

MODERN TRENDS IN EDUCATION

By the same Author

EDUCATION AS A SOCIAL FACTOR
PHYSICAL EDUCATION
GOD IN EDUCATION
TOTAL EDUCATION

MODERN TRENDS IN EDUCATION

by

M. L. JACKS, M. A.

*Director of the Department of Education
at Oxford University*



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PREFACE

THIS book is an attempt to depict modern trends in education in this country. "Modern" is an ambiguous term, but it has here been interpreted as "contemporary"—contemporary with the writing of these pages, which has occupied the greater part of the year 1947. At the same time it has been impossible to isolate these trends from what has gone before, and in order that they may be understood it has been necessary to go back in recent history and to make a corresponding extension to the term "modern". Moreover, education changes so rapidly to-day, and the inevitable difficulties and delays in publication are so great, that a book on this subject may be out of date before it sees the light of day unless the subject is interpreted in a liberal and forward-looking spirit. That I have endeavoured to do. My hope is that what I have written may help the "modern" parent (interpreted in the same sense) to see his way through the strange educational prospect which faces him, to make a wise choice where choice is allowed him, and elsewhere to make a wise use of what is given him. I have tried wherever possible to acknowledge my debt to other writers, and to refer to their work; but much of this has been written where there has been no access to books of reference, and for any sins of omission or of commission in this respect, I apologize in advance.

M. L. J.

I. INTRODUCTION

"It is better to travel hopefully than to arrive"

EDUCATION has suddenly come to life. For a hundred years it has led among us a moribund existence, vitalized at long intervals by sparks of animation.

Such a spark fell in 1870, when the first steps were taken towards universal and compulsory elementary education: another in 1902, when the creation of the first Local Education Authorities with new powers, the religious controversies which ensued, and the first attempts to organize a system of secondary education stimulated in the general public an interest which made education a living issue and a matter of burning if transitory importance: another in 1918, when under an enlightened President of the Board of Education (a distressingly rare phenomenon) there was a shaking, and once again the dry bones came together, the breath of life entered into them, and the man in the street saw education as a living social service: others fell in 1926, the year of the Hadow Report,¹ and in 1938, when the Spens Report² was published: others again have glimmered fitfully in out-of-the-way places, where experimental work (destined perhaps one day to blaze into a consuming fire) has been carried on, where men and women of faith and inspiration have lit up some dark corner of the field, and where individual teachers of genius have defied tradition and convention, gone their own way in scorn of consequence, and have lit a candle which will never be put out.

But for the most part these sparks have behaved as sparks do: they have shone for a brief moment, and then gone out. Some of them, moreover, have been visible only to the eye of the professional, glow-worms whose inner life only the naturalist understands: and though a few teachers have here and there been excited by these manifestations of vitality, ordinary men and women have had no eye for the sudden light and no appreciation of its significance.

So education has pursued its pedestrian course, unhonoured

¹ *The Education of the Adolescent*, Board of Education, Consultative Committee.

² *Secondary Education*, Board of Education, Consultative Committee.

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and unsung: lip service has been paid to it, but outside the desks of the professional teachers there have been little devotion of heart or mind, and little conviction of its supreme worth: to the generality of ratepayers it has been a necessary evil rather than a positive good, and expenditure from the public purse has been meagre and grudging: the occupations of those who have earned their livelihood in its service have been regarded by others (and sometimes by themselves) as weary, stale, flat, and unprofitable—except in their rich spiritual rewards—, and these practitioners have often been a race apart from the rest of the community: it has figured but little in the election programmes of political parties: it has been a dull subject for literature, and readable books about it have been few and far between: it has been neglected by the British Broadcasting Corporation, and has played but a small part in the provision made by that body for the instruction or entertainment of the public: it has neither caught the imagination nor fired the enthusiasm of the ordinary citizen.

That is a dark picture, but the shadows have not been overdrawn: dark and drab has been the educational world. And now, in this fourth decade of the twentieth century, there is a change—a change which appears sudden on the surface, but is in reality the result of hidden tendencies and subterranean movements of thought operating over an indeterminate period and now under the impact of a great war reaching their appointed end.

Beneath the lifeless surface the fires have been smouldering, and the tremendous national experience through which we have passed has fanned them to a sudden blaze. In the light of that fire we can see what has been happening, and catch a vision of education as she is and as she might be: and in the heat of the fire indifference is consumed, passions and prejudices are purified, and hearts are warmed.

Instead of a disagreeable necessity, education is seen to-day to be a key industry, opening the doors to a better world—a world in which industry will be more productive, the distribution of goods more equitable, society more just, the material conditions of life more tolerable, values more truly estimated, culture more generously conceived and more generally shared. With one or other of these ends in view (or perhaps with several or all of them), we are prepared to give education its chance, to see if it can “deliver the goods” where other agencies have failed us.

During the first century of the Roman Empire, Quintilian felt that religion and philosophy had failed to show the way to that social reform which was so imperatively called for, and supported by a large body of public opinion he deliberately turned to education to fill the gap. There is a parallel situation and a corresponding

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temper to-day. Philosophy makes no appeal to the unlettered multitude, and even in educated circles it breathes an increasingly rarified atmosphere, and is removed to an increasing distance from the practical concerns of life. The churches are empty, and their leaders have signally failed to give us the lead we want: they have not even been able to make up their minds whether this is their business or not: on the one hand, there are men like the late Archbishop of Canterbury, ready with a social and economic programme for Christianity in the twentieth century: on the other hand, there are the critics of these, who stress the dangers inherent in any such programme, deny that this is the concern of preachers of the Gospel, and confine themselves to the expounding of its principles, leaving us to work out for ourselves their application to the daily practical problems which confront us: while this difference of opinion continues, and the Church is thus divided into two sections which are more damaging to its effectiveness than all its sectarian divisions, its voice can hardly be expected to count.

Science, on which such high hopes were pinned, has likewise failed us: the neutrality of its exponents in the moral sphere, their unconcern in the debate where good and evil are discussed, and their refusal to accept any responsibility for the uses to which their discoveries may be put, ~~fatally weaken their claim to be the~~ harbingers of a new and better age. There is no evidence at all that the scientific age is going to be a good age for the common man to live in: indeed, the atom bomb, the latest and some would say the finest flowering of scientific genius, points rather to the contrary; it is only if the politicians prove themselves better men than the scientists, that there will be any age at all for the common man to live in: there will only be one for him to die in, and if he is fortunate he will die as quickly as possible.

Salvation is not to be found either in a remote philosophy or in a divided Church or in an irresponsible science: perhaps it may be found (as Quintilian hoped it might be found) in an educated people.

With these rivals dead, education comes to life: and perhaps this tendency to occupy an increasingly living place in the thoughts and aspirations of men and women, and to claim an increasing share of their interest and attention is the first of the modern trends in education. But though this exercises a profound effect on educational thought and practice, and though, as we shall see, it is largely responsible for certain movements in the educational field, it is in part a trend external to that field: it may equally well be regarded as a modern trend in the social and intellectual life of the community, and only extends to education as to one of the elements in that life.

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We must come closer home, and look at education from the inside as well as from the outside, if we are to discover the trends which are really characteristic of it to-day. It is only if we take a view which is both intimate and comprehensive that we shall be able to see the direction in which education is moving, and as it moves is carrying us with it: for we must recognize that whatever the outcome of these trends, life is going to be different for us all—and not only for the administrative authorities, whose powers and responsibilities will be changed, or for the teaching profession, whose material conditions are likely to be improved, or for the children in our schools and the students in our universities, who will be better taught.

And first we must realize that the death of its rivals would have been quite ineffective in bringing education to life, had it not possessed the spark of vitality within itself. We may compare it to a living organism, with the will to live strongly developed, and inherent dispositions which will carry it in this direction or in that as it advances towards maturity and in its advance is affected by its environment. Its will to live has survived, as we have seen, many setbacks and discouragements: and it has survived because its proceedings have always been carried on in the field of humanity, its raw material has been human nature, life has answered to life, and death has been impossible. And as the climate of public opinion has changed, so education has moved in this direction or in that (the present change in public opinion will affect it profoundly): if education is the effect of environment on the living organism, it is not fanciful to say that education has itself been educated, and its characteristic tendencies to-day, as with all of us, are partially the result of its education.

If then we are to acquire a reliable view of modern trends in education, we must bear in mind these internal dispositions as well as the external circumstances.

It is trends that we are to examine, and not any *status quo*. Indeed it is difficult to find any *status quo* in this rapidly changing world, whether we seek for it in the industrial or the economic or the social or the educational or the political order. The pace of events is such that to-day is out of date before to-morrow has dawned, and we live amid all the perplexities of kaleidoscopic change. Of nothing is this more true than of education, for education, if it is to be true to its name, must always be dynamic and not static: and to-day it has struck its tents and everywhere is on the march.

The White Paper on Educational Reconstruction outlined the principal tendencies of the time and attempted to point to the direction in which they seemed to be moving: and the Education

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Act of 1944, which was its offspring, disciplined these tendencies, saved them from that nomad wandering to which every uncontrolled tendency is prone, envisaged the true ends to which they pointed, and gave to these ends the statutory sanction of an Act of Parliament.

But many of these ends are distant in time, and are likely to be modified by public opinion and current needs before they are achieved. Herein lies the answer to those who expected an educational Utopia to follow on the passing of the Act: they will be disappointed, and their disappointment will be inevitable because their expectations were unjustified. There can be no sudden Utopia, and the Utopia when it comes may look very different from that envisaged to-day.

Those who have been engaged on drawing up the Development Plans which the Act charges local education authorities to prepare, know very well that their planning must extend over at least twenty years, and that they will be lucky if even at the end of twenty years their dreams come true: many factors are involved which are beyond the control of these Authorities—the location of industry, town-planning, the movements of population, housing, the development of the health service, the recruitment of personnel, changes in the birth-rate.

We see how intimately education is bound up with social and economic movements and with other social services. Education can never be isolated, and those who plan for its future have to do their work confronted with a host of uncertainties, of which as far as possible they must take account. A catholic view of their problems in a wide setting is demanded: they must exercise foresight: their cast of mind must be synoptic: they must not be afraid to guess, but their guessing must be controlled by wisdom, and not wild.

