covers every form of intellectual activity—is humanistic. It means, fur-

ther, that a student who fails to understand the relationship of his chosen field of study to the general interests of his day has received only a partial education. And to carry the argument one stage further, it becomes clear that the modern university is not performing its proper educational function unless it digs its roots deep into contemporary life. It is in this sense that the function of the university is not merely to transmit and perpetuate knowledge and culture, but to recreate culture in accordance with changing civilization. Those who glibly quote Matthew Arnold's definition of culture as a knowledge of the best that has been said and thought in the past fail to continue with the rest of the definition—that the will of God may prevail—which has a practical, social implication, however one may interpret the theological reference.

It may, of course, be objected that it should be the function of secondary education to provide such generalizations or integration of culture. In a sense such an objection is valid up to a point. And yet with immature youth knowledge comes, but wisdom lingers; it is at the level of higher education that the initiation into wisdom might well be made a serious task. The danger that confronts mankind to-day comes not from the expansion of education, but from specialization in some narrow corner. The specialist faces the world to-day like the blind man the elephant, and fails to see life steadily and see it whole. Admittedly, the range of disciplines and the breadth of each discipline to be covered is growing at a rapidly increasing rate. It is for this reason that the necessity of integration, of a general conspectus becomes all the more urgent. The expansion of knowledge has been accompanied by intense specialization which, however desirable it may be, has brought with it a menace to society which no one has better described than Ortega y Gasset, in his *Revolt of the Masses*. "The most immediate result of this *unbalanced* specialization has been that to-day, when there are more "scientists" than ever, there are many fewer "cultured" men than, for example, about 1750. And the worst of it is that with these turnspits of science not even the progress of science itself is assured. For science needs,

from time to time, as a necessary regulator of its own advance, a labour of reconstitution, and, as I have said, this demands an effort towards unification, which grows more and more difficult, involving, as it does, ever vaster regions of the world of knowledge.' If the danger of specialization is genuine, then the distinction upon which universities have prided themselves between the academic and vocational or professional, between pure science and applied science, between the speculative and the practical, must break down, and the two aspects of intellectual training must be conducted side by side, invigorating and vitalizing each other. Up to a certain point Abraham Flexner was justified in his strictures on the American colleges and universities for dignifying as worthy of advanced study so many fields which are matters of routine and common sense. On the other hand the question may well be raised whether the study of city-planning, economic organization and modes of everyday living in Egypt, Athens or Rome can be considered worthy of academic study, while research into similar problems in our day should be left outside the scope of a university curriculum. Can a case be made out as Flexner seems to attempt to do, for the thesis that aspects of life in the past are the proper sphere of academic and scholarly research, while the study of the same subjects which are pressing for solution at the present time should be relegated to technical or other institutions? If such a case can be made out, then the logical conclusion would be that the modern university must restrict itself to preoccupation with inert ideas, without the invigorating and vitalizing influences that come from the testing of theory by practice and subjecting practice to inspection in the light of theory. From another point of view the question arises whether meanings can be derived in any other way than by application. Can a university be content with speculation about the possibility of achievement and ignore the test by actuality of achievement? Obviously, to answer this in the affirmative would lead to an education in a vacuum. 'Celibacy,' in the words of Professor Whitehead, 'does not suit a university.'

It may not be irrelevant in this connection to quote a

more sympathetic interpretation of the American university than that presented by Flexner. J. A. Spender, in his book, *Through English Eyes*, justifies, in the following statement, the very aspects of American higher education which Flexner decries: 'The English academic who has been brought up on Newman's *Idea of a University* feels a certain dreariness of spirit, as Matthew Arnold used to say, when he sees the great University of Harvard launching out into an immense and imposing Business faculty. And he laughs sarcastically when he learns that certain American universities of the modern type give degrees and diplomas in horticulture, domestic science, salesmanship, drug-store management, etc. The Englishman, nevertheless, is wrong. This is the natural way in which a new and developing country breaks into education. In such a country the higher education will remain in the air—the privilege of a few favourites of fortune—if it is zealously guarded as the region of a few select studies. A new American university regards it as its first task to go out into the highways and hedges and compel them to come in. In this initial stage its feast must be spread to tempt the appetite, and it follows the universal habit in this business country of discovering what the public wants and giving it without stint or shame. Very unlike Oxford and Cambridge, no doubt, but it is absurd to compare this breaking of ground in a new country with the traditional life of those ancient institutions. Even they are finding that they have to compromise with new ways, and a new country inevitably starts with them.'

A statement such as this is suggestive even though it cannot be completely endorsed. It simply means that the modern university should be useful to the individual and to the community. The history of higher education at its best supports this thesis, but much will turn on the interpretation of the term useful. If mere utility is to be understood in the sense of training for the immediately practical or profitable, then the divorce between the academic and purely vocational may well be retained. The present urge on the part of youth toward a modernism which looks not only

to the immediate but even to the future, and which considers any ideas or ideals derived from the past experience of the race as outworn, outmoded and impractical, is an urge for immediate ready-made recipes for the solution of all the problems of life. But there is another concept of intellectual utility which was already defined by Newman as 'not useful in any low, mechanical, mercantile sense, but as diffusing good, or as a blessing, or a gift, or power, or a treasure, first to the owner, then through him to the world.'

From this point of view it will be generally admitted that the first function of a university is to put the student in the way of acquiring the knowledge and mastery of his own field of study. But it must go beyond this function and train the student not merely in the amassing of knowledge, but in understanding its practical suggestiveness for life, as Professor Whitehead puts it, and in appreciating the directions in which further advancement is needed. In a stimulating article on the future of Harvard University, Professor Whitehead defines the function of a university as the transmission of orthodox knowledge, but with suggestiveness for reinterpretation of ideas and recasting fundamental notions in the light of changing conditions of life. In other words, the University must deal with knowledge which is established and with opinion which demands discussion, investigation and testing.

There lies in this division between knowledge and opinion an important suggestion for methods of instruction, which raises the question of the relationship of instructor and student. In a brilliant essay on higher education, 'Procrustes,' in the *To-day and To-morrow* series, Alderton Pink's chief criticism is that university professors have forgotten that printing has been invented, and that they devote too much of their time to mere repetition of what students should be able to find in books. From this point of view the centre of any modern university should be the library; it is in the main through books that orthodox knowledge can be acquired. It is the other aspect of higher education—the interpretation of that knowledge which is established,

the increase of suggestiveness, the appreciation of the unexplored—that should be the chief concern of the instructor in his classroom. It may at once be admitted that the numbers that can profit from such initiation into the knowledge of scholarship and its advancement is small, and yet this is the most important function that the university can perform and its chief obligation to society. Nor does this mean a return to the ivory tower, for if Whitehead's plea for suggestiveness is sound, it means that the life of the community must flow through the university, and from the university back to the community; it is not enough for the university to concern itself with speculation alone, but theory must be tested by practice. The action of suggestiveness of knowledge upon learning thus becomes circular.

The modern world is increasingly beginning to rely upon the guidance of the expert, but still looks with suspicion upon him as a theorist unfamiliar with the practical demands of modern life. Hence the constant gibes not only in the United States but elsewhere against 'brain trusts'—a scepticism which the universities of the nineteenth century helped to develop. This scepticism can be overcome only as the university emerges from its cloistered shelter, and this it can do not only by providing both theoretical and practical training which will enrich each other, but by using the environment in which it is situated as its laboratory. In this way the university may become the link between the past and the present and contribute to progress in the future. The recognition of practical obligations to society will implement another function which, in a sense, is paramount. It may help to stem the tide in human affairs which seems to be moving in the direction of irrationalism and may, through association with the practical, lead to a realization that man in action is not swayed by reason and intelligence alone.

The modern university may also profit from a warning which comes from the European universities. While it has the duty of training for everyday life, it must take into consideration not only the numbers who may reasonably

profit from such training, but also the power of society to absorb the product. While the English-speaking countries have, on the whole, not yet developed that type of education for status—although a President of the Board of Education drew attention recently to the ‘innate snobbery of the secondary school and university’—which has worked havoc in European countries, there is in a sense a menace to society not in the expansion of educational opportunities but in the production of an intellectual proletariat. The problem is, indeed, not new; it was recognized three hundred years ago by Richard Mulcaster and Francis Bacon. The university must play its part in the proper distribution of education and see to it that those who can contribute most are given the most. It may be that the world is passing through a transition period and that the over-production of intellectuals and professionals is a temporary phenomenon. Nevertheless, it is the task of the university to find new social uses for the trained expert or new channels of usefulness. From this point of view the inference again is that the university must be in and of its community. So that the modern university is in a sense a world institution in so far as one of its concerns is the advancement of scholarship; but if the thesis of this paper is sound, it is also a national and a local institution adapted to the advancement of local and national welfare. The brain trust which has become a popular gibe can only become a reality for public progress as the university concerns itself as much with the academic as with the practical.

And this brings me to a consideration of another function of the modern university—the popularization of knowledge. The gibe against the brain trust is based not only on the repute of the university man as unpractical, it carries with it also a feeling that he snobbishly refrains from contact with the practical and material. An English headmaster of the nineteenth century, when asked what the use of Latin was, thanked God that it had no use; many a professor even to-day would take pride in the same fact. And yet, unless the university wishes to develop or continue the

cleavage between the educated and the uneducated, between the intellectual and the non-intellectual, it must play its part in the diffusion at any rate of orthodox knowledge, in popularizing its discoveries, and in carrying the conviction that the sciences that are its domain are directed ultimately to bringing practical benefits to mankind. The university, in other words, should be not an institution existing in isolation, but the apex of an educational system. To put it on a material basis alone, the university will be many times repaid if it takes its public into partnership and demonstrates that it does not stand aloof from but is a part, and an important part, of the human affairs and concerns around it. It may, in this way, help to overcome the intellectual narrowness and myopia which come from immersion in routine and disseminate not merely instruction but a feeling for a liberal education which is the foundation for intelligent citizenship in a free society. But if it is to carry out its proper function in modern society and be dedicated to the transmission of knowledge and the promotion of scholarship, and the advancement through these of public welfare, the public must have sufficient confidence in it to give it the support which it needs and desires. That public which starves its university for funds is depriving itself of the only sources of those contributions which will enhance and enrich not only its intellectual life and standards, but its material and economic prosperity. It is too frequently thought that the American universities are richly endowed because the country is wealthy; it is too often forgotten that the wealth of the country is, in large measure, due to the contributions that the universities have made to progress through ideas and through men and women trained to put them into practice in all the varied ramifications that to-day make up the activities of a modern society. To withhold from the modern university the funds that will enable it to have an adequate equipment of buildings and men—and more of men than of buildings—is to deprive society of those potentialities for the advancement of human welfare which can only be realized by a rich flow of men and women adequately trained and equipped for life by the modern university.

PROBLEMS FACING UNIVERSITIES IN A YOUNG COUNTRY

(With special reference to South Africa)

E. G. MALHERBE

General Historical Factors

PIONEER countries like South Africa and Australia are faced with two sets of conditions which, in a very profound way, determine the patterns on which they build their educational institutions. These conditions gave rise to two kinds of problems:

(a) *Economic*: The first task which confronted the early settlers was to break in a new country and to wrest a living from the land. Nearly all their energies were absorbed in overcoming physical obstacles and in opening up a vast continent.

(b) *Cultural*: The second task was to maintain cultural standards and to combat the disintegrating forces of geographic isolation. Not only was the whole country separated by thousands of miles of ocean from the main sources of culture in Europe, but within the vast country itself the pioneer population was thinly scattered and divided into small groups isolated from one another.

Undoubtedly preoccupation with economic survival often prevented people in those days from realizing the importance of giving attention to matters of the spirit. Even to-day one finds a singular indifference amongst captains of industry to the support of education. They are so busy making a living that they do not think of those things which go to make the good life.

On the whole, however, the early settlers of both Australia and South Africa, though by no means highly educated people themselves, had come from countries where people valued education and where there was a desire to maintain cultural traditions. They had, therefore, a natural urge to see that their children did not grow up as illiterates.

In South Africa this urge was particularly strong because the original settlers (the Dutch and the Huguenots) were, almost without exception, ardent Protestants—according to whose faith one had to learn to read and write in order to save one's immortal soul. And from the earliest days the people placed great store by education. To-day the state spends about £9½ million on the education of approximately two million white people in South Africa. Australia spends about the same amount on the education of about 6½ million white people. This amount constitutes nearly 25 per cent. of our national income on education, compared with 6 per cent. in Australia. The state in South Africa spends annually £21 per pupil, compared with £11 in Australia on primary and secondary education. Presently I shall give you some figures on university education. I quote these figures to show that the South African people believe in education, and are willing to pay for it.

Let me give a brief historical introduction to show what steps South Africa took to solve its cultural problems and what effects these attempts had on the nature and growth of higher education in South Africa.

The first institution for higher education at the Cape dates from 1829. Young men, however, who wished to qualify for the higher professions, had to proceed overseas. In 1858 a *Board of Examiners* was set up in the Colony. The Board was empowered to grant 'certificates of merit and attainment in Literature and Science, 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.' The Board was, further, to award certificates in Literature and Science, 'the qualifications for which shall correspond, as far as the circumstances of the colony will permit, to the qualifications required for degrees in the faculties of arts granted by the universities of the United Kingdom.' In 1873 this Board of Examiners was superseded by the *University of the Cape of Good Hope*. This was purely an examining body, and was modelled on the University of

London. Colleges and schools submitted students for external examinations conducted by this body. Examiners had to know nothing of the students except their powers of assimilation. The University of the Cape of Good Hope conducted also the Matriculation and the 'School Higher' (later called the Junior Certificate) examinations. There was great competition between schools and colleges for 'results.' The examination craze got hold of the public as well as the schools. And soon the effect of its deadening grip was felt on the whole school system from the college to the kindergarten. Each institution, from the lowest to the highest, strained every effort in the race for 'results,' on which the prestige of the school depended.

In 1883 Mr. Donald Ross, chief inspector of schools in Scotland, was invited by the Colonial Government to report on the school system of the Cape Colony. The thing that seemed to strike him most was the dominating influence which examinations had in South Africa, and when he wrote his report (which was probably the best Blue Book ever written on education in South Africa), he made the following significant observations: 'To prepare highly educated students is more important than to impress the stamp upon those who are taught. To teach well is infinitely more important than to examine.'

In 1902 P. A. Barnett, Superintendent of Education in Natal, and an educationalist of some standing, observed that South Africa was probably 'the most exam.-ridden country in the world.' Educators were, therefore, not blind to the shortcomings of examinations in South Africa.

Still, it is interesting to reflect that this examination worship had its origin in the very laudable motive mentioned above, viz., in *the desire to maintain cultural standards*. There was little that people in the colonies feared more than that it be said that their certificates and examinations were not at least equal to the standard of those in the home country. We notice this in the regulation for the old Board of Examiners quoted above. The requirements had to 'correspond as far as circumstances of the colony will admit

to those in the United Kingdom.' One sees evidence of this same fear even to-day in the practice which obtains in New Zealand, where university students still sit for examinations which are conducted by examiners in Great Britain—as if New Zealand university professors are not themselves capable of examining and certifying their own students!

The Evolution of University Institutions in South Africa

The evolution of university institutions in South Africa has been determined by two main factors:

- (a) distance;
- (b) insistence on cultural distinctiveness of the two language groups which constitute the South African nation.

Cecil Rhodes had, as early as 1891, dreamt of a great national university which he would establish at Capetown. 'Nothing,' he said, 'will overcome the associations and aspirations students will form under the shadow of Table Mountain.'

There were, however, obstacles. Firstly, of a geographic nature: Capetown was situated in one remote corner and was not central enough to serve the whole sub-continent. Moreover, the Eastern province was not likely to close down the educational institutions it had gradually built up amongst population groups living about 600 miles from Capetown. Secondly, of a cultural nature: Dutch (i.e., Afrikaans) speaking South Africans felt they had a vested interest in Stellenbosch and did not wish to see themselves swamped by merging with Capetown, which was predominantly English. Still, Rhodes did not give up the idea and was willing to put as much money into it as would be necessary for him to realize that ideal. In 1896, however, the Jameson Raid occurred, which proved a great setback for Rhodes and his ideals in South Africa. In 1902 Rhodes died and the money that was to have gone into the establishment of the national university at Capetown was diverted into the Rhodes Scholarship Fund, which now serves the students of many countries.

In 1910, with the formation of Union, the universities came under the control of the newly formed Union Education Department, while primary and secondary education remained with the provincial administrations. Then it became possible for the first time to view the whole university question from a national point of view within one political unit. People felt that the old university of Cape of Good Hope had already outlived its usefulness. Moreover, the colleges were chafing under the dominance which this body exercised over them through the *external examinations*. They wanted to become independent *teaching* universities. Several Commissions went into this whole question of reconstruction, and a number of 'solutions' of the so-called 'university question' were put up. One scheme proposed the establishment of two federal universities: one in the north and one in the south. But there was disagreement regarding the allocation of certain bequests (viz., the Beit Wernher), and, besides, the larger institutions wanted to stand on their own feet and be independent of the dominance of an external, examining (federal) body.

The other scheme proposed giving independent university status to the largest of the then existing colleges and uniting the remaining small institutions into one federal body, to be called the University of South Africa. This scheme formed the basis of the reorganization which came into force in 1918. It was considered to be the best compromise under the circumstances. It recognized the two factors mentioned above, viz., (a) distance, and (b) cultural distinctiveness. The result is to-day the following distribution of university institutions over the Union: There are in the south two universities, English and Afrikaans respectively, next door to each other. Similarly in the north, 1,000 miles away, we have two universities, English and Afrikaans respectively. Then there are, besides these, five small constituent colleges dotted around the Union. This situation must (in the light of the smallness of our population), to an outsider, seem an expensive if not absurd duplication of institutions, but in the light of the country's

cultural and political history was inevitable. I give the institutions with the student enrolment for 1936 in parentheses after each name. The independent teaching universities are: In the south: Capetown (1,956), a dominantly English-medium institution, and, 30 miles away, Stellenbosch (1,206), a dominantly Afrikaans-medium institution. In the north: Witwatersrand (Johannesburg) (2,132), a dominantly English-medium institution, and, 35 miles away, Pretoria (1,088), a dominantly Afrikaans-medium institution. Coming to the constituent colleges of the federal universities of South Africa, we find a similar parallel set of institutions, divided on language lines. First, there are the Natal University College (714), English-medium, and Potchefstroom University College (331), Afrikaans-medium. Next we have Rhodes University College (491) at Grahamstown, serving the dominantly English-speaking Eastern Province, and the University College of the O.F.S. (348) at Bloemfontein, serving the dominantly Afrikaans-speaking O.F.S. Lastly, there is the small Huguenot College (92) at Wellington, 40 miles from Capetown, which has really no claim for existence, except the fact that it is the only women's college in the country. However, nearly 30 times as many women attend the other institutions, which are all co-educational.

Under a slightly different administration, we have also the Native College at Fort Hare, with 165 students. These sit for their examinations under the examining University of South Africa. Ten obtained their Bachelor's degree last year. The state pays 70 per cent. of the cost of maintaining this college.

In order to explain the language situation in South Africa, it may perhaps be mentioned, by the way, that the Afrikaans-language represents a simplified (philologically) development of the Dutch of Holland. Its spelling is practically phonetic. During the last 50 years it has developed a literature of considerable merit, and it is the medium of instruction through which the majority (nearly 60 per cent.) of the children in South Africa is taught. Though it

is used as a medium from the kindergarten to the highest classes in the university, there is still a scarcity of good text-books in the natural and social sciences for the use of students. As all read English and many read German text-books, this is not as great a handicap as might be thought.

The following are some of the problems which face universities in young countries, and South Africa in particular. They are problems which centre around:

1. Administration and finance.
2. Entrance requirements and the relationship between secondary and tertiary (university) education.
3. The organization of degree-courses.
4. The function of the university in respect of general and professional training in a pioneer country.

The Problems of Administration and Finance

Though in South Africa the universities are state-aided, they are more or less self-governing bodies.

The chief executive officer is generally styled Principal (or, in the Afrikaans universities, *Rektor*). That is what in Australia would be called Vice-Chancellor. In South Africa the offices of Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor are purely honorary. The *Council*, which consists of representatives of the Government, of Convocation and of local bodies, e.g., municipality or city council, exercises control over general policy and finance. The *Senate*, which consists of the professors and representatives of the other teaching staff, deals with the academic aspect of the university's work, e.g., the organization of courses, examinations and the conferring of degrees. This corresponds to what is called the Professorial Board in Australia.

The control of the state is chiefly, and almost solely, in respect of finance. The way in which universities are subsidized in South Africa may be of interest to you. In Australia, from what I have heard and read about your university at Melbourne, you do not seem to receive over-generous support from the state.

Right in the early days in South Africa, before the new university system had come into being, the colonial governments simply allocated grants in respect of the salaries of certain professors. Under the new university régime of 1918, the evolution of state aid passed through the following steps or stages:

(a) First there was what may be called the *period of probation*. Government grants were paid in aid of specific items of expenditure which were carefully scrutinized by the Minister of Education. Each university received grants according to its needs—the Minister of Education being the judge. For about seven years the universities were thus kept in financial leading strings.

(b) The second period may be called the *coming of age* period. Where the grants were previously made on the basis of expenditure they were now based on revenue: £3 for every £1 raised in fees; £2 for every £1 for revenue from other sources. The total grant was, however, not to exceed a certain limit, and, in the case of certain items, not more than 7-10ths of the expenditure. The latter provision sometimes led to unnecessary expenditure in order to get the full benefit of the 7-10ths grant. There was, during this period, considerable duplication of chairs.

(c) Then came the depression, and the next period we may call the *period of curtailment* (1933-1934). For example, the government grant, which was £386,500 in 1930, was reduced to £301,000 in 1932. During this period a new principle was applied—the so-called 50 per cent. provision, according to which an institution had to submit its estimates of expenditure to the Minister for approval when the government grant constituted more than 50 per cent. of the total expenditure. If a greater proportion of the funds was supplied by the institution itself, the finances of the institution were not subject to budgetary control of the state. In the case of certain institutions, e.g., Capetown and Witwatersrand, the state grant constituted only about 40 per cent., whereas in the case of Pretoria and Bloemfontein it was as much as 60 per cent. This disparity

led the Secretary for Education, in his 1933^{*} annual report, to envisage the evolution of two types of university institutions, such as are found, e.g., in the U.S.A.: the one type gravitating towards the private or independent university type, of which Harvard, Yale and Columbia are examples, and the other type gravitating towards the state university type, of which Ohio and California are examples.

(d) *Stabilization Period (1934-37)*: As times improved, the universities felt that this arrangement was not satisfactory, because it did not give them a stable basis on which to plan development ahead over a period of years. In 1933, therefore, a commission was appointed 'To enquire into, report upon, and make recommendations regarding the provision of state subsidies to universities, university colleges, with a view to devising, if possible, a system of subsidy under which, while state control of public expenditure would be duly safeguarded, such institutions might count on a greater degree of stability in the development of their educational policy over a number of years.'

The Committee set itself to devise a formula which would furnish an objective for institutional effort. State aid would be proportional to self-help. It seemed to the committee that a university institution was a cultural and an economic asset, and therefore had a strong claim for support on the community it served.

It was decided to recommend that *independent revenue should be the measure of the state subsidy*, as had been, to some extent, the case in the second half of the decade 1920-30. It was felt that the time had come to define the effect of the different kinds of independent revenue on the subsidy more precisely. These were fee-income, other normal recurrent revenue, non-recurrent revenue and interest on endowments.

(i) *Fee-income* is the most important factor and no serious objection can be raised to it. It is a direct measure of the services an institution is rendering. The Committee thought that universities and colleges had reached such a stage of development that one state pound for every local pound should be adequate.

(ii) *Other Normal Recurrent Revenue* means annual subscriptions or donations from local bodies, such as municipal and divisional councils, churches, and chambers of commerce, as well as from individuals. The aim should be to make the basis of independent financial support as broad and stable as possible. The municipal councils of Capetown, Johannesburg, and Durban, for example, are liberal supporters of their university institutions. To weight this factor, therefore, the Committee recommended that, for every pound of such recurrent revenue up to £5,000, the Government contribution should be fixed at £2, and £1 for £1 above £5,000 up to a limit of £15,000. Under this proposal an institution which has a large urban and industrial constituency is, of course, in a favourable position.

(iii) *Other Non-recurrent Revenue*: The Committee had here in mind revenue raised by special effort from time to time, and recommend £1 for £1 up to a limit of £10,000, provided that any single gift of £500 or more must be regarded as an endowment on which only the interest would count for subsidy as in (iv).

(iv) As a fourth and new factor, the Committee recommended that interest on endowment should carry a subsidy of £1 for £1 up to a limit of £15,000. Endowment is the most stable form of support, and smaller endowments might be more frequent if the benefactor knew that the interest on his gift would be doubled.

In order to give the universities adequate time to prepare for the application of this formula, it was decided to fix the state subsidies to the universities for the three financial years 1934-35, 1935-36, and 1936-37 and to review the position in the light of this formula in 1936. When the time came, it was found very difficult to apply the formula strictly without severely crippling the development of those institutions whose independent revenue did not come up to expectations. At the present time, while the formula is used as a rough basis, it is applied at the discretion of the Minister of Education.

(e) *Present Formula of State Grants to Universities*

The formula on which the grants to universities are now

paid out has been laid down by the Minister as follows for 1938:

Fee Income—(a) £2 grant for every £1 up to the first £2,000 raised in fees; (b) £1 for every £1 up to £46,000; (c) 10/- for every £1 raised thereafter in fees.

Other Normal Recurrent Revenue—(a) £2 for every £1 for the first £2,000; (b) £1 for every £1 up to £6,000; (c) 10/- for every £1 thereafter.

Non-Recurrent Revenue—£1 for every £1.

Endowments—£1 for every £1 up to the first £10,000; 10/- for every £1 thereafter.

Certain of the poorer institutions are receiving the same amounts as before, even though those amounts are more than they would get if the above formula were strictly applied. Under this arrangement, however, no single institution is to receive more than £100,000.

The Government grant for 1938 will be about £390,000 to all university institutions.

In view of the fact that it was at the request of the University authorities here at Melbourne that this series of lectures on university problems is being given and because I gather from Mr. Hart's *University Reform and Finance*, which makes a plea for greater public support of this university, that finance is your most pressing problem, it may be of interest to give the following figures concerning universities in South Africa. Moreover, comparison is made possible by the fact that the population of Victoria is just about the same as the white population of the Union of South Africa in respect of which the following amounts (in round figures) are spent on education (1936 figures).

TABLE I
State Contribution in Respect of Education

	Total.		Per head of population.	
	All Education.	Univ.	All Education.	Univ.
South Africa . .	£9,000,000	£359,000	£4 10 0	£0 3 6
Victoria . .	£2,750,000	£50,000	£1 10 0	£0 0 6

TABLE II

Analysis of University Income in South Africa according to Source (1936)

State Grants	£359,260	43.8
Donations and Subscriptions	80,296	9.8
Students Fees	287,936	35.1
Interest and other Revenue (e.g., from hostels)	92,300	11.3
	£819,792	100.0

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TABLE III

Number of Students at University (1936)

	South Africa.	Victoria.
Full-time	6,642	1,879
Part-time	1,716	1,873
Total	8,358*	3,752†

TABLE IV

Full-time Staff (1936)

	Victoria (University of Melbourne).	All South African Universities.	University of Capetown only.
No. of Students	3,752	8,358	1,956
Professors	26	227	47
Associate Professors	10		
Senior Lecturers	27	143	35
Lecturers	21	116	34
Demonstrators, tutors and others	31	98	59
Total	115	574	175

*These do not include the 1,819 external students examined by the universities of South Africa.

†Exclusive of 270 students not enrolled for lectures but examined by the University.

The following are some of the general conclusions which might be drawn from the above tables:

1. *The white population of South Africa sends more than twice as many students to university as the State of Victoria.* The fact that South Africa has, besides its nearly two million whites, a large black population ($6\frac{1}{2}$ millions), to which is relegated a considerable amount of the (menial) types of work usually performed by the lower strata of Victoria's white population, probably is a factor in this disparity.

2. South Africa spends *in toto* more than *four* times as much as Victoria on university education, and the support from public (i.e., state) funds is about *seven* times as great.

3. The university teaching staff in South Africa is five times as big.

The extra cost and the extra staff can partly be accounted for by the geographic and cultural factors mentioned above. In the case of South Africa, university education is spread over nine institutions, while in Victoria it is centred in one only. The high cost is partly the price we pay for our desire to recognize those factors.

Let us, therefore, compare, as regards staff and income, the University of Melbourne with only *one* South African university, viz., the University of Capetown, which, while the oldest, is not the largest in South Africa. The staff comparison is made in Table IV, where it will be seen that Capetown employs a staff of 175 to teach 1,956 students, whereas Melbourne employs 115 to teach 3,752 students. The state grant in the former case is £91,800, and in the latter £50,000. The total expenditure of Capetown is £221,000, while that of Melbourne is £237,000 for 1936.

The reason for the big difference between public support of universities in South Africa and in Victoria seems to lie in the attitude of the public regarding its obligations to a university. Not only does the State in Victoria contribute only 1-7th of the amount which the state in South Africa grants to its universities, but what is strangest of all to me as a visitor is that your local community, the city of

Melbourne (one of the finest cities I have visited), contributes hardly anything to this important institution situated right in its very midst.

I have not the slightest doubt that both state and local forms of university support are justified and necessary.

In the first place the state's obligation is obvious in a young country with a relatively small population spread over a vast area where the university serves the whole population and not merely the community in which it is situated.

Then, too, the service it renders is not confined to those who go to the University, but is one in which *all* members of the State share to a lesser or greater degree. In discussing the function of the University below, we shall elaborate this point to show to what extent the university plays a definite rôle, e.g., in promoting the economic welfare of the nation by not only training the future experts in agriculture, mining and other industrial activities and commerce, but also in constituting a kind of reserve bank in which the accumulated culture of the people is held in safe keeping. In this respect the function of a university is threefold: (a) the conservation of knowledge; (b) the dissemination of knowledge, and (c) the discovery of new knowledge, i.e., research. The university is perhaps more than any other educational agency the best influence to compensate a young country for the cultural deficiencies of the environment due to isolation. In a young country, therefore, like Australia, the obligation of the State to support its university is an inescapable one.

Coming, in the second place, to the obligation of the local community, an even more direct case can be made out. Not only would it be a good financial investment from a business point of view for a municipality to boost its local university, but parents living in the city have a tremendous advantage over those in the outlying districts because their children can enjoy a university education while living at home, whereas the rural areas have to pay heavily for board in order to enable their children to go on to higher education. In South Africa, which is sparsely populated, I found that 64 per cent. of our students are from these outlying districts. They

have to leave home and pay for board while attending university. In order, therefore, to equalize somewhat the burdens of rural and urban parents in this respect, we pay about £34,000 p.a. in bursaries and £90,000 in loans to university students. While this equalization of educational opportunity is a justification of state support, it throws into relief the tremendous advantage to the inhabitants of the city of Melbourne in having a university institution on their doorstep, as it were—a benefit which normally brings with it a definite obligation.

The Problems of Entrance Requirements

Here we have to do with the problem of the relationship between secondary and tertiary education. The university takes the product of the secondary school. Consequently the latter try to cater for the former. This brings about what is known in our country as the matriculation dominance of the schools. While only about three out of every 100 who start school ever go to university, the curriculum requirements of this small minority dominates the whole secondary school curriculum. This is particularly the case in South Africa, where the large majority of pupils attend the small rural high schools which, owing to their small size, can offer courses in only a very restricted number of subjects, and these (lest the local parson's or doctor's son be penalized) are limited to those academic courses which are required for university entrance. This is the *determination of distance* which operates with such dire consequences on all those living outside big urban centres. In the cities there is a *choice of school* which makes the choice of subjects (from the big list of 37 in the syllabus) a reality for the urban child and an impossibility for all those who cannot pay to attend school away from their homes.

But, leaving this problem, which is a very big one and which really concerns the secondary school more than the university, let us turn to the question whether or not the matriculation examination is really a satisfactory entrance to the university. Is it the only satisfactory prognosis of

university success? The experiment which your university initiated some years ago by admitting students from the so-called class A schools on the headmaster's certificate and exempting them from the matriculation examination is a most valuable contribution to this problem. In fact, I regard it as the outstanding contribution made by any university in the British Empire towards solving the examination tangle at the high school level. I understand that your results thus far would justify the conclusion that the standard of university work (as judged by the percentage of failures in degree courses) has in no way been lowered by this innovation.

Recently I made a rather extensive investigation in South Africa on the question of the effect of entrance age on university success. I followed the university careers (involving also extra-curricular activities) of 8,000 students who entered South African universities during the last six years. The median entrance age of our students is 18·3 years. Apart from the main conclusions: (1) that the younger entrants were, on the whole, much more successful, not because they were young, but because they were also clever, and (2) that if one kept intelligence constant, entrance age had no correlation whatever with university success—I found accidentally that 47 per cent. of the matriculants who enter university failed in at least one subject during their first year. This does not say much for the efficacy of matriculation as an entrance examination in the sense of being in any way a reliable prognosis of university success. I am sure that a headmaster's certificate based upon the student's school record could not be worse. In fact, merely taking the rough and ready criterion that a student had passed through his high school career without repeating a standard affords a much more reliable prognosis than the matriculation examination which, in addition to being ineffective, is also expensive.

The fact that for matriculation a pass of 33 1-3 per cent. minimum in each of a certain combination of subjects is demanded makes it possible for a student with a third-

class mentality to scrape through and qualify for entrance to university. Personally, I would, as a university teacher, rather teach a student with a first-class aggregate in matriculation, but with a failure in one or even two subjects, than one who had passed in all, but with a third-class aggregate. It is not so much the combination of subjects taken for matriculation as a first-class intellect that the university needs more than anything else. The only content requirement that I personally would insist on for a university student at entrance, together with a good brain, is the ability to write his mother-tongue with force and precision and to choose books intelligently and read them avidly. If the high schools can succeed in achieving nothing else but this, they have done well by the university. But I am afraid this is heresy, and I had better drop the matter here.

The Organization of Degree Courses

The next problem concerns the organization of degree courses.

In South African universities the Bachelor's degree in Arts is awarded after three years' successful university study. The Master's course usually comprises four years. Degrees for the doctorate are mostly in the nature of research degrees awarded to bachelors (sometimes masters) of four years' standing, who have done some post-graduate work (two years) at the university and have presented a satisfactory thesis. The course for a degree in Medicine (M.B., CH.B.) is six years from matriculation, in Law (LL.B.) and Veterinary Science (B.V.SC.) five years; for Agriculture (B.SC. AGRIC.), Engineering (B.SC.ENG.), Music and Fine Art (B.MUS.) generally four years. In 1936, 1,200 Bachelor's degrees were awarded, of which 731 were in Pure Science and Arts. The others were in some form of applied or professional study. 167 received master's degrees, and 31 doctorates. 360 diplomas (most of which are post-graduate) were also awarded.

The universities differ as to the organization of the courses for the bachelor's degree. For example, at Cape-

town nine, at Stellenbosch ten, and at the other universities eleven qualifying courses are required to be completed during the three years. At Capetown three of these subjects must be continued for two years. This makes the curriculum rather thin. Recently the option was introduced that students might carry one subject on to a three-year basis. There are a large number of electives, but a student is compelled to take at least one course from each of the following groups: I. Latin or Greek or French or German; II. Economics or History or Social Anthropology or Ethics; III. Mathematics or Psychology or a Science subject. Then students are further limited by the prescription of ancillary first courses before they can proceed to courses on a second-year basis, e.g., they must have Latin I before they can go on to English II, or they must have Mathematics I before they can double in Science. There is divergence between the universities in their demands in this matter of ancillary courses. These differences are too complicated to describe here. Stellenbosch requires that two courses should be taken on a three-year basis. In the first year students usually take five, in the second three, and in the third two courses. The other universities spread *their work out in more or less similar fashion.*

In this respect the new university system differs radically from that which obtained before 1918 under the old examining University of the Cape of Good Hope. There one had to study for the B.A. degree five subjects for the three years, at the end of which an examination was taken which measured the student's proficiency in all five subjects. The present system undoubtedly affords greater concentration on one or two subjects than was possible before, and has much to commend it. This system runs the courses in tandem, whilst the old system ran them abreast, so to speak. The weakness, however, it seems to me, of the tandem system is that a student finishes his examination requirements on a piecemeal basis, and on the completion of each little piece the student receives a licence to forget. He has completed it and he is finished with it. This system is very common

in a number of universities in America, where the completion of a multiplicity of so-called units constitutes the requirement for a degree.

An interesting principle in the psychology of learning, Jost's Law, is involved here. It may be paraphrased as follows: If an equal amount of attention is devoted to each of a different number of subjects, then that subject with which a student has been in touch longest will be the one he will remember longest. For example, a subject studied by a student for one hour a week for three years will remain with him longer in after life than a subject studied for three hours a week for only one year, other things being equal.

Then there is another point of criticism. Students are supposed to take (and actually do take) a number of courses for one year only, and then they drop them—the idea being that they are broadened culturally by making a nodding acquaintance with a variety of subjects. Thus a student takes, for example, a one-year course in Zoology or Botany or Geology in order to get some scientific outlook upon life. Or he takes a course in first-year French or German in order to get an insight into the noble cultures of France and Germany, and then these courses are dropped. The fact of the matter is that these laudable objects are very rarely attained. The real objective for the student is to get through these courses merely to pile up the credits required for his degree. The weakness of the whole system lies in the fact that these first-year courses are not given with these objects in view. They are given merely as an introduction to the second and third-year courses, as if every student in the first year is going to remain in that class for two or three years. For those who take it only for one year it is a disconnected fragment of a big picture which they never see whole, instead of a beautiful miniature which can be appreciated and loved as a clear-cut unity whether the student stops there or not.

It is the old fallacy of confusing the logical with the psychological concept in learning. For example, take a first-year course as it is often given in any one of the three

sciences mentioned above. There are many professors who believe that they lay a sound foundation, e.g., in Botany or Zoology, by starting their first-year students on classification and keeping them almost entirely on this abstruse aspect with only a little illustrative material thrown in. There these youngsters break their heads over the most complicated terminology until, at the end of the year, many of them have learnt just enough of this dry-as-dust business called Science to be thoroughly sick of it. When they drop the subject they have achieved probably as little appreciation of the fascinating wonders of nature, or have had roused in them as little enthusiasm for the real scientific spirit which actuated the great workers in science, as would have been the case had they studied Latin grammar, which is also a triumph in logical classification. I do not deny that for the few who do continue beyond the first year there is some benefit reaped (by the law of increasing returns) out of that first year's grind. It is only after the second or third year that this work begins to have real significance and value for them.

The practical upshot of this is that the first-year course, whether it be in natural science or in the humanities, should be so organized that it constitutes a rounded-off whole; so that it is worth while also for the students who do not go any further. As they are the large majority, their interests should have preference. Surely every university subject has within its compass sufficient things of vital interest to build up a course which will be neither trivial nor superficial, but sufficiently close to the life and interests of the student to kindle enthusiasm rather than distaste. I have in mind the kind of course a D'Arcy Thompson or a Julian Huxley would give in Science to a group of young people from 18 to 19 years old. It is essential that only the ablest men in the university should give this first-year course. So much depends on first impressions.

There is another problem which pertains to the organization of the curriculum. If true culture is the ability to see life connectedly and whole, the question arises, how is the university going to set about developing that true culture?

Is this to be achieved by the wide but somewhat superficial study of a large variety of subjects, or by going deeply into only a few? Against the latter alternative may be brought up the dangers which lie in over-specialization. We notice these particularly in the work students do for the professional degrees. Too often we find that students who receive degrees in engineering and in medicine are merely skilful barbarians. They have achieved hardly any appreciation of the humanities and of the cultural background of the civilization of which they are supposed to be the bearers in a dark continent. On the other hand, we have the practical difficulty mentioned above in connection with the former alternative. Students are faced with such a variety of unrelated subjects that they lose the wood for the trees. Moreover, the advocates of this alternative hold that, if one studies one subject, e.g., Science, deeply enough, one does eventually reach the common roots of all sciences, and in this way one learns to appreciate their inter relation and achieves that unified view of life which is the mark of a truly educated man. The organization of studies is, however, a very difficult problem, to which I confess I do not see an adequate solution.

The problem is by no means made easier by the increased demands of the market-place made on the university to meet the professional and vocational needs of our society. To this point I shall return presently.

The Aims and Functions of the University in a Young Country

From the above account it will have become clear how the character of a country's universities is determined by the economic, social, cultural and political condition of the community which they attempt to serve. To a large extent that element of universality which characterized the universities during the centuries when Latin was learning's *lingua franca* has been lost, and accounts of universities in different countries to-day read much like a series of essays on national psychologies.¹

1. E.g., *The University in a Changing World: A Symposium*. Edited by Kotschnig & Prys. Oxford, 1932.

Still, I find it difficult to give a satisfactory answer to the question of aim in respect of my own country. What is the distinctive intention or *entelechy* (as Aristotle would have put it) of the South African university? The answer is difficult for two reasons. In the first place, on account of the diversity or rather dualism to be found in our South African university institutions, what is the avowed aim of the one may be discredited by the other. In the second place, South African universities have had such a short existence. They date from 1873, when the Cape of Good Hope University was founded. As independent teaching institutions they are hardly 20 years old. Therefore, they can hardly be expected to have developed in such a short time a tradition of their own. Nevertheless, we wish by way of conclusion to indicate the main functions of the South African university, if it is possible for a moment to speak of such a diversity of institutions in the singular.

First let us state the aim of the university in general. I cannot define it better than Prof. Barker has done:

The aim of a university is, in the first place, to give the highest and final stage of general education to undergraduate students between the age of 18 and that of 22, partly with a view to preparing them for a specific profession or calling (such as that of engineering or, again, of medicine), but partly, and still more, with a view to preparing them for doing work of a better quality, in virtue of the better training they have received, in any profession or calling which they may subsequently enter. A university fulfils this first aim, not only through the intellectual equipment which it provides, but also through the moral quality of the common life which its existence brings into play—a common life of residence, issuing in various forms of spontaneous social activity which serves as a discipline and a stimulus to all upon whom it acts

The second aim of a university is to promote and conduct research in the humanities and the various branches of science, partly through its professors and lecturers, and partly through the graduate students whom it attracts; and this with a view both to increasing the sum of human knowledge and to deepening the current of human thought, so that a university may thus serve the national community in which it is set (and as far as possible the world at large) as a leader and guide in the fields of theology and philosophy, letters and history, politics and economics, science (both pure and applied), and the other interests and activities of the human mind.²

² Article on "Universities in Great Britain" contributed to *The University in Changing World*, Oxford, 1932.

Now coming to the South African university in particular, we may find a hint as to its specific purpose in the injunction of Cecil Rhodes, who has done so much to promote university education, both at home and abroad. On the pedestal of his statue at Capetown, where he points with his hand to the north, stands inscribed: 'There lies your hinterland.' Now, if white South Africa is to take upon its shoulders the responsibility of civilizing the vast sub-continent of Africa—the continent of the future, considering its vast untapped human and material resources—then the implications of this injunction for university education in South Africa are threefold.

1. *The Idea of General Education*: In the first place, we, as the bearers of the torch of Western civilization kindled for us by the Greeks, must keep that light undimmed—even in the face of isolating distance and of being surrounded by overwhelming numbers of black people just emerging from primitive barbarism. The liberation of the human spirit (i.e., the Greek ideal of education) will be achieved in the face of such odds only by the insistence on a high level of general education, in order that, as Barker put it, we may, in whatever calling or profession we subsequently enter, do work of a better quality in virtue of that general preparation. Moreover, the process of admission to the university ought to be for South Africa *a fortiori* a process which ensures *la carrière ouverte aux talents* wheresoever talents are to be found, because we cannot afford waste of this precious commodity.

I have calculated that of every 100 children who start school at one time or other, about eight pass matriculation, or its equivalent, and three go to the university. Moreover, South Africa has 3·3 full-time university students in attendance for every 1,000 of its European population. These figures are high when compared with England and the other Dominions. And rightly so. Yet we must do more, not only by way of increasing the enrolment of our universities, but also by keeping the above-mentioned Grecian ideal steadily before us and raising our standards of higher educa-

tion—because in too many cases do we find that so-called university work is merely a continuation of high school and taught in the same spirit.

2. *The Duty of Professional Training*: In the second place, if Africa is to be opened up, as it is very rapidly being opened to-day, it is the duty of the universities of South Africa in the first instance to provide the professional men (the engineers, the doctors, the teachers and administrators) to do that opening up. Too often do we hear the cry that the professions are being overstocked and that the universities must call a halt. Yes, let them raise their standards high, by all means. But the only investigation that has been made as to the placement of university trained men in South Africa has shown that this cry is unfounded. Now, if we pay heed to Rhodes' injunction and keep all Africa in mind, it is doubtful whether our universities will easily reach the limit of over-production.

To train for professions is, therefore, a definite function of the South African university. In a pioneer country it cannot escape the obligation to train also for the practical needs of the country. As Mr. Frank Tate said about Australian universities a few years ago: 'The university cannot take up the attitude that it is something apart from the general life of study and research "in a nook merely monastic," without thought of ministering to the needs or of solving the problems of mankind.'

If I may be permitted to turn round the words of Prof. Barker when he quoted Goethe in some other connection, I would put the position of the South African university in this way. Goethe said that 'a talent builds itself in stillness.' But he also said that a character builds itself in the stream of the world. This applies also to the character of a university. Academic 'stillness' is beautiful; but academic anaemia is dangerous.

The University, recruiting from every possible quarter and drawing from the whole community, furnishes in turn to the community the trained men and women who are likely to serve it best—the political leaders and the civil servants, the members of the great professions, and particularly of the great profession of teaching, the men who direct

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commerce and industry, or provide them both with that managerial and technical skill which, with the increasing complexity of the economic world, they increasingly require for their service.'

This, of course, is the direction in which nearly all the younger universities in England and the Dominions are moving *volens volens*. There is, on the other hand, also the danger that, under pressure of professional and industrial demands, they may be so obsessed by technical zeal and by that attitude of mind which stands for immediate values and quick returns that they are swept out of their true courses which must, above all, keep in view long-time values. Therefore, while meeting the inevitable demands of the professions, the universities should at the same time strain every nerve to inculcate in every student disinterested intellectual habits as well as professional knowledge and skill. Care must be taken that utility does not dominate the whole stage. For, even in the interest of the professions, it is essential that the professional faculties, especially medicine, law and education, should live in an atmosphere of research.

3. Research: This brings us to my last point, the provision for research. This function of the university has probably been the most neglected one in South Africa. In competition with the above-mentioned two functions, research has been forced to take a back seat. It is a common phenomenon that a staff which is over-burdened with teaching and examining has little time or inclination to carry on research work worthy of the name. There are other reasons, too:

(a) The spreading out of our resources in the effort to make provision for half a dozen ill-equipped laboratories in small institutions, instead of concentrating our resources in order to equip one or two first-rate ones, has hindered research, particularly in the natural sciences.

(b) Research in the humanities, as well as in the sciences, has been handicapped by the fact that our libraries are on the whole poorly equipped. There has been a great dearth particularly in serial literature. Recently there has been progress in one or two directions; for example, Stellenbosch University has acquired a good collection of serial literature in psychology. It is significant that in the case of the two largest universities, Capetown and Witwatersrand, the libraries have been the last buildings to be provided. One would have imagined that the library

would have been one of the first buildings which a university, when starting, would put up. An unconscionable time is wasted by students, at some of our institutions, because they have no adequate library accommodation where there is a quiet nook to work in or browse about during their off periods between lectures.

(c) The absence of large foundations which promote research by generous financial grants, e.g., like the Rockefeller and Carnegie Foundations in U.S.A., is another reason why young countries like South Africa and Australia have not been able to develop research on the scale they would have liked to do.

In South Africa the Carnegie Corporation of New York has, through its generous grants, given a great impetus to research in general and particularly in the field of social and racial problems. It was through their financial assistance that an elaborate survey was conducted of the "Poor White" Problem in South Africa. The universities, the Union Education Department and the Dutch Reformed Church collaborated in this investigation, which lasted from 1929-1932 inclusive.

The fact that in recent years a number of university men have been called in to serve on Government commissions, e.g., in connection with the Native Question, the Gold Standard Problem, and the World Economic Conference, is significant of the increasing rôle which the universities are playing in the political and economic life of our country. This is all to the good, because it brings the universities into organic relation with economic and social welfare, and it widens and liberalizes the conception of culture.

Recently attempts have been made in South Africa to co-ordinate research, and link it up in a direct way with the universities (a) by reconstituting the Research Grant Board and placing it under the Union Education Department which controls universities, and (b) by establishing (in 1929) the National Bureau of Educational and Social Research, also under the Union Education Department.

Conclusion: Some Special Problems for Research

If we apply Rhodes' injunction to this research function of the university, we find an indication of the specific contribution which the South African university can make in this respect. If I look towards our hinterland in the north I find two fields of research in which South Africa can make a contribution which may be described as almost unique

and the significance of which transcends national boundaries.

In the first place, if that hinterland, with the many pests and plagues lurking in its swamps and bush, is to be made habitable by a European civilization, we have to look to medical research for help. As a matter of fact, it is in this respect that the South African Institute for Medical Research (which works in close association with the Medical School of the University of Witwatersrand) and the Research Laboratory in Veterinary Science at Onderstepoort (which works in association with the University of Pretoria) have already made scientific contributions which have more than national significance. I have in mind the research work which has been carried on in connection with the spread and prevention of malaria, bilharziasis and other parasitic diseases which attack man and his cattle. Then, too, South African research is leading the world in connection with the silicosis of gold mining. The annual expenditure in connection with the South African Institute for Medical Research alone was over £56,000 in 1931.

There is another respect in which, through research, the South African university has an opportunity of making a world contribution. That is through, social research on the effects of the contact between an advanced European culture and a series of primitive native cultures. This situation presents fields of study to the sociologist, anthropologist, psychologist, economist and biologist.

It often strikes scientists from overseas that it is strange that South African universities have availed themselves so little of the wonderful opportunities which this almost unique laboratory of race-contact affords to the social scientist. Some beginnings have already been made at each of the four teaching universities, with the study of African life and languages, or Bantu studies, as it is sometimes called. In connection with this must be mentioned the practical pioneer work which is being done by the South African Institute of Race Relations in conjunction with the University of Witwatersrand. Nevertheless, there is a vast unexplored field beckoning the research worker.

The effect of a large native population on the development of university education among Europeans is indirect and perhaps to some extent unconscious; but it has nevertheless been real, and it is a factor which will increase in importance as the years go by. In every way it strengthens the argument for a liberal provision of facilities. First, in the interests of the Europeans themselves, for it is evident that, in the long run, European civilization and culture can retain its supremacy only if its exponents maintain it at a high level, and to do this they will need the advantages of university training. There will eventually be only one aristocracy, that of intellect. And, secondly, in the interests of the natives themselves, for universities are organs of humanism which will look beyond and behind boundaries of race, culture and colour. It is in them that one may expect to find the tolerance and large-mindedness which the solution of the great native question calls for.

PROBLEMS OF THE MODERN UNIVERSITY (SYNOPSIS)

PIERRE BOVET

I PROPOSE to ask myself in this lecture whether the principles of the New Education Fellowship have something to teach us on the university level concerning the aims and methods of university teaching. In my remarks you must remember that I am speaking of the Continental universities, and not the English universities. There is a great difference between them which may be summed up in the statement that while an English university corresponds to a boarding school, the Continental corresponds to a day school.

While I have always considered it the duty of the educationalist to concern himself with mental, physical and moral education, I am restricting these observations to *intellectual teaching*, through which, however, we can train students to recognize fairness and moral right and integrity of character.

What are the aims of intellectual education in the Continental universities, and what are the means used? We must keep in mind that education is not merely imparting knowledge or mental skills. The aim is a broadening of horizons, not only in schools but in universities. We endeavour to bring the child into contact with new interests and so broaden his life.

First of all, knowledge committed to memory can only be imparted *individually*. Again, knowledge is acquired by different people in very different ways, for capacities differ. When it comes to actual learning we must leave students to themselves, and this is practically what is done in our universities. We find that students do not attend lectures, but study books by themselves because they feel, rightly, that this is a better method. The atmosphere of a liberal education is ruined if lectures are compulsory.

The acquiring of skills is a different matter. They¹ can be acquired only by practice. The lecture is a very poor method of imparting skills such as diagnosis or the translation of one tongue to another. These must be practised, and time should be set apart for exercises. Science gives far more time to the imparting of skills than law or letters, and in many faculties the teaching is not organized so that the student can acquire the skills necessary for a full knowledge and understanding of his subject.

The lecture is still the most prevalent method of teaching, but it should be more a method of stimulating interest than of imparting knowledge. The lecturer must interest the student by showing him that he himself is interested in the subject he is presenting. The function of the lecture is to show interest and passion so that the student, realizing that the lecturer is interested, will himself be enthused and read his subject. We are teaching as though printing had never been discovered. It is better for the student to read his subject from a good text-book than to hear a lecture, but he will not read unless he is first interested by the lecture.

What is the principle or basic idea of the new education? It can be defined as development of individual personality to the fullest possible, in order that he may serve the community well. Great men are intent on the development of personality on the one hand, and service to the community to the other. Do these ideas comply with university teaching as we have it now? The old conception of the child was that it was a receptive being, but the new conception recognizes that the child is an active being who learns best by doing. To a certain extent the active methods have already been introduced into the kindergarten, and it is to the kindergarten that the university administrators must go to learn.

The most important part of the teaching in each faculty should be the use of the library. At Geneva two hours a week are devoted to teaching students how to use their library. There are three types of books commonly connected with a university subject: compulsory books; résumé

and reference books; and monographs and serial literature—and the student must be taught the use of each type and how to distinguish them. It must also be remembered that there are different types of readers. For instance, there is a type which prefers books that state a principle first and then deduce theories from the principle, and another which likes books that give examples of some phenomena and deduce principles from these examples. The faculty must see that the book is suited to the reader.

It is very important that students should have some research in which they are particularly interested. It is amazing what a student will learn when doing research on a subject in which he is very interested.

It is important to show the pupil that the knowledge being imparted has a purpose. Every lesson should be an answer to a problem which has arisen, either spontaneously or by being set and arousing interest in the student's mind. University teaching should start from the interests of the student.

With reference to the question of doing, we can see the tremendous difference between such faculties as law and medicine. Nobody would dream of divorcing medical teaching from the hospital, for the teachers are physicians and surgeons from the hospitals, and the students see them in action and themselves take part in practical hospital work. Yet a student can become a Bachelor of Laws without ever having entered a law court. Teachers refer to cases, but the student is never taken to the court to see it in practice. Again, in many faculties students never make contact with people interested in the course they are doing. In psychology, if the pupil is given the actual figures relating to some problem, his interest will be greatly increased, for he sees the value of the work and makes acquaintance with the actual problems he will have to meet. At Geneva students are allowed to take part in the work of the vocational guidance bureau. I introduced this method into my own faculty by taking letters of inquiry to lectures and asking students how they would deal with them, what

books they would advise, etc. This gives the student a sense of the social importance of his study.

The university should give vocational guidance to all its students much more than it does at present. Students should be analysed by a test exam. at entrance to the university, and at all parts of their course advisers should be on hand to advise them as to the choice of their studies.

The new education is not new. It is through all the history of education. Whenever a new impetus has been given to academic life it has been by revealing some application of the principles of the New Education Fellowship. In Paris in the fifteenth century a very popular lecturer arose whose lectures were crowded every time he spoke. He had found a new method of teaching, that of making students find out things for themselves. Every time the university has come closer to its goal it has come closer to the principles of the new education. Each increase in the popularity of learning has been because some teacher had found a new method of stimulating the student.

PROBLEMS OF THE MODERN UNIVERSITY (SYNOPSIS)

F. HART

AMERICA has both state and private universities. Although some small institutions retain the traditional connection between the University and the Church, and although there are some large and important universities financed by endowments and private gifts, the biggest contribution to higher education in America has been made by the state.

Each state of the Union provides a free system of education, including, in nearly every case, a state-controlled, state-supported university. In some cases universities are specifically provided for in state constitutions by a mill tax, a fixed proportion of the state revenue. The state does not contribute to private universities, although sometimes the federal government makes a grant for a specific purpose, such as agricultural research.

The University of California is governed by a Board of Regents, of which there are 14 or 16, some appointed by the Governor of the state. As, however, each serves for 14 years, the turnover is slow and the Governor, knowing that he cannot gain control by making successive appointments of his own henchmen, appoints the highest minded and best qualified men he can obtain. The Board selects the President of the University, who corresponds to an Australian Vice-Chancellor and who, since the Board is a lay body, is the controlling head of the University. The President draws up the budget and submits it to the Board at regular intervals; he also has his Academic Senate of professors and associate professors, which is responsible for all internal administration and which has a large voice in affairs.

In the private universities there is a Non-Academic Board of Trustees, over which the state legislature has no control.

The only protection professors have against unjust treatment in such universities is that of the organization of university teachers, which investigates the circumstances of a professor's dismissal and makes public the facts. Protests against advanced opinions of professors are continually coming to the presidents of universities, but in most cases the president stands behind his professors, and generally the state universities are about as free as they could be.

The financial support of the state universities comes from the general funds of the state. The American view of education can be illustrated by a decision of the state Supreme Court of Kentucky, which held that, of all government functions, education had the first claim on the budget in priority even to defence. Starting at the age of six, a pupil passes through six years of elementary school, six years of high school, four of arts, and then to a doctorate of law or medicine, without a penny of expense except for upkeep. At school, books and stationery are free. Some slight agitation for fees during the depression came to nothing.

Free education, especially in the universities, raises tremendous problems. Enormous numbers attend the university: California has 25,000 (13,000 at Berkeley, and 9,000 at Los Angeles, not counting extension students).

A recent development in California has been the appearance of the junior colleges, institutions which teach the first two years of the university course. There are now 33 of these colleges in California, with 35,000 students. A very big proportion of American youth goes beyond the secondary education stage, especially since the depression.

To have 60,000 university students in the State of California (population six millions) has meant that the university has had to expand horizontally to accommodate the numbers, and the value of the junior colleges in this respect has now been recognized.

Australians have said that they cannot have universities as strong as the American institutions, because they have not got the tremendously rich men to endow them. That is a poor excuse. It is much better for an intelligent society

to collect its own taxes and apply the money to its social needs, according to its own wishes, not those of a private philanthropist.

In reply to questions, the lecturer explained that little individual attention could be given to students, classes being sometimes of over 1,000 pupils. Such classes are, however, sectioned into groups, each under a graduate section leader, who once or twice a week discusses problems with his section. The universities have no matriculation examination, but, in consultation with headmasters of the high schools, pupils are graded, and only those who reach a certain standard are admitted to the university. The state universities have to be open by law to all who come with the necessary qualification. The Alumni Associations are very powerful, and in the state universities can give a lot of support to the President or to the Governor of the state. The secretary of the California alumni association has an office at the university and a salary of 10,000 dollars a year. In the private universities the activities of alumni are more concerned with the prestige of the universities and the success of sporting teams. Besides the universities and the junior colleges, there are now seven teachers' colleges in California. There are no residential colleges in the Melbourne sense, residence being provided at fraternity and sorority houses, or, since the depression, in "co-operative houses," in each of which a number of students join to hire a cook and parcel out the housework. Five thousand students in California live in co-operative houses at an average cost of 17 dollars a month. In the depression there was a 20 per cent. decrease in the budget, salaries being cut accordingly, and the filling of positions which fell vacant from any cause being postponed. The faculty staff at Berkeley comprises 1,000 members, not counting section leaders.