It would need a race of supermen to avoid all mistakes in this arduous task of implementing the Act of Parliament, and mistakes will undoubtedly be made. When they occur, it will be the duty of the people to rectify them, and to *rectify them in accordance with the tendencies*: for the tendencies will remain constant for at least a generation, and as they progressively reach their appointed ends will breed new tendencies which will be their natural outcome. That is one reason why it is important that we should understand the modern trends in education, and a reason why this book has been written. You cannot make a people well-educated by an Act of Parliament: the Act of Parliament has to become the Act of the People: and the people must understand the tendencies with which the Act of Parliament deals.

There is another reason. In the last paragraph the words

"tendency" and "trend" have been used indiscriminately, as if they were synonymous. This is a common practice, and a third word is often used to describe the same movement. That is the word "drift". "Tendency", "Trend", "Drift"—what is the proper distinction between these three? There is little between the first two, but between that pair and the third a distinction may be drawn. What is it? The answer is bound up with what has already been said about the respective contributions of external and internal forces to the growth of a tendency. A drift may be regarded as more generalized than a tendency, more external in its mode of operation, less controllable and less controlled, less specific both in its source and in its ends, less dependent on qualities and characteristics inherent in its origin. A concatenation of circumstances, disparate and seemingly unconnected with one another, will often combine to produce a drift.

On the other hand, a tendency operates in a more limited field, and is the product of something native to the region of its origin: it may lead, it is true, to one or more of a number of ends, but these ends are all more specific than those to which we drift, specified by the nature of the originating force, and selected or rejected as the tendency develops. There is a greater degree of determinism about a tendency than there is about a drift. Moreover, it is within the power of a tendency to modify a drift within its own province, and even to correct and to redirect it, and this is constantly being done—indeed it must be done if developing organisms are to attain to any degree of self-realization.

Some illustrations may make the point clear. We commonly speak of a "drift to war" (there are many people to-day who say that we are drifting into a third world war): by this we mean that the combination of circumstances is such that, unless something is done, we shall find ourselves, even against our wills, engaged in war: but that "something" which has to be done may well be the very exertion of those wills and the operation of man's natural tendency (if that exists) to live at peace with his neighbours, or at least to consider his own self-interest which he sees will be threatened by war: or the "something" may be the tendency of a powerful group in the community to move in some other direction.

At the same time, a tendency may reinforce a drift: there is, for example, evidence to show that the tendency of the armament manufacturers to consider nothing but profits strengthened the drift to war which led to war in 1939.

On the other hand, we can make quite a different statement: instead of speaking of a "drift to war" we may say that the continuance of an acquisitive society inevitably means war: here we are speaking about a tendency, and a tendency of a very determinate

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type: there is something in the nature of an acquisitive society, we say, that can lead to no other end but war. In this we are dealing with a dominant internal force, operating in its own field: in speaking of the drift to war we are dealing with a number of external forces, operating in a diversity of fields.

Let us apply this conclusion to education. It is the natural tendency of education, whether as a science or as an art, to enable as many people as possible to become happy and responsible human beings, each realizing the gifts with which he is endowed, and all sharing in the common culture and contributing to the common good: it is concerned both with quantity and with quality. At the same time, in the course of its evolution it is subjected to the influence of a variety of forces, general drifts in society towards this or that end: these often have nothing to do with education, and may well be social or political in their nature. Education, however, can neither ignore them nor uncritically submit to them. It must use them. It must examine them in its own field, translate them into its own terms, and interpret them in the light of the ends to which its natural tendencies lead it. In doing this it will incorporate certain elements in the drift into the fibre of its own nature, which will thereby become a richer thing.

But education is an abstract term and abstractions can do nothing: the work must be done by its living component elements, just as the work of an army is done not by itself but by its soldiers. And the elements here are all those who are primarily concerned in education, whether as administrators, or as teachers, or (above all) as parents: it is the common people, the readers of this book (if there be any), who must do the work.

Let me take a simple example. One of the modern trends in education which we shall examine in a later chapter is what I call "Egalitarianism"—the demand for equality. This is a social and political demand of the day, and to that extent is external: but it is shared by those who are concerned with education, and becomes part of an educational tendency. One practical form which it takes is the demand that all secondary schools should enjoy "parity of status"—that they should all be, and be recognized as being, equally good as schools. If this is to be achieved, the status of the secondary modern schools has to be raised: but this can only be done by parents sending to those schools the children who ought to go to them, and not letting themselves be distracted by alien considerations (such as social prestige): for it is only when the children suit the education, and the education suits the children, that you get a good school.

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to the needs of those for whom it attempts to cater, and to its success or failure in meeting those needs. Of course other things can help towards parity of status: parity of conditions is one. But in the last resort it will depend on the children, and on the parents who choose their school.

In these considerations we have a second reason why it is important to understand modern trends in education. There is a third reason. The Education Act of 1944 lays a new and an extremely exacting duty on parents, the full significance of which has not yet been realized. By the Act of 1921, under which education was administered till the passing of the Butler Act, a parent fulfilled his statutory duty towards his children if he saw to it that they received efficient instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic (that was the content of popular education as seen by those who framed our earlier Acts of Parliament—a sobering thought).

This duty was easily performed: it was as easy as buying any household commodity, in fact a good deal easier: for there was no embarrassing choice to be made between this shop and that, the quality of the goods didn't vary from dealer to dealer, and nobody need worry about price because the goods were "free" (which meant, of course, that you paid for them in rates and taxes and not over the counter, but over rates and taxes you had much less control than over the shopkeeper).

There were certain shops called elementary schools which supplied the goods you were compelled to acquire: the shopkeepers had all had precisely the same experience and were all cast in the same mould: and the goods were identical from shop to shop—with one exception: that was religious instruction, and this often caused serious difficulties: but the subject was optional, the difficulties could always be got over by conscientious objection, and if you were fortunate you could find a school which purveyed the particular brand of religious instruction which you wanted. Otherwise, it was only necessary to find the nearest elementary school, pack the children off to it, and think no more about it: and the School Attendance Officer could have no complaint against you.

But now all that is changed: a parent under the new Act is bound to see that his children during the years of compulsory schooling (at present five to fifteen) receive efficient full-time education according to their age, ability, and aptitude: and after those years they must receive efficient part-time education of the same character up to the age of eighteen.

The performance of this duty will involve the conscientious parent in a number of crucial decisions: until the child is eleven, these will not be very difficult, for the new "primary" schools, which replace the old "elementary" schools, are not likely to vary

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very much for many years to come: but there will be some variations and (it is to be hoped) an increasing number of them, and the total educational provision made in each school (and not only the three R's) will have to be weighed against a child's ability and aptitude before a proper choice can be made: moreover, in special circumstances of some physical or mental handicap, or backwardness, or maladjustment, the right school may be a Special School, and the parent may have to choose that—a choice which many parents will find it hard to make.

These choices will be involved in the performance of a statutory duty: there will, of course, be others, such as the use to be made of Nursery Schools and certain other facilities, but with these we are not concerned. When the child is between eleven and twelve years of age, a vital decision will have to be taken, and a choice made between the various types of secondary school open to him: we shall see later on what these types are likely to be: let it be sufficient at the moment to say that each one will be designed to cater for certain *types* of ability (not *degrees* of ability) and for certain aptitudes. At this point parents will, of course, receive help and guidance from other sources—from teachers, Education Officers, and members of local education authorities—and it is to be feared in some instances that guidance may almost amount to direction. There is no doubt that that would relieve certain parents of an unwelcome responsibility, but it is probable that the majority would resent it.

In any event it is the intention of the Act that the parent should exercise his choice, and that while that choice cannot be unlimited, it should be as free as the circumstances permit.¹ Even after the choice of a school has been made, there may be need for a further choice after two years: misfits may then have been discovered, and at the age of thirteen transfer to another type of school may be necessary—and again the parent comes into the picture. Later on further decisions will have to be made: when the compulsory school age (fifteen) is reached, is a child to leave school? or are his abilities such that he should continue in full-time secondary education? and so on.

Now in all these choices the determining factors are age, ability and aptitude: and if a parent is to make his choices wisely, he will need two pieces of knowledge which he has not hitherto needed

¹ See The Education Act, § 76: "In the exercise and performance of all Powers and duties conferred and imposed on them by this Act the Minister and local education authorities shall have regard to the general principle that, so far as is compatible with the provision of efficient instruction and training and the avoidance of unreasonable public expenditure, pupils are to be educated in accordance with the wishes of their parents."

(though he may often have possessed both): the first is knowledge of his child, and the second is knowledge of educational trends and their practical effects.

A parent's knowledge of his child is, of course, a personal matter, and it is perhaps presumptuous to question it or to comment on it. The matter, however, is of such importance that the risk must be run. Many parents will assert that they know all that they need to know about their children, and certainly more than anyone else. But about this assertion we must ask four questions: (1) Is it in fact true? (2) Is the knowledge the right kind of knowledge? does it relate to the particular qualities which are important in determining a child's education? (3) Is it accurate and objective? (4) Is a proper valuation put upon it?

The answer to the first question is that sometimes the assertion is true, but often not: it must be admitted that as the State has increasingly shouldered the responsibility for education, so the parent has increasingly tended to abdicate: and his abdication has involved a diminution in his knowledge of his children. There are few schoolmasters who would not agree that in many instances the teacher knows far more about a child than either father or mother, and their agreement is only equalled by their regret that this should be so. But we must remind ourselves that the duty of securing a fitting education is laid upon the *parent*, and it is from him, therefore, that the necessary knowledge is required.

Is his present knowledge of the right kind? A father will know that his boy is good at games, that he finds arithmetic difficult, that he collects stamps, that he makes friends easily, that he "gets on all right". And this knowledge is useful, but it does not go deep enough: it is a knowledge of facts, but far more important than the facts are their causes: *why* does he find arithmetic difficult, collect stamps, make friends easily? It is only when these questions can be answered that we can pretend to a real knowledge of the boy, and in particular of his aptitudes. We want to know about his hidden motives, and about his day-dreams, and about his personality, which is very difficult to assess, as distinct from his character, which can be much more easily and accurately observed. Moreover, much of our knowledge is based on secondhand evidence, evidence usually of school records and school reports: this, of course, is valuable, but it needs supplementing by personal observation of a child's activities (his speech, play, etc.), the product of those activities (in writing, drawing, modelling, etc.), and the impressions he makes on other people.¹

This last observation will help us in ensuring that our knowledge is accurate and objective: it can so easily be subjective and mis-

¹ See *Research in Education*, Professor R. A. C. Oliver.