EDUCATION AT THE UNIVERSITY LEVEL (SYNOPSIS)

WILLIAM BOYD

THE New Education movement has made little impression on the universities. They are conservative institutions, slow to respond to new ideas. The only exceptions in the matter of new education are the university schools of education which have always been under the influence of great educators like Rousseau and Pestalozzi, but the universities rarely pay much attention to their own experts in education.

But, whether they like it or not, the universities are going to be compelled to come into the movement. The dictators in Russia, Italy, and Germany are going to see to that. They challenge all the things for which the universities stand—and notably they deny the principle of independent disinterested thought. If the universities are true to themselves they can give only one response: "We must have freedom to do our proper work."

This immediately raises the question as to the proper work of the universities. In one respect they are obviously servants of the community. They have the important task of preparing the more intelligent young people for the professions, and, indeed, for all the essential concerns of the community. *This involves not only the imparting of technique, but the inculcation of the professional spirit and the desire to extend the bounds of knowledge and skill in the particular province of training.* But there is another function which takes them away beyond the practical understandings and makes it impossible for them to accept dictation from church or state. They are a republic of learning, committed to the task of seeking the truth without regard to practical interests, centres of new thought and life for the community. If this leads to views different from those commonly accepted they must follow the argument where-

ever it leads. Possibly, indeed, certainly, it will involve criticism of the ordinary practice. To be true to themselves they must be free to criticize, in the faith that truth lies ahead on a new track.

Universities carrying on their work in this spirit are essential for the maintenance of democracy. Democracy is based on the idea of progress through free thought, and the free university is its most precious expression. That being so, the community is under an obligation to see that the universities get an adequate chance to do their best work. This is specially necessary in a new country where the practical interests predominate and there is constant temptation to forget the ideals of civilized life. In their own interests democratic states must furnish their universities with ample resources so that they can have good staffs enjoying the leisure to influence their students individually and to advance learning in their own sphere. And, having provided the necessary equipment and secured the best men and women as professors, they must leave them free to carry on their work in their own way and to express themselves with perfect frankness even about their paymasters!

There is a reciprocal obligation. The universities have a special service to give to the democratic community. Inside the universities they must give the best kind of education it is in their power to impart. Often university teaching has been poor and uninspiring. As much as any teachers, university teachers need to get into the spirit of the new education and aim at creative teaching, which develops personality and far-reaching thought on the part of the learner. The specialist must realize the human implications of his special subject of study and teach with proper regard for its bearing on life. That will mean the development of better methods of teaching. The lecture method has outlived its usefulness. The time has come for a freer use of discussion so that every student may reach a point of view of his own, a philosophy of life as well as a system of knowledge.

The obligation of the university teacher is not confined,

however, to classroom tasks. It extends into the whole life of the people. The professor in any field must be a leader in that field: instructing the public so far as opportunity allows in his own special interests and giving what service he can as an educated man in various institutions. There is no better investment for a democracy than the money it spends on the development of a good university. The university is the power house of civilization.

THE PLACE OF GEOGRAPHY IN THE UNIVERSITY (SYNOPSIS)

F. DEBENHAM

LITTLE more than a century ago a university curriculum meant only two subjects, classics and mathematics, commonly taken together or one after the other. Now we have such a multiplicity of courses that university authorities have need to study well the merits of any new one which seeks entrance and official recognition. One by one such subjects as modern languages, science, medical science, history and economics have won their spurs and ranked themselves as almost essential alternatives or accessories to a liberal education. One of the most recent of these is geography. In England the beginning of university recognition dates no farther back than the eighties of last century, when Oxford and Cambridge, invited thereto by the Royal Geographical Society of London, instituted diplomas in the subject and formally appointed lecturers. To-day there is not a single university in Great Britain which does not include geography in its curriculum, while all the larger ones have honours schools in the subject, and all but one have created full chairs of geography. On the Continent and America, the position is similar in kind, if different in degree.

What are the characteristics of a subject worthy of inclusion in a university course? The answer is three-fold:

(i) It must have a cultural value, by which I mean it must be such that its study will help the student to develop his own philosophy of life.

(ii) It must exact a suitable standard of learning.

(iii) It must be useful. I do not mean useful in a vocational sense, but in a cultural sense. It must broaden the mind and lead to reading.

Geography, as I will try to show you later, possesses all these characteristics. We may claim, therefore, that geography has 'arrived.' Our task is to explain why it

has arrived, and what useful purpose it serves, *rather than* to plead for its extension or urge its inception.

It must be realized at the outset that while geography at universities does derive, in some sense, from the geography of schools, it is not merely an expansion of the memory test that school geography once consisted of, but is almost a new subject, with both a wider horizon and a different aim. Geography started in British universities in connection with history and political science. Now every university has a school or department of geography and, with the possible exception of Aberdeen, an honours course. All but Aberdeen and Glasgow have a chair of geography.

Geography is not quite the same thing in all the universities, but this should not worry us, for neither are such subjects as history or economics. In spite, however, of a varying emphasis on different aspects of the subject there is, by now, sufficient consensus of opinion on its scope to enable the many associations of geographers *now* in being to meet quite amicably. The days of discussion as to this definition may not be quite over, but such delimitation as may still have to be done is on matters of detail rather than of principle. This lack of complete unanimity is easily explained when one considers that the subject is as yet too young for the heads of departments of geography in the large universities to have been trained as geographers. They have naturally impressed on their various schools the emphasis consequent upon their own original subject. It is no surprise, for instance, to find that Manchester tends to stress the ethnographic side of geography since its eminent head, Professor H. J. Fleure, is a distinguished anthropologist. In the same way Liverpool, under the wise leadership of Professor Roxby, an Oxford classic, tends to emphasize the regional and sociological aspects of man and his environment. London and Aberdeen tend to the economic side, while Cambridge, under a succession of men trained as scientists, has perhaps paid more attention to the physical side. Lastly, Oxford, under the guidance of men like Sir Halford Mackinder and Professor Herbertson, set

perhaps the soundest example of all as far as a balanced schedule was concerned.

A good test of whether a subject is worthy of inclusion in a university curriculum is whether learned societies have taken up its study. As stated above, the Royal Geographical Society was responsible for the introduction of geography into Oxford and Cambridge. It is more concerned with exploration, but it has been helped by and has helped the universities. There are two other societies in England which concern themselves with geography. The Geographical Association has a membership of about 4,000 geography teachers. The Institute of British Geographers is an exclusive society with a membership of about 150 university lecturers in geography.

Should geography have a department, a faculty or a chair of its own, or should it be linked with some other subject or faculty? This is a matter for evolution in the university itself. Geography is best not linked to other subjects. It is a 'khaki' subject, not really a science or an arts subject, but a mixture of each. At Cambridge about 200 students take a three-year course, in the first year of which they do a general course, including a good deal of physical geography and a certain amount of practical work. The second year, called Part I, has six specialized departments: Physical, Economic, Historical, Political and Regional Geography and Acclimatology. The third year, Part II, is highly specialized and students do two only of three departments. During Part I, students present a thesis which is really a compilation and in no way research. It is better to have this in Part I, because if it is in their third year, students get the idea that they are doing research, while actually they are not. This is not the place to consider closely what is the precise scope of the subject, but it may be stated at once that geography, since it deals both with the earth and with man, has a dual aspect, a physical and a human. For this reason it has proved a little difficult to fit the subject into a niche which accords with the usual plan of the academic edifice. While we must all subscribe

to the statement that knowledge is one and indivisible, we do, for reasons of expediency, divide it into sections. The main division is into sciences and arts, and on the whole such a segregation is convenient enough for the purposes of administration. The more modern universities in particular have carried this division to considerable lengths for practical reasons, and have several faculties, often with special degrees for each, and usually with a certain amount of autonomy within each faculty. This system is so universal, in fact, that it must have adequate reasons behind it—nor is any harm done, provided that the authorities continue to realize that the partitions which they have erected between different branches of learning, if not imaginary, are at least movable and with wide doors. As far as geography is concerned, however, there is no doubt that the system is inconvenient, for it tends to place the subject in a category where it does not belong. Therefore, I would advise that, if possible, geography should have a faculty to itself, and not be rigidly linked with either the science or the arts subjects. This is now the practice in the major universities of Great Britain.

A kindred problem is whether geography should constitute a complete course in itself or have other subjects associated with it—especially in the first year—leading up to the degree. Cambridge is as yet, I believe, the only university which allows the degree in geography alone, but others, such as Oxford, London or Liverpool, do almost the same thing in fact, requiring only some supplementary subjects in the first year. I think there can be no doubt that before very long these major universities will follow the Cambridge example. In smaller universities and under more rigid regulations this may not be possible, and some compromise has to be found. The best compromise is to arrange matters so that the links should be with the science subjects in the first year, since physical geography is the foundation for human geography. A general science course with special emphasis on geology would probably be the best, but other combinations could be worked.

The last thing I want to touch on is the after-careers of graduates. A study has been made by myself of the after-careers of Cambridge geography students, and I found that 40 per cent. were teachers (some years ago it was 80 per cent.); 15 per cent. enter the civil service, quite a number becoming colonial administrators; 30 per cent. enter business, a very pleasing feature; 5 per cent. take up surveying, often in the colonies; and the other 10 per cent. are untraceable.

UNIVERSITIES IN CHANGING EUROPE

PAUL L. DENGLER

THE universities of the Continent are all of the same general type; much of their organization and many of their ceremonies and privileges go back to the Middle Ages. There are still to-day only the four traditional faculties of Law, Medicine, Theology, and Philosophy, the latter corresponding to the American College of Liberal Arts and Sciences. Many of the fields of knowledge that are included in the curriculum of institutions of higher learning in England and America—for example, the technical sciences, art, agriculture, and commerce—are not considered to belong to the university, but are provided for elsewhere.

The University of Vienna, one of the oldest in Europe, was founded in 1365, just after the founding of the University of Prague. The Senate and the Rector are elected annually by the whole four faculties, and each faculty is governed by a Dean elected annually by the members of his own particular faculty. These positions are honorary and it is regarded as a great privilege to hold them. Students who wish to progress always remember to address the Dean as 'Your Respectability' and the Rector as 'Your Magnificence.' In the order of precedence the latter gentleman used to rank with the Prime Minister, immediately following the Royal Family. That was as Rector. Next year he was once more a humble professor—or as humble as professors are!

The fundamental principles upon which the Continental university has been based are *freedom of teaching* and *freedom of learning*. The first principle implies that the professor is entirely free to decide what courses he gives, from where he selects his material, and from what angle he presents it. Prior to the Great War the appointment of the university staff was in the hands of the democratic

Senate, and was final once it was made. No professor could be dismissed for opinions that did not coincide with those of the government in power. Freedom of learning for the student means that he chooses for himself both his courses and the teachers under whom he wants to study. There is no compulsory attendance at lectures or courses from the very first day he enters the university. A student may attend only one lecture a year—although he is supposed to get a certificate from his professor at the end of each semester; student organizations may make representations to the Rector and the Senate of the university; no one is urged to do physical exercises, and there is no military training at all. In short, the student is treated in every way as a free and independent academic citizen supposed to know better than anyone else what suits him best. The professor may be applauded or howled down by his audience; and, personally, I have seen more than one thrown out of the lecture room!

Until recently the German or Austrian student was permitted to wander over the earth in search of the best teachers in his particular subject; it was rare for a student of science or the liberal arts to complete his whole course of study in one place. An Austrian student might spend one semester at Vienna, another at Oxford, another at Paris, another at Berlin, another at Yale; and, provided that he reported back at his university in his fourth and final year, he qualified to sit the final examination. This migration of students from place to place, which is reminiscent of the wanderings of scholars in the Middle Ages, has great advantages. In particular it provides the student with a very thorough and many-sided training in his field. Having taken his doctorate—since he has taken his bachelor's degree at the end of his *Gymnasium* course, and there is no master's degree—he may work at his chosen profession for one, two, or more years with little or no pay. Then he may go as a *Privatdozent* to another university, from which, if he makes his mark as a scholar and a teacher, he may be called to a position of *Extraordinarius*, or assistant profes-

sor, at some other university. Still further changes may follow, until finally, perhaps, he returns as *Ordinarius* or professor to his own *Alma Mater*.

In recent years a great change has come over the universities in the totalitarian countries. The university is no longer regarded as a place of research for its own sake. In a number of fields the professor must accept certain fundamental principles *a priori*, which often means that research has to proceed on certain prescribed lines in accordance with party dogmas. Those who refuse to conform are eliminated. So conceived, the function of the university is to serve the totalitarian state, and the university itself becomes a political institution. Pure science, if it does not serve the general spiritual mobilization of the nation, is neglected.

There is no doubt that the old ideal is a much greater and broader one. The educational ideal of the totalitarian state was born out of the situation of the day, was, perhaps, a necessity for the day, but cannot be regarded as a lasting one. Its justification, if there is one, must be found in the general state of mind of Europe and in the all-pervading sense of danger. From the kindergarten to the university this tension is felt, and everyone tends to regard himself as a citizen-soldier, whether he serves his country in the barrack-yards, or in the lecture halls of the university. Who knows whether war will not come to-morrow? This terrible thought dominates the mind of youth and its leaders. In such crucial times there seems to be no place left for leisurely refinement and culture for its own sake: the care-free days of liberalism are gone. This is the answer one receives if one speaks to fascists of academic freedom and the university ideals of happier days. There can be no doubt, however, that freedom of thought and independent research must some day be re-established in the universities of Europe. Only then can they continue their great mission of advancing the culture of the human race.

SECTION •XI

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL AND MENTAL LIFE OF
THE SCHOOL CHILD

RETARDATION: ITS CAUSES AND PREVENTION

E. G. MALHERBE

Note.—The original figures in this article related to retardation in New Zealand. For greater interest, similar figures for New South Wales have been substituted.

CONSIDERABLE confusion exists in the usage of the word 'retardation.' To many people it is synonymous with mental deficiency or feeble-mindedness—a mistake which leads not only to confused thinking, but may also lead to all sorts of errors in school organization.

Retardation is a *result* of many causes, of which mental deficiency is only one. A child may also be retarded because of starting school at an advanced age, frequent change of schools, bad health, or defective eyesight or hearing, or for any one or more of several other reasons. It is, therefore, wrong to identify a phenomenon like retardation with only one of its causes, even though that may be a very important one, as lack of intelligence undoubtedly is. I prefer to define retardation simply as *backwardness in scholastic work, irrespective of causes*. And because the time element is the chief one in measuring it, we shall regard it, for statistical purposes, as synonymous with *over-ageness*.

The next question on which a great deal of confusion exists is this: just how much must a pupil be over-age for his class in order to be called retarded? Shall we call him retarded if he is only one month over-age, or six-months, or one year, or two years, or three years? If we take the median age for every class as the norm, we find, of course, that one half of the pupils will lie below and one half above that mid-point. Shall we then call one half of all our children retarded? Surely not. Exactly where, then, shall we draw the line?

The answer to this question must be based entirely upon

practical considerations. I should say a pupil must be called retarded when his over-ageness in a particular class demands special administrative action, owing to the slowness of his rate of progress. Drawing lines is arbitrary in any case, but it would seem that if we were to draw a line at a point two years above the age at which we usually expect the average child to be in a particular class, that would set a limit beyond which older children would start to become a problem for that class.

In order to illustrate, let us deal with round figures and assume that 7 is the normal age for pupils to be in Class 2, and, further, that they normally take one year per grade. If a child is 9 years or older and still in Class 2, or 10 years or older and still in Class 3, that is, two or more years over-age for his class, we regard him as retarded, sufficiently backward, that is, to menace the homogeneity of the class group he is in, and to merit special consideration. In ordinary schools—especially where classes are large—it is difficult for a teacher to do justice to the whole group if the range of age, which is more often than not an indication of the range of ability, is unduly large. I think a four-year range ought to be the limit for one teacher to handle in a large class. In any case, the line is arbitrary and should be based entirely on practical considerations. It is no use drawing lines when they are not going to mean something definite by way of administrative action.

How the two-year line works out for New South Wales is shown in the age-grade distribution table published by the Education Department. The figures are for 1935. The normal age at August 1 for children in Class 2 who are promoted without retardation is estimated to be 7 74 years. Normal ages without retardation for other classes are derived from this by the addition of the appropriate number of integral years.

In the table the infants are grouped with Class 1, and, while the majority of the pupils are under the normal age of 6 74 years, there are 1,410 of them who are over 8 74. In Class 2 there are 1,430 who are over 9 74, in Class 3 2,471 who are over 10 74, and so on.

It is interesting to note how the incidence of retardation increases steadily from 2% in Class 1 to 10·37% in Class 5, and drops to 5·13% and 3·10% in Classes 7 and 8 respectively. The number of retarded children heaps up towards Classes 5 and 6, until a merciful age limit of 14 years releases them from compulsory attendance at school. Those who leave are generally the weaker ones, and the fact that they have been eliminated causes the percentage to drop in Class 7. In the high school retardation is usually smaller in extent and the problem is not very significant, because the duller ones have been weeded out by the eliminative effect of the examinations which are taken at the end of the primary school stage.

So much for the incidence of retardation. The *extent or degree of retardation* can be seen from the following figures. Out of the 305,614 pupils in the primary schools in Class 6 and below—

64,492	i.e.	21·1%	are retarded	1·0	years and more			
17,230	"	5·6%	"	2	0	"	"	"
4,313	"	1·4%	"	3	0	"	"	"
1,167	"	·38%	"	4	0	"	"	"

According to our view, those retarded 2·0 years and more, that is, 17,230 or 5·6%, merit special provision in the school organization, because the large majority of them must have failed at least twice in their school career and are manifestly not keeping pace with the so-called average child on whose tempo the whole school organization and syllabuses and methods are based. But supposing, for argument's sake, it is considered that the ordinary class teacher should be able to cope with those who are only 2 years retarded, and that I have drawn my line too far up, then what about the 4,313 who are 3 years and more retarded? In actual fact, the school system in 1935 made special provision for 141 backward children. That number was, however, very small when compared with the 4,313 who, without the slightest question, needed special treatment.

I found in South Africa that in 1922 the percentage of retardation was 19, in 1929 it was 15, and to-day it is

about 10. This decrease in South Africa is due to several factors, but chiefly to a departure in recent years from the old lock-step system of promotion by which children were mercilessly compelled to repeat their standards if they happened to do badly in some subject like arithmetic on the day when the inspector visited the school and promoted or failed the pupils.

Before I discuss the causes of retardation, let me just mention the fact that the different State Education Departments in South Africa have now all adopted this definition and measure of retardation in publishing their annual age-grade statistics, and in making comparisons between different years and between the various provinces of the Union of South Africa regarding the rate of progress of pupils through school.

Before discussing the remedies of retardation, it is essential that we first try to indicate the relative potency of the various factors or causes responsible for the phenomenon.

(a) Late entrance age: It has often been urged that commencing school at an age above the normal is largely responsible for over-ageness or retardation. The only statistics available on this point in my own country are those I collected in 1930 in connection with a survey of the educational system in South Africa. From about 2,200 schools I obtained reliable information in respect of the ages at which 60,000 European pupils started school.* I have every reason to believe that the data were representative of the country as a whole. I found the following distribution:

<i>Entrance Age</i>	<i>Percentage of Pupils</i>
below 7 years	43·3
at 7 years	41·2
at 8 years	10·6
at 9 years	2·9
at 10 years	1·1
at 11 years and older	·9

Median entrance age: 7·16 years.

*These and all subsequent figures pertaining to S.A. refer only to white peoples.

Of course, children enter school much later in South Africa than in Australia. Our country is much more sparsely populated, and consequently it is impossible for children at the tender age of 5 and 6 to walk or travel (mostly on donkeys) long distances to school.

I found that, even in South Africa, where the incidence of retardation is fairly high, in the case of 90 per cent. of the pupils late entrance could not possibly have been a factor causing retardation. In less than 10 per cent. of the cases it *might* have been a cause; it was not necessarily one because it is a well-known fact in South Africa that many children commencing school at an age of over 9·0 years cover the first few classes at a faster rate than one year.

In order to get nearer to the truth regarding the causes of retardation, I made a study of 20,000 retarded pupils in South Africa in respect of the following points: (a) age, (b) standard, (c) age of starting school for first time, (d) standards failed, (e) occupation of parent, (f) economic and social condition of home, (g) size of family and positional order of retarded child in the family, (h) other relevant factors pertaining to malnutrition, physical and mental defects, illness, frequent change of schools, etc., which may have caused retardation.

The conclusions which follow are based on these facts and some others which I gathered in connection with a mental and scholastic test survey of South African pupils—a study which lasted nearly three years. Of course, it is impossible to give here anything more than the most general conclusions.

We concluded that in the case of 88 per cent. of the pupils retarded over 2·0 years, their retardation could not possibly have been due to late commencement of school. Let us see what other causes are at work.

(b) *Repeated failure*: Out of every 100 pupils retarded 2 years and more:

94	had failed at least once
73	” ” ” ” twice
16	” ” ” ” three times
4	” ” ” ” four and more times

The reason for this very serious situation in South African schools is to be found in the lock-step system of promotion initiated by the system of individual inspection which prevailed in South Africa until recently. This dates from the time when 'payment by results' was instituted in England in the 'sixties, a system continued in South Africa long after it had been discarded in England.

As a result of this repeated failure in school, the percentage of those retarded heaps up towards Stds. IV and V, until they reach the compulsory age limit at 16 and manage to escape this soul-destroying process of repeated failure. That we have these children in the school cannot to a certain extent be avoided. But the damage is done by dragging these less privileged children along the big central highway prepared for normal children, to the detriment of the latter as well as the former.

The fact that only a very small percentage of our 320,000 primary school children are in special classes proves that our school standards are veritable beds of Procrustes on which 32,000 retarded children have to be tortured by repeated failure. One needs only experience with children and a little imagination to realize the tremendous effect of this repeated failure on the attitude towards life which such children develop. I found in South Africa that a school system which allows this sort of thing is actually breeding poor whites, a characteristic of many of whom is that they are so used to failure at school that it does not worry them afterwards. A boy who has it thrown at his head that he is the failure of the class comes to believe that he is a failure and lives up to that belief.

The real damage that is done is not so much that the child does not reach a certain level of scholastic attainment before he leaves school, but that he loses his self-respect through not tasting success in school. If the school's activities were only sufficiently diversified, the boy, while he might be weak in, say, arithmetic, would at any rate find something which he could do better than other boys, and could hold his head up because he would know that he was master of something. Among the boys in two of the

largest trades schools in the Cape Province, I found that 59 per cent. had failed once or more in their primary school careers. Luckily for them, they have found their way to a trades school, where they can at least have the joy of some achievement, even though it may be shoeing a horse, or making a table or a cabinet.

There are, however, two features in our system which have in the past made it practically impossible for the South African adolescent to get a real education, one away from the beaten matriculation path, one that would fit him for life's needs. I refer in the first place to the artificial dualism between so-called cultural and vocational education, a dualism which has in South Africa been accentuated by a further dualism of administrative control. The Provinces control primary and secondary education, while agricultural and vocational education are under the Union.

In the second place, if we go back a little to the time when the existing generation of adults was at school, we find that industrial and vocational education was looked upon as the education particularly suited to the needs of the destitute, the mentally defective and the delinquent. This fact tended to put these forms of education beyond the pale for the self-respecting adolescent. We do not seem to realize what a terrific handicap to the character-building function of education is the fact that most of our children are deprived of the pleasure of making things of value with their hands. After all, Jesus of Nazareth had his training as a carpenter before he started on his spiritual mission as the Saviour of Mankind. I have not the slightest doubt that keeping small children at desks for hours each day, fussing with word and number symbols, is the cause of much serious retardation in our schools. Of course, public prejudice has been largely responsible for the conservatism of our school organization and its soul-destroying effects.

The following pen-picture typifies an attitude of mind which really lies at the bottom of our whole retardation problem. It is by Angelo Patri, one of New York's greatest schoolmasters, and one of the most able yet sympathetic people at whose feet I ever had the privilege of sitting

as a student. He is here discussing complaints to which a school principal must listen:

The next complaint came from an entirely different source. This time it was Mary Ann's mother who spoke. Mary Ann was in the 'Defectives' Class and would stay in that class outside and inside school until the earth closed over her.

Mary Ann's mother was a picturesque figure in her sport skirt, an antiquated basque with a brave row of steel buttons down the front, a pert sailor hat sailing under an aggressive quill. In her earnestness she went directly to the teacher.

'Teacher dear, Mary Ann's doing foine, foine. She hasn't tore the baby since I don't know whin, and she's getting that civil you wouldn't believe it. Hardly a bad word out of her mouth now, and she goes to Sunday School with Bettie. I'm proud and thankful to ye. But that's not what I came to ask ye. Just drop them bastits you're having her makin,' and them drills she fiddles her time away in and teach her to read. Teach her to read so she can learn her catechism and save her immortal soul and then I don't care. But in God's name, *teach her to read.*'

And Mary Ann's mother broke down and wept.

There you are. From the highest to the lowest, the book and the book knowledge shall save you. It shall even save your soul.

Many parents believe that this is education. They covet knowledge, book knowledge for their children. Rich and poor alike want their children done up in little packages, ready to show, ready to boast of. They fear freedom, they fear to let the child grow by himself. Because the parents want this sort of thing, the school is built to suit—a book school—one room like another, one seat like another, each child like his neighbour.

The conclusion I come to is that the school authorities and teachers and parents, who are party to a system which tolerates and even sanctions repeated failure on a gigantic scale, while they are seemingly blind to its character-destroying effects going on under their very eyes day after day, year after year, do not deserve the name of educators. And worse still, they are rank hypocrites when, in the face of all this, they continue to say piously that it is the function of the school to build character and not to impart mere knowledge. Why don't they say straight out that they are cramming children for examinations—success to the quick and the devil take the hindmost?

Apart from the moral loss which is sustained by repeated failure, there is considerable financial wastage involved.

The cost of educating a primary school pupil for a year in South Africa is £18. Taking 30,000 as the number of retarded children who have repeated their standards twice or more we find that this repetition costs the state over half a million pounds every year which must be classed as wasteful expenditure. I say *wasted* because it does not do a child any good to re-teach him things that he has already been doing over and over again for more than two years. It does him harm. When one looks at the petty economies that are often made in education while this big sum is wasted every year, it seems very much like straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel.

Of course, it would be overstating the case to suggest that if pupils did not fail the services of so many teachers could be dispensed with. Even though pupils were never to fail, you could not evaporate them. They would still have to attend school within the limits of compulsory education. Neither do I wish to suggest that about half a million pounds less would be spent on the education vote if children were not to repeat their standards. An improved system involving a diversified curriculum and better methods will not cost less. What I do say is that, from the study of retardation I made in South Africa, it would seem that in our primary schools, on the score of retardation alone, about half a million pounds must annually be classed as wasteful expenditure. What the position is in this country I do not know, but I would suggest that it is a topic which would amply repay investigation.

We have thus far mentioned two immediate causes of retardation: (a) late entrance age, and (b) repeated failure. They are, however, themselves the *effects* of other, more basic causes. Late entrance age has, for example, been found to be highly correlated with factors like sparsity of population (+76), poverty (+77) and may well be intimately connected with the primary causes of repeated failure.

The following may be mentioned among the *primary* causes of repeated failure, more or less in the order of their potency:

(i) *Lack of intelligence* is probably the biggest single cause. We know that a certain level of intelligence is required to pass certain school standards. The higher the standard the higher the level of intelligence required. For example, we found in South Africa, as a result of a national survey of the intelligence of school children, that the chances of a pupil with an I.Q. below 84 reaching Std. VI are extremely small, and his hope of passing still more remote. The chances that a child with an I.Q. below 89 will study beyond Std. VI are negligible. Of the total school population 7·6 per cent. falls below 84, and 15·6 below 89. Here we have, therefore, a definite indication of the minimum number of pupils who will not attain these scholastic standards as long as they remain of the same nature and standard as they are to-day; 7·6 per cent. will not reach Std. VI, and 15·6 per cent. will not pass it and go beyond. These are minimum figures, because there are other factors besides intelligence (for example, temperamental and character traits like industry and perseverance) which contribute to school success. In actual fact 44 per cent. of our pupils in South Africa left school before passing Std. VI (1929 figures), and 66 per cent. did not proceed to the secondary school. These percentages are much lower to-day.

In order to gauge the effect of intelligence in determining retardation, let me give you here the frequency distribution at the various levels of intelligence below an I.Q. of 100, according to the curve of normal distribution:

<i>Intelligence level</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Below 100 I.Q.	50·0
„ 95 I.Q.	33·7
„ 90 I.Q.	20·1
„ 85 I.Q.	10·3
„ 80 I.Q.	4·6
„ 75 I.Q.	1·7
„ 70 I.Q.	·6
„ 65 I.Q.	·26

By using the percentages of the above table, one can easily calculate how many children will be involved if it is decided

to make special provision in the school system for children, say, below an I.Q. of 80. They would constitute 4·6 per cent. of the school population. We saw above that the percentage of those retarded more than 2·0 years was 6·1, so that to make provision for them would be much the same as making special provision for those falling below an I.Q. line drawn somewhere between 80 and 85. That is where I think the line should be drawn when creating special classes in school.

My investigation in South Africa showed clearly that the large majority of those retarded two years and more had I.Q.'s below 85. Of course, there were some amongst those retarded who were above this level, just as there were some below it who were not retarded. The latter were, however, to be found only in the lower classes of the school.

(ii) *Environmental Factors.* When I speak of lack of intelligence as a factor I mean intelligence as measured by an intelligence test. This itself may be secondary and due in its turn to other more fundamental causes. While there are no doubt certain definite limits which nature sets through hereditary factors which would, quite apart from environmental conditions, by themselves be quite sufficient to bar the child from reaching the upper standards of the school, we cannot be sure that these inborn or embryological factors are reflected in a pure way by the intelligence test scores. The attainment of a child in an intelligence test is determined largely by environmental factors, such as schooling, feeding and home conditions influencing him even from the pre-natal stage, as well as by the hereditary factors. To determine the relative contribution of each is very difficult as it involves the big problem of nature versus nurture.

While it is the most reliable measure we have been able to devise up to date, I must be honest with you and state that an intelligence test result is only an indirect and somewhat uncertain indication of the purely innate factors. The chances, however, seem to be that, owing to the operation of natural selection in population groups, there is a close concomitance between the hereditary and the environmental

factors. They seem to work in a mutually intensifying way and have a cumulative effect in the end. Where, for example, there happens to be a low or weak congenital equipment of mental and physical powers, there one may often expect that environmental causes such as neglect, malnutrition, unhygienic living conditions, cultural isolation, etc., are operative also to a more or less marked degree. I have found by actual study of large numbers of families that the weaker types tend to drift into the poorer and more inhospitable areas. Then adverse physical and cultural conditions accentuate these weaknesses.

I worked out the correlation between poverty and retardation in all the districts of the Union of South Africa and found it to be $+0.77 \pm 0.06$. The coefficient of correlation between retardation and the percentage of subnormals in the population (as tested by individual tests) is $+0.82 \pm 0.05$. I also made an analysis of the economic condition as well as the occupation of the fathers of 20,000 retarded children; 9.6 per cent. came from homes which were good economically, 24.3 from average homes, and 66.1 from poor homes. On analysing the other primary causes for retardation, I found them to arrange themselves in the following order of potency:

1. *Malnutrition and ill-health* occurred about equally often and constitute the strongest factors. They were found to be operative in about 12 per cent. of the retarded cases.

2. *Physical and mental defects* were found only in 7 per cent. of the cases.

3. *Frequent change of school* occurred in 6 per cent. of the cases.

4. *Long distance from school* causing late entrance (2 per cent.), was a factor causing a certain amount of initial but not necessarily permanent retardation.

5. *Miscellaneous factors* like language medium, about 1 per cent.

The relative potency of these factors was corroborated by another study in which, using the results of standardized scholastic and intelligence tests applied to 30,000 children representative of the nation, I followed up carefully, with

a view to ascertaining the socio-economic conditions under which they lived, two contrasted groups of children: (a) those in the upper 10 per cent. and (b) those in the lower 10 per cent. of each age-group from 10 to 16 years. Lack of time prevents me from giving the details here.

Once causes are clearly indicated, the methods of prevention become fairly obvious. Many of the primary causes lie beyond the scope of the school—they are to be found in the home, in socio-economic conditions which would require remedies of a very far-reaching character. The school, however, can do much by building up favourable attitudes and by instruction in proper feeding and in the art of home-making, thus alleviating these conditions for future generations.

There are, however, remedies which lie within the scope of the education system itself. The problem of retardation arises from the conflict of two factors, the fact of human inequality and the desire of the teacher and the public at large for a standardized product in a certain time. It arises from attempting to fit the child to the school system instead of fitting the school to the child.

Actually there should be no such thing as failing a pupil. If there is failure it is the school that has failed. It is the teacher that has failed, not the child. The teacher's function is to make the most of the child as he finds him, not merely to sit in judgment upon him. The whole problem arises from the fact that people generally are much more interested in the end-products of the school than in the *process* of achieving those products. The latter is really the thing that counts.

More specifically, the following are some of the remedial and preventive measures which may be followed. The first step is to *ascertain causes*. As far as possible retarded pupils should be classified into two groups:

(a) those who are retarded owing to disabilities of a more or less *temporary* nature.

(b) those who are retarded owing to disabilities of a more or less *permanent* nature.

The disabilities of the pupils in the first group are of a

remediable nature and the chief aim should be to give them such special attention that they may take their places as soon as possible in the normal class routine designed for average children. Here we are thinking of disabilities due to starting school late, malnutrition, etc. The second group will need special treatment right through their school career and school authorities should see to it that such facilities are provided.

The nature of the special provision will depend largely on the size of the classes and on the size of the school in which such retarded children are found. Where the classes are small, that is, below 20, it should be possible for the class teacher himself to deal with the one or two retarded children. In the case of remediable difficulties he should coach the children so as to enable them to catch up with the rest as soon as possible. Where the disability is permanent he should let the child keep his own pace and follow a special course without loss of standing among his fellows of more or less the same age. This procedure is quite practicable in the small one and two-teacher schools.

Where, however, the classes are large, it is impossible to expect the ordinary class teacher to give the necessary individual attention to retarded pupils without sacrificing the interests of the normal and bright children. They should, therefore, be segregated in a special class of not more than 15 or 20 and entrusted to a specially qualified teacher.

If provision is to be made for 6 per cent. of the school—the proportion of retarded pupils in the whole school system—then an average primary school of 200 to 300 pupils will have enough such children to warrant their segregation in a special class under a specially trained teacher. A school of 500 and more will warrant two teachers for the special class. Of course, the proportion will vary according to the socio-economic conditions of the environment in which the school is situated. It will be bigger in the slums than in the fashionable suburbs. Even for big cities I prefer the special class in the same school to a separate school for dealing with retarded children. Not only is there less

chance of parents objecting to sending their children to a "defectives' school"—they can always say that their child, even though backward, is attending the ordinary public school—but there is always a better chance of getting the children who are only temporarily retarded taken into the ordinary classes as soon as they have made up the lost ground. Above all must be avoided any attitude towards such a class which would stigmatize it as, say, "the boobs' class." Whether such an attitude will develop or not on the part of the pupils or the parents will depend almost entirely on the way the whole situation is handled by the principal and by the teacher of the special class. For example, in a large boys' school in a university town in South Africa one of the professors' children, a bright boy, came and begged to be allowed to become a member of the special class in that school, 'because the boys in that class are always *doing* things.' Because of the excellent work which the teacher was doing in that school, the special class had developed a position of prestige for itself. Not only were the pupils playing the percussion band for the school, but they usually provided the woodwork frames and scenery for the plays which the boys in the school staged.

In such a special class each child has a chance of progressing more or less at his own rate, unfettered by the lock-step of the ordinary standards. Instead of experiencing repeated failure and humiliation, he is given a chance to maintain his self-respect by tasting the joy of achievement. Even though his scholastic attainments may be below the average, he is sent into the world at least with a few desirable character traits. More and more researches are showing the healing quality of the good teacher's encouragement to backward children, the amazing effect of seeing that every pupil gets the satisfaction of some sort of success before the school day ends. The futility of punishment as a spur to learning is being made more certain by carefully appraised studies of school successes and failures.

Of course, there are about a dozen recognized methods of grouping and promoting children at school so as to allow as far as possible for the varying rates of progress. A good

summary of these is found in Dr. Wyndham's book on *Ability Grouping*.

We are not here considering the lowest grades of intelligence, that is, the definitely feeble-minded who fall below a point somewhere between 50 and 60 I.Q. These, we feel, should be segregated in special institutions, after having been duly certified by a trained psychologist as well as by the medical inspector of schools. The better the available facilities, the nearer 60 will be the border line, and the poorer the facilities the nearer to 50. Drawing lines is an arbitrary business in any case and depends largely upon the availability of suitable facilities. People have become alarmed in England owing to the alleged recent increase in the number of subnormals. The increase, however, may be due merely to the fact that better provision is made for them in special institutions to-day than in former years.

Returning, however, to the special class in the ordinary school, one is faced by the practical question of the selection of pupils. Who is to make this selection? Ideally, it should be made by the school psychologist after he has administered a battery of scholastic and intelligence tests of which the individual intelligence test is one. On the basis of these results and the child's record, a satisfactory diagnosis of the relative permanency of the child's disabilities, as well as a prescription of the educative measures to be followed, should be possible. Failing this, various procedures have been resorted to. I shall mention a few. The principal simply collects those in each class who, in his and the teacher's judgment, are so backward that they cannot profit by the ordinary class teaching and segregates them into an opportunity or special class. Then, too, it has been found advisable and useful to give special short courses of training in mental testing to certain inspectors, who by reason of their skill in the handling of children as well as their knowledge of psychology, are considered specially fitted for testing children. They can then select the children for special classes when on their ordinary rounds and, as officers of the Department, can arrange for the establishment of such classes in the most expeditious way. This practice has

been followed in South Africa, for example, in the Orange Free State. In other centres, usually where there is a university, the psychology department has been called to assist by doing the testing.

Special courses of training are necessary for teachers of special or opportunity classes. In South Africa this is given in connection with the university faculties of education and the course lasts four years after matriculation. It includes a special study of child psychology as well as a thorough training in various forms of handicraft and music. Good special-class teachers are often recruited from the ranks of experienced kindergarten or infant class teachers.

As special classes have to be small—not more than fifteen—and need separate rooms and specially qualified teachers, provision for the retarded child is an expensive business. But it is the kind of thing which must be well done to make it worth doing at all. In South Africa the *extra* cost has been estimated to be £12 10s. 0d. per pupil in a special class. The Union Government has recognized the importance of special classes in so far as it gives an extra subsidy equal to half the extra cost, in addition to the ordinary subsidy of £14 which it pays to the Provinces for every child in average attendance in the ordinary classes of the school.

As far as I can see, provision for the retarded child in Australia seems to be inadequate in three important respects:

1. The ordinary classes are far too large and this precludes any individual attention to retarded children in these classes.

2. Probably not more than 700 or 800 retarded children in Australia are receiving some sort of special attention, while the statistics suggest that about 40,000 definitely need it.

3. Insufficient provision is made for the training of teachers for such special classes as do exist, nor does the salary attached give any recognition of the exacting nature of the work. In South Africa the course of training lasts four years and is given at the university, which provides proper practice facilities in special class work.

I plead for a more serious consideration of the problem not only in the interests of the retarded child, but also in the interests of the brighter and normal pupils whose progress is often hampered by the presence of weak ones in the same class. Whatever provision is made, the main point to remember is that education is not merely the pushing of pupils over certain fixed hurdles, the bright ones going faster by means of rapid or double promotion and the duller ones going more slowly. I doubt the wisdom of rushing bright young pupils at an accelerated rate through school and landing them at university at a socially immature age, however clever they may be. I much prefer to give the brighter ones enriched curricula and to differentiate in that way, rather than by the method of mere chronological acceleration. Instead of looking at the school system as a sieve whose chief function is elimination, let us rather look upon education as an irrigation canal which brings life-giving water to the small undergrowth, to the flowers as well as to the giants of the forest, that is, fructifies all levels of intelligence and strata of society.

Christ recognized human inequality and in His parable of the talents showed plainly that He does not expect the same end-product from everybody as do we in our school system. There are children who have received five talents to start with and others only one. Are we not, by our practice of repeatedly failing pupils, party to the burying of even this one talent? 'Every normal man, woman and child,' says Professor Spearman, 'is a genius at something, as well as an idiot at something. It remains to discover what—at any rate in respect of the genius.' This process of discovery of talent at all levels is becoming more and more the main task of the teacher and guidance is fast taking the place of a process of merely producing a tale of bricks in the form of examination results. This is the new point of view which I would like to stress in considering the education not only of the retarded, but also of the average and very bright children.

DELINQUENCY AS AN EDUCATIONAL PROBLEM

E. G. MALHERBE

THE problem of delinquency is not a modern one. In fact, criticizing the behaviour of the young has been a favourite pastime for many generations, and each generation views the coming generation with dismay. The following lamentation was taken from a clay tablet inscribed some 6,000 years ago and found by archaeologists in the Mesopotamia valley: 'Our earth has degenerated in these latter days. There are signs that the world is coming to an end. Children no longer obey their parents. The end of the world is manifestly drawing near.' A writer in the *Atlantic Monthly* a century ago, wrote as follows: 'And what of our youth? Where one child hails the Sabbath with delight, as the day for Bible study, one hundred young mortals are growing up in ignorance and sin. The lamentable extent of dishonesty, fraud and wickedness among our boys and girls shocks the nation.' Similar instances may be multiplied to show that among the younger generation the habit of going to the devil is a very old one.

However that may be, the fact remains that crime is becoming more and more precocious: in the United States, for example, the average age of criminals has dropped ten years during the last two decades. Even in our own countries we find more and more young people falling foul of the law. Why is this? The question cannot be given a definite answer, and deserves further study. I venture to suggest, however, that the increased pace at which modern civilization is changing makes it more and more difficult for young people to find themselves, and to make the adaptations required of them. Young people to-day are living in a most difficult transition period. Old sanctions of the home and the church are breaking down and new ones have not yet been built up. We have a rather interesting example of this in South Africa, where the native

racess are going through a very difficult period as a result of the contact between their primitive culture and that of the civilized European. The sanctions imposed by their primitive tribal life and customs are strong, and, in many instances, regulate in a very valuable way the behaviour of young people as well as adults. Through contact with the civilization of the dominant white race, however, these primitive sanctions are gradually breaking down, particularly where the young native youths have come into the white man's areas and cities. The European sanctions of morality and legality have not yet been established so firmly that they function in the lives of these native people. They are in a stage betwixt and between, which leads to instability of conduct, and it is pathetic to see how many of them fall foul of the law and become criminals, first in a merely technical sense and later in a more actual sense.

All transition stages, whether ethnic or individual, are fraught with danger. In the case of the individual, adolescence is such a transition stage. (We have an idiom in Afrikaans which designates the awkward stage of the adolescent: 'too big for a serviette and too small for a tablecloth.') This is the reason, I think, why adolescence has become very largely the age of delinquency and criminality. Most criminals are first convicted before they reach their majority. Charles Goring found that 54 per cent. of the criminals in English prisons were first convicted before they were twenty.

In discussing the *causes of delinquency* one is faced with the fundamental difficulty in all social studies—namely, to distinguish between the effects of nature and nurture. Are criminals born such, or is their criminality the result of environmental conditions? Many people seem to believe that criminals are born, and this belief has been strengthened by the teachings of such men as Lombroso, who held that there were certain definite physical stigmata which characterized the criminal. There is, according to this view, a *definite criminal type*. This point of view has been strengthened by more recent studies in type psychology, such as those conducted by Kretschmer, who has done rather

valuable work upon the correlation between physical features and psychological traits. The evidence to date, however, seems to indicate that the conclusion that criminals are born cannot be maintained. There is no criminal class as such, except in so far as criminal conduct has with certain individuals become habitual. Criminals are selected by force of circumstances (and here the economic factor comes into play) from the community at large. The insane, the psychopathic and the mental defective stand the best chance of being so selected.

Yet many people continue to believe that there are distinct physical characteristics which mark the criminal. It is on record that a Judge of the Supreme Court of New York stated, as a result of his experience, that there were eight physical characteristics which marked the criminal—receding chin, protruding jaw, wide unwinking stare, droop in the left eyelid, low brow, bumpy brow, thick hair, and ears set at right angles to the head; and that where as many as four of these characteristics were present in an individual there could be no doubt as to his criminal nature. The strange thing, however, is that half a dozen well-known men—the president of a leading university, a great English preacher, a French general, a Russian statesman, a leading Spanish writer, and one of the world's greatest inventors—have at least five of the eight physical characteristics named. One cannot help wondering whether this judge had ever checked his list by applying it to his colleagues of the Bench and the Bar. He was further quoted as saying: 'If you see a man with a drooping left eyelid or with wide open, staring eyes, beware of having your pocket picked.' In other words, by this simple system, one can not only recognize the criminal by sight, but also determine at a glance whether one is going to be murdered or merely have one's pocket picked!

The belief that there is such a thing as a typical or born criminal is therefore somewhat ridiculous. At any rate, it is not supported by the facts. Every crime represents a failure by society to control the individual, as well as a failure on the part of the individual to respond to whatever

social control exists; and it is much better to look for the causes of delinquency outside individuals than in their inborn nature—for the behaviour of people is largely the result of forces which have impinged upon them from earliest childhood. If this point of view is sound, there is still hope for education. If, on the other hand, the goodness or badness of people were predestined at birth, there would be little justification for any optimism regarding its potency.

Let me mention a few of the conditions which predispose individuals towards delinquency.

1. *Physical and Physiological.* Under this heading should be mentioned cases where individuals are afflicted with glandular disturbances, or have suffered from some disease such as, for example, *encephalitis lethargica*. I had once to look after an eighteen-year-old boy, the son of a millionaire, who had suffered from this disease in his infancy. Though he was eighteen years old, and quite intelligent enough to do high school algebra, he was a moral imbecile—that is, he had no control whatsoever over his more primitive instincts and passions. As a result, he was continually getting into all sorts of serious trouble, and needed continual watching. He would, for example, sell a musical instrument worth £25 (he was very musical) and buy a four-gallon tin of ice-cream, which he would continue to eat until he was absolutely sick; or he would jump upon a small boy who, he fancied, had insulted him and proceed to cut his throat with a pocket-knife. I mention this instance of physical and physiological disability to show you that such disabilities can act as a predisposing cause of delinquency.

2. *Low Intelligence.* Many studies have been made of the intelligence of those in prisons and institutions for delinquents. The percentages of mental deficient found by these studies varied enormously, from 90 per cent. to 10 per cent., depending upon the selection of the inmates in a particular institution or community. Carl Murchison, however, after a rather extensive survey of this field in his book *Criminal Intelligence*, has come to the conclusion that the incidence of feeble-mindedness in institutions for the care of delinquents and offenders is but little greater than

that for the population in general. Criminals are sometimes of very high intelligence, as was shown by the cases of Leopold and Loeb who, as university students at Chicago, callously murdered a young boy just for the excitement of doing so. Delinquents and criminals in general may be foolish, but they are by no means fools. In South Africa we found that the average intelligence of delinquent boys in reformatories is higher than that of those in institutions for neglected and dependent children.

There are two ways, however, in which low intelligence may predispose children towards delinquency. In the first place, they may get into trouble through sheer ignorance of the consequences of their actions; in the second place, owing to an uneasy consciousness of their intellectual shortcomings, they may develop an inferiority complex, and become anti-social. Even acts of violence may be resorted to by way of compensation.

3. *Thwarting of Instincts.* The desire for approval is instinctive in human beings. It is the underlying motive of most of our moral behaviour. Children in particular desire to be loved, and if such approval or love is absent they very often develop anti-social tendencies. Similarly, the desire for security is instinctive in the young child. *That is why good family life is the foundation of the proper development of personality.* In a study of a few hundred case histories of delinquents convicted in one of our juvenile courts, I found that 70 per cent. of these children came from broken homes—either the father or the mother had died or the parents had separated, or did not live together amicably. In my teaching experience, I came across a case of a young girl of 12 who persisted in pilfering small things from the other children and from the schoolroom. Investigation showed that, though she came from fairly well-to-do parents, her home life was thoroughly unhappy. Her parents fought like cat and dog. On one occasion this girl forged a charity list and collected a great deal of money under false pretences. Luckily, she was discovered before those who would have sent her to court got hold of her. She was placed in charge of the Savings Bank Fund of her

class and was given responsibility, praise and affection on every possible occasion, with the result that she very soon ceased her pilfering, and to-day is one of the respected society women in her town.

When the sex instinct is thwarted, and not properly sublimated, one very often finds that this results in stealing during the early adolescent years. Cyril Burt and other writers on delinquency have often commented upon the intimate connection between the sex instinct and the possessive or acquisitive instinct. For example, Burt quotes the instance of a young man who, after he had been jilted by his girl, immediately proceeded to burgle a shop. In connection with the sex instinct should be mentioned also the trouble which the common habit of masturbation causes amongst many adolescent boys and girls. The physical consequences of this habit are not so bad as they are often painted. What actually harms the child is the excessive feeling of guilt which is produced by too much preaching about the matter. This feeling of guilt engenders a feeling of anxiety which undermines personality and leads to all sorts of misbehaviour in other fields. I know of many children who have shown a remarkable change in attitude towards their parents, and have reformed most remarkably in their general conduct, as a result of removing the *verbot* regarding the habit of masturbation. It is as if, by removing the load of guilt off their minds, their attitude becomes less furtive and their association with their parents or teacher more open-hearted and healthy. When children steal, they often do not need the objects they steal. In reality they are stealing love, the objects being merely symbols or substitutes. I know of several cases where stealing amongst young adolescents ceased suddenly after they had developed a healthy interest in, and affection for, some member of the opposite sex. Even though such affection may be entirely at a distance, or secret, it is something which the child treasures, and of which he knows nobody can rob him. Stealing or pilfering, which is sometimes punished with such severity, and with such lack of discrimination, is the result of many diverse and complex causes.

It is therefore wrong to treat identically all those who pilfer and steal merely because they have all been guilty of theft.

As pointed out before, desire for approval and for some form of mastery or superiority is fundamental in every individual. If, through some circumstances in his environment, he fails to attain his desire, he feels inferior. No human being can endure a persistent feeling of inferiority. He strives to overcome it, reaching after a goal of fulfilment and security the attainment of which will give him a sense of superiority. If he is socially unprepared to meet the situation or lacks the courage to face facts, he takes flight into the unprofitable and unsocial side of life. Delinquency is nearly always the result of failure to solve a problem in the individual's life. A boy, for example, finds himself out of work, or among a group of bad companions, or attracted to a girl who wants presents and a good time, and he is unable to deal properly with the situation. He does not have it in him to solve such problems in a useful way. This lack of preparedness is often due to faulty early training and always to a mistaken conception of life. We forget in our education that social and emotional learning is as important as, if not more important than, intellectual learning. And many criminal acts are merely wrong solutions on the social level. The delinquent is one who has made a mistake in emotional learning just as a pupil may make a mistake in a multiplication sum in the field of intellectual learning.

Often the delinquent simply flees before the problems of life. There are many people who express admiration of the 'heroism' of a criminal, but anyone who has to do with criminals knows that they are cowardly. They are often afraid of ghosts, almost always superstitious and inclined to tremble in the dark. Let there be no mistake here, for they have fled before the problems of life; they are deserters. The criminal lacks courage because courage is an element of social interest. Only people who have social interest can have courage, because they feel themselves part of the whole; they know that they belong to this world;

they know that they must take their share not only of the advantages, but also of the disadvantages which inevitably must be their lot. That is why all forms of sport in which the team spirit and the ideal of playing the game are fostered are such excellent prophylactics against delinquency, particularly during the later stages of adolescence.

The criminal regards every event in his own peculiar and distorted way. What shall I get out of it? Am I safe? Those are his most important reflections. His chief aim is to overcome, but to overcome those weaker than himself. If he is a pick-pocket, he waits till his victim is looking the other way. If he is a burglar, he makes sure of darkness and loneliness. If he is a murderer, he strikes when his victims are unable to defend themselves. In practically all his actions you will see evidence of the cowardice I have already described. 'I am convinced,' says Alfred Adler, 'that if children knew—which they do not in every case—that the criminal is always a coward and shows only a poor imitation of heroism, the thought of crime would not appear to them nor to incipient criminals so attractive as it now does.' Some of our cheap talkie dramas are to blame also for the distorted picture of life which they conjure up before the minds of the young.

Often youngsters do criminal acts because of the publicity crime brings. Thereby they satisfy a craving for social recognition which may have been lacking in their lives. This absence of social recognition and a consequent feeling of inferiority are often found in cases where a person is deformed, ugly or unattractive. Such persons feel ignored, 'out of things.' And if the instinctive desire for approval or social recognition is strong in them, they will jolly well see to it that people *do* take notice of them, even though they have to commit a crime to focus attention on themselves. The crime represents, therefore, an irrational attempt to compensate for their shortcomings. Here again the attempt is nothing else but a *faulty solution of a problem* with which the individual is confronted owing to a strong instinct coming up against a physical limitation or barrier. If society does not see to it that adequate satisfaction for this

desire for social recognition is provided, these victims of misfortune (that is, the ugly and the deformed) will 'take it out on' society by some form of anti-social behaviour. This, then, is the real psychological connection between physical deformities and crime, and it is merely confused thinking which calls them physical stigmata of crime.

4. *Faulty Home Life.* Faulty home life is a frequent cause of misbehaviour and delinquency, as has already been pointed out. Faulty home life is by no means confined to the poor. One finds it just as often in the homes of the rich, where there is an absence of companionship between parents and children. The fathers are generally busy at work, and the mothers are away at bridge or tea fights. Rousseau said that cities are the graves of the human spirit. He could say this with even greater force if he were to see the multiplication of apartment houses in modern cities. Apartments, with their cramped surroundings, are the graves of the spirit of childhood; there is no adequate room for play, with the result that children are surrounded with prohibitions, lest they should damage the precious furniture and ornaments. It is bad for a child to be continually in the presence of adults. Parents often forget that they are as likely to get on their children's nerves as their children to get on theirs.

When children are pampered it is often as bad as when they are neglected, because pampered children nearly always have a mistaken conception of life. They are always ready to receive, never to give, and when they get out into the world, and the world is cold towards them, and does not respond, they become thoroughly anti-social because their attitude is, 'What is the use of life if it does not give me what I want?' They have no interest in other people. The best way of curing the criminal or the delinquent is to develop in him a genuine interest in other people. This is why the social side of the child's education should never be neglected, and why an only child is in many ways at a disadvantage, because he is not so easily socialized as children who belong to big families.

5. *Faulty School Atmosphere.* Teachers seldom realize what an effect failure at school has on the character of the child. I found that in the schools in South Africa there were over 30,000 children who had failed more than twice. Eulenberg, in Vienna, in making a study of over a thousand suicides which occurred amongst adolescents, found that one-third of these could be directly traced to discouragement and failure at school. The thing that teachers should realize is that it is the school that fails and not the children. Strictly speaking, no child should ever fail. The school, and the courses of study and the methods of teaching should be adapted to meet the needs of the individual child—otherwise the school is not really educating. To say that a child does not fit a school is just the same as saying that a badly dressed man does not fit his clothes.

When teachers are unsympathetic in their attitude towards children, or sarcastic in dealing with them, they seldom realize the effects of their attitude on the child's mental and moral development. Many children develop a *blasé* attitude, and don't seem to care, but this is often merely a protective device, and many teachers are deceived by their seeming indifference. One of the best exercises I found for student-teachers was to make them write down in as great detail as possible an account of those experiences in their childhood which deeply humiliated or hurt them, even though they may not have spoken about them to anybody subsequently. One seldom realizes what feelings of revenge are hidden in the heart of a child who is provoked by an adult. To provoke a difficult child is one of the worst things it is possible for a teacher to do. The very fact that the child is younger, smaller and weaker than the adult is enough to engender in his mind a feeling of inferiority, and we have seen what is likely to happen if the child's social environment does not provide adequate compensation for him. If school life is full of censure, criticism, failure and punishment, it is impossible for it to cultivate genuine social interest in the mind of the child. In studying the lives of criminals one is struck by the fact that so many of them have really missed the sunshine of life. Very few

of them have had opportunities for adequate recreation and play.

Corporal punishment is no solution of delinquency. If resorted to at school it is nearly always a sign of failure on the part of the teacher and of the school. It is much worse to inflict corporal punishment on pupils for what are regarded as serious forms of misconduct, namely, lying, stealing or sexual offences, than to punish them for transgressing merely a formal regulation or rule dealing with the routine of the school. In the former case, corporal punishment fixates the offence, and degrades the individual. Instead of being enabled to behave better in the future, he is placed in a worse position psychologically than before he was punished. In a study of delinquents in reformatories in South Africa, I found that 95 per cent. of those who had received corporal punishment were recidivists. In other words, the infliction of the punishment may have satisfied society's primitive desire for sheer retribution, but it proved useless as a deterrent or as a means of reforming the delinquent.

5. *Occupational Maladjustment.* Time does not permit me to elaborate this point. Suffice it to say that delinquents are often recruited from the class of occupational misfits, those who are employed in jobs which are too difficult for them, so that they become discouraged and filled with a sense of failure, or those in jobs which are too monotonous or fail to exercise their powers sufficiently or promise no advancement for real effort. In each case discontent and frustration will tend to lead to anti-social behaviour as soon as the opportunity offers.

In discussing the causes of delinquency, I have indicated fairly definitely how it might be prevented. I cannot go into further details as to the rôle of education in preventing delinquency, but I should like to add a few general observations.

Merely to say, as people did in the early nineteenth century, 'Open a school and close a gaol,' does not supply the complete answer to the question. The action of education is much more subtle and complex. Recently an inves-

tigation was made in order to ascertain the relative potency of certain moral influences on children. A questionnaire was given to a number of children, each child being asked to indicate the person who had the greatest influence for good in his life. The general result may be gauged by the figures indicated:

The Sunday school teacher	0
The day school teacher	8
The club and scout master	20
The father	40
The mother	60
The child's friend	78

This result certainly humbles the teacher. Of course, if an omniscient deity had graded these influences, the grading might have been different. But the table represents the views of the children. Why is there such a lack of recognition on the child's part of the teacher as a moral force in his life? Is it not due to the fact that we as teachers are generally so far above him? Are we not so 'good' that he regards us as superior beings more or less aloof from him?

H. L. Mencken, in one of his searchingly provocative books, *Prejudices*, speaks with affection and esteem of two schoolmasters who had an outstanding influence on his life and character. They were men with certain moral weaknesses—particularly for tobacco and alcohol—but they knew boys, and they taught their subjects with the contagious passion of fanatics. Then he goes on to say: 'I wonder if the expoundings of their passions and prejudices would have been half so charming if they had been wholly respectable men like their colleagues of the school faculty. It is not likely. A healthy boy is in constant revolt against the sort of men who surround him at school. Their puerile pedantries, their Christian Endeavour respectability, their sedentary pallor, their curious preference for the dull and the uninteresting, their general air of so many Y.M.C.A. secretaries—these things infallibly repel the youth who is above milksoppery. In every boys' school the favourite teacher is one who occasionally swears like a cavalryman or is reputed to keep a bottle in his room or is known to receive

a scented note every morning. Boys are good judges of men, as girls are good judges of women. It is not by accident that most of them, at some time or other, long to be cowboys or ice-waggon drivers, and that none of them, not obviously diseased in mind, ever longs to be a Sunday school superintendent.'