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leading, a view seen through a pair of rose-coloured spectacles, a desire masquerading as knowledge. The point needs no labouring: but no doctor ever needed a second opinion about a puzzling case more than every parent does about his child. This, of course, is particularly true when any sort of backwardness is in question.

Finally, if this knowledge is to be used aright, it is essential that their true values should be attached to the abilities and aptitudes which are revealed. It is no good knowing that a child is unacademic, if that is taken to mean that he is inferior to the academic: or that he is good with his hands, if that is regarded as being less meritorious than being good with his brains: or that he is unconventional, if unconventionality is treated as a disease which should be cured. Such mistakes, and they are distressingly common, will militate against any just allocation of children to the schools for which they are particularly fitted, and will lead to the failure of parents to perform their statutory duty.

If the matter is pressed to its logical conclusion, such failure occurs not only when a parent fails to send his child to school at all, but also when he sends him to the wrong school—to the village primary school, for example, when owing to some defect he should be in a special school, or to a grammar school for its social or academic prestige, when owing to some peculiar aptitude he should be in a modern school, or to a public boarding school out of social or financial snobbery, when his abilities and make-up are such that he should be living at home and attending the local technical high school. These are simple (and not uncommon) examples of a failure to educate a child according to his ability and aptitude.

It is necessary for parents not only to know their children, but also to have the courage to act upon their knowledge. These, however, let it be repeated are personal matters, and education is only indirectly concerned with them. But there are certain trends in modern education which may help those who need help. There is the developing science of child psychology, a department of general psychology in which more reliable and more generally acceptable conclusions have been reached than perhaps in any other: it has produced a valuable body of literature, and "child-study", as it is called, is a subject which he who wills may pursue. Moreover, it is an increasingly common practice for those who are responsible for nursery schools to associate the parents with them in their work and to enlist their co-operation: a good nursery school may be as valuable a school for the mother as it is for the child.

Finally, there are likely to be developments in the expanding service of Adult Education which will specifically cater for the needs of parents who wish to understand their children (Russia

has gone further in this direction than any other people). Reference will be made to these matters in later chapters of this book. '.

We shall, however, be concerned in the main with the other piece of knowledge which a parent will need—that of educational trends and their practical effects on educational provision. The new and lively interest in education has resulted in the general public becoming familiar with a number of educational terms which are often only partially understood, and educational catch-phrases which are adopted without their true significance being grasped.

We hear of county schools and voluntary aided schools and voluntary controlled schools: of nursery schools and nursery classes: of infant schools and junior schools: of modern schools and technical high schools: of multilateral schools and comprehensive schools: of county colleges and day continuation schools: of two-stream schools and three-stream schools: of mental ages and intelligence quotients: of "realistic" courses based on a "common core": of intelligence tests and aptitude tests: of internal and external examinations: of "equality of opportunity in education", "the educational ladder", and "the educational highway".

The definition of some of these terms is, of course, perfectly clear and may be found in the Act of 1944 or in official documents (but these are not a popular form of reading): that of others (e.g. multilateralism, equality of opportunity) is variable and ambiguous, and these very easily become mere educational jargon, and such jargon is always dangerous: it sounds as though it means much, whereas in point of fact it means little or nothing. We may take the word "multilateral" as an example: this means "many-sided", but when we apply it to schools its value will depend on *how many sides we have in mind*, and that is a question which often is not faced: is a bilateral school a multilateral school? or do we mean "omnilateral" when we use the term, and contemplate a school in which *all* sides of education will be pursued under one roof?

We hear, moreover, much criticism of old theories of education, and the enunciation of new theories: and this criticism of the old and enunciation of the new is often couched in terms which seem to belong more to the sphere of psychology than to that of education: educational theory indeed is barely distinguishable from educational psychology, and that in turn seems little more than a rehash of some of the terms of general psychological speculation. Psychological jargon takes the place of educational jargon, and the reader finds himself both confused and irritated. At the same time echoes reach the public ear of experimental work that is being carried out in schools, of the introduction of new subjects and new methods of teaching the old subjects, of "projects" and "creative activities"

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and "free discipline" and the like. And this leads to a vague but uneasy feeling that schools are not what they were, but nobody seems able to tell us what they are: a general consciousness of ignorance is the result, and that is a poor foundation for the exercise of responsibility.

The effect upon the man in the street of this educational bombardment is to leave him stunned and bewildered, moving about in worlds not realized. But all these words and phrases, these theories and experiments, are expressive of modern trends in education—whether of the ends at which they have already arrived, or of the direction in which they are moving: and it is important that parents should understand these trends. It is the purpose of this book to help them to that end, and to illuminate a path through the jungle.

In order that this purpose may be achieved, it will be necessary to adopt some method of classification and to simplify the matter by assembling the more important trends under certain categories: we shall attempt then, under each category, to point to the specific results and to show how the trend works out in practice—in the modification of old types of school and the creating of new types: in the construction of an educational highway and the prospects held out to boys and girls: in the new facilities for education and new opportunities for making use of facilities: in the elimination of waste, and the increase of efficiency: in the devising of new instruments of education, new curricula and new methods, and in the devolving of new responsibilities: in new hope and new possibilities for the individual child: in the building up of a new national system of education: in new conceptions of the part to be played by non-professional agencies: in new relationships between education and other forms of national and social service: in the development and functions of University education, and in new forms of adult education: in the interactions throughout of freedom and control.

This is not an easy task, for trends are not easily kept in autonomous departments, and the effects of one may often be found in a department which seems to belong more properly to another. There is bound, therefore, to be a certain amount of overlapping.

Moreover, we shall find that some of these trends move in opposite directions, and that they are mutually contradictory: the effects of one trend will appear to be nullified by the effects of another. That perhaps matters less than might appear: for "where there is much desire to learn" (as there is in educational circles to-day), "there of necessity will be much arguing, much writing, many opinions: for opinion in good men is but knowledge in the

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making".¹ But it further complicates what is already a difficult enough task.

The attempt however must be made, and the plan of this book is to deal successively with six main trends and their practical implications. Some of these trends will appear to the reader (as they do to the writer) to be more desirable than others: but, though criticism cannot be entirely avoided, the treatment will be as far as possible objective, and the aim will be to state and not to evaluate. The following chapters will accordingly be devoted to these subjects:

(1) New horizons in education: expansion and extension, both in theory and in practice: this will deal with the general widening of the educational field, both inside the school and outside.

(2) Egalitarianism: equal conditions and equal treatment for all: a levelling out.

(3) Mechanism: the development of a nation-wide and effective educational machine.

(4) Humanism and Humanitarianism: child centredness.

(5) The claims of society: education as a form of social and national service.

(6) Freedom and Control in education.

¹ Milton.

II. NEW HORIZONS IN EDUCATION

"Thou hast set my feet in a large room."

THE opening of new horizons has been the most remarkable of recent trends in education. There has been an expansion in men's ideas on the subject, a more generous conception of what properly belongs to the province of education; and this enlargement on the theoretical side has been accompanied by an extension of the practical field; the frontiers have been progressively pushed farther back, and those engaged in the work of education have not only found themselves operating far beyond the walls of the class-room or the lecture-hall, but have also seen themselves joined by a growing force of unprofessional but indispensable recruits; fifty years ago it would have been ludicrous, and twenty-five years ago it would have been surprising to suggest that anything that went on outside a school or college had any bearing on education, or that "teachers" could be found anywhere but in the ranks of the teaching profession; to-day both these are common-places.

But this theoretical expansion and practical extension, parallel movements of slowly-gathering momentum during the past quarter of a century, can only be appreciated if we first visualize the narrow horizons of the old world.

It was in 1870 that this country first began to take education seriously, and the story may therefore begin from that date. During the fifty years which elapsed between that time and the end of the First World War, it is not unfair to say that education was commonly regarded as a regrettable necessity. This was the attitude of the authorities, the parents, and the children, and if the teachers held another view this was sometimes because of their faith and idealism, and sometimes because the matter had a bread-and-butter importance for them.

The necessity of education was dictated by three main considerations.

The first was the need for a literate people, a need which became more pressing with each extension of the franchise (it is significant how often such an extension has been followed by further educational provision); in this need lay the prime motive of the central authority, a motive which is epitomized in Sir Robert Lowe's "We must educate our masters."

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The second consideration was the demand for industrial efficiency and social discipline: progressive industrialization meant factories and slums: factories demanded the labour of children, and slums led to the deterioration of children—physically, morally, and intellectually: the answer to the problem was found in schooling, but in a minimum of schooling.

Further, as industrialization proceeded there was a growing demand for trained clerks and administrative personnel, and this was met by a limited provision of secondary education.

At the same time, men commonly believe in a stratified society, and it was held that if the right kind of education were devised in the elementary schools of the time, this would be a valuable instrument for keeping the lower classes in that place for which Providence had destined them. This was social discipline: "Something had to be done to civilize the town populations and especially to mitigate the hooliganism of the children. . . . The accepted solution in the early nineteenth century" (but it lasted much longer than that) "was the provision of minimal instruction in order to make the poor useful and obedient."¹ Government, Industry, and the Church were, in varying degrees, actuated by these motives.

The third consideration was vocationalism: you needed education in order to get a job, and as time went on the "better" jobs, the white-collared and black-coated jobs, went to those who had had the longer education. This was a consideration which weighed with parents and their children.

The operation of the first of these considerations meant that the curriculum in State Schools was limited to the three R's, and that of the second that the child was treated not as a human being but as a social problem and an economic unit. It was not till the Act of 1944 that the curriculum was officially extended beyond the early limits, or that the child's needs were given central consideration and a system of education designed to meet them, instead of the child being fitted to the system and to the industrial machine.