In conclusion, let me outline briefly the system of training and reforming juveniles (under 16 years) and juvenile adults (16-21 years) which has in recent years been evolved in South Africa. In 1934 all reformatories and certified hostels were transferred from the Prisons' Department to the Union Education Department, and in 1935 the latter took over the probation services, which have since then been greatly expanded.

This transference has been a step of profound significance in the treatment of delinquency in South Africa. Placing the main responsibility for the training and after-care of all delinquents up to the age of 21 under the Union Education Department has two very important advantages:

1. This Department administers the Children's Protection Act (1913), under which it had already been made responsible for all neglected, uncontrollable and delinquent children who were committed under that Act. The new measure now brings all State institutions and services concerned with dependent and maladjusted, including delinquent, minors under one administration. Unity of control has the obvious advantage of making it possible to deal with these various phases of maladjustment as one problem, and to attack it in a causal-preventive, as well as in a remedial way. Pre-delinquent factors such as destitution, neglect, uncontrollability, and maladjustment, which so frequently lead to crime, are now considered, as well as the treatment of the criminal himself.

2. We have now substituted the educational point of view for the purely penal one. The Education Department, by means of a radical change in the staffing and organization of institutions for delinquents, is doing its utmost to dissociate them from their historic penal associations.

The following are some of the developments which are taking place under the new régime:

Vocational Training. In order to effect real rehabilitation of these boys and girls, an effort is made to train them so that when they leave they can take a definite place in society as respectable citizens. In his Annual Report (1933-34) the Secretary for Education deplored the reluctance of employers to engage young people released from reformatories and hostels, and remarked: 'In this respect it were well if the State likewise recognized its obligations. Delinquents are often refused Government employment on the ground of a former lapse of conduct. This attitude is not wholly consistent and reasonable, and it discounts the behaviour and character recovery which these institutions are presumed to have effected.'

Individual Study and Treatment. A beginning has been made by appointing to the staffs of reformatories persons who have had training in the psychological study and treatment of behaviour problems.

Training for Freedom. Efforts have been made to introduce a more liberal régime than that of the Prisons' Department, under which inmates of institutions were always locked up or kept under the strictest surveillance. The experiment of allowing some inmates to sleep with open doors, and housing others in hostels, where they are free to come and go, has already shown encouraging results, even in native reformatories.

After Care. This very necessary work is made possible by the utilization of probation services in such a way that inmates on their release may receive the necessary guidance and help in re-establishing themselves in the community.

The treatment of delinquents is not confined to those in institutions. Youthful offenders are sometimes placed in foster-homes, or under probation in their own homes, where, by means of a well-trained probation service, an attempt is made to rehabilitate the home as well as the individual. The probation officers work in close co-operation with juvenile courts. They make investigations and reports on young offenders who have to appear before the courts, and

also render assistance in connection with the domestic relations courts.

There are at present four juvenile courts in the Union, each with a magistrate in charge, who specializes in this type of work, and the Department of the Interior makes available at these courts the part-time services of psychiatrists. These provisions are by no means sufficient. I feel that the psychologist with educational experience is as necessary as the psychiatrist. Ideally, delinquency should be approached from four different angles: from the point of view of (a) the psychiatrist (including the general medical aspect), (b) the psychologist, (c) the educationist, and (d) the social worker. And in practice it is found that a specialist in each of these four fields is needed (unless one of them combines in himself more than one qualification).

The attitude underlying the reforms I have described and suggested is that delinquent children are not merely temporary nuisances, but potential and social problems of the future. If the State does not spend money on them in their early youth, it will have to spend many times as much later on in trying to deal with them as adult criminals, and, in addition, it will have to reckon with the great waste in human personality which accompanies all forms of social maladjustment.

THE NEW PSYCHOLOGY AND THE CHILD- CENTRED SCHOOL

HAROLD RUGG

FORTUNATELY, as we approach the gigantic task of building a new education for a new social order, we do not start from scratch. Our fathers passed on to us more than staggering social problems to solve. They bequeathed us a new psychology and a new sociology as well. By the turn of the twentieth century they had accumulated a vast body of documental evidence in support of several revolutionary ideas.

The first was the idea of growth. Both individuals and societies came to be conceived of as growing organisms, not as 'created whole' by some other-worldly force. All life was regarded as *growing*, and growth was continuous from birth to death. 'As John Dewey put it: 'Since growth is characteristic of life, education is all one with growing; it has no end beyond itself. . . . Growing is not something which is completed in odd moments; it is a continuous leading into the future.' /

This concept of life as growth, then, gave pioneer psychologists and educationists their cue for the reconstruction of their ideas of child learning and the development of the curriculum. Increasingly education came to be visualized in terms of growth—physical, intellectual, emotional, moral. The criterion of excellence of an educational system was: Does it produce a constant tendency toward maximum growth? /

To appreciate the full significance of this concept for education, however, we must understand two other correlative ideas. One is the idea that 'meaning grows through the active responses of the individual.' The other is the idea that both in structure and in behaviour the human being is a whole, an integrated organism. /

The idea of the active character of experience has been

perceived periodically by many students of earlier civilizations and previous centuries. But in the milieu of the scientific documentation and discussion of the growth concept, it was rediscovered and clarified as never before in recorded history. Although many Europeans and Americans made contributions to its understanding, three clarified it more than all others—Charles Sanders Peirce, William James, and John Dewey.

Central to their theory was the concept that 'meaning is built up through active experience.' The thesis was brilliantly illustrated that 'education is for behaviour and habits are the stuff of which behaviour consists.' The concept of active learning was generalized recurrently by such a statement as one of James: 'Experience is never yours merely as it comes to you, facts are never mere data; they are data to which you *respond*, your experience is constantly transformed by your *deeds*. . . . The simplest process, the most elaborate scientific theory, illustrates how man never really finds, he always co-operates in creating his world.'

Following Peirce, James, and Dewey, educational workers could build their practical programmes in the twentieth century on the principle that 'meaning arises out of the *active* experience of the individual, and that 'experience is a continuous stream of minute, complicated, integrated responses.' Learning is making responses. We respond actively, *with* meaning; we do not passively 'acquire' meanings, by some mysterious process, from the environment about us. We have a meaningful experience only when the organism makes an *appropriate* reaction. The educator can bank on this, then—the learning child is the active child.

Consider a genetic example—how the infant learns a concrete meaning like 'ball.' From his first contact with it all his sensibilities enter into the building of meaning. He learns to hold the object in his hands, making the appropriate physical adjustments of muscles and joints. Eventually many tactual reactions, integrated with the response that his eyes make to the shape, bring him to express and to

understand the meaning of 'round.' This meaning is increased by noting that the ball not only fits into the curved hand, but that it also can be rolled on a smooth surface. Other perceptions, resulting from squeezing, patting, and the like, lead him similarly to react with meanings of 'hardness' and 'softness.' As he becomes older, 'ball' becomes to him something that can be thrown, batted, and caught, or knocked about on a tennis court, a golf course, a pool table.

Thus, through countless varied experiences, and over a considerable interval of time, the growing child learns to fuse together a multitude of reactions with the single symbolic meaning, 'ball.' He learns to say the word, and to write it, as well as to think it and to feel it. This is achieved only with the co-operation of the adults about him, who give him the word and who teach him the variations and possibilities of response which would not occur to him in solitary play. Thus by an active, inductive, cumulative process a background of experience, a stock-in-trade of meanings, is built up.

But responding with meaning is an integrated process as well as an active one, and the adequacy of the meaning will depend upon the appropriateness with which every trait enters into the total response. This is the third idea that was made clear by a half-century of research following 1870—the concept that the whole organism contributes to the response. We to-day owe our understanding of this fundamental concept to two groups of students. One included the theoretical philosophers and psychologists, led by Peirce, James and Dewey. The other, working independently of these, were laboratory students of physiology, endocrinology, neurology, and psychology. These included such leaders as Walter B. Cannon, C. S. Sherrington, G. W. Crile, C. M. Child, Wolfgang Köhler, and others.

From the cumulative theories and laboratory studies of these two groups of students has emerged an understanding of the 'integration principle' of human behaviour. According to it, clear meaning arises, not only through the

active response of the individual, but only when the various aspects of the response are, in addition, appropriate to one another. Physical and mental attitudes must fit the intellectual meaning. Facial expression, bodily posture and movement, gesture, idea—all are related parts of the total unified response. In expressing an attitude of fear, for example, the body tends to assume a posture of recoil. Corresponding physical attitudes and movements form the bodily carrier of the meaning; the muscles and joints tremble, become tense, perhaps collapse; the body may be projected into overt movement. A person conveys an attitude of delight by an advancing, or 'going out' posture. In anger the fists are clenched, the teeth are set, and the body becomes rigid.

Thus we respond with adequate meanings only in so far as we adopt the physical and mental attitudes and use the verbal symbols which can produce those meanings. The body may not be seen to move, but the tendency to make appropriate physical adjustments is there. These physiological adjustments, these mental-motor sets of the individual, we call 'attitudes.' It is now believed that attitude is the, or one of the, essential carriers of meaning.

Research in endocrinology, the exploration of the constitution and rôle of such organs as the thyroid and parathyroid, adrenal, pituitary, and pineal glands has been one of the most fruitful lines of study. Even before 1800 physiologists had located the thyroid gland in the neck and the adrenal glands in the abdomen, but they did not know what functions, especially general organic functions, such glands exercised in physiological, mental or emotional life. About the middle of the nineteenth century, however, the part played by these ductless glands in the emotions and in the general physiological behaviour of the individual was revealed by a slowly accumulating body of evidence. With their successful transplantation of the reproductive glands under the skin of animals, for example, it was proved that these had definite powers over the body as a whole, attributable only to the internal gland secretion.

Gradually they established such relations as that between a diseased condition of the thyroid gland and the weight and height of individuals. By the 1890's many direct relations between the condition of the thyroid, pituitary, and other glands and the emotional and physical health of individuals had been scientifically established.

Shortly after the beginning of the twentieth century such scientific physiologists as Pavlov, Sherrington, Cannon and Crile began to study systematically the action of the internal organs under various conditions of emotional stimulation. They showed, for example, that emotional hysteria in animals invariably evoked in them not only fear and rage, but an increased adrenal secretion in the blood; under conditions of pain and other intense emotions there occurred a marked increase in the sugar content of the blood. These and many other results they confirmed by experiments on human beings.

Thus the chorus of emphasis by physiologists on the *'wholeness' of an organism's response has increased steadily* during the past generation. The point of view can be summed up in J. S. Haldane's description of metabolic activity as a *'whole' process*:

'Such processes as secretion, absorption, growth, nervous excitation, muscular contraction, were treated formerly as if each was an isolable physical or chemical process, instead of being what it is, one side of a many-sided metabolic activity of which the different sides are indissolubly associated.'

Other physiologists and physiological psychologists have made *'integration,' or 'organization,'* the very crux of their interpretation of behaviour. Gradually the psychologists, even the behaviorists, came to adopt the same view. Witness John B. Watson's statement: *'The behaviorist is interested in integration and total activities of the individual.'* The psycho-biologist also treats the individual as *'whole personality.'*

We need not extend our catalogue of cases or scientific studies any farther. Those which have been given provide

convincing documentation of the principle of the whole individual in action. Our educational reconstruction must be based upon it.

Here, then, were three new concepts for a new education:

1. The concept of life and education as growth.
2. The concept of meaning through active response; growth as the continuous reconstruction of experience.
3. The concept of the human being as an organism and of his responses as integrated.

While these studies were documenting the character of individual response, a host of others were slowly teaching educational workers that their new psychology must be essentially social in nature. 'Society'—'the culture'—they saw with increasing clarity, was nothing more nor less than the psychological interaction of two or more individuals. As a consequence of these developments by the close of the World War, a whole new social psychology came into being, the central questions of which were: How does the culture mould the individual? How does the individual change the culture?

Three important agencies contribute to the making of normal social life in the modern world.

There are, in the first place, the face-to-face groups of daily life, the family, neighbourhood, church, school, job and lodge. All these powerfully mould personality. They continuously influence our minds, form our points of view, model our opinions, beliefs, and general understanding. First, then, are the face-to-face groups.

But the individual is being moulded also by agencies not directly personal. Note, for example, the influence of the daily and weekly newspapers, popular magazines, pamphlets and bulletins, addresses, books. There is, likewise, the powerful impact of the radio, with its Amos and Andy, its Father Coughlin, and its Captain Bartlett, its international broadcasts, the tom-tom of its interminable jazz bands, and its occasional symphonies and concerts. Note, also, the shaping effect of the motion picture upon the minds and personalities of fully half the nation; the influ-

ence of the newsreels, with the organized propaganda of both Government and private agencies behind it; the more or less unrecognized influence of the public-relations counsel; the effect of super-salesmanship, which makes use of the press, the movies, the radio, the billboards that line our national highways, and even airplane sky-writing. These, then, constitute some of the less directly personalized agencies which help to mould the individual, and hence to make the culture of the people.

Finally, there is another factor—namely, the climate of opinion of the community—which makes the individual what he is. This subtle psychological influence operates upon us in the face-to-face groups of community, region and nation; in the conglomerate secondary groups that never meet; and in the total communal life as well. All-pervading is the deep-lying influence of the emotional-mental atmosphere in which we live and have our being. Although it is invisible, it is constantly pressing in upon us, sometimes directly by word of mouth and overt physical gesture, but always in the ever-present, invisible, general tone of the group and community life. These, then, are the three outstanding kinds of agencies which make the individual what he is.

Let us now study a bit more closely the psychology of the process by which the growing individual is formed by the groups about him. A child matures in the midst of family, neighbourhood, and community groups, each individual of which is a unique personality. Each reacts to social situations with certain meanings and generalizations which form his intellectual background. Each has his own conception of the physical and social world. Each holds certain personal views, beliefs, and convictions with respect to people, institutions, problems of community and national life, and the like. Surrounded by groups of egocentric individuals, each one more or less consciously striving to make over all the others on the pattern of his own image—the child lives his days passing from one little changing group to another. Each reacts to him, and he, in turn, reacts to each.

Confronted with an overwhelming confusion of stimuli, the child necessarily responds to only a few. The social world is too complex, so from early childhood the individual learns to respond to each complicated situation with a few cue meanings. Through an elaborate procedure of trial and error, from infancy through the years of youth, he learns that he can control the people about him by reacting to them in special and selected ways.

The child or the youth, thus assailed on every side by a multiplicity of stimuli, reacts not only with selected meanings but also with self-defensive ones. He learns to defend himself against the essentially egocentric social world around him. In the midst of group after group of self-centred, aggressive individuals, he himself learns to be self-centred and aggressive. Thus, even before he arrives at the age for school attendance, he has learned to respond to the world about him with a well-organized scheme of self-defensive mechanisms.

Each social contact brings its changes in the points of view and understanding of the individuals involved. Gesture and word together change attitudes, beliefs, and points of view, and modify personalities. All day long, all life long, through constant give and take in changing, overlapping groups, the moulding of the social culture of the people proceeds.

Note, then, the twofold nature of this interaction between the individual and the group. On the one hand are groups of egocentric individuals, exerting pressures, warping, stamping, and labelling the growing child or youth; on the other hand is the growing individual himself, learning to adapt himself to and defend himself against the confusing world. Two opposed kinds of action and reaction; group pressing in upon the child, child adapting or resisting and defending himself against it. The culture of the group making the man; the man constantly contributing his bit to the remaking of the culture.

One aspect of this interaction between the individual and the group is of great importance to educational workers—

namely, the partial, short-circuited character of the meanings with which the responses are made. Man reacts only partially to the social world. He picks conspicuous aspects of character, the striking people and the more prominent features of a situation, the outstanding characteristics of institutions, and reacts to the situations in terms of his reaction to these elements.

First recall how each individual lives the course of his daily life in many different groups. In these groups persons of like interests clique together, standing for similar points of view, defending their own peculiar interests and philosophies. Thus the members of a given group hold the same general attitude, adhere to the same ideas in so far as these ideas are peculiar to that particular group. For example, note the important economic groups—business men organized into Rotary Clubs and chambers of commerce, workers into labour unions, farmers into farmer co-operatives, and the like. Each of these groups tends to stand for a given position in economic matters, although the members of any one group are not necessarily in agreement on political, religious, social, aesthetic, or other matters.

In the same fashion, too, persons of like political interests tend to join the same parties, each one of which stands for the same general position. Religion also tends to amalgamate those of like beliefs into compact 'in-groups.' The selective character of meanings in this process has always led to the sharpest of cleavages, lining up Protestant against Catholic, Jew against Gentile, Christian against Moslem, Buddhist, and any others. In the same fashion, racial and national ties tend to align human beings into conflicting groups, setting up as Nordics, Slavs, Latins, Orientals, Negroes, Bantu, what not.

Hence the psychological base of human culture, especially in the infinitely complex and heterogeneous modern world, consists of a confused mixture of points of view, opinions, creeds, beliefs, and the like, organized and stamped and labelled. And as each mind struggles to comprehend this mixture, it gets itself similarly organized.

Thus, when one individual reacts to another, he sees him not as the mysterious and complex personality that he is; rather he sees him as a composite of traits which he has learned to associate with members of various groups. He pigeon-holes and classifies him under groups, which, therefore, come to bear abbreviated class names—Jew, Gentile, Christian, Catholic, Radical, Conservative, Negro, Communist, Mason, D.A.R., and the like.

So it is inevitable that the young child, otherwise overwhelmed by this confusing heterogeneity of life, also learns to react to people (and to institutions, to problems, and to theories) with these abbreviated stereotyped class names. He builds up his own personal idea of what a Radical is; similarly, he slowly forms his concept of Liberal, Fundamentalist, Jew, Christian, labour leader, and the like. He builds up concepts for the Bolshevik, the Chinese, the Japanese military, the professional athlete, the banker, the bandit, the Senator, the M.P., the political agitator. Thus, as he reacts to successions of social situations, he does so in the light of his mental pictures, with his classified, emotionally coloured concepts of the points of view, the desirability, and the attitudes toward life of the person or group involved. He does this because he cannot react to the elaborate integration of details which constitutes the total human being or the total situation. He can respond only to those conspicuous phases of the complex situation which obtrude at any given moment.

These facts have great significance for the building of that common understanding upon which democracy is postulated. It is almost inevitable that no two people will select exactly the same meaning with which to respond to the same situation. Hence the concepts that people use in communicating with one another carry great divergencies of meaning. Hence the consequent difficulty of building solidarity of point of view, of securing universal consent, and of producing joint action. This, perhaps, will serve us as a single brief illustration of the difficulties which confront those who are trying to make democracy work.

We see, therefore, that we do not actually deal with the real world about us, but rather with a pseudo-mental world of ideas and beliefs. We respond to this pseudo-environment as though it were real, our only possible adjustment being by means of the various substitute and partial meanings which we have invented for real people, real things, real actions. Our fictions, or stereotypes, are the very core of our beings, the defence of our position in society. As Mr. Walter Lippmann has put it, 'We define first and then see.'

On every hand to-day we note the conflict between the current widespread régime of competition and the need of social co-operation. At the basis of the conflict is the psychological fact that most people, having been brought up in a competitive social world of egocentric persons, become more or less unsocial defenders of their own individuality.

Through careful observation of children's development, social psychologists and sociologists have traced this course of self-feeling. Cooley, for example, investigated the manner in which little children developed in their use of the pronouns 'I,' 'my,' and 'mine.' He concludes that the words do not represent to the child his visible and tangible human body, but indicate rather a self-assertive feeling or attitude. 'I,' Cooley says, 'is a social concept, the very essence of which is the assertion of self-will.'

Speaking to the same point, the egocentric character of the individual, Robinson says in *The Mind in the Making*:

'The little word *my* is the most important one in all human affairs, and properly to reckon with it is the beginning of wisdom. It has the same force whether it is *my* dinner, *my* dog, and *my* house, or *my* faith, *my* country, and *my* God. We not only resent the imputation that our watch is wrong, or our car shabby, but that our conception of the canals of Mars, of the pronunciation of "Epictetus," of the medicinal value of salicin, or the date of Sargon I, are subject to revision.'

The social world builds in many a sense of inferiority. Youth grows up assailed from every angle by economic

and social pressure. Family, neighbourhood group, and community, all co-operate in the everlasting endeavour to put each person in his place, and life tends to become a succession of episodes in conformity. Independence of thought is minimized; loyalty to the ideals of the group is canonized; and as this takes place a sense of inferiority accumulates in each individual. The pressures from parents and from all those who are stronger, more vigorous, more dynamic, upon the less effective individuals inevitably produce a growing sense of inferiority. Constant reminders of dependence and inability in particular directions, the undervaluing of opinions, the ridiculing of questionings, and other forms of adult behaviour, steadily tend to kill the child's self-confidence—hence the self-defensive mechanisms.

Of the many psychological concepts which Freud and other psycho-analysts have clarified, those which deal with the tendency of the individual to defend himself are perhaps most important of all. These psycho-analysts, by carefully recording examples of every-day behaviour, have at last made the 'self-defensive mechanisms' a matter of definite record. These mechanisms are so important in the learning processes of the individual that we should discuss them briefly. The researches of the past generation have produced five fairly distinct examples.

1. *Rationalization.* One form which self-defence takes is known as 'rationalization.' It is the tendency of the individual to give 'good' reasons for the 'real' reasons behind his behaviour. He behaves in certain ways while wishing to appear to behave in other ways to the social groups about him. Hence he tends to make up explanations or justifications for what he does. In *The Mind in the Making* Robinson explains this trait, with an example:

'I remember years ago attending a public dinner to which the Governor of the State was bidden. The chairman explained that His Excellency could not be present for certain "good" reasons; what the "real" reasons were the presiding officer said he would leave us to conjecture. This distinction between "good" and "real" reasons is one of the

most clarifying and essential in the whole realm of thought. We can readily give what seem to us "good" reasons for being a Catholic or a Mason, a Republican or a Democrat, an adherent or opponent of the League of Nations. But the "real" reasons are usually on quite a different plane.'

2. *Compensation.* Closely correlated with this tendency to rationalize our behaviour is that of 'compensation,' sometimes called 'the sour-grapes philosophy.' Indeed, it is frequently impossible to distinguish compensation from rationalization, they are so closely integrated. Studies of behaviour show that between a third and a half of fairly well-educated persons reveal examples of this kind of defensive attitude against loss of self-esteem.

The tendency towards compensatory behaviour reveals itself very clearly in an individual's specific desires to conquer felt inadequacies. It is, for example, the undersized, physically weak man who most often desires to be an athletic leader, while it is the social climber in the lower economic-social classes who craves a family tree. Allport has shown us that there are various ways by which these individuals solve their problems. The weakling may compensate for his defects by building up inner, imaginative pictures of himself as the hero in physical combats. The social climber may similarly create an imaginary family tree with ancestors of glory and high social position. Another compensatory way of coping with a feeling of inferiority is to make up in effort what one lacks in ability; everlasting perseverance may produce as high attainment as sheer brilliance. Thus many persons of only average intellect achieve the highest of administrative positions. In short, either we find a way of atoning for our weaknesses or deficiencies by rationalization, compensation, or over-compensation, or we take refuge from the real world in a world of fancy.

3. *Substitution.* Another frequent form which tendencies of self-defence assume is the substitution of another kind of behaviour for a repressed or inhibited kind. For example, a person who is prevented from answering back

to an economic or social superior vents his reaction in some other and available form of spleen. As Everett Martin puts it, 'He may kick the cat or fire his stenographer.'

4. *Projection.* Still another form of self-defence is known as 'projection.' This is the practice of attributing one's own traits or responsibilities to others. An interesting example occurs in group gossip, where, as someone has put it, 'the scandalmonger may enjoy his own rottenness vicariously,' attributing to others the meannesses and faults which he subtly knows to lie at his own door. Groups exhibit this phenomenon of projection as well as individuals. No campaign, for example, is complete without the exchange of accusations about graft and other dishonesty by the contending parties. It is a fairly safe generalization to say that the party loudest in recrimination is the party most at fault. 'Projection' is at work.

5. *Escape.* Closely related to rationalization and compensation is that way of behaving called 'escape.' Consider how few people accept their responsibilities in the social world and face the realities of their situations. Unable to react thus appropriately to actuality, they create, and live in, an imaginary world of irresponsible pleasure. Escape in its most complete form, of course, results in delusions of insanity; then the individual lives entirely in a world of imagination.

Some investigators extend this concept of escape to include group escapes, and regard Utopian societies, experiments in socialized communal life, and the like as examples of escape mechanisms on the part of a very small percentage of people. Is this perhaps one of the chief reasons for the consistent record of failures which these groups have suffered?

To sum up: these, briefly stated are the outstanding examples of egocentric self-defensive mechanisms of behaviour. They reveal man responding to the intellectual, emotional, and social pressures upon him with a growing tendency toward defence of self. Thus the individual rationalizes, substituting 'good' motives for the 'real'

motives of his behaviour; he compensates for his defects; he escapes from realities and responsibilities; he projects into others the traits that he recognizes as deficiencies in himself; he is a bundle of egocentric self-defensive mechanisms.

Every educational worker, whether he be classroom teacher, curriculum-maker or school administrator, must build his theory and his programme with a view to serving such individuals as these. Society is essentially the interaction of unique individuals, it is true, but all individuals act in the light of such mechanisms as have been here described.

EDUCATION AND THE ART OF LIVING

H. R. HAMLEY

IN recent years the world has witnessed many changes in its political institutions, and in its moral and cultural ideals. Old constitutions have been reconstructed or annulled; old values have been discarded or revised. We are concerned, not so much that nations have changed their political creeds, as that they have changed their scale of values, for it is in the realm of values that the true significance of any change, political or otherwise, is to be found. Society has indeed changed its values when might has become the only right, and the will-to-power the only will that is good.

Our appreciation of the worth of education depends, as it must depend, on our sense of values. Education must pay attention, of course, to utilitarian and immediate values, but it must also have regard to other values more spiritual and remote. If democracy is to mean anything to the world, it must hold fast the eternal values—goodness, beauty and truth. But whether democracy or some other political creed be ours, we are all pursuing the things we value.

Now what is to be our criterion whether a thing be of value or no? We set values on things for many reasons—that they are rare or that they are useful; that they give pleasure, or evoke sentiment; that they sustain life, or enrich it. Things are of value when they satisfy, or tend to satisfy, some human need. Professor Alexander has said of 'beauty' that 'the beauty of a beautiful object is not a quality in it, but is a character it possesses of satisfying in a material form a certain impulse of the mind.'

In the final analysis we know a thing to be of value when we are prepared to give ourselves, to give of ourselves, for it, perhaps to the utmost. Such a thing was the Pearl of Great Price, for which a man was prepared to sell all that he had. The giving of the self is, then, the final test of everything of value; it is the final test of the life that is

worth living. 'We receive but what we give, and in our life alone does Nature live.' If I were asked to enunciate the first and greatest principle of education, I think I should express my answer in the words of Him who said: 'He that loseth his life for My sake shall find it.' It is in the losing of the self that life is found—and education has to do with *life*.

Some years ago, when I was resident in India, I sought release from the heat and work of the day in a journey to the Land of Eternal Snow. One evening, at the end of a long day's march, when I was miles from the nearest village, and hundreds of miles from the nearest town, I came to a grassy platform^a overlooking what must surely be one of the grandest scenes in the whole wide world, the range of Nanda Devi. I stood for a long time bound as by a spell. As I was about to move on, my attention was drawn to a man seated on the ground in the attitude of meditation. How long he had been there I do not know. I waited a long time, until at length the silence was broken, and I heard him say, quietly but clearly, 'Shanti, shanti, shanti.' 'Peace, peace, peace.' Who could doubt that that man had lost himself and had found in himself—peace. The losing of the self is the projection of the self—it may be in the work of the world, it may be in the realm of ideas, it may be in the service of one's fellows; it may be in contemplation. Another word for this experience is 'absorption.' The child is really living when he is fully absorbed in work or play, when he loses himself and forgets both time and space.

If education is of any worth, it must satisfy certain human needs. Our next question is: What are the child's personal needs? They are many—the need of security and the need of adventure, the need of freedom and the need of control, the need of solitude and the need of companionship, the need to work and the need to rest, the need to work and the need to play, the need to give and the need to receive recognition and affection. I have not time to deal with all of these needs, and so I select the two that seem to be fundamental—the need of security and the need

of adventure. Deprive the child of security, and he becomes timid, uncertain and anxious; deny him adventure, and he becomes apathetic, dependent and apologetic. Security and adventure are both essential to healthy growth and development, whether it be of the body or of the mind. Security is the child's right, and confidence his recognition of it. The insecure child is the unhealthy child. Unhappy is the child whose experience of life is largely that of instability and uncertainty, of emotional insecurity in the home, the playground and the schoolroom. This sense of insecurity may begin quite early, and may persist through life—the changed attitude of the mother at the time of weaning; the deprivation of love and the rejection of love; social nervousness on entering school and on leaving it; the unfriendly attitude of teachers; uncertainty in grasping the fundamentals of knowledge; capricious alternations between repression and freedom; doubts and perplexities attending adolescence; vicissitudes of faith in ultimate verities and values.

These are but a few. Other illustrations may be found in the records of any Child Guidance Clinic. I have time for only a word or two on each. Dr. Ian Suttie, in his thought-provoking book, *The Origins of Love and Hate*, says of the infant at the time of weaning:

The very roots of its sense of security and justice are struck by the denial of baby caresses and by the rejection of those offered by the child.