Education was regarded not as an end in itself, but solely as a means to a narrowly-conceived political or economic or social end: it was therefore confined almost wholly to instruction, and it touched only one part of the child's personality—his mind.

It has been remarked that education was not only a necessity, but a regrettable one: it was regrettable to the Government because

¹ cf. M. V. Jeffreys, *Education, Christian or Pagan*. He notes that "It was the problem of juvenile delinquency that gave the Sunday School movement its great impulse; in our own day it was the problem of juvenile delinquency that gave decisive impulse to the development of the Service of Youth".

it cost money which its members preferred to spend on other objects producing a quicker and more spectacular return: it was regrettable to the Government and to the industrialists alike because it was potentially dangerous (the reading of books has been one of the most dangerous occupations of man), and this danger could be met only by enlisting the co-operation of the Church, which would see to it that only the safe books should be read: it was regrettable to parents and to their children because, owing to the restricted curriculum and the lifeless and pedestrian methods of teaching, it became a very disagreeable occupation, unreal, and hopelessly out of touch with life—an occupation to be abandoned as soon as circumstances permitted.

All were, therefore, agreed that there should be as little education as possible, and that it should be as cheap as possible. The section of the community to which it was entrusted, the teaching profession was a necessary evil no less than the work which its members did.

Such were the educational trends of the Victorian and Edwardian eras, and their practical effects were seen in a number of directions of which a few may be noted. The compulsory school age was raised very slowly from eleven to fourteen, and only reached the latter age in the Act of 1918: every proposal to raise it was hotly contested and was only carried with reluctance: the objections were commonly social or economic, not educational.

As late as 1936, when an Education Bill became law only to be rendered abortive by the outbreak of war in 1939, a proposal to raise the age to fifteen was so hedged about with restrictions as to be worthless: exceptions were to be made for "beneficial employment", but none knew who was to be the supposed beneficiary—was it the employer? or the local community? or the parents? or the child? or the nation? Those who took any part in the deliberations of a Local Education Authority to determine these cases, know what an impossible task was set: what the State gave with one hand, it took back with the other.

There was in fact, up to the outbreak of war, no willingness to increase the length of school life if this could possibly be avoided. Moreover, even when the age was raised, the content of elementary education remained unchanged: as we have seen, officially this was, up to 1944, the three R's. It is true that much more than that was in fact taught in elementary schools: but when this happened, it was due to the enterprise of the teachers, who refused to be restricted, and not to an enlightened official policy. And very often this did not happen: the result was that as the age of eleven came to be accepted for the beginning of secondary education, those children who were left behind in the elementary schools spent the

next two or three years in going over the ground they had already covered, and so wasting their time: that it was the same ground was emphasized in many instances by the children being kept in the same school buildings and taught by the same teachers, and it was the fortunate few who found their way to the new Central Schools, to be taught by new teachers and to make a new start: and that it was waste of time was abundantly clear to both parents and children, and so strengthened the opposition to any raising of the age.

After the passing of the Balfour Act in 1902 secondary schools began to multiply, though slowly—and it was indeed a process of addition rather than of multiplication: by 1939 not more than 16 per cent of the child population were finding places in secondary schools: for 84 per cent the curriculum of the elementary school was still considered adequate educational provision.

Secondary schools were, moreover, all of one and the same type—the academic Grammar School type: there were possibly enough of these schools to meet the needs of children who could profit by that type of education, but the methods of selection were not such as to guarantee that these children were in fact selected: there were in the secondary schools a number of children who were misfits, and who could have been better educated in schools of different types, but the schools did not exist: and there were left behind in the elementary schools a number of children who made it clear by the time they were thirteen that they should be in secondary schools—but the machinery for getting them there (such as the London County Council's system of supplementary scholarships) was quite inadequate and could touch only a few.

Nor was there any conscious continuity between elementary education and secondary education: these were two different *kinds* of education, and not two stages in one process. The curriculum in all types of school was such as to cater exclusively for the mind, and little or no attention was paid to the training of the emotions, the fostering of physical skills, the education of the body, or the development of character. as we shall see, there were exceptions to this generalization, but it is broadly true: schools were concerned with mental instruction, and that is a very small part of a complete and generous education.

School buildings were commonly inadequate and forbidding: the hideous erections of Queen Victoria's reign, indistinguishable often from prisons or poor-law institutions (they were, in fact, intended as work-houses, where hard labour should be the order of the day), housed many of the elementary schools, and are still to be seen in use in many parts of the country: they were overcrowded, ill-lighted, meanly equipped, and to any sensitive child

could not fail to be repulsive: provision for recreation was often made in a wholly inadequate asphalt yard, and playing-fields were either distant or non-existent.

The teachers were an under-valued and under-paid section of the community: ear-marked for the teaching profession from an early age, and subsidized to that end out of the public purse, they were conditioned for the supposed demands of the elementary school by a narrow and rigid system of training, and from the beginning of their teaching-career they found themselves caught in the tentacles of a restrictive professionalism: they were skilled technicians in a very narrow field, but (through no fault of their own) they were not educated human beings: they achieved security (and that was an attraction to many), but they achieved little else, and their security was on a low level of material, social, intellectual and spiritual satisfaction.

They enjoyed higher, though still inadequate, salaries in the secondary schools than in the elementary schools, and the strange assumption was tacitly accepted that it was easier to teach younger children than older, and that therefore the community should pay less for the former than for the latter: but the premiss was unfounded, and the conclusion was a *non sequitur*. Apart from the work done in voluntary clubs and the facilities provided by evening classes, hardly any educational provision was made for adolescents between leaving school and reaching maturity, many of the few who found their way to the University did so through their ability to pay rather than their ability to profit, and it was only a very small proportion of the population who were touched in any way by adult education. There was a steep and narrow educational ladder, and it was difficult to get a footing even on the lowest rung: there was no educational highway. There was no vision, and where there is no vision education perishes.

That it did not perish was due to certain mitigations of the situation which has been described in the last paragraphs. If the trends underlying this sorry picture were the dominant trends of the period, there were others, pointing to better things, which must not be overlooked: indeed, if it is necessary to understand the dominant trends so that the trends of to-day may be appreciated by contrast, it is no less important to study those sub-dominant trends out of which certain modern trends have grown:

*For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,
Seem here no painful inch to gain.
Far back, through creeks and inlets making,
Comes silent flooding in the main.*¹

¹ Arthur Hugh Clough.

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It must have seemed to many anxious observers that the tired waves were beating in vain against the rocks of public selfishness and indifference, but in the creeks and inlets the tide was turning—in the mind of an Edmond Holmes, in the classroom of a forgotten village school, in the indefeasible humanity of an unknown teacher, in the study of the psychologist, in the devotion of an Alec Paterson, in the office of a sympathetic education officer, in the genius of a Margaret Macmillan.

It is to the teachers above all that we owe the stirrings of a new life, to the men and women who despite the restrictions of official regulations and the discouragement of popular opinion, dared to lift up their eyes to the hills, to see new horizons, and to put into practical form what they found there:

*Great things are done when men and mountains meet—
This is not done by jostling in the street.*

So wrote William Blake, and while many were content to jostle in the street, there were others who met the mountains. What they did was great perhaps rather in promise than in achievement: but the experiments they boldly carried out, their sympathetic study of those committed to their charge, the projects in which they interested their children, the humanity which they brought into their drab class-rooms, the beauty with which they decorated their walls, the activity and the fun and the colour which they introduced into the school programme—all these prepared the way for the more enlightened outlook of to-day.

Mr. Lowndes has described the effect of their work (and of other contributing circumstances) as a Silent Social Revolution,¹ and it is only necessary to compare photographs of groups of elementary school children in the last decade of the nineteenth century and in the third decade of this, to see how real and extensive the revolution was. Though this was effected largely by unofficial agencies, official action was not entirely wanting.

The most remarkable instance of such action (and perhaps the most important educational event in the early part of the century) was the institution in 1907 of the School Medical Service: this was the first major indication that the authorities were prepared to look beyond a child's mind, and to pay some attention to his body: and though it may have been designed in the first instance to meet a crying social need, its indirect educational effects cannot be exaggerated. These effects have made it clear for all time that you cannot educate a disembodied mind, but that body and mind must be educated together, if the education of either is to be successful.

¹ cf. G. A. N. Lowndes, *The Silent Social Revolution*.

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The movement for better Physical Education to-day, and those sections of the 1944 Act relating to health and physique, are direct offshoots of the movement begun in 1907. Meanwhile the design and construction of school buildings improved: the high surrounding walls and the locked gates disappeared, sunshine and air and the life of the community were let in, more adequate provision was made for cloak-rooms and drying-rooms and sanitation, and cheerfulness began (though slowly) to take the place of gloom: schools became more like places where children could grow up, and less like places for keeping them down.

Concurrently with this the attitude of the Board of Education and of His Majesty's Inspectors was changed: a human element began to filter in: instructions began to give place to suggestions, criticism to encouragement, mechanism to humanity, and reactionary obscurantism to a progressive enlightenment: the enemy of the days of payment by results became the friend more interested in processes than in results: the spy whose advent had been feared became the welcome visitor.

The Balfour Act of 1902 gave a new impetus to higher education, and opened the way to new opportunities for boys and girls: while its administrative reforms widened the area of public responsibility for education.

The liberalism of the great years of social reform between 1906 and 1914 was felt in the schools, and a more liberal outlook began to permeate them. At the same time, apart altogether from the sphere of official or semi-official action, voluntary agencies were busy in the field: the Workers' Educational Association began to organize and to extend adult education, and the rapidly developing Boys' Club and Girls' Club movements began to cater for the needs, in the broadest sense educational, of the adolescents who had left school.

These were all straws in the wind, and they showed the way the wind was beginning to blow: the force of that wind was first felt to an appreciable extent with the passing of the Fisher Act towards the end of the first world war. This Act was the work of a great Liberal statesman and was the last noteworthy achievement, in the field of social reform, of the Liberal Administration which with the outbreak of war had become merged in a coalition Government: it thus reflected and expressed the liberal outlook on education to which reference has already been made.