This remark would apply with equal truth to other social situations in the life of the child, for *the need-to-give is as fundamental as the need-to-receive*. Truly, it is in the giving of life that life is found. Of social nervousness on entering school and at other times, Adler has said much that is wise, even if, at times, he seems to exaggerate its importance. Had he emphasized the importance of security of all kinds he would have commanded our acceptance of his views. I have spoken of alternations between freedom and repression, because psychological investigation has shown that capricious alternations between laxity and firm discipline result in a feeling of insecurity often leading to

anxiety. What is the child to do when the same conduct on his part produces such varied responses from his elders and such different consequences to himself? Better firm discipline than such irrational disciplinary measures. I can only refer to one other of the examples I have cited: the unsettling effect of an uncertain grasp of the fundamentals of knowledge. I am convinced that this uncertainty is the cause not only of much emotional instability, but also of much that goes by the name of misconduct or delinquency. Dr. William Moodie, who, as Head of the London Child Guidance Clinic, has had unrivalled opportunities of studying the maladjusted child, has stated that:

Early and efficient teaching in the fundamental subjects of reading, writing and arithmetic, is the corner-stone of mental hygiene in children.

The retarded child becomes involved in a vicious circle. His backwardness leads to his poor adjustment to life, and this, in turn, becomes the cause of further backwardness. Consider the child who, after a period, perhaps a brief period, of absence from school, finds that he is unable to cope with the normal work of the class, or the child who, though present, is slow in grasping the beginnings of his school subjects. What is he to do? Unless he is sympathetically and patiently treated he will experience a feeling of frustration, which will colour his whole school life; perhaps he will experience a feeling of desperation, and will give vent to his feeling in anti-social conduct. This gives us food for thought. Backward children need patient individual treatment.

But security is not freedom from conflict, still less is it freedom from risk. Security that has not been tried, even tried by fire, can never be the foundation of mental health. True security is faith in oneself when faced with conflicts and risks. This is the lesson of history, which has taught us that the conflicts of the past have given us the security of the present. As Professor Whitehead has said, in his *Adventures of Ideas*:

The nation preserves its vigour so long as it harbours a real contrast between what has been and what may be: and so long as it is nerved by the vigour to adventure beyond the safeties of the past. Without

adventure civilization is full of decay. It is for this reason that the definition of culture as the knowledge of the best that has been said and done, is so dangerous by reason of its omission. It omits the great fact that in their day the great achievements of the past were the adventures of the past. Only the adventurous can understand the greatness of the past.

Adventure is a departure from the safe ground of security, not in search of record or novelty, but in search of new securities and perfections. If security is the condition, then adventure is the agency of all growth and development.

One of the most frequent signs of maladjustment in children, and, it may be added, of neurosis in adults, is what is known as *regression*, reversion to an earlier developmental state, when there was a stronger sense of security and stability. Child psychologists have come to regard regression as an unhealthy sign. Their records show that quite a large section of the population under such stresses as illness, anxiety, misfortune, perplexity and overwork tend to retreat from the realities of life to a childish craving for protection and comfort. There are several 'fixation points,' as they are called, towards which we tend to regress when the world is too much for us. The reason is that we have not been trained to venture.

The criticism has often been made of our schools that they bear the stamp of a paralysing conservatism, and that the marks and scorings of adventure are so seldom found upon them. We have been told that this is inevitable, since schools have to perpetuate an established culture and preserve discipline and authority. Such may be admitted, but our schools have a responsibility to the future as well as an allegiance to the past. Our schools must do more than inculcate a fixed and ready-made scheme of knowledge; they must provide for adventure in the field of action and in the realm of ideas. There is no greater hindrance to real education than the convention that it is possible to prescribe a set course of study that will be of value to all children, whether they are roughly of the same ability or not. Recent psychological research has shown that children differ widely in their interests and in their customary patterns of thought. These

differences must be considered if the child is to have the experience of losing himself in intellectual adventure.

The school of the future must keep clearly in view the distinction between 'standard' work, which is basic to all intelligent living, and that more individual or 'creative' work which is the outcome of the child's own imaginative and creative spirit. The fundamental concepts and ideas of most school subjects are fairly easy to grasp when they are shorn of their subtleties. Much needless anxiety would be obviated if children, instead of being compelled to make good in all subjects, were encouraged to pursue those in which they are interested to a much higher level. It follows from this that school and public examinations should be of two types, those which are designed to measure honest but modest competence in the fundamentals and those which test the child's real enthusiasms, in so far as these are capable of assessment. Here we may put in a word of caution: Do not attempt to measure that which cannot, and, indeed, should not, be measured. It is enough for the child that he loses himself in his enthusiasms; it should be enough for us.

I have reserved very little time for the social aspects of the problem of living. I hope this will not be taken to imply that the social aspects are less important than the individual. It is almost a paradox that, while human growth is essentially individual, it cannot be secured in any adequate degree except through the medium of society. So it comes about that many of man's needs, if not social, are socially conditioned. In the companionship of security and the comradeship of adventure, courage, initiative, and will are fortified and sustained. It was not for nothing that the disciples went forth in pairs. Co-operation in work is as important, perhaps more so, than co-operation in play. There is abundant evidence to show that the child's altruistic impulses can be trained, that its magnanimity of spirit can be developed. It is only in recent years that we have learned that this can be done through co-operative work even more surely than through co-operative play, certainly more than

through competitive play. No child has begun to learn the art of living who has not learnt to work in co-operation with others. The importance of social education was fully realized by the Board of Education Consultative Committee in their Report on the education of the adolescent:

We feel strongly the importance of securing that the organization is sufficiently fluid to permit of a happy mixture of individual work and group activity, and of an easy transition from one to the other. In the school, as in life, what is most to be desired is the combination of individual responsibility and initiative with the co-operative spirit.

This, to my mind, is the most significant passage in the whole report. If the child is to learn the art of living, he must learn to make these main adjustments to life: adjustment to self, adjustment to work and adjustment to folk. The school of the future will provide for these adjustments in individual and social work.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CHILD'S EMOTIONAL LIFE

SUSAN ISAACS

I. *The Pre-School Child*

I DO not need to try to convince you of the importance of the child's emotional life at every age. I do not suppose you would challenge the view that the child's ability to learn in the school is bound up with his interests and his feelings about people and things, and that all his social usefulness and personal happiness in later life, his attitudes to other people, to his work and to his social responsibilities are rooted in his social and emotional experiences in childhood. Doubtless what you want me to do is to speak of the special characteristics of the child's emotional life at different ages, and the special ways in which these typical modes of feeling affect the teacher's work. I will deal here with the child between two to five years, and, later, will discuss the school child between five and eleven.

Let us look first at the descriptive facts of the child's emotional life in these early years, then consider its meaning for the child himself, and finally some of the practical bearings of these facts.

Two to five is, of course, a long period of development, one bringing important changes in the child's feelings. The child of two is still very dependent upon the attention and love of his mother, or of some other person who acts instead of his mother. He is still nervous and suspicious of other children, and tends to cling to a grown-up for shelter, protection and love. He is interested in other children, and likes to have them about and to play amongst them, but he is not yet confident amongst them, and is far more concerned with what he himself wants to do than with their interests. The two-year-old will always try to have possession of any grown-up, a privileged relation with her, and really needs far more personal contact with a grown-up

than the child of four or five. For this reason, in the nursery school, we need to have fewer two-year-olds to any one grown-up than in the case of older children. Even as late as five years, children can only remain happy together and play and work together if there is a grown-up always in the background, who exercises a gentle but firm control, metes out justice, keeps everybody secure, and provides an atmosphere of steady love.

By the time he is three, however, the child is, to some extent, becoming weaned from this great dependence upon the grown-up. He is more actively interested in other children, and will play with them for longer periods without constant reference to the grown-up. Under five years of age, groups of more than three children are very rare, and children typically play in twos.

Moreover, the feelings of the young child are very intense, his affection is very warm, his need for the love of others makes him very dependent, his anger overwhelms him, his fears and anxiety dominate him. He has neither the experience nor the knowledge to help him to control his feelings and adapt them to other people.

All through this period from two to five years he is liable to special emotional difficulties. For example, if anything is denied him, or if he is disappointed in himself and in what he can do, he becomes extremely obstinate, and may have an outbreak of acute temper and anxiety. Temper tantrums and obstinacy are very common in the third year, gradually become a little less frequent, and pass away by the fifth or sixth year. They are often very difficult to deal with, since the child cannot be reasoned with when he is screaming in fury.

Again, the little child is subject to acute fears, may wake up screaming with terror in the night without any understandable cause, and may develop phobias of all sorts of things: animals, people, noises, insects, water, having his hair washed, and so on. During the third year, too, he may become very troublesome in wetting and dirtying. Break-downs in cleanliness are very common in children who seem

to have been successfully trained at an earlier age. Sometimes these fits of dirtiness appear when a new baby is born, or when there is some change of surroundings or routine, or some loved person is lost.

Thumb-sucking may be an acute difficulty, and, not at all infrequently, masturbation, too, both in boys and girls.

Many children develop feeding difficulties, also, whether capriciousness of appetite in general, wanting to be coaxed and fed and played with at the meal table, or dislike of particular foods, e.g., meat, milk or vegetables. These dislikes are sometimes so acute that children simply cannot swallow the hated food. Feeding difficulties, too, whilst often considerable during the third year, tend to get less acute during the next year or two.

Attacks of destructiveness, breaking and spoiling things, throwing things into the fire, and of aggressiveness towards other children, scratching, pushing, biting, are common. Biting children are a great trouble to deal with, since they often hurt and frighten another child quite severely, and often make such sudden attacks that it is difficult to prevent them.

Intolerable feelings of jealousy and rivalry will break out in many children, especially, of course, towards younger ones. These rivalries are not, as a rule, shown so acutely in a well-run nursery school as they are at home, but they are always present in children of these years. It is true that some children manage to control and hide their feelings of jealousy, but as a rule, where they are not shown openly, they find expression in temper tantrums, or poor appetite, or night terrors. On the whole, it is better that they should be expressed directly, since then they can be dealt with more happily. If the child has to hide them altogether, he may become ill in consequence.

Fortunately, not every child shows all these sorts of emotional difficulties, and they vary very much in intensity and duration. Some children pass through these years with no very acute troubles. But the more we observe children of these ages, the more we realize that difficulties of some

sort and some degree of intensity are universal and typical. They are part of the normal process of growing up. Foolish or inconsiderate treatment can make them much worse, but not the wisest mother can altogether avoid them. This had long been my own impression, and now there is plenty of reliable evidence to show that it is true. For instance, observations made with a group of children, from birth to six years, at the Institute of Child Welfare in Berkeley University, California, showed that all these children developed one or more such difficulties, to a greater or less degree. In good circumstances, however, children tend to grow out of the worst troubles, as they reach six or seven years.

If, now, we ask why these difficulties arise, and what they mean to the child, why he has temper tantrums, phobias, and fits of dirtiness, we find that such troubles in his behaviour spring from his natural and inevitable conflict of *feelings* towards those whom he loves. I spoke of the uncontrolled intensity of all his feelings. When he is fond, his affection is warm and whole-hearted. When he is angry, his fury knows no bounds. When he is afraid, his fears fill the universe for him. Now, if he were simply a little animal, these diverse feelings would give him no special trouble; he would forget about the one when he felt the other. But he is human, and, even in the first year, the human gifts of memory and imagination compel him to realize that he both hates and loves one and the same person—his mother—upon whom his life and security depends. Moreover, he develops a primitive logic which makes him confuse wishes and deeds, and imagine that he has produced effects in the world because he has merely wished them. He thus comes to fear the results of his own angry impulses towards those whom he deeply loves. When, therefore, he feels angry because he is denied or frustrated, he becomes anxious and distressed at the same time, just because he *also* loves those with whom he is angry. Long before the child is two years of age he will give proof to the patient observer that he is struggling with this conflict of love and hate in

himself, and feels not merely anxiety, but grief and distress, because of his destructive wishes towards those whom he also wants and needs to cherish and love. In his tantrums he expresses his despair about his own destructive wishes. In his refusals of food he shows us his anxiety lest his anger towards his mother has spoilt his food and made it bad for him. In his phobias of biting animals, for example, he projects his own destructive impulses on to the real or imagined biting creature. In effect, he says to himself and other people, 'It is not I who wants to bite my mother because she leaves me; it is the dog who wants to bite me.' And so he gains his mother's protection, and a proof of her love and goodness towards him, and eases some of the inner tension of his own feelings.

The child's own weakness and helplessness makes his conflict all the greater. At two and three and four years of age it is so much easier to spoil things than to make or mend them! The child knows that he can hurt by biting or spoil by wetting and dirtying, and that he cannot yet wipe up the mess he has made or restore what he has damaged. It is only by the slow growth of his own skill, on the background of the continued love and support of other people, that he comes to believe in any goodness in himself or any power of helping and making. As this belief grows, so his moments of despair and his worse anxieties, expressed in tantrums and phobias and dirtiness and destructiveness, gradually lessen.

We often see very striking instances of the way in which a child's aggression towards other children, suspicion and doubt in his relations with them, as well as his personal fears and idiosyncrasies, growing less and less as he is helped by a wise environment to learn and to do and to gain the happy assurance of his own constructive abilities.

We cannot solve the child's problems for him, but we can support him and help him to find his own solution to them.

Let us look now at what the child between two and five years needs from us:

First of all, he needs affection. Without love, warm, generous love, actively expressed in ways which the child

himself can understand, he never can come to believe in others or in himself. Experience has shown that an early lack of love leaves a permanent scar upon the developing personality.

But, also, he needs security. Without security, the child cannot venture to learn or to enter upon active social relations. And security has many facets.

(a) *A rhythmic pattern* in the details of his life—regular meals, and sleep time, an ordered routine of the day. Such regularity means safety and love in the child's feelings. We need to distinguish, however, between the rhythmic routine which *we* should provide and any attempt to force regularity upon the child himself, by over-emphasizing habits, before he is ready for it:

(b) *A firm control* by those upon whom he depends, when such control is appropriate. The child needs to feel that the grown-ups will take care of themselves and of him, against his anger and destructive wishes. He knows that *he* cannot take care of them and control his impulses, and, if *they* will not, he falls into despair.

(c) *Stable attitudes of feeling* in those around him. If the child cannot tell from what quarter the wind of other people's feelings will blow, he cannot learn to trust and control himself.

We can help the child, moreover, by showing patience and confidence in his future. If we attempt to force the growth of his skill or virtue (e.g., by too early and too rigid training in cleanliness), this leads not only to failure, but to mental ill-health.

But we can only gain confidence in the child's future ourselves by learning something of what normal development is, of the ages at which the various skills and social qualities we wish to foster typically appear in the course of normal growth.

For example, the parent needs to know when the child can learn to feed himself, to wash himself, to run and throw and play with other children, and what is suitable play material for different ages. A great deal of the naughtiness

of little children comes from not having enough to do, enough opportunity to develop independence. On the other hand, if we try to make the child do certain things before he is ready for them, such as enforcing habits of cleanliness or manners at too early an age, we only exasperate him and cause unnecessary anxiety and clumsiness. Again, by suitable clothing and equipment, by putting hooks to hang coats on at the right height, by having tables and chairs and cupboards, wash bowls, etc., of the right size, we can help the child to grow in happiness and independence.

A friendly, responsive attitude to the child's interests and skill, which will take trouble and time when he is ready to learn, instead of forcing passive obedience, makes a great difference to his social attitudes, as well as to his skill and knowledge in later years.

The child between two and five years needs room to run and jump, climb and balance, and play apparatus to help the development of these skills. Lack of chance to move freely causes him emotional irritation, and hampers his physical growth.

Above all, the young child needs the opportunity to *play*. In the emotional as in the intellectual field, his free spontaneous play is the best means of attaining mental balance and harmony, of learning to trust himself, to measure the strength of his own impulses, to work out the consequences of his own actions, to feel powers of control grow within himself, to believe in his own love and constructive wishes, to identify himself with others, and incorporate their needs within his own nature—and so to become a social being.

And this means, too, the chance to pretend, to make-believe. It is in his make-believe play that the child first develops his knowledge of the past and future and his interest in the behaviour of real things and people. The play material which fosters this imaginative drama—dolls, dolls' houses, teacups and saucers, bus conductor's cap, and so on, is as necessary for the child's development as any so-called didactic material, designed to stimulate his perception of shapes and sizes and colours and his manipulative skill.

Lastly, the companionship of other people is an essential experience for the little child. In the earliest days he needs a friendly, loving adult to play with him, to talk to him, and to share his interests and activities. From two years onwards he needs, also, the opportunity to play with other children for at least part of every day. It is a mistaken notion that the good child will play by himself. The young child needs to be able to talk with others about what he is doing, to ask questions, to share impressions and activities and feelings, to be listened to as well as talked with. He needs the chance to interest himself in the ordinary doings of the home. At home, it is far better for him to follow his mother round, 'helping' her in household activities, and learning to do things for himself, than to be kept clean and quiet and apart in a nursery. Such active play and companionship and talk, moreover, and the happiness and satisfaction to his normal impulses of growth which they bring, contribute also to his bodily health and poise. The actively interested child, in a responsive environment, has better health than the lonely regimented child in the institution or the secluded nursery.

Whether from the point of view of his relations with other people, or his own skill and knowledge, the child's play is *his means of living and of understanding life*. The nursery school is designed to provide this companionship and active play under skilled supervision.

It is important to remember, moreover, that the child needs *time*—time to grow and time to master all the complex skills and knowledge required for satisfactory life. Time and growth are always on our side if we let the child enjoy his own activities, and if we share his interests with him.

II. *The School Child*

In my lecture on the pre-school child I showed how the difficulties of behaviour in those early years arise from the child's conflict of feelings, and suggested the way in which we can help him by providing love, security, patience and

confidence in his future, companionship, and the opportunity of play with the right materials at the right ages.

With the child of five or six years, many of these early and acute difficulties have grown very much less, or even disappeared. The child is now much less dependent upon the grown-ups, much more actively interested in other children, less afraid of them, more able to play and work with them happily and continuously. Yet his emotional life remains as important as ever it was. His success or failure in his school learning, the ease or difficulty with which he accepts the life and discipline of the group, will all depend upon the extent to which his teachers and parents understand his emotional needs, and are able to provide for them in a well-planned environment.

As he passes through the middle years of this period, the child's feelings of rivalry with other children remain quite strong, but they give less trouble in his life, for two reasons. First of all, they find a useful outlet in competitive games and sports and all tests of skill. The school and the club are usually able to make excellent use of these motives by pitting one child against another, one team against another, in games and sports, thus lessening the intensity of the feeling whilst using it to foster development and to heighten the child's pleasure in life. Secondly, through this legitimate and socialized mode of rivalry, the child's feelings of affection and loyalty to his own friends and to the other members of his team are heightened and strengthened. He may enjoy beating his enemies, but he is all the more happy to play with his comrades.

As the feelings of rivalry thus become less personal and less acute, the child's feelings of loyalty to his fellows develop apace. His sense of oneness with his friends or the other players in a team, the other members of a class, becomes very keen. So much so that, by the time he is nine and ten years of age, the child prizes loyalty to his fellows almost above every other virtue. As Piaget has shown, children of this age commonly regard it as venial to tell a lie to a grown-up, but an unforgivable sin to do so to a

playmate. At this age, a 'sneak-thief' is the worst form of criminal. Along with this growing sense of fellowship with other children goes an increasing independence of the grown-ups. From about eight to eleven or twelve, the child seeks his satisfactions mainly from other children. He cares intensely about their opinion of him, but the grown-up is more a convenience than a friend. The child looks at adults now with more penetrating eyes. The support he gains from his fellowship with other children enables him to look at us critically. He sees our faults, our weaknesses and inconsistencies, and is always ready to take advantage of them. Woe betide any teacher who is secretly afraid or nervous, or who is a pretentious humbug! Children can be trusted to see through all our pretences and to make the most of them. But they like and respect an honest authority, one that is sure of itself whilst reasonable in its demands. Children of this age like tolerance and good sense, but they despise weakness and shilly-shallying. They want us to be sensible, reasonable, firm, direct and honest, and then to keep our distance. They do not need us so much as friends, but ask us to be just and sensible controllers. They want to feel that we can keep them in order, whilst not demanding too much of them.

Children become very reserved, too, at this time of life. They do not easily open out to us and show us either their feelings or their phantasies, as the little child naturally does, and as the adolescent will do if he receives friendly encouragement. It is much harder to know what is going on in the mind of the child of nine to eleven years than it is with a three-year-old or a sixteen-year-old. Many things which have been the subject of naive interest and questions at an earlier period are never referred to in the presence of grown-ups now, e.g., children no longer ask embarrassing questions about where babies come from, although they will certainly talk about these things amongst themselves.

This is the age of secret languages. Most children invent them, or join in with those invented by others. Secret

languages and secret societies are enjoyed with zest, often to the discomfiture of the grown-ups. It is a very effective way of keeping the grown-ups at bay if you talk with your playmates in a language these grown-ups cannot understand, and have all sorts of secret codes and rules and formulae that baffle them!

The rather tough exterior so typical of these middle years is often built upon a great distrust of the vivid imaginings which filled the mind earlier, and which will often be expressed in stories and drawings by the child of six or seven years of age. If children are allowed to write or draw freely at this time, they often surprise us by the blood-thirstiness of their imagination. At nine to eleven years, however, whilst they love to read about these things, they tend to be reserved and shy about their own writing and drawing. And with this goes a fear of strong feelings generally. They shut down upon intense feeling, and wear an air of indifference.

A friend of mine who has been helping children of these ages to create their own plays has been struck with the dryness and formality of the conversations they invented in dramatic situations. They would cut off a man's head without turning a hair, or threaten and defend themselves against tortures with never a show of feeling, almost as if they were talking about the weather. The creative art of children of these years—ten, eleven, twelve—tends to be cool and formal, closely akin to mediaeval mummers or early Italian paintings.

This fear of phantasy and of feeling is bound up with the passion for real achievement. From six or seven years onwards, the child seeks to perfect his own skills and to gain information about the real world. If he does draw and act, he seeks verisimilitude. He wants his productions to be as much like the real thing as they possibly can. Instead of wallowing in witches and ogres, he glories in big game hunters, Polar explorers and heroes of the air.

Yet, in spite of this quality of matter-of-factness and realism in his aims, the child remains intensely imaginative.

He will give himself up as whole-heartedly to playing out a Robin Hood gang or the murder of Thomas a'Becket as ever he did to playing at giants and ogres. It is, indeed, his very capacity for complete absorption in any scheme or imaginative purpose filling his mind which often gives trouble with the grown-ups at this age. He will appropriate any object on which he can lay his hands, no matter to whom it belongs or how sacrosanct it may be, if it suits his purpose in playing Red Indians or big game hunters, and will not be able, in the least, to see why he should not have done so!

At the beginning of this period, six to seven years, the child has an access of obstinacy; he will contradict and turn a deaf ear to what is said, or conveniently forget what he has promised to do. From eight years onwards he usually becomes more reasonable and adaptable, and enters upon the most stable period of his immaturity. From eight to twelve he has fewer emotional storms and contrarinesses, and is much less moody and unaccountable than he will be a few years later, when the upheaval of adolescence overwhelms him. He now has comparatively few phobias. Occasional lying and even stealing is not at all uncommon at six to eight years of age, although it usually passes away if the child is sensibly handled.

What are the special needs of the school child, in his emotional life?

He needs love as much as ever he did, but it must be differently expressed. The adult, too, must show more reserve. There should be no demand for caresses or for open expressions of love. This, of course, is especially true for boys. Many mothers and some women teachers are liable to make the mistake of treating boys of this age as if they were still babies who like to be fussed over. The children very much resent this. They want to be manly, and to be treated as manly, and they can well appreciate the indirect expression of love in courtesy, consideration, and in providing for their material and spiritual needs.

They still need security in those earlier forms—a rhythmic order of the day, stability of feeling and control.

They do need a firm control; and it is right that we should expect more from them, in the way of self-control and reasonableness and consideration for others, as well as in the pursuit of less pleasing tasks. But, in addition, they need more opportunity for personal choice. We should not hesitate to exercise authority wherever it is really called for, but, wherever possible, we should also give genuine responsibility and freedom of choice. What is bad is to be wavering and indecisive about important matters, or to nag and plead and coax with the child. It is better to ask little but to be robust in enforcing our demands. It is more than half the battle if the child knows where he is, what he may or may not do, and what we really expect of him.

It is, however, important that we should have a correct moral perspective. For example, we ought not to consider it as important to have clean hands as to refrain from teasing a younger child or hurting an animal. Tidiness and politeness are very pleasant, but they are not so important as honesty or loyalty or consideration for weaker beings.

The child has a great need to learn in these years. He wants to feel that he is mastering difficulties and growing up. *Good methods of teaching* and a wide range of opportunity of knowledge are essential to a child's mental health at this time. For these reasons we need to understand what the child's intellectual ability is and to adapt our teaching to it. Too much or too little—both may make the child restless and miserable.

Above all, he needs to be active. Our methods of teaching should be based upon the child's own activity. It is criminal to keep children at this time of life sitting still and doing sedentary tasks for long hours, following rigid routine, or listening to other people talk. One boy of nine years, who had a reputation for restlessness and inattention in school, and was then discovered in the holiday spending hours of absorbed attention with his stamp album, said to a grown-up friend, 'I can't help being restless in school. It is not so much that I want to move about, but I must know that I *can* move about if I want to, or else I feel I have to kick everything out of the way.'

Do children of these years need our confidence in their growth and our knowledge of what is normal to their time of life? Surely, yes. I have pointed out how the boy needs to be treated as a man who is to be, and not as a little baby. I have said how there is a real need for independence as well as for a firm authority. I have spoken also of the natural loyalty of children to each other, and I would like to emphasize this still more strongly. It is so tempting for the class teacher to try to break down this feeling of unity amongst his pupils, and want them to be loyal to him instead of to their classmates. I believe this to be a mistake of the first order. We cannot train children for adult social life unless we are willing to build upon the virtues they already have, and loyalty to his fellows is the great virtue of the child in the middle years. We must respect that and use it, and never seek to betray it for our own purposes. Then, and only then, shall we gain the honour and respect due to us. If we try to turn children into 'sneak-thieves,' they will despise us, too.

In his family life the boy of this age has a great need of a friendly relation with his father. His father's interest in his growing skills and independence is a great support to the boy, and fosters his belief in himself and in his own future as a man and as a father. And so with the girl. If the mother or the woman teacher shows herself friendly to the girl's growing interest in feminine activities, in children and the home, as well as in the ordinary arts of life and the subjects of school learning, the child is supported in her belief in her own future as a woman.

Natural ambition can, however, be grossly overdone. The competitive motive, so valuable in games and sports and tests of agility, should have no place in the intellectual life. The child should absorb an interest in arithmetic and history and geography and literature from a teacher who loves these things. He should come to love them for their own sake through sharing experience of them. The fact that another boy does them better or worse is completely irrelevant. Marks may be useful to the teacher

in understanding the progress of the child, but they have nothing to do with the child himself. I would banish the competitive spirit altogether from the serious pursuits of the mind. When competition is overdone, it often has a most adverse effect, not only upon the child's general health and happiness, but also upon what it is intended to encourage, his interest in learning.

The value of the child's own active play remains as great as in the earlier years. At eight to ten and twelve years of age the child has just as much need of free play of many varied sorts, and of the free expression of his own inner life in art and verse and speech and drama, as ever he had when younger. In one Children's Play Centre in England, the work of which is described in a book just published (*The Children's Play Centre*, by D. E. M. Gardner, published by Methuen at 3/6), we are shown the enormous benefit which the chance to play with varied materials in a sympathetic environment brought to children of all ages, even up to boys of fourteen. But active play for children of these ages requires space, proper equipment and material, and trained workers who will know how to control the children, how to bring out their creative purposes, how to be happy with them.

The friendship and companionship of other boys and girls in shared work and play, singing, dancing together, running and jumping, climbing, ball games, carpentering, art, painting, picnicking, walking, living together, is absolutely essential if children are to develop the possibilities of their emotional life to the full and lay the right foundation for further development in youth and early manhood and womanhood. The school itself, moreover, becomes a different place when we understand the child's emotional needs as well as his scholarship. It becomes a place to live in, a place of happy fellowship and creative pursuits, fostering the serious purposes of learning, and preparing for life.

THE PROBLEM CHILD

SUSAN ISAACS

THE term 'problem child' is not too happy a one, since it seems to set the child who has problems apart from all others. But all children are problem children in a very real sense. When I spoke of the pre-school child, I referred to the evidence that every young child has difficulties of some sort and some measure, normally left behind as he develops. Even in the middle years, although the typical difficulties are much less intense than earlier, the child who is entirely free from troubles of one sort or another is nevertheless a very rare bird indeed. In a recent estimate by the Child Guidance Council in England of the proportion of children requiring special help, it has been suggested that from 25 to 30 per cent. of the school population would benefit from some sort of guidance by clinic experts, and probably 5 per cent. require definite psycho-therapy.

The term 'problem child' smacks too much of the old notion of the 'criminal,' a being set apart from all others, born to be evil. This was a view held quite seriously not so very many years ago. Lombroso and others tried to persuade us that whether or not a child became a criminal depended upon the shape of his head and other such factors determined entirely by nature. But we have now long given up such a view. One investigator in England, who compared the typical head forms of the prison population with those of samples outside the prisons found that the head form of the prisoner approximated very closely to that of the typical engineer.

We know now that it is the psychological history of the child which determines whether or not he will become delinquent. His feelings and impulses and his actual experiences determine his fate.

And just as we have given up the notion of the fatal

significance of the shape of the head, so we have given up the concept of the 'moral imbecile.' The moral sense is not a single factor which is included or left out of our psychological heritage; it is an end product of a long process of personal development. There is, in fact, no child who has not some moral sense, although this may be so hidden and twisted and distorted that it is very hard to understand.