It was, moreover, fortunate in the circumstances which attended its enactment, for it coincided with the wave of popular enthusiasm for reconstruction which followed the victory of 1918: and in the early post-war years reconstruction was interpreted as reform, and not in that more literal sense which shortly began to prevail, as the

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national desire to get back to the old ways and to reconstruct the world of 1914 became dominant. The Act was characterized throughout by a larger view of what was meant by public education, and though in the final outcome certain of the leading ideals which it embodied met with frustration, it heralded an educational revolution. Two sections in particular expressed the expansionist trends of the times: the first was that which raised the compulsory school age to fourteen, and the second was the ill-starred provision for Day Continuation Schools; by the latter the educational process was prolonged beyond school days, and Mr. Fisher in a memorable speech spoke of his hope that industry itself would regard a boy or girl in the early years of employment primarily as a learner, and only secondarily as a worker, and would so become part of the educational machine. "Learning by doing", a commonplace of to-day, was thus for the first time given official blessing, and the seed was sown for the growth of one of the characteristic trends in education of our own time.

It is true that, by comparison with the Butler Act, the Act of 1918 may seem restrictive and unimaginative in certain respects: the curriculum in public elementary schools was still limited to the Three R's, little regard was paid to the welfare of the child outside the classroom, education was still ordered in disparate types and not in continuous stages, and the difficulties in the way of children mounting to the higher rungs of the ladder were not appreciably mitigated. But it represented a considerable advance on any statutory provision that had been made before, and above all, whatever its shortcomings, it was inspired by a new philosophy of education.

This was followed by other measures of which perhaps the most important were the Teachers' Superannuation Acts and the first Burnham Salary Scales for teachers. If the Education Act opened the windows on to a wider world for children, these subsequent measures did something of the same nature for their teachers: there was promise for the first time of a world in which carking cares would be mitigated and a teacher would have room to move about and play his part as a citizen without the Damocles-sword of an indigent old age hanging constantly over his head—promise only, and not a very generous promise, but there were stirrings of a new life for teachers, as there were stirrings of a new life for children.

The wind continued to blow, and in the period between the two wars a series of reports and other documents were issued under the auspices of the Board of Education which all manifested the more generous spirit of the times. Of these the most important were the Hadow Report on the Education of the Adolescent (1926), the Report on the Primary School (1931), and the Spens Report on

Secondary Education (1938)—all the work of the Consultative Committee: there was also the Report on the School Certificate Examination (1932).

The first of these was mainly concerned with making adequate educational provision for children who at the age of eleven failed to obtain one of the limited number of places in the Secondary Schools: it gave its blessing to the age of eleven as the proper age for the break between Primary and Secondary Education (though more on the grounds of administrative convenience than of sound educational or psychological considerations, on which the Report was unconvincing), and recommended a reorganization of post-primary education: under this scheme children who did not go to secondary schools would be provided for in new Senior or Central Schools which would give them a complete three-year course suited to their ability and aptitude: these schools would, wherever possible, be conducted separately from the elementary schools, and their pupils would therefore be set free from their old elementary school associations, would be able to make a new start on a new and worthwhile programme, and would be saved from that wasting of time which had been the fate of so many of them.

This Report, a revolutionary document which held within it the promise of a new era in post-primary education, was adopted by the Board, and local education authorities were empowered to set about the reorganization of their schools along the lines which it recommended. Unhappily the work of reorganization went on but slowly: this was sometimes due to a lack of conviction on the part of Local Authorities and a desire to keep down the rates, sometimes to social or economic reasons over which they had no control, but most frequently to the obstacles created by the existence under the Dual System of a large number of voluntary schools and the inability of the Churches to meet the cost of their reorganization. Had the Report been implemented *in toto*, certain provisions of the Butler Act would have been unnecessary, or at least would have taken a different shape, and much of the work to which we are now setting our hand would already have been done.

The Report on the Primary School of 1931 was based on the fundamental proposition that "the curriculum is to be thought of in terms of activity and experience rather than of knowledge to be acquired and facts to be stored": care, moreover, was to be taken "to supply children between the ages of seven and eleven with what is essential to their healthy growth—physical, intellectual, and moral—during that particular stage in their development": and one of the most valuable parts of the Report was an introductory section analysing a child's needs at that stage. This is a far cry from a curriculum limited to the Three R's.

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But this Report met with an even unhappier fate than the Hadow Report: it was widely welcomed by teachers, but largely ignored by the authorities, and the conditions necessary for its implementation were almost wholly lacking: it was honoured more in the breach than in the observance, and once again we have had to wait for the Butler Act to set the ball rolling.

The Spens Report of 1938 dealt with secondary schools, and recommended the setting up of modern schools and technical high schools—this latter recommendation reflecting the public desire for a better technical education and a realization that we were falling behind as a nation in the race for technological efficiency. Chapters were devoted to a detailed consideration of the curriculum and methods of teaching in grammar schools, modern schools, and technical high schools, and the Report became the progenitor of the popular distribution of secondary education into these three types with which we are familiar to-day. But the date—1938—was an ominous date, and any action that might have been taken was held up by the outbreak of war in the following year.

Meanwhile criticism was fastening on the examination system, and the Report on the School Certificate Examination of 1932 was symptomatic of a general trend of dissatisfaction with the increasing tyranny of a system which tended to dictate a curriculum rather than to follow it. Again, little action was taken on the recommendations of the Report, and many of these were repeated, in an altered sense and in a wider context, by the Norwood Report on Examinations and the Curriculum in Secondary Grammar Schools of 1942. But though the inquiry led to no practical reform, the fact that it had been held was significant: it was part and parcel of a general questioning of the whole method of examination—not only at the School Certificate stage, but throughout the entire educational process. Was a written examination the most satisfactory method of selection, whether for secondary and higher education, or for admission to the professions, or for a University course, or for a final degree? What qualities in fact did such examinations test? Was it ability or attainment? Did they give any reliable indication of aptitude? Did they make sufficient allowance for diversity of conditions and of opportunities? If they were tolerably successful in their judgement of extreme cases on the educational scale, the highly meritorious and the definitely sub-standard, what of their judgement on the border-line cases, the vast majority and the most important section? Did not subsequent careers falsify far too frequently the validity of examinational judgements? And could these judgements be regarded as sufficiently objective? was there not disturbing evidence that the subjective prepossessions of two examiners would arrange the same list of

candidates on the same papers in two totally different orders? and even that the same examiner marking the same scripts twice at an interval of six months would arrive at two different results?

These were the questions which people were asking themselves, and out of the answers which they gave there arose new forms of examination and a new technique. The traditional form was riddled with criticism, chiefly on the ground that it was too limited both in its scope and in its operation: what the new forms and the new technique were we shall see later on: meanwhile it is important to observe that the principle on which they were based was one of enlargement and expansion, and an attempt was made to test the whole boy or the whole girl—body, mind, and spirit: “our feet were set in a large room”: once again, new horizons were being seen.

This movement was closely connected with the development of what became known as “Educational Psychology”: indeed, all the Reports which have been mentioned bear evidence, whether in the body of the text or in the appendices, to the importance which educationalists were attaching to the work of the psychologists: there is a kind of psychological background to them all, and that is something new in educational literature.

The popular interest in this comparatively new “science” may be dated from the end of the First World War, and it developed with extraordinary rapidity during the 'twenties and 'thirties: that it is alive to-day is evidenced by the phenomenal sales of psychological booklets and magazines on the bookstalls of railway stations.

Psychology as a popular study ministered to the introspective tendencies which are among the less healthy characteristics of human beings (nobody is so interesting to a man as himself), and interest was fostered by the more exciting work of the psychologist and by the remarkable successes of psychiatry in many of the shell-shock cases which the war had left behind. Inner worlds of the unconscious and the subconscious, hitherto undreamt of by the man in the street, stood partially revealed, and new windows were flung open: some of these may be not inaptly described as

*Magic casements opening on the foam
Of perilous seas in fairy-lands forlorn:*

there was a good deal of froth and foam in the prospect, and no little peril: the workaday world was often seen as fairyland, a dangerous transformation: and the forlorn state of those who looked out ended sometimes in tragedy.

These lines from Keats's poem have been quoted by an eminent literary authority as an illustration of “English Nonsense Poetry”,

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and it is to be feared that there was a good deal of misunderstanding experienced and nonsense talked in the new world on which men and women looked out: but it *was* a new world, and a new world to the teachers no less than to others. It was imperative that they should take this new study seriously, and it led them to new speculation on the nature of their task and new experimentation in its practice: in this they were much helped by an output of useful literature on their specific problems, notably by such books as *Education, its Data and First Principles*, by the late Sir Percy Nunn.

Fundamental questions had to be faced: what *right* had they to teach, or to attempt to mould a child's character? what *power* had they to do either of these things? what *was* teaching? what was its relationship to learning? how did a child learn? to what extent was this determined by hereditary factors? nature or nurture—which was the dominant force?

The teacher found himself confronted with a mysterious and unexplored world of complexes and inhibitions, of propensities and dispositions, of interests and sentiments, of instincts and sublimations—terms which were as indefinite in meaning to him as they sometimes seemed to be to the psychologists who used them. If he turned, as many turned perhaps for the first time, to the study of the theory of education, he found this interpreted largely in terms of psychology. The psychological element in this, which had been recognized in varying degrees by all writers since the days of Plato, tended more and more to overshadow, and sometimes to absorb, all the rest: anyone examining the papers set to teachers in training on the Theory of Education cannot fail to be impressed by the preponderance of questions dealing with psychological rather than with educational questions: the inter-war literature on the subject tells the same tale: indeed, the dividing line between the two tended to be progressively obliterated, and the theory of education to be lost in a theory of psychology.

Faced by these puzzles, and by the necessity of mastering a new subject, the teacher found his task infinitely more difficult—more difficult, but infinitely more fascinating: for this was a new world upon which he had entered.

This interest in psychology may be considered as part of the growing interest in science. This was partly due to the impact of what is called "the scientific age", and was partly occasioned by experiences and reflections rising out of the war. It was these latter which chiefly affected education and led to a widening of the curriculum. In the past the public schools and the grammar schools had enjoyed a monopoly of secondary education, and the new State Secondary Schools which grew up after the passing of the

Balfour Act in 1902, had largely modelled themselves, both in curriculum and in other respects, on these prototypes.