The 'problem' child is one in whom the normal difficulties of development are, for one reason or another, more intense and longer lasting, and our problem is to discover what that one reason or another may be. The study of the problem child helps us not only to remedy his special difficulties, but to learn how to prevent them in other children. The preventive aspect of remedial work with such children is of basic importance.

I will speak first of the various types of children presenting special problems, and will then illustrate these with some examples, so as to bring out the complexity of the underlying factors. The following types can be distinguished:

1. Mentally defective children, of whom I shall say no more, since their needs are distinct and are fairly well understood.

2. Children who are educationally backward through influences other than lack of intelligence.

3. Children who are nervous or anxious or withdraw themselves from social contacts.

4. Children who are defiant or truant or inattentive or obstinate, who lie or steal or commit some other open form of bad behaviour.

5. Children who are chronically ill, chiefly through emotional disturbance.

Many of these types overlap, of course. A large number of children show more than one sort of difficulty. For example, it is very rare indeed to find children who are educationally backward (e.g., in arithmetic) and do not show some emotional disturbances as well. It is very striking to discover how frequently slowness or confusion in arithmetic goes along with some emotional instability,

anxiety or defiant behaviour. It is not always easy to say which is cause and which effect; but it is easy to see how each reinforces the other.

Let me now take some examples from my personal experience to illustrate these various types and to show how they are interlinked.

Here is a girl of eight, the child of very wealthy parents, living in luxurious surroundings. She begins to steal, particularly food from the pantry. This is very puzzling, since the child has no lack of pleasures and comforts in her life. The key to the trouble is given when one day she says to her governess, 'Does my mother not love me any more now?' Fortunately, the governess is an understanding person and is quick to see the relation between this wistful remark and the child's stealing. She remembers that within the last year or two the mother has seen very much less of the child than previously, as she has become absorbed in her own social pleasures. The child is really wanting to steal her mother's love, as well as to reproach her for her neglect. In effect, she says, 'See what a bad child you make me if you go out and leave me and never give me anything of yourself.' In this case, fortunately, the mother was ready to appreciate the child's trouble, and the difficulty cleared up.

Contrast this case with another, a boy of six and a half in an elementary school in London, an unhappy, difficult child, who steals a ten-shilling note from the pocket of his teacher and says the next day that he has given it to 'a poor man who needed it more than his teacher.' This child is illegitimate, and has never known his father. From my general psychological experience, I think it safe to suggest that the poor man who needs the ten shillings so much represents, in the boy's imagination, his own father, turned out and without a proper home, as the boy himself feels to be.

These two examples will suggest at once what different psychological attitudes may lie behind a seemingly simple act of stealing.

Here is a case of restlessness and unteachableness in a

boy of seven and a half. He was sent to a clinic by his school teacher, who found him very backward and undisciplined. He turned out to be the child of a caretaker. His father and mother were in charge of a large block of flats in London, living in an apartment at the very top of the building. The boy was born here; and all through the years when he should have been running about and climbing and jumping and shouting, playing with other children and developing his natural skills, he had been confined to one or two rooms at the top of the building, and had had to be kept abnormally quiet and still for fear that his parents would lose their job if the child was heard about. No wonder he was unskilled, restless and difficult, is it?

Contrast this child with another whose symptoms were very much the same but whose circumstances were just about as different as they could be. This is a boy who came to me personally for treatment, his school having referred him for restlessness and inability to learn. He had, as well, a strong inclination to petty thieving, little affection in his relations with other people, and a generally greedy and mischievous attitude to life. He came from a comparatively comfortable home, being the son of a professional father, but the father's income was never enough for the status of the family, and from early childhood the boy had heard constant bickerings and recriminations between the parents because of straitened circumstances. His mother was peevish and moody. The boy had been very jealous of his younger sister, and very guilty about having tormented her. I will come back to this case a little later to say something about the underlying motives of his trouble.

Let us now look at another case of inability to learn, but arising from very different causes. Here is a girl of nine in a country school in England, the child of a labourer. She is dull and apathetic, shy and nervous with other children, clumsy, unable to play. She tries to learn as well as she can, but does not get on at all. Enquiry here shows that her trouble arises chiefly from under-nourish-

ment. The school dinner and a morning glass of milk worked wonders. Her physical health improved, her zest in play grew, her self-confidence increased, she became more venturesome and more responsive to other children, her rate of learning increased. Not only was she able to do her reading and arithmetic better, but her social life expanded, and she became altogether happier.

Now take a case of chronic ill-health. Here is a boy between ten and eleven, who is intelligent, assiduous in his work, but always pale and restless, shy and retiring, liable to digestive troubles and a recurring low fever. He is away from school a great deal with these mild but chronic physical disturbances. His social life and his school work are both hampered by these difficulties. The home is a comfortable one, the child lacks nothing in food or ordinary care. But the atmosphere of the home is narrow and pinched. The parents are over-ambitious for their child. They are determined that he shall get a far finer education than his father ever had, and they are willing to make heroic sacrifices in order to bring this about. The mother is the more determined of the two for her son's future. She is a very dominating personality, and prides herself on having 'broken' her boy's will when he was a youngster of four or five. He often hears her boast that she has never yet been beaten by a child, and tell her friends how she won every battle of wills that ever took place between them. Not only so, both father and mother constantly impress upon the child not merely what high purposes they have for his future and what great demands of moral aim and personal deportment they feel it right to make upon him, but also what enormous sacrifices they themselves are making for him. 'You *must* do well in your exam.—think what we have given up for you to have the chance to take it,' is the constant burden of their talk to the child. This boy's ill-health and lack of love was due to the terrific burden of gratitude which his parents laid upon him, and which he felt he could never discharge. He could not enjoy the advantages which they, by their sacrifices, were making it

possible for him to have, since they impressed so vividly upon him what it cost on their side to obtain those gifts for him.

This case illustrates how fatal a mistake it is for parents to make a larger sacrifice for their children than they can make a pleasure and joy. If such a sacrifice is too great a burden to the parents, it will become a millstone round the neck of the children, and had far better never have been made.

Here, now, is an interesting case of minor difficulty arising in a child who was otherwise normal. A little girl of six suddenly becomes defiant and noisy and generally troublesome at school. Nothing has happened at school to explain this sudden onset of difficulty, but enquiry at home brings the explanation. The child's mother has gone away to nurse a sick niece, and the little girl and her father have gone to stay with the grandmother and are sharing the same bed. The child's conflict of feeling in this situation, the over-stimulation of her affection for her father, and her guilt and sense of loss about her mother's absence, were too much for her equilibrium, and had to be expressed in this defiance and hostility at school. When the mother returned, the difficulty cleared up; but it is easy to see that if the situation had been perpetuated, a permanent harm to the child's development would have ensued.

I will end these illustrations with a brief reference to quite another type of case—a very severe and difficult case. This was a girl of fifteen, beautiful to look at, so angelic in appearance that no one who had read her case papers and then saw her would believe that this was the girl they had read about. She had committed almost every crime which a girl under fifteen can commit: lying, stealing, truancy, sex delinquency, and so on and so forth, and all with the completest nonchalance. If ever there was a hardened sinner, here was one. She was one of those people who *apparently* have no conscience at all, and perform the worst of crimes with the lightest of hearts. She was actually diagnosed as a moral imbecile by a well-known psychiatrist,

and had been through the hands of almost every psychologist in London. She ran away from several remand homes, and was the despair of everyone. At fifteen she was brought to the London Clinic of Psycho-Analysis by a Care Committee worker, who said, 'Now, if you will cure *her* we shall all believe in psycho-analysis!' She was cured, after some years of laborious treatment. I will say something more about her story a little later on.

Now, having these cases in mind, let us consider some of the general facts of diagnosis and treatment. The unravelling of any of these cases means the study, first, of the external circumstances of the child, and, secondly, of his internal psychic life.

The external circumstances include all his present situation, both in home and school, and his early history, and previous experiences. Several of the cases I have described show how important home conditions are, and not merely such questions as poverty and lack of nourishment and narrow circumstances which prevent the child from getting normal satisfaction in play and work; but also the attitudes and behaviour of the parents—quarrelling, over-ambition, repressive morality, indifference, cruelty, divorced or parted parents, illegitimacy. I would emphasize, however, that it is not only the home which may be at fault. It is fashionable to blame the parents for everything nowadays, but the school has to bear its part of the responsibility. There are dull schools and bad teaching methods, just as there are stupid or careless parents. If children's minds are not fully engaged or if they are over-stimulated in the school, if there is no happiness in work, no interest and zest in life there, they will become restless and difficult through boredom or anxiety.

But, of course, it is true that the home and the child's early experiences in the home remain the most important single factor. Above all, the experiences of the child in his earliest years. A striking piece of evidence about this came to us recently from America. A psychiatrist who has been working with delinquent girls from eleven years onwards

recently took stock of her results. She has these girls in a residential home, where they receive every medical care, a first-rate education, and psycho-therapy. After she had worked with them for six years she surveyed her results, and found that just half her cases had been returned to normal social life fully re-established. She then went into the details of the history of the 50 per cent. failures, and through many diversities of history she found one striking common factor. In every case where the girl had failed to respond to this care and treatment in her adolescent years she had suffered from a lack of love in her first two years. The cause of this lack of love varied. In some cases girls were orphans, in some they were illegitimate, in some they had cruel parents, but whatever the special circumstances, it was the fact that every one of them had endured this lack of love, the love which is the breath of life to the infant and little child. And their history showed how almost impossible it is to make up later on for this earliest lack.

In very many of the children who bring us problems in the school years, some change of environment will relieve the difficulty. An improvement in methods of teaching, a change of teacher, change of school, a change of neighbourhood, greater opportunities for play or recreation, or the more varied companionship with other children, special coaching, special attention of some sort, will often allow the child to draw upon his own resources and to make a new adjustment to life. But a certain proportion of problem children require the more special help of psycho-therapy.

Many forms of psycho-therapy are in use in the various child guidance clinics in England and America. My own experience is specifically in psycho-analysis, and one or two of the children I have quoted have been my own patients. I would emphasize that in neurotic children it is not  much the actual circumstances of the child that are important and need to be changed, as the child's own feelings about these circumstances; and in many cases we can by psycho-analytic treatment relieve his difficulties without otherwise attempting to change his environment. If he himself is

given understanding of his own feelings, and especially of his earliest childhood wishes and fears and phantasies, he can then deal even with difficult circumstances quite satisfactorily. That does not mean to say that we would not, of course, change difficult circumstances if we could, but sometimes it is even more important to give the child a greater understanding and greater confidence in himself. There are many cases of neurotic children who are not improved by changing the environment, but only by psycho-analysis.

To illustrate this briefly: the fifteen-year-old girl I mentioned last in my illustrative cases was helped and changed by psycho-analytic treatment, and by that only. Endless attempts had been made to help her by education, by altering her environment and improving her circumstances; but in her the psychological trouble went far too deep. She had no belief in the goodness of other people or herself, and no amount of external proof from the environment could create this belief. Only the actual experience of discovering through the help of another person, in the day to day sharing of her feelings and phantasies, the deepest roots of her inner difficulties, could slowly build up the belief in goodness in others and in the possibilities of goodness in herself. Ultimately her problem sprang from adverse circumstances in early life. She, too, was an illegitimate child, and had had a mother who really did not care for her, neglected her and ill-treated her, and lived an extremely immoral life. But the effect of these early experiences upon the imagination of the child generally was so deep and so adverse that only the patient unravelling of its roots, going right back to the beginning, and sharing these feelings and phantasies could transform her inner life, and through it her behaviour and her attitudes to other people.

I referred to a boy of seven and a half who was restless and mischievous, and whose father was a professional man in straitened circumstances. Here, too, mere change of circumstances, which had indeed already been made, would not help the child. He went to an excellent school and had friendly aunts to encourage him. But only the unravel-

ling of the boy's own feelings and attitudes about the quarrelling of his parents and his aggression towards his younger sister could relieve his trouble. Two years' psycho-analytic treatment changed his character and made him a happy child, eager to learn and friendly to other people, no longer needing to beg or steal. It was the unconscious patterns of feelings, his early greed and guilt and anxiety which determined his conscious attitudes to other people and his actual behaviour in later life. These unconscious patterns could only be changed by the day to day expression and sharing of them in the analytic work.

One other case I may quote which will illustrate the same point. Here is another girl of eight, brought to a clinic for acute anxiety at home and at school. She is terrified of being left alone, cannot remain in a room by herself or at school, cannot do anything which singles her out in any way from the other children. She is not learning, although she is an intelligent child, and is very ill and unhappy. She is the eldest girl in a large family, her parents being artisans of a sensible and hard-working type. There is a brother a little older, but it is the girl who has to play second mother to all the younger children. She takes them all to play in the park, pushing the pram with twin babies in it, and a five-year-old boy and three-year-old walking one on each side of the pram, and guides them through the mazes of the London traffic, watching over their play in the park and bringing them safely home again. She shops and cleans for her mother, and has all sorts of responsibilities, while her brother, a year older, is allowed to run free and play when he wishes. She is a charming child, weighed down with guilt and anxiety about her only too natural feelings of hostility to the children upon whom she has to expend such an unnatural care. The home was, in spite of this, a good one, and the burden which the mother placed upon the girl could hardly be avoided, since the mother herself had to cook and clean and wash and do everything for this large and growing family on small means. The essence of the trouble lay in the girl's conflict of feeling towards

her mother and her mother's children. She loved her mother, she was a naturally affectionate mother to the little ones under her care, but she hated them also, she hated her mother for having to make this demand upon her, for having so many younger children who deprived her of her birth-right of play. She hated the children for being in the way, for running into danger, for quarrelling amongst themselves, for demanding her insistent vigilance to keep them safe and clean and happy. Her nervous anxiety and paroxysms of terror sprang from this conflict of feeling, this terror of her own feelings of anger and hate towards her mother and the children. These feelings were played out in the analysis in endless ways, and she gradually learnt that it was possible to bear them, possible for her love to triumph over her hate, and possible for another grown-up, a mother substitute, to know about the depth of her jealousy and hatred without hating the child herself in return. In these shared experiences the child developed a new integration of feeling, a new confidence in herself, and was able to face the unchanged circumstances of her life with ease and assurance. She became more useful at home, happy and jolly at school, physically well, and made progress in her learning.

These scattered remarks on the causation and cure of special problems of the school child will show how varied and multiple the causal factors are. Although we can group the various difficulties into types, yet diagnosis and treatment are always obliged to be individual.

In England and America child guidance clinics have been established during the last fifteen years, and are increasing in numbers and competence every year. The child guidance clinic uses a team of workers: the medical psychiatrist, the psychologist and the social worker, who each brings his special gifts and special knowledge to bear upon every child. In the pooling of their judgments these workers are able to arrive at a just estimate of the causes and likely cure of the difficulties presented. But, as I have suggested, the work of the child guidance clinics, which is primarily

remedial and intended to help children who are already in difficulties, nevertheless contributes all the time to our knowledge of the ways of preventing such difficulties. It is already found that through the dissemination of knowledge gained from the study of problem children, both teachers and parents are being helped to recognize these difficulties earlier, and to seek help and guidance before they become too acute. Not merely so, they are learning how to handle children better in the home and the school, and thus to avoid the worst difficulties. We are coming to realize that the 'problem child' is not set apart from others, but can teach us much that will enable us to deal better with his more ordinary fellows in home and school.

THE PSYCHOLOGIST IN CHILD WELFARE

SUSAN ISAACS

TO talk of the psychologist in child welfare may sound rather pretentious to practical people, those who look after the health of the sick and crippled, the neglected or orphan children, who work in the children's courts and the hospitals. Psychologists, it may be said, are people who make abstruse experiments in the laboratory, who test intelligence and study the insane. Those who work for the welfare of children surely require common sense and experience, not psychological theories.

Common sense and practical experience are certainly needed, whatever the work we are doing. But the experience of any one person is limited, and it pays to add that of other people working in the same field. The child psychologist is merely the worker whose special job it is to bring together all sources of knowledge about children's minds, about their modes of feeling and learning at different ages, about the way they are affected by their surroundings and the behaviour of other people, to try out the beliefs of common sense and to find what is really reliable in its practice.

Let me take one or two examples. Here is a little girl of nearly two years who won't stand still when her mother washes and dries her hands, but wants to play with the soap and the water, and struggles and screams when her mother takes her from the basin and forcibly dries her. And in the next minute, runs to the coal bucket, dirties her hands again and says, 'Hands dirty, *me* wash hands.' The mother says she is 'disobedient,' and that common sense demands that she should be made to obey and learn to stand still while she is made clean, and to keep herself away from the coal. If she does not learn this now, what sort of dirty, disobedient, good-for-nothing will she become? Fortunately, there is a little creeping doubt in the mother's mind as to

whether this really is the right way of looking at things, and so she talks the matter over with someone whose sense is still *commoner*—that is to say, someone who has knowledge of a greater number of children, who has watched their growth and seen the effect of different ways of treating them, and who can draw upon the experience of many others. And she, the psychologist, says that, in her determined wish to tend her own hands and to play with the soap and water, the child shows herself wiser than her mother. She is taking the first step towards the skill and the social independence which will be expected of her later on, and which cannot grow without effort. She is eager to learn and to help. She *must* be disobedient, if her mother demands the wrong sort of obedience and wants a helpless and stupid child. The child's own urge to grow and learn, to become skilful and sensible, will compel her to defy, to be angry and afraid, and to wake at night screaming in anxiety. But if she is allowed and encouraged to find pleasure in active effort and in play, she will not only become *independent but will love her mother all the more freely*, and will obey where obedience is just and necessary. And she will be the more ready for the tasks of school life, more sociable and friendly with others as she grows up.

Here again is a boy of nearly seven, whose mother says he is always disobedient. She cannot control him or keep him in the house in the evenings. He is put to bed at six o'clock, but as soon as her back is turned to get the evening meal, he gets up, puts on his clothes, sneaks out into the street to play, and does not come home until late at night. If she locks the door, he climbs out of the window; when she fastens the window, too, he breaks it and climbs out just the same. She is afraid he will find all sorts of mischief and even danger, may get into the hands of the police and the courts later on. Her 'common sense' tells her to lock the child in more effectively and to whip him into submission. But this mother, too, has a healthy doubt as to whether things were as simple as that. She brought the problem to someone who had a wider experience of boys, both good and naughty. And then it became clear

that the boy was being kept too close to the nursery, treated far too much like a baby, expected only to sit quiet and look at picture books, and keep himself clean, had no chance to run and jump and play ball, nothing to do with his hands, no tools or bricks or puzzles—and, above all, no friends. His mother never asked his school chums to tea, or let him go to play in their homes. The boy's father was away at sea, and the mother was so afraid of his getting out of hand that she had tried to keep him in swaddling clothes—and the natural vigour and enterprise of an intelligent and healthy boy of seven, was in complete revolt against her rule. But then, after the mother was shown a truer picture of what a boy's virtue is, and how he needs movement and the chance to learn many skills, the companionship of other boys and of men, she allowed him to join a club for older boys, where he would enjoy the wise guidance of men in indoor games and crafts, and outdoor pursuits. And the lad settled down to a steady life, proud of his growing skills and his comradeships. Without some such change in the way he was treated, based upon a greater knowledge of the normal development of boys of his age, nothing but grief and disaster could have ensued.

Those who are caring for the welfare of the child have thus begun to realize how crime, mental illness and personal unhappiness in later life arise from an ill-balanced emotional growth and faulty social development in early childhood.

But we are beginning to appreciate, too, how even the health of the child's body may be affected by his feelings towards other people. To understand his social and emotional needs at each age, to guide him in his personal troubles and difficulties, to allow active play and companionship, is as essential for his physical well-being as to provide good food, sunshine and medical skill. Take this example:

The mother of a little girl of just two years came to see me, and told me that the child never slept for more than an hour at a time. She wakened fretting or screaming over and over again through the night. The mother was worn out with her own lack of sleep, and the constant strain

of trying to keep the child quiet. The father, too, was furious and nerve-wracked. The child had gone on like this for many months. She had been taken to the Children's Hospital several times, and no physical cause for the trouble could be found. She was pining, nervous, and underweight. In the end, the doctor had persuaded the mother to come to the Clinic of Psycho-Analysis. I asked if she could remember when the trouble began. At first she was rather vague, but presently said the child had been like this 'ever since I put her on the bottle.' She had been weaned rather suddenly, at about six months. Before that 'she had been as good as gold,' but the mother went on, 'I couldn't make her stop crying when I put her on the bottle.' 'What did you do to try to make her stop?' I asked. 'I slapped her, of course.' 'Do you always slap her when she cries?' 'Yes, of course—you *must* teach them, but *she* doesn't seem to learn.' Here, then, was the cause of the child's restless anxiety and wakefulness. Since she was six months old, she had been taught that the natural expression of any feelings, her cries of distress at the sudden loss of her mother's breast and the strange experience of feeding from a bottle, would bring only and always frowning faces and angry voices and pain. It was terror which made it impossible for her to relax into peaceful sleep. Yet her mother was not a cruel person, only distracted and ignorant. She had not the natural imagination to help her understand the child's feelings, and see what the sudden weaning meant to her. She had not been helped by anyone to learn better ways of training the baby to new habits. And through these early mistakes, the child's health was undermined and the happiness of mother and father was spoilt.

We have enormously reduced the death rate of infants and children, and have learnt how to build up shapely bones and healthy bodies, by studying questions of diet and cleanly ways of preparing food, of clothing and rest, and the medical care of illnesses. Now, at last, we are beginning to realize how important it is to learn something of children's minds, too, to discover how to help them to grow alert

and happy, eager to learn and to enjoy, able to work and to play happily with others.

Here is a little girl of three years, an only child, who vomits after nearly every meal, and has been doing this since she was a year old. She is thin and undersized, and you can see how anxiously she watches every change of expression on her mother's face—or on the face of any grown-up she is with. She has been the round of the hospitals, and everyone is certain there is no physical cause of the trouble. All sorts of treatment have been given, but she goes on vomiting. The mother is worried to death. A wise doctor advises, 'Send her to a nursery school, and see what that will do for her.' Fortunately, she is sent to a nursery school where the teacher in charge knows more than usual about the troubles of little children, and where the atmosphere is one of quiet content and eager, friendly play. The child eats her mid-day meal and drinks her morning milk among the others, and sees them happily enjoying their food. She is given small helpings, and no special attention is paid to her in any way. During the first few weeks, she vomits after every meal as usual. The teacher shows no annoyance and no worry, but wipes the table clean without comment. She sees the child's watching eyes always on her face, looking to see what her own expressions of feeling are about the vomiting. She remains quietly friendly and serene. Meanwhile, the little girl, at first solitary and suspicious of the other children, is beginning to join with them in play with dolls, nursing them, having tea-parties in the dolls' house, splashing water and digging in the sand, running and climbing and building, resting quietly after meals. She begins to look more lively and more contented, to show more open affection for her teacher and her playmates. Then the vomits begin to occur less often. She begins to keep her meals down, and vomits only once a week or so. Presently it becomes a rare happening, and, after three or four months, ceases altogether. She is a normal child, her cheeks have filled out, she plays eagerly, and has become both affectionate and self-reliant.

She helps to lay the meal-table and to clear it away; she takes her turn at serving with the others. She is a jolly and healthy child, and no longer spends her time watching the faces of the grown-ups.

The vomiting, in fact, has been, not a physical disease, but a way of expressing feelings—complex feelings of fear and anger and dependent love, a wish to control her mother's doings and to win her affection and sympathy—all at the same time. When other ways of showing her feelings are found, other more active and useful modes of being important, other ways of gaining love and interest, and proving that mother is friendly and helpful, the need to do all these things by vomiting disappears. Direct treatment of the vomiting failed because it took no account of the emotional troubles underlying the symptom. What proved effective was the indirect help of giving the child a more active social life. She had never had enough chance to play, to learn to do things for herself, to win affection by being joyous and eager and friendly to others. Her mother had shown concern *only* when the child vomited, and had never taken pleasure in her efforts to learn, to wash and dress herself, to sing and dance, to draw and dig, to be happy with other children. The only way the child could find of winning expressions of care and love was to reject her food.

These few examples will emphasize my view that we can only make sure of aiding the child's bodily health, his learning and his happiness, by fostering *all* sides of his development: that is to say, by caring for his needs *as a human being*.

THE NURSERY SCHOOL AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

BEATRICE ENSOR

I AM interested in the nursery school only as part of a continuous process of education which extends, not as used to be thought, from 5 to 14, but throughout the whole span of life. The old view that the child should be educated from the time when he is fit to learn his alphabet at 5 years old to the time when he is fit to begin to earn his living at 14 was actually a mischievous one, since it induced in the child a not unnatural feeling that his education was over once his school-days were behind him. Nothing could or did, of course, prevent him from learning many further lessons from life, but an impalpable door was closed between him and his conscious joy in learning. Our aim now is to keep that door wide open—so educating the child that he will continue eagerly to educate himself.

The five-to-fourteen idea not only closed the door too early, but opened it too late. I think we often fail to recognize the almost incredible amount that the child learns before he is five years old. At birth he can hardly distinguish sound from silence, joy from despair. By five he has achieved the full, though not, of course, the perfect, use of all his senses, limbs and faculties—and, what is no less of an achievement and even more important to his future development, he has formed a picture of the world and of his own part in it. He has formed a definite pattern of behaviour. He has learnt either to trust or to mistrust his environment. He has learnt either to tackle difficulty, to sit down under it, or to waste energy in raging against it. He has begun to learn either to love and co-operate or to hate and play for his own hand. These are weighty lessons and their consequences are far-reaching. Moreover, they are not easily un-learned. The child of five who faces the world with serenity, courage and love is a long way advanced upon the road of happy and useful living. The child of

five who is negative or mutinous in his attitude to life is already badly handicapped. Only a long and happy process of re-education can restore his integrity—and he will be fortunate if such re-education is ever complete.

So you see one cannot be interested in the education of the 'whole' man and be indifferent to nursery school—or, as I much prefer to call it, pre-school—education. In Australia you have a very fine kindergarten movement, and much excellent work is being done. But the state is not yet alive to its responsibilities towards its youngest citizens and a great deal of hard work and active propaganda lies ahead of those of you who see the importance of this question, if you are to induce the state to make adequate provision for the pre-school care of every child.

In England, we are a little, though not much, further along the road. We have a good and fairly complete system of infant welfare centres and day nurseries or crèches, which does much—especially in a preventive way—for the physical health of the infant and toddler up to two years. These are little concerned with mental health, but they are doing much for the nutrition of the young child and for the prevention of infections of the eye, ear, nose and throat. Further, there is a sprinkling of first-class nursery schools throughout the land. These are largely found in places such as Bradford and Leeds and in certain London boroughs, where the local authority is aware of the need for them, and claims—as all local authorities have the right to do—substantial government grants for the maintenance of pre-school facilities. Next comes the infant school, which is compulsory and ubiquitous, and accommodates all children from 5-7 whose parents do not make specific provision for their education elsewhere. The infant schools have progressed beyond knowledge during the last ten or fifteen years, becoming freer, more active and more creative. This progress is largely due to the extension of the nursery school technique to the infant school and is one of the former's most valuable—though indirect—contributions to the science of education.

But there are not as yet anything like sufficient nursery schools and the great majority of children suffer a gap between the welfare centre which ends at 2 years and the infant school which begins at 5. During the intervening three years their physical condition is apt sadly to deteriorate owing to poor nutrition, inadequate sleep and lack of medical supervision, and their emotional and intellectual development tends to be thwarted, because their growing need for play and for the presence of their contemporaries is starved.

Whilst I was an inspector of the Board of Education, the nursery school question first began to arise, and there were great wranglings between the Board of Education and the Ministry of Health as to who should—literally and metaphorically—‘hold the baby.’ This meant, at bottom of course, who should finance this new venture, and it was largely this question which underlies the essential difference between the development of the pre-school movement in the U.S.A. and in England.

In America, nursery schools were first started for the children of more or less wealthy parents. College-trained mothers, most of them with professions of their own, realized the potential benefits of pre-school education. This means that the American nursery schools were far better equipped and more lavishly staffed than ours, and have, therefore, become most valuable centres of research into the physical, emotional and intellectual needs of the pre-school child—his means and rate of growth. It was only later that the movement began to be extended to the children of poor parents, and meanwhile the standard of equipment and staffing had been set, and continues to remain, high.

In England, on the other hand, Rachael and Margaret McMillan started the nursery school largely as a measure of social justice, an effort to ensure that no child should be robbed of the essential means of growth by the poverty of its parents. This was, and has remained, the basis of the movement, and, in spite of the excellent work done, it has had some rather serious consequences. The nursery

school unit consists of a maximum of 44 children with one trained teacher, and one or more (or, too often, none) untrained helpers. This unit is, of course, far too large. The children gain much that is valuable. They learn to wash and brush their teeth, they are well fed and have a quiet rest hour and much fresh air. They have outlet for their play and their destructive and constructive energies. But the teacher has not time enough to give each child that individual help over some personal hitch which should be one of the chief benefits of the nursery school. Realizing this, those in England who take the long view of education and who are not content with piecemeal measures of amelioration, are now insisting in all their efforts for the extension of the movement on the *educational* benefits of the nursery school.

There are other points of controversy with regard to pre-school education, which I will summarize briefly. One is the nursery school *versus* the nursery class attached to the infant-junior-school unit. Sir Percy Meadon will, I believe, have advocated the latter to you. The arguments in its favour are that it is cheaper, and that it is more convenient for the hard-worked mother to send off her children under one school roof—the young ones often in charge of an older brother or sister.