The curriculum of the older schools had been based on the ancient Classics, and Latin and Greek had been the staple intellectual diet of boys educated there. This position had been repeatedly challenged, and repeatedly maintained: challengers and defenders alike had been actuated by varying motives—the “uselessness” of Classics and the “usefulness” of Science, the failure of the former to train the mind and the better claim of the latter, the greater importance of education as a moral process (fostered by the Classics) than as an intellectual (fostered by Science), the needs of culture in an age of Philistinism, and so on.

The battle was most fiercely fought in the second half of the nineteenth century, with Herbert Spencer, T. H. Huxley, and F. W. Farrar (a Classical master in a Public School) as the protagonists on the side of Science, and Ruskin, Matthew Arnold, and Thring on the other. The victory remained with the Classicists, though some concessions were made to the enemy. Though the fight centred round Science, other modern subjects (and especially modern languages) were involved on the fringe.

When the State Secondary Schools came to frame their curricula, they took over substantially the traditional classical course: but they introduced important modifications, particularly in the increased allocation of time to Science and modern subjects. As time went on they introduced a new challenge to the public schools, which were forced to carry still further a movement already initiated for the modernizing of their curriculum, if they were to compete successfully with these new rivals.

The fight flared up again towards the end of the First World War, but it was fought for strictly utilitarian ends. The military and economic supremacy of England had been threatened, and when the controversy started was still in jeopardy: we must win the war, and that meant among other things making ourselves as technically efficient as our enemies: the means was the teaching of science and modern languages in schools, so that we might have men who understood German and knew how to make howitzers.¹ A body of parents wrote to *The Times* on the subject, thirty-six scientists produced a memorandum on “The neglect of Science”, and H. B. Gray (ex-Headmaster of Bradfield) wrote *Eclipse of Empire?* The attack once again called forth the defence, and the battle ended with honours perhaps more even than they had ever been before. Nor was it a long battle: the agitation, like many post-war agitations, died down after a year or two, but not without having

¹ cf. E. C. Mack, *Public Schools and British Opinion since 1860*.

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a considerable effect not only on the schools primarily concerned, but on secondary education in general: an impetus was given to the modernization of curricula which was one of the major trends of the time and has continued to our own day.

In other directions the curriculum was similarly widened. In the elementary schools more attention was given to art, music, handicraft, and drama. These had a harder battle to fight for recognition in the secondary schools, but here also considerable progress was made: a movement was set on foot to win for these "Group IV subjects" parity of status in the School Certificate examination with subjects in other groups (the "English subjects", Languages, and Mathematics and Science), and this movement met with some success.

The educational value of practical activities was increasingly recognized, particularly for younger children: and it was held in some quarters (though on unconvincing evidence) that those who were not good with their heads would be good with their hands, and practical subjects were tried as an alternative curriculum for the intellectually sub-normal.

The Hadow Report recommended that while the grammar schools should provide literary and scientific courses, the new modern and central schools and senior classes in elementary schools should lay more stress on practical subjects: while this recommendation gave some stimulus to practical subjects, it had the unfortunate result, owing to the social prestige of the grammar schools, of basing a new class distinction on an educational programme.

The Board of Education issued enlightened and up-to-date syllabuses of Physical Training, based on scientific investigation. Religious instruction, which had been included in the school curriculum by all the Local Education Authorities though under no statutory obligation, was broadened and vitalized by the use of new syllabuses agreed upon by representatives of the teachers, the churches, and the authorities.

In some public and secondary schools the standing of German received a temporary set-back as a result of the war, and its place was taken by Spanish, which was popularly supposed to have a vocational value, and in a few instances by Russian: when German returned to favour, these languages had established themselves in the field, even though they occupied but a small corner of it.

The demand for vocational instruction was never silent, and some concessions were made to it by the inclusion in the Secondary School Curriculum of such subjects as Shorthand and Bookkeeping, and what were known as "Commercial Arithmetic" and "Commercial French". But over against this there was a

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noteworthy tendency on the part of many industrial firms and business houses to prefer a more liberal education for their recruits to a vocational training, and this preference was based upon experience.

Finally, the war had directed men's thoughts to the possibility of "teaching peace" and trying to foster in the rising generation an international outlook: this meant not so much the introduction of new subjects into the curriculum, as the reorientation of old subjects: it was a matter of a new emphasis rather than of new material.

The movement was initiated and furthered largely by the Education Committee of the League of Nations Union, which issued pamphlets on the use that might be made of the traditional school subjects to inculcate a sense of world citizenship, encouraged the growth in schools of junior branches of the Union where world problems could be studied, and arranged international camps for schoolboys and schoolgirls, foreign travel, and visits to the Headquarters of the League at Geneva.

These enterprises, which received the support of all the leading teachers' organizations and the blessing of the Board of Education, were a notable example of the general expansion of the curriculum which was going on.

During the early years of the inter-war period, and indeed up to the economic difficulties which accompanied the outbreak of war in 1939, the private schools and independent public schools more than maintained their position. The public schools enjoyed a wave of popularity perhaps unexampled in their history, and enlarged their clientele to include new classes in the community to whom the war had brought financial prosperity: old-established schools were in many instances enlarged, and new public schools were founded.

At the same time there was a vigorous growth of private schools independent of the general system of education: these schools were unregulated, uninspected, and unregistered, and no academic or professional qualifications were required of those who started them or staffed them: they made a mushroom growth particularly in developing suburbs and in areas where new populations were establishing themselves, and many of them were as unreliable and as dangerous as certain specimens of the fungoid world. This was a menacing social and educational phenomenon.

Criticism attacked both types of school. The criticism of the private schools was simply that they were bad schools, and that so long as they remained the private property of the proprietor, who pocketed all the profits, with no external check or control, there was no guarantee that they would ever be anything else:

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the demand was heard for the first time for the compulsory inspection and registration of all forms of private education. The criticism of the public schools did not confine itself to the curriculum: it followed lines familiar in the past, and attacked particularly class-consciousness, the cult of athleticism, the neglect of intellectual qualities, and the suppression of individuality which were said to be characteristic of them.

It is remarkable how little affected the schools were by these criticisms: the private schools multiplied and thrived; the public schools found a growing number of imitators among the secondary day schools, and it was often the very points which came in for the harshest criticism that were most eagerly copied.

It is probably true to say that the most valuable idea which the secondary schools took over from the independent boarding schools was that of education as a life to be lived rather than as lessons to be taught. The most interesting outcome of the criticism was the suggestion, put forward for the first time with force and authority, that the public schools should be taken over by the State or at least associated in some way or other with the general system of education.

When the war came in 1939, education was one of the first casualties. Air-raids and shelter-life, requisitioning of school premises and evacuation, the withdrawal of younger teachers to serve in the Forces and their replacement (where this occurred) by retired veterans,¹ the disruption of home life and the slackening in parental discipline, inadequate buildings, insufficient books and makeshift equipment, the demand for child-labour to assist in the national effort and the general unsettlement which affected the rising generation, muddle and official incompetence—all these threatened chaos, and for a time chaos supervened.

Many of the hard-won gains of the past quarter of a century were lost². At the worst, education came to a full-stop. At the best (except for a few schools which were comparatively unaffected), it became a part-time affair, and school attendance was irregular and uncontrollable. Classes were held in overcrowded class-rooms, in church halls, in cinemas and air-raid shelters, in the front parlours of co-operative parents, and in the open air, and attendance was often limited to the morning or the afternoon. The black-out seriously disorganized all evening classes³. The Universities threatened to become Polytechnics. But the world of education

¹ No reflection is, of course, intended on the magnificent work which these did during the war.

² A Schools Medical officer in a rural area thinks that the clock has been put back forty years.

³ cf. H. C. Dent, *Education in Transition*.

proved itself adaptable and unbeatable, and for this the chief credit must go to the teachers.

In the course of time chaos gave way to some sort of order, and with order came new experiences and new discoveries which have coloured the trend of educational development to-day. The Schools became part of the life of the community to a degree which they had never reached before: parents became familiar with them, as rest-centres and as supplying other social needs: they acquired a new status in public estimation.

In evacuation, and deprived of the usual facilities and the necessary tools of their trade, teachers found themselves engaged with their pupils in all kinds of activities very far removed from classroom work, and these strange activities proved themselves unexpectedly educational. The inspection of gas-masks, the practice of shelter-drill, the distribution of clothing coupons, and the supervision of milk and meals added enormously to a teacher's extraneous duties, but some of these *e.g.* school meals were soon seen to be an important element in a child's social education.

Children who had never been away from home had perforce to be evacuated to camp-schools, and many parents were able for the first time to estimate the value of boarding-school life. The Board of Education initiated the Service of Youth, and banded this over to the Local Education Authorities for administration: in this way the activities of many voluntary organizations were co-ordinated and given official sanction as part of the national system of education: the registration of boys and girls at the age of sixteen was further evidence of official concern for the post-school adolescent.

The Fleming Committee was set up to make recommendations on methods of associating the public schools with the general system of education, the McNair Committee to advise on the Recruitment and Training of Teachers and Youth Leaders, and the Norwood Committee to consider curriculum and examinations in secondary schools: all these committees have issued their reports.

Such is the main story of development up to the passing of the Butler Act in 1944. It is not a story of uninterrupted progress. The liberalism of the early twenties suffered a gradual eclipse, and after the failure of the General Strike in 1926 may be considered as spent force. Reactionary influences became increasingly powerful, and when the economic blizzard hit the country in 1931, education was one of the first and principal sufferers—a parallel to its fate, as we have seen, in 1939. Moreover, much of the movement was unofficial, unco-ordinated, and happy-go-lucky: it was often a hit-or-miss business, much of it was ephemeral, and its success or failure seemingly accidental.

It is impossible to discover in the story of these years any

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consistent philosophy of education, for the very good reason that it is impossible to discover any consistent philosophy of life. But all the particular movements of the time, now in this direction and now in that, here a little and there a little, may be regarded as part and parcel of a general expansion of educational thought and practice.

We have seen something of the process by which a canal, flowing sluggishly between its narrow banks and following in the main a straight course, has become a river, increasingly choosing its own direction and often breaking its banks, flooding the neighbouring country and flowing thereafter in a wider channel and with a more impetuous force: we have traced the origins and the careers of some of its tributary streams, and have seen the contributions they have made to the main current: some of these we have found to be winterbournes, disappearing beneath the ground after a brief and tumultuous life, reappearing perhaps later on, or destined to reappear in our own day or in the years to come.

We must now examine the meeting of the waters, in the educational events and movements of to-day, in contemporary literature and in official and unofficial reports and memoranda, and particularly in the White Paper on Educational Reconstruction of 1943 and the Act of 1944. We must try to see the river in full spate, concentrating on its width and depth compared with the early days of its canalized progress. Other tributary forces, affecting its power, its direction, and its character, will be considered in subsequent chapters. Our theme in the next chapter is expansion as a major trend.

III. NEW HORIZONS IN EDUCATION (*continued*)

"To all of us, the expressly appointed schoolmasters and schoolings we get are as nothing, compared with the unappointed, incidental, and continual ones, whose school hours are all the days and nights of our existence, and whose lessons, noticed or unnoticed, stream in upon us with every breath we draw."

IN considering the new horizons which are opening before us to-day, it is important to observe at the outset that the present expansion is due only secondarily to Government action: the Government has not produced out of their heads, as it were, a blueprint of educational expansion: such expansion is due primarily to the pressure of public opinion, the influence of educational bodies, and the reforming aftermath which follows a great war. It may be conveniently summarized under seven categories, and in each category new horizons will be seen to open out:

(1) Expansion from education as an occupation for a limited number of school years to a life-long process, affecting the adult no less than the child: the new horizon is that of an educated and self-educating adult democracy.

(2) Expansion from a congeries of disconnected and highly specialized parts to a unified, comprehensive, and continuous whole: the new horizon is that of a national, uninterrupted, and significant discipline.

(3) Expansion from an operation performed solely on the mind to the full development of the whole human being, body, hand, and heart, no less than brain: the new horizon is that of the whole child growing into the whole man.

(4) Expansion of the teaching-process from instruction by rigid authoritarian methods in a collection of intellectual subjects, to the encouragement by sympathy and imagination of a series of dovetailed and meaningful activities; from chalk and talk and rod, to modern instruments and modern methods; the new horizon is that of a school-experience which makes sense and is therefore welcome.

(5) Expansion of the teaching-body from highly trained technicians of a limited experience and meagre prospects, to a learned profession of educated human beings, with wide experience, respected status, and assured prospects: the new horizon is that of

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a profession qualified by its experience and education for "the transmission of life from the living, through the living, to the living"¹.

(6) Expansion of the agencies responsible for education and active in its behalf, from the school outwards to an ever-widening circle: the new horizon is that of community-education.

(7) Expansion of the conception of education purely as means to an end, to that of education as an end in itself: the new horizon is that of a life to be lived now.

Such are the seven directions in which education is expanding to-day: the rest of this chapter will be occupied in seeing what are the practical consequences of this, what are the new opportunities offered to children and to teachers, and what are the new choices with which parents are faced.

(1) Expansion of the range. On 1st April, 1947, the compulsory school age was raised from fourteen to fifteen: this, however, was only the first step, and the Act provided that at a later date, to be determined by the Minister as soon as circumstances allowed, the age should be raised to sixteen. This means that in future all children will be whole-time pupils in a recognized school from the age of five to fifteen (or sixteen). But education is not limited to these years. Fifteen (or sixteen) is not, as is often erroneously supposed, a "school-leaving age", nor is five a "school-beginning age". Adequate provision is to be made for the under-fives of all social strata in nursery schools or nursery classes, and those who leave school at the statutory age (and an increasing number will remain in full-time school attendance) will become part-time members of County Colleges up to the age of eighteen. Their curriculum there will, as we shall see, be such as to fit them not only to be more efficient and more intelligent people at the labour-end of life, but also to be happier and more interested and more interesting people at the leisure-end of life—to enable them and to encourage them to share in the educational activities, which may also be the recreational activities, of the adult.

Local education authorities are charged, under the Act of 1944, with making adequate provision, whether in technical colleges, in colleges of commerce, art, or music, or in clubs and community centres, for the physical, social, recreational, and educational needs of the adult population. The significance of the inclusion of all this under the duties of the educational authorities should not be overlooked: if we compare this with the duties laid upon the first L.E.A.'s to be set up under the Balfour Act of 1902, we shall be able to form some idea of how the range of educational activity has expanded in the last half century.

¹ Thring's definition of education.

But we must not confine ourselves to official measures in considering this matter. We must observe also the ways in which private individuals are extending their educational range, whether by creating new opportunities on their own initiative, or by using those provided by other agencies.

It is likely that more and more children will be sent to nursery schools at the age of two or three, and that many mothers, by their association with these schools, will themselves be educated in the upbringing of children: the schools will be schools for parents as well as for their offspring. Voluntary organizations are increasingly developing the educational side (in the most liberal sense) of their activities, and those who join them do so with their minds open to this and with the intention of taking advantage of it: it often happens that a good club is indistinguishable from a good school, and is a better educational instrument than an indifferent school.

Men and women coming out of the Forces are looking round for something which will take the place of the educational activities which were provided for them during their service by A.B.C.A. and other agencies, and the Bureau of Current Affairs is supplying an urgent need: they are forming themselves voluntarily into community associations, even where they have no premises, for purposes of discussion and mutual enlightenment as well as for purposes of recreation, and often the dividing line between the two is hard to trace.

The B.B.C. continues its Brain Trust, and has recently instituted its Third Programme.

There is evidence that we are on the eve of a resurgence of the Adult Education Movement, and that the demand for classes is likely to exceed the supply.

All these movements, statutory and voluntary, are indications of the conviction, both of Parliament and of its electorate, that education cannot end with any artificial "school-leaving age", but stretches forward into the furthest confines of life: they are a pointer to a democracy which will be both better educated at school and more energetically self-educating after school.

(2) Expansion of the system. For the first time in our history we have a national system of education, in which the scattered fragments are drawn together into an ordered whole, the pieces fitted into the jigsaw-puzzle with their contributions to make to the completed pattern, and the gaps left by the missing pieces filled in. There is an expansion here not only of the system both in its range and in its character, but also of the powers of those who are responsible for carrying it out.

Up to the passing of the Butler Act there was a hierarchy of

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unco-ordinated systems, many of them born and grown in a haphazard way, with no connecting links either with one another or with any central purpose: and there were many children for whom none of these systems made adequate provision.

There was private education and public education, elementary education and secondary education (on a very small scale), technical education and adult education—and each of these fulfilled its own limited purpose and went its way in disregard of the others. Nor was there any means of overcoming this disregard, for the responsibility of the President of the Board of Education was limited to “the superintendence of matters relating to education in England and Wales.”

There was indeed no system, and no power to enforce it had it existed. All that is changed. Under the new Act the President of the Board of Education becomes the Minister of Education (an advance in status both for him and for that with which he deals), and he is responsible to the Government for the national system of education: his duty is “to promote the education of the people of England and Wales and the progressive development of institutions devoted to that purpose, and to secure the effective execution by local authorities, *under his control and direction*, of the national policy for providing a varied and comprehensive educational service in every area.”¹

Whereas in the past local authorities have been given the *power* (which they might or might not exercise) to provide forms of education other than elementary, it is now laid upon them as a *duty* to make provision of *all* forms of education (from nursery schools up to county colleges and adult classes) adequate to the needs of their area and the demands of their population: and the Minister has power to see that the duty is carried out.

It will no longer be possible, as it has been, for a child's chance of secondary education to depend upon where he lives—so that in one area perhaps one child in four has gone to a secondary school, while in another less wealthy and with a less progressive local authority, perhaps one in twenty. Nor is such education to be limited by the ability to pay: in the great majority of schools fees are abolished (since 1st April, 1946), and in those where fees are still retained provisions are made for meeting the needs of parents who cannot afford them.

Moreover, the schools are arranged in an order of continuous development: the discrete types of the old days give place to the ordered stages of the new.

There are three such stages—Primary Education (including Nursery, Infant, and Junior Schools), Secondary Education, and

¹ *The Education Act, 1944, Sec. 1.*

Further Education (comprehending everything that follows the compulsory school age), and each stage follows logically on that which goes before: thus the Nursery School leads on to the Infant School, the Infant School to the Junior School, the Junior School to the Secondary School, the Secondary School to the County College or the University, and the County College to the Adult Class.

At each stage provision is made for *all*: primary education is compulsory for all, as it has been for the past seventy years: secondary education becomes compulsory for all, so that the 16 per cent who enjoyed it in the pre-Act days are replaced by 100 per cent: and further education at County Colleges for the equivalent of two half-days per week becomes compulsory for all as soon as these colleges can be built and staffed: and as we have seen, other forms of further education are to be available for all who desire them—it is only those who do so desire them and demand them, who will complete the educational process and gather the fruit of the seed which was sown in the primary school.

There is, however, more to it than that, and this general expansion involves a number of particular expansions within the educational system. Two of these are obvious. In the first place, there will be needed a much greater variety of schools, particularly at the secondary stage: it would be idle to pretend that the secondary schools as we have known them will provide the right education for 100 per cent of our children: it is indeed doubtful whether they can do this for very much more than the 16 per cent for whom they have hitherto catered. And secondly, if the provision of the Act that a child should be educated according to his age, ability, and aptitude is to be realized, machinery will be needed very different from the examinations with which we are familiar to ensure that the right child gets into the right school at the right age.

Both these matters will be considered fully in a later chapter, where we shall be concerned with some of the practical effects of the modern tendency to put the child at the centre of our educational thinking and practice (instead of keeping him on the circumference)¹. Let it suffice here to remark that, while the Act preserves a proper silence on the subject, public opinion and the development plans of local authorities are contemplating some half-dozen different types of secondary school, varying from one another either in their personnel, or in their methods of organization, or in their curricula.

At the same time, the present highly *competitive* written examination for admission to a secondary school, which will have no *raison-*

¹ *cf.* Ch. VI.

d'être when secondary places are available for all, will either be replaced, or if it is retained, will be supplemented by a much more comprehensive test of a distinctive character. This test will include Intelligence Tests, Attainment Tests, and Aptitude Tests, and will take account of school records and school reports: attention will also be paid to home conditions, and physical needs. The aim will be to allocate the child to the secondary school where he is most likely to profit from the education there given. Further, there will be subsequent tests at a later stage, possibly after two years of secondary school life, to correct any mistakes that may have been made at the initial venture.