To my mind the drawbacks quite out-weigh these advantages. The first drawback is the greater risk of infection to the nursery school child. It is really very important that a child should not be unduly exposed to infection—especially diphtheria, measles and whooping-cough—before the age of five. This objection can be overcome, to some extent, anyhow, by providing a separate entrance and cloak-room for the nursery class. The second is more cogent. In passing from the home to the nursery school the child is making his first venture into the world. It is important that the transition should not be too abrupt. His new world must not be too unlike his old. It must be intimate and secure—not part of a large building where large creatures surround and jostle him. His mother or father should

bring and fetch him, so that he can *feel* the links between home and school. His teacher must have many of the qualities of his mother, loving-kindness and a willingness to recognize that he is for the moment the core and centre of his own universe. For the nursery school child is extremely ego-centric. All experience relates back to himself. And if he is treated too soon, too roughly, as merely one of a group, he is forced to cling the more obstinately to his own ego, instead of coming to lose himself gradually in wider interests. The nursery school meets his needs at this critical age far better than the nursery class can do.

Another controversial point about nursery-schooling is its proper duration. There is a growing feeling that a *change of régime at 5*, when the child is just about to lose his baby-teeth, is physically and psychologically undesirable (the break at 5 only takes place in the U.S.A. and England, in all other countries it is made at 6, and in the U.S.S.R. at 8). The solution would be to merge the nursery and infants' school, so making education from 2 to 7 a continuous process. (For facts and arguments, see *New Era*, Special Nursery School number, July, 1937.)

One argument fairly frequently advanced against the nursery school is that it undermines the influence of the home and the parents' sense of responsibility. If you hear this argument, take a careful look at the arguer. I have never found him (for it is on the whole a man's view) other than well-fed and fairly self-satisfied, and I always suspect that what he is really saying is, 'Nursery schools cost a good deal of money, and I don't want to be asked to find that money.' In point of fact, the nursery school is one of the finest means of parent education at our disposal. The parent learns, not only from what he sees done for his child, nor from his frequent exchanges with the teacher at the beginning and end of the school day, but also from the child himself, with his new habits of orderliness and cleanliness. Moreover, most nursery schools have now a Parents' Club of some sort and are centres of social intercourse and recreation, with occasional talks on hygiene or psychology.

If I seem to have dwelt at undue length on some of the problems of pre-school education, it is because I foresee a great growth in such education in Australia in the near future, and I wished to put a ring round some of the pitfalls which have hampered its progress in England, so that you may consider, and, if possible, avoid them.

In conclusion, I come back to where I started. We are trying, through education, to build a saner, wiser and kinder world. We are in a hurry to do this, because we feel that the need is urgent. Yet our building can be of no moment if we scamp our foundations. Those foundations lie in the quality of human personalities and of human relationships. That quality depends partly—we do not know how much—upon inherited characteristics. But it also depends very largely upon the nature of early experiences—upon the patterns of behaviour set up in very early years. The nurture and environment of our pre-school children will determine very largely their future value both as individuals and as citizens. As wise builders, therefore, we must start with the nursery school.

SECTION XII
SUMMING UP

IMPRESSIONS OF AUSTRALIAN EDUCATION

I. L. KANDEL

I HAVE been invited to give the impressions that I have formed of Australian education since my arrival in this country at the beginning of August. Since that time I have had ample opportunities of seeing schools of every type and variety in each one of the States, and I cannot speak too highly of the courtesy and kindness shown to me by all the officials and teachers that I have met on my wanderings. But, although I am giving my impressions by request, I realize the pitfalls that lie in wait for any foreigner, however sympathetic and co-operative he may wish to be. For it is characteristic of young countries the world over that, when they invite criticism, they do so in the hope that praise and flattery will follow. And yet, if one is honest, attention must be directed to those aspects of the educational system or of any other social institution that might be improved, as well as those that are progressive and altogether praiseworthy. For there is no doubt at all but that one who is only ready to condemn starts with an initial prejudice which not only colours all his views, but prevents him from trying to understand as he should the traditions and social conditions which affect the institution under investigation. Never was it more true than to-day that all countries are faced with the same problems of education; this means that in education much can be gained by exchange of views.

Although there may be some slight variations in the systems of education of the different States, there are two features characteristic of the whole Commonwealth. These are, first the gradual provision of equality of educational opportunities, and with it the beginning of some measure of differentiation in accordance with the abilities and interests of the pupils; and, second, the fact that all pupils, whether in city or country schools, have the opportunity of being taught by teachers of uniform preparation and train-

ing. Further, teachers are protected in their positions, and are guaranteed equality of salaries and opportunities for promotion according to their efficiency.

There are, however, other elements that indicate progress of which the public is perhaps not as aware as it might be. Progress in education depends upon opportunities for experimentation, upon the provision of courses for advanced professional study, and upon the organization of research. It is generally assumed that experimentation in education is impossible under a centralized system of administration. And yet I have seen young teachers in remote and isolated country schools devoting their time, energy and sometimes money of their own to bring standards of beauty and culture into their schools and their communities, and experimenting along lines which in other countries would be hailed as progressive. The area schools of Tasmania and their counterparts elsewhere may be cited. A number of experiments are being conducted in city schools in broadening the whole approach to the education of youth, but it is often only by accident that one runs across these things which elsewhere would be pointed out as striking innovations. Such examples as these indicate that a centralized system does not, although it might, mean a deadly uniform levelling in education. So, too, in a few non-State schools—which, though different in support and maintenance, are educating Australian youth for Australia and must accordingly be regarded as a part of the national provision for education—experiments are being conducted which in time will react on the State schools. A notable example is the Geelong Church of England Grammar School.

Experimentation in education requires teachers of vision who have had a rich professional preparation. Such preparation, on as high a level as that required for other professions, is now available at the University of Melbourne, where students of education are given opportunities to study current problems in education, to familiarize themselves with what is going on abroad, and to undertake research along a variety of lines which will lead to an understand-

ing of the methods by which education may be improved. And in the field of research there is an organization devoted to the encouragement of investigations into various aspects of education. This organization is the Australian Council for Educational Research, with headquarters in Melbourne and branch committees in each State. The recognition of the importance of research in education has already stimulated two States—New South Wales and Tasmania—to appoint research officers attached to their Education Departments.

But the progress of an educational system in a democracy cannot be based merely upon the scattered efforts of a few teachers and others interested in education. A strong system of education depends upon a number of co-operating forces. The first and most important of these is the public, for without the interest, active sympathy, and support of the public, two dangers confront the advancement of education. The first of these dangers is the lack of financial support, and the second is the rise of a bureaucracy. The secret of the progress in education made in England and the United States in the last two decades has been that efforts have been made to arouse an interest in the public mind and a realization of the meaning of education for individual and national welfare. As public opinion becomes aroused, it also becomes more ready to provide the financial support which makes a modern system of education possible.

But such a system becomes possible only if, in addition, there is available a supply of teachers who have had a sound and adequate preparation for their profession, and who have opportunities for further study after they enter upon their service, for in teaching more than any other profession the teacher who marks time soon becomes a backward teacher. But whatever the standards of the teaching profession may be, since education is a public or national concern, there must be some authority which accepts the responsibility for giving suggestions, guidance and advice to the corps of teachers, and for maintaining certain standards of quality and achievement, without, however, standardizing to such

a degree as to make a system wooden, mechanical and uniform. For the development of public opinion and the improvement of the qualifications of teachers will make possible the organization of a system of education which will provide for variety within a common framework through adaptation to the local environment.

The question may now be asked whether the systems of education in Australia meet these standards? These systems, because of conditions imposed by the sparsity of population when the provision of education first began to be considered, were inevitably established in each State by central authorities. While the central authorities have done much to provide and extend facilities for education, not enough attention has been given to the cultivation and development of that public opinion which is essential for the adequate support of education and for its advancement. The result has been that the public has, in the main, retained certain traditional ideas about education which are difficult to shake. It is true that much is being done by parents' and citizens' associations and by mothers' clubs, but on the whole their activities and interest are restricted to raising funds to supplement the shell of a school provided by the central authorities. If the so-called extras—pianos, pictures, libraries, and so on—are necessary to-day for the satisfactory provision of education and instruction, then obviously the burden of this provision should be distributed among the public as a whole, instead of being left to the chance interest of a small group or to the efforts and energy of an individual teacher or headmaster.

There is also another aspect of educational progress which is dependent upon the interest and understanding of the public. Everywhere the methods and content of education are changing, and there are already examples of such changes in Australia. If, however, public opinion remains rooted in traditions which are beginning to be outworn—the emphasis, for example, on the acquisition of facts and information, and on examinations and certificates—then it is difficult to provide for that all-round education and

training of the whole personality of each pupil through a greater variety of activities than the traditional and through opportunities for development of initiative and resourcefulness which are the bases of continued self-education. For it is no accident, but a direct consequence of the traditional type of education that it closes with examinations and certificates without stimulating that intelligent desire to continue which is the basis of a sound and healthy system of adult education.

It would, of course, be folly to deny that there are some quarters in which there is a profound interest in the advancement of public education—as an example, the Free Library Movement may be cited—but in general the burden is borne by a few, and those always the same public-spirited citizens in each State.

Education is not the only social activity in which there is inadequate local interest, with the tendency to leave everything to the State. And yet much might be done by the teachers themselves if the system of promotion and advancement did not militate against their becoming leaders of public opinion in their areas. For there is at present too much mobility among teachers, and success in one position means advancement to another before a teacher has had a real chance to build himself into his community. The difficulties, especially from the teacher's point of view, are not ignored, but it would be possible, through specialized preparation, through refresher courses, and through the provision of greater opportunities for professional and cultural contacts, to obviate a situation in which the teacher's only chance for advancement is transfer as soon as he shows signs of success in his position for the time being.

The present situation has another adverse influence on educational practices in Australia. It means that the function of inspectors is directed too much to the classification of teachers and too little to helping them to improve professionally, not because inspectors are incapable of doing this, but because time, distances and the number of teachers to be inspected render the task impossible.

And because the stress is upon the classification, the idea seems prevalent among teachers that a good mark depends upon exact conformity with the standards set by the central authority. This idea prevails despite the fact that most central authorities direct the attention of teachers to the freedom that they may use within the published courses, and despite the fact that many inspectors would welcome initiative on the part of teachers.

The results, in any case, are the same. Teachers feel that they are not encouraged to vary and adapt their work in accordance with local conditions; public opinion is not sufficiently alive to the trends in modern education; and in both cases success and failure are measured by the results achieved in examination and the certificates obtained. Both the public and teachers still need to learn that success in examinations is not the same as a successful education, and that a certificate awarded on the basis of everything that a school can learn about a pupil during his school career is more reliable than a certificate won on a single examination.

It would be ungenerous to refrain from stating that some teachers, some members of the public, and some administrative officials recognize the problems involved. In a later broadcast methods by which some of these problems might be met will be discussed.

There is a tendency to criticize a centralized system of educational administration on the grounds that its methods are likely to be too bureaucratic, that it does not provide adequately for flexibility and variety of educational effort, and that it removes the control of education from the public and thereby tends to destroy that interest which is essential for progress. Judged from this point of view, it may be said that administratively the Australian systems of education have on the surface more features in common with that of a country like France than those either of England or of the United States. And yet, as I indicated previously, there are promising signs of progress even within the centralized framework.

Those who are prone to criticize the centralization of

control in education are apt to ignore its strong points and to fail to suggest alternatives that are compatible with and feasible under Australian conditions of political organization. In countries which are more thickly populated, and which have a longer tradition of local government, a system of educational administration based upon the co-operation of local and central authorities is possible, although even here American experience shows a tendency towards larger educational areas. In Australia, neither the interest in nor the organization of local government has yet gone far enough to permit a measure of decentralization in education, although it would be possible to increase the powers of school committees somewhat beyond the functions now exercised by them.

The task of educational statesmanship is not to condemn a system which, from a single centre, has succeeded in providing reasonably decent facilities for education even in the remotest districts, either through the provision of a school with a teacher who meets certain definite standards of qualifications or by means of correspondence. The task is to discover ways and means, under conditions which actually prevail in Australia, for bringing the systems of education into line with what are considered to be sound principles of progress.

It is folly to suggest the abandonment of centralization, for the problem fundamentally is not whether to have no centralization, but to consider what the proper functions of a central authority should be. At present there is a tendency for central authorities to control everything: the provision of buildings, the preparation, appointment and payment of teachers, the prescription of what shall be taught, the inspection of schools and the classification of teachers, and in some cases the conduct of examinations.

What, then, should the proper functions of a central authority be? Obviously, the first task is to provide, maintain and support the proper facilities of education and the supply of educational opportunities suited, on the one hand, to the abilities and interests of the pupils, and, on the other,

to the economic, social and political needs of Australia. For these schools the central authority should promote an adequate supply of well-prepared teachers in receipt of adequate salaries which will attract the right type of men and women. In the interests of efficiency, the central authority should assume responsibility for the maintenance of suitable standards of achievement in the various types of schools—not by the traditional system of examinations, but by more modern forms which are recognized as scientifically sound, reliable and accurate. Beyond this the central authority should encourage variety within a common framework, which means that, in place of a common course of study or syllabus, schools should be given the opportunity of adapting their work to the environment in which the pupils live, and which they should be taught to understand and appreciate; some teachers here and there do this, but with a certain feeling that they may not receive the proper encouragement or reward for their educational vision. Much is already being done outside of the regular time-table through young farmers' clubs; if these activities are valuable for the education of the rising generation, and for enlisting public interest, they should be incorporated according to the varied demands of the country within the scope of the regular work of the schools; as they have already been in the area schools of Tasmania. The central authority could do much by way of suggestion and advice, but there is within the fabric of the existing systems another method by which variety within the common framework can be promoted and by which a measure of decentralization can be introduced, and that is by enlarging the functions of inspectors.

Like centralization, the system of inspection has recently come in for a considerable amount of criticism and condemnation, without a real understanding of the existing conditions. I have enjoyed more extensive opportunities for coming into close contact with inspectors than many of their critics, and while I have been able to form a high opinion of the professional qualifications and interest of

those that I have met, I have also been in a position to realize the difficulties under which they labour. The size of the districts entrusted to them, the distances that they must travel, the number of teachers on whom reports must be made, and the amount of clerical labour involved militate effectively against the proper exercise of professional leadership by the inspectors.

In education, as distinguished from other social and political activities where standardization and mechanization mean efficiency and economy, progress is possible only if a certain measure of freedom for local adaptation is permitted with the corresponding responsibility in its use. Since such decentralization is desirable and since there does not yet exist in Australia a system of local government to which some educational control can be entrusted, it appears to me that the desired ends could be achieved in education through the inspectors. At present inspectors are officers of the central education departments to whom is assigned the task of seeing that the schools are conducted in accordance with the regulations of these departments. While this is an important task, if it becomes the sole task it tends to deprive inspectors of many opportunities for leadership both of the teachers in their districts and of the communities in which they work.

The inspector should exercise a double rôle—he should, on the one hand, be the local representative of the Education Department, and, on the other, he should be the organizer and leader of education in his area. This means that he must be in a position to come into closer and more frequent contacts with the public in his district in order to develop a public opinion favourable to educational progress and reform. It means, further, that more of his time should be devoted to helping the teachers of his district, to promote opportunities for further professional study by teachers, and to serve as an educational leader by collecting and disseminating the best ideas in educational theory and especially in educational practice. These functions an inspector cannot exercise when he has in the main opportunities of seeing

teachers only once a year, and then primarily for purposes of classification, and when the remainder of his time is taken up in travel, in clerical work, and in some places in the marking of examination papers.

The suggestion that inspectors should become leaders of education in their districts, with more authority for the exercise of initiative, would involve but a slight change. In fact, this change would disturb the existing scheme of administrative organization very slightly. It would mean a change in the principle of administration which would bring Australian education more in line with that of England and the United States. It would mean the addition of perhaps two assistants and a clerk for each inspector at a cost which would be negligible as compared with the possibilities of improving education in the Commonwealth. It would mean the release of inspectors from some of the routine work which at present absorbs all their time, and would give them opportunities for educational leadership for which many are qualified, and which would help to develop greater faith in the right kind of education on the part of the public and greater confidence on the part of the teachers. For, despite the alleged fear of inspectors, teachers that I have seen do look to them for stimulus and inspiration which they can hardly receive in the short routine visits that are possible under the present system. And the public, instead of measuring schools by examination results and certificates, might gradually be brought to see that examinations are not the whole of education and that secondary or post-primary education is not one dominated by standards for entrance to universities alone.

Any reform that is suggested, however, is always met by the statement that Australia is spending as much as it can on education. This statement is repeated so frequently that most people have come to believe it. So far as I have been able to discover, there is no evidence for the correctness or incorrectness of this statement, which is accepted merely because it is repeated so frequently.

But the basic question to-day, and particularly in demo-

cratic countries, is not whether a nation can afford to spend money on education, but whether it can afford not to do so. Education must be looked upon as a national investment which brings dividends in the health, happiness and intelligent citizenship of individuals, and in the advancing welfare of the nation as a whole. Those who fear the possible increase in the cost of education may be assured that what is saved on educational expenditure will have to be spent on the prevention or punishment of crime, on increased cost of health services, and in the amelioration of conditions of poverty.

Some of the questions that the Australian public must ask itself are: Whether, except for notable exceptions here and there, it is satisfied with the school buildings and grounds at present in existence; whether the equipment at present provided (and often by voluntary subscriptions instead of taxation) is adequate for modern instruction and education; whether the size of classes in urban and suburban schools, both elementary and secondary, is such as to guarantee the most effective work by even the most alert teachers; and whether enough provision is being made to encourage teachers while in service to keep abreast of and to put into practice not necessarily the latest, but the best and soundest, ideas in education which are current elsewhere; and, finally, whether the educational system is yielding successful results in terms of the cultural interests of adults. Do the schools, especially the secondary schools, introduce the pupils to things that they will love and admire throughout their lives, or are they dominated by traditions which no longer have psychological justification and by the demands of the universities to which less than 10 per cent. of the pupils proceed? Are pupils better equipped to understand the problems that they will meet as men and women and as citizens than if they had not continued beyond primary schools? And in the primary schools is there not a point beyond which real usable efficiency fails in such subjects as arithmetic and grammar? These are questions that the

Australian public must ask itself; there are enough teachers and administrative officials who can supply the answers.

There has been launched recently a movement to promote free libraries. If the movement does not succeed, it will not be so much because of the fear of the very slight increase in local rates as because the education provided has not succeeded in developing through the schools abiding cultural interests which, on one side at least, can be met by the provision of libraries. Fortunately, a beginning has already been made in the schools to develop a broader interest in general reading and in the use of books that can be provided by the study of text-books alone. This is an important contribution which is coming from the schools.

Education in Australia appears to be on the move, and progress is being made in the primary and post-primary schools; in secondary education it still has to be realized that an education that leads a few to the universities is not the best education for the majority. Just as soon as the restrictive influences of external examinations are removed, and more modern substitutes for maintaining standards are developed, secondary education will begin to play its proper part in contributing to the welfare of individuals and of the nation. But, before this result can be achieved, public opinion must be aroused to a realization that, in education, it cannot be satisfied with anything except with the best.

CRITICISMS OF EDUCATION IN AUSTRALIA

F. W. HART

THE rôle of the critic is not a pleasant one. It is far more agreeable to be complimentary—to praise that which is good and pass lightly or completely over that which is bad—but, as I understand it, the purpose of this conference is to seek to bring about desirable changes and that necessitates emphasis upon the points where change is needed—criticism. Furthermore, in every community where the conference meetings have been held criticism has been invited—not only invited but urged. It is in the light of such purpose and in response to such invitations that the following statements are made.

A background of some twenty years' experience in making surveys of school systems has produced in me a critical habit of mind—a habit of mind that seeks to locate as quickly as possible the barriers to progress—the obstacles standing in the way of an adequate, forward-looking programme of education adapted to the needs of the community. It is with such an attitude and point of view that I have, in the short time available, scrutinized education in the several States of Australia. If my criticisms seem severe to anyone, it is because I hold the issue to be of greater importance than the feelings of any individual or group. The major barriers to educational progress in the Australian state, as I see them, are:

1. *The complete and universal absence of a feeling of ownership or control of the schools by the people.*

If there is any one function of government in a democracy that should be kept close to the people and thus always sensitive to the needs and desires of the people, it is the function of education. People may delegate to a remote central authority the control of their highways, taxes, courts and the like without necessary grave consequences, but when the control of the education of the children passes beyond

reach or influence of parents or citizens, the security of democracy is in jeopardy.

The ownership and control of the State schools in Australia is so completely centralized in the Minister of Education that local citizens have no more feeling of ownership or sense of control over the school than they have over the highest court of law in the land.

In making this criticism, I am not urging complete decentralization. It is not an issue of all or none. There are many aspects of education that should be centralized in the state under a lay board or commission—not under one man, as now—a cog in the machine of the political party in power at the time. On the other hand, there are many aspects of education that should be controlled locally by boards or commissions directly responsible to the people. Some such distribution of control is, in my judgment, the only means of maintaining locally that sense of ownership and responsibility so essential to the welfare of education in a democracy.

Complete centralization of control as it operates in the several States of Australia not only destroys any sense of local ownership and responsibility, but it creates and perpetuates a whole series of barriers, obstacles and abuses that not only thwart progress but work in ways that are a menace to appropriate education, physical, mental and emotional health of the individual children. Among the most devastating of these are:

(a) *A uniform standardized syllabus of instruction imposed by central authority on all children regardless of differences in ability, interest or outlook.*

Unless the schools are deliberately set up as a sort of sifting screen and operated for the purpose of sorting out a few of superior scholastic ability and mental docility, such uniformity destroys the most basic concept of democratic education, namely, equality of opportunity—opportunity for an education best suited to the ability, interest, needs and outlook of the pupil. In a very true sense, it would be just as absurd and no less painful to require all school chil-

dren of the same age to wear the same sized shoes as to expect them all to be properly educated by the study of a uniform syllabus.

(b) The system of external examinations, part and parcel of central control and uniform syllabus, is, in my judgment, the most vicious aspect of education in Australia. Its impact on the child is devastating physically, emotionally, mentally and morally. It regimentates and devitalizes all teaching, makes slave drivers of teachers, and is responsible for a system of child slaving in the schools—endless hours of homework, broken health, shattered nerves and a false standard of values.

(c) The system of inspection of schools by central office authority is the whip-hand that lashes teachers, pupils and parents alike into line. Fear is the force that flays—fear of an adverse report on teaching, fear of failure by pupils and fear by parents of the evil consequences to their children of not securing the glorified 'leaving certificate.' In making this criticism of inspection, I am not criticizing the inspectors. Many of them are splendid educators with high ideals of what education should be, but they, along with teachers and pupils, are victims of a system the goal of which is uniformity—uniformity in a field of human endeavour where uniformity does not exist and should not exist. Until 'inspection' is abolished and local supervision is substituted there can be little hope for real progress in education or for real education.

2. *Seniority as a basis of promotion is, in my judgment, almost equivalent to seniority as a basis of promotion.* Regrettable as it may be, the two tend to go together and just as long as the higher ranking positions in the schools in Australia are filled on the basis of seniority, education will be denied the potential progress that younger men of more recent training and more modern outlook might bring to the system.

3. *In Australia, I find evidence of an over-emphasis on the employment advantage of an education. The value of an education seems to be measured by what it may add to one's salary or income.*

This point of view was expressed by a citizen with whom I was chatting. When I told him, with some satisfaction, that my daughter graduated from the university in May and was married in August, he said, 'Too bad.' 'Too bad what?' I queried. 'Too bad she lost her education,' was his answer. The value of education for its own sake does not seem to be generally accepted.

4. The foregoing criticisms have to do, in the main, with the State schools, and, serious as these issues may be, they do not exceed in gravity the attitude of a very large proportion of the population toward the State schools. The attitude I refer to is an attitude which tends to foster and to perpetuate class distinctions in education—class as to social position and class as to economic status. The sentiment abroad in the land is that anybody who is anybody sends his children to a private school, and, in consequence, all of those who want to be 'somebody' do likewise. This attitude is reminiscent of, perhaps it is related to, the days when free schools were intended for the pauper classes. It certainly places a class handicap on the children who attend them. Nor is this handicap entirely social. There is rather disturbing evidence that, through the preference given in some occupations and firms to 'old boys' of a particular school or to former pupils of private schools in general, certain desirable avenues of employment are virtually closed to those whose education has been entirely within the State system. This is an issue of profound importance to a country that claims to be a democracy. There is but one way of meeting this situation, as I see it, and that is for the States to make the free schools so superior in quality that they will command the respect and confidence of all worthy citizens.

SUMMING UP

WILLIAM BOYD

AS each in the series of Conferences has come to an end, the thought uppermost in the minds of those who have taken part has been: 'What is to come out of this interest which has been excited among all sections of the Australian public?' Everybody is agreed that something worth-while ought to be the outcome. Very many are afraid that nothing much will.

If the experience of South Africa, which enjoyed similar conferences three years ago, is to be taken as prophetic, there will be a deep impulse to educational reform which will be effective as far as it goes, even if it does not go so far as the idealists would like. The conferences have undoubtedly stirred up something profound in the heart of Australia and things will never be quite the same again.

At the same time, it has been unfortunate that the time of conference in the capital cities has been all too brief. That was probably the only course possible in the circumstances, but from the point of view of after-influence, it was a real weakness. A week is long enough to make acquaintance with people, and to get a general interest created—but not long enough to have the problems raised followed through to their detailed issue, and certainly not long enough to let the individual lecturers make their impression on those to whom they appealed.

As it is, the impression for most people must be a composite one rather than a personal one. From this point of view the delegation, regarded as a group, is most interesting. If there could only be a mannequin parade that would bring them one by one before the Conference members, it is probably the diversity of the group that would strike people first. It would be difficult to imagine twenty-one more different persons than these delegates. Just think of them, the Americans, Hart, Brunner, Rugg,

Kandel, Lismer, splendid fresh-minded men all: the Englishmen, Salter Davies, Meadon, Norwood, Hankin, Hap-pold, so very English in their ways: the Continentals, Zilliacus, Dengler, Bovet, Vedel, so different in national type and background: the Australians, Hamley and Deben-ham, English and yet not English; the two women of the group, Mrs. Ensor and Dr. Isaacs: the Japanese, Mr. Tsurumi: the South African, Malherbe: and the humble Scot called Boyd.

Different in race are these twenty-one; and yet it is not that which comes to mind in thinking of them. Different in their approach to educational problems: but not that, either. The striking difference is the difference in personality, their distinctive individuality. They all speak out of their own experience, directly and sincerely, and often contradictorily. Probably there is no subject under the sun on which they would record an unanimous vote. Examinations, for example: none of them can pretend to be satisfied with the existing examination system, but their opinions range from wholesale condemnation and a demand for abolition to tolerance and an effort to make the best of the situation. If, again, they were asked to say what the New Education means for them, a similar diversity would be revealed.

And yet, in their different ways they are new educators, and their very difference is symbolic of the New Education. In the New Education camp there can be no rigid uniformity, no easy doctrinal agreements. Life and education must mean different things for different people.

And yet it would be a mistake to overstress this diversity. There is a real departure from the older ways of education which all these people have made for themselves. There is a common basis of faith which goes deeper than the differences.

A study of the Conference programmes will not lead to the discovery of this community of conviction. The topics for the most part are familiar wherever educators meet in conference: questions of curriculum and method, adult

education, parent education, rural education, the library, art, music and drama, the characteristics of different periods of child life. There is perhaps something Australian in the fact that the psychological aspects of education, which usually figure largely in New Education Fellowship Conferences, are very inadequately represented.

Even if the lectures on this varied array of subjects could be brought together, the unity of thought and spirit might be hard to find. It would certainly not be found in the discussion of methods except negatively in so far as that discussion has tended to be critical of existing practice not only in Australia but over the world.³ But, as everybody agrees, negative criticism is not enough. What we are all wanting is constructive thought. What of that has come from the delegates? What are the positive principles of the New Education?

In this respect the main emphasis has, not unexpectedly, been on the political side. Whatever the dictators have or have not done, they have set us all examining the foundations of our political life. As against totalitarian government, we are seeking to understand the democratic freedom which we still enjoy. The question of democracy has been approached from various sides during the Conference, and stress has been laid on the fact that an education that makes free men is the condition of a satisfactory community. What kind of education that is to be we have not been definite enough to declare with accents of finality because we have been only too conscious that in this sphere there can be no finality. We are confronted with the emergence of a civilization different from any that has been and the distinctive note of the Conference discussion has been to emphasize the need for educating the young people of the democratic countries so that in the fullness of time they will be able to work out this new civilization in ways beyond present comprehension. One point of note has been the view that the leaders of the future must be got from a system of universal education which gives every child his or her opportunity.

In this the Conference has come back to the fact of personality as the central concern of the New Education. The golden rule of the new parenthood and the new schooling is: always treat the child as a person and let the child personality grow and develop in an atmosphere of freedom.

If this confession of New Education faith seems vague to those who look for specific guidance from the delegates, the consolation may be given that it leaves Australians free to solve their own problems in the only way they can be solved—by themselves. The lecturers have not been wanting in practical suggestions—but practical suggestions are made for consideration, not necessarily for adoption. The Conferences, in fact, have brought a challenge to Australia by stirring up doubt about much of the accepted practice, and the guidance toward better practice has, in the main, been limited to the enunciation of general ideals, the virtue of which depends on the manner of their application.

Three problems have, perhaps, been outstanding among the many which have been raised. The first is that of new education in the home, aiming at better relations between parents and children, and leading on to better relations between home and school. The second is that of examinations and inspection, as the keystones of the existing school system. The third is that of decentralizing the present over-centralized administration so as to foster an increasing local interest in the school on the one hand, and to allow the schools a larger measure of freedom on the other. For these problems there is no foregone solution, no inevitable answer. It is for the Australian States to seek and to find their own solution through the co-operative interest of all who are concerned with the upbringing of the young in good personal and social ways.

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