Such is the trend towards expansion of the educational system, with its external and its internal aspects. Does it not point to a vision of education, not as a highly professionalized activity done in a corner, but as a national, uninterrupted, and significant discipline?

(3) Expansion of the scope. We have noted how in the bad old days, the teacher felt himself to be concerned solely with the child's mind. This was treated sometimes as an empty bucket to be filled with a predetermined quantity of knowledge; no attempt was made to estimate the capacity of the bucket and to adjust the quantity accordingly, and the quality of the knowledge was originally purely factual: as time went on, a certain critical element was added.

In compounding the mixture which was thus administered, regard was paid rather to the supposed needs of society or industry, than to the real needs of the child. The result was something not unlike the workhouse gruel of Dickens's novel: no *Oliver Twist* ever asked for more—and that *Oliver Twist* should ask for more is the final test of the success of any school. If the mind was not a bucket, it was a machine, to be oiled and greased and geared up to its maximum efficiency, with all its parts in good working order. The parts were mental faculties, such as memory, imagination, reasoning power and the rest, and the development of the fallacious Faculty Psychology was both cause and effect of this educational theory: on the one hand it answered the questions of those teachers who doubted the value of what they taught, and on the other hand it was fortified by the claims which these teachers made as the result of their experience. Teaching was nothing but mental discipline, and the only point in doubt was which subjects disciplined the mind most effectively: it is perhaps a commentary on pedagogical laziness that these subjects were found to be those that had always been taught for their utilitarian value: what was good for the bucket was good for the machine. But whatever the rights and wrongs of these controversies, the mind was the sole object of attention.

In the past quarter of a century there has been a considerable enrichment of the curriculum in all types of schools (and particularly in the elementary schools, where it was most needed), but the enrichment until quite recently has been almost wholly in the coin of new subjects, and the changes have not dethroned the mind from its position of pre-eminence.

There has, however, been beneath the surface a tendency slowly gathering momentum towards a more liberal and a more human conception of childhood, and this tendency, one of the subterranean tributaries of educational thought, has found its way to-day into the main stream, both increasing its power and changing its direction. It represents an expansion which is one of the major trends of our time. Again, the proper place for a full treatment of this will be the chapter where we deal with the child as the centre of the educational process¹. But this is such a striking enlargement of the old frontiers that a few words must be said about it here.

We have cast on one side both the bucket and the machine. We have abandoned the conception of the child as a disembodied mind. We no longer regard him solely as a knowledge-hungry animal (indeed there is reason to doubt whether he was ever that). We recognize that he is almost invariably a skill-hungry animal, and that this hunger rightly demands satisfaction and not starvation: that he may think with his hands as well as with his head: that there is an "unconscious" or a "sub-conscious" in him which needs education as much as the conscious: that his heart is not dead, but that he is possessed by emotions which are more important to him to-day than the activities of his mind, more determinant of his future, and fully as much in need of training: that he has a body, which needs not only training, but education: that he is not an isolated entity, but a social being, demanding a society in which he can achieve some "sense of belonging", some sense of security, some status: that he belongs to many groups beside the school, and that all these are operative agencies in the evolution of his life and cannot be neglected by his teachers: that he is not merely an embryo-adult, but a whole and infinitely complex human being, with a whole life to be lived now which will be the seed-bed of the life he is to live in the future.

The four-fold programme for the County Badge, with its Physical Tests, its Expedition Test, its Project Test, and its Service Test, educating as it does the body and the character as well as the mind, giving an outlet for any worthwhile interest, whether intellectual, skilful, or æsthetic, and enlisting a candidate in the service of the community, is an epitome of this new spirit.

Such is the new and larger view which is taken of those who

¹ cf. Ch. VI.

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crowd into our classrooms and fill our playgrounds with noise. And it is with each of them, as an individual distinct from all the others in his wholeness and his complexity, that education has to deal. Mass-education is regarded as mis-education: it is *the one* who matters. We see the whole child growing into the whole man.

(4) Expansion in the teaching-process. With this we reach the most striking of the enlargements which we are considering, and we have to see how the curriculum on the one hand and the methods and instruments employed for carrying it out on the other, are alike overrunning their long-established frontiers.

It would clearly be out of place here and tedious to attempt an analysis of modern school curricula into their component parts or a detailed exposition of the changes which are taking place: nor shall we aim at an exhaustive list of the new methods of teaching or the new media which are coming in to use. We shall endeavour instead to make clear what are the general principles at the back of the new processes, and to illustrate these by examples drawn from each field. From such an account it is hoped that readers will be able to draw for themselves a picture of what is going on in the modern class-room, whether that class-room is in a primary school or in a secondary school: the differences between the two are differences of detail and of application, rather than differences of principle.

The easiest approach to a grasp of these principles is through a criticism of the traditional process. The traditional curriculum, it is claimed, is out-of-date; it has persisted for a long time in a comparatively rigid form and has not readily adapted itself to the demands of changing times: it has for the most part been something imposed on a child from without, and not something answering to those needs which spring from within.

The division into "subjects", and their subdivision again into their component parts which quickly become new "subjects," is purely traditional and conventional: it has been an undoubted convenience, and therefore has not been called in question: but it represents an abstract logic of the adult mind, and is wholly foreign to childhood's experience, which is essentially a unity: it is something artificial and unreal, and the deeper the analysis, the greater the non-reality—chemistry, for example, is more "unreal" than science. These subjects, moreover, have been largely verbal, both in their content and in their method: verbalism has run riot, and the spoken or written word has been the tool for teaching and the channel for learning: the child who does not take readily to words has been the dunce—and as there are many such children, there have been many dunces.

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This verbal characteristic, which has been deemed essential, has limited the scope and variety of the curriculum: at the same time, in conjunction with the analytical division and subdivision into subjects, it has allowed it to be overburdened. The curriculum is overcrowded. This is true of all its stages, but the causes vary: at the primary stage it has been largely due to the shortness of school life, and the temptation to squeeze as much as possible into an education which must be cut short at fourteen; it has been partly due to a certain limitation of aim, which has resulted in a misdirection of activity for most children; all have been educated as though they belonged to the small percentage who would go on to a secondary school, and there has been no other aim for the much larger percentage who would never see the inside of such a school; one solution, on the hit-or-miss principle, was to give them as many scraps as possible within the four corners of the regulations.

At the secondary stage other causes have operated: the universities and other examining bodies have prescribed a limited range of subjects in which a candidate must qualify, but as many of these have been uncongenial and uneducational for a number of those who have to study them, schools have endeavoured to save themselves from becoming mere cramming-establishments by adding subjects of a more cultural and educational character, and the whole programme has become too heavy.

This overcrowded curriculum has also been, in many of its elements, irrelevant, or has been so presented as to appear irrelevant to those who have had to follow it: the significance of the fact that children are most successful at those subjects which seem to them most relevant, has not been grasped, and no attempt has been made to see that the curriculum as a whole is relevant to the experience of its students.

Similar criticism may be made of teaching-method. The division into subjects has encouraged in the teacher a keener interest in the subject than in the child, and their predominantly verbal character has led him to teach too much: he has interested himself more in his own method of teaching than in the child's method of learning; and the necessity to teach a certain amount of a given subject in a given time has left him no leisure to question its significance or its value.

Passive receptivity has been emphasized at the expense of active creativeness: to foster the latter would have been to make nonsense of the curriculum. The only tools have been books and paper: other tools have been forged, but they have not been used, and the opportunity which they offered has been lost. Class-teaching has been accepted as axiomatic, whatever the age of the

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pupils, even when it has been recognized that classes have been too large.

These criticisms all point to violations of one or other of two principles which are of fundamental importance in the modern outlook. The first is that curriculum and method must follow the natural development of each child and not constrict this within the strait-waistcoat of an *a priori* system; and the second is that they must engage all parts of a child's personality, and give full scope to that curiosity, initiative, and activity which in particular are characteristic of childhood. It is in the light of these principles that we can most clearly follow the expansive trends of to-day in the teaching process.

The operation of the principles is assisted by some of the administrative changes to which reference has already been made. It will be seen that in so far as they are put into effect, they will help to meet the criticisms which have been made. Some illustrations may now be given of the application of these principles from the nursery school for children from two to five, the combined nursery and infant school for children from two to seven, or the nursery class attached to an infant school,¹ upwards.

The Nursery School (or its equivalent) is a creation of the present century, and has only come into its own with the passing of the Butler Act: it is during the years immediately in front of us that we shall see it establishing itself and taking shape as part of our educational provision. In the ages with which it deals a child's chief needs are domestic, physical, individual, and social: he needs the experience of a good home, scope for physical experiment and activity, the consolidation of his personality, and some introduction to the status, security, and responsibility which community life provides: he is, moreover, at the most plastic stage of his development, and what he will be as an adolescent and adult depends in no small measure on what he is enabled to become now.

The Nursery School bears this in mind and attempts to meet all these needs. It is not a substitute for the home, but an extension of the home, and it tries to supply those elements in home-life which many homes, often through no fault of their own, are unable to provide: it depends for its final success on co-operation with parents.

On the physical side, it lays stress on medical care, sleep and rest, diet, clothing, the activities of play, and a training in the habits of health. It helps a child to find himself, both as an individual and as a member of a group: to develop his day-dreams, but when he cries for them to come true to remember that others have their

¹ For our present purpose the distinctions between these three are irrelevant.

day-dreams too: to recognize the claims of others as equal to his own. And it does all this in an atmosphere of cheerfulness, security, and peace.

"In a good Nursery School, the spacious rooms, gay walls, simple suitable furniture, the garden with trees and flowers and animals, provide a delightful environment for young children. Here there is a time for wise passiveness, for leisure to stand and stare, as well as a time for rapt absorption in work. Sleeping, bathing, playing alone or with companions, moving freely indoors and in the open air, children form healthy habits, acquire increasing control of their limbs, attain a surprising degree of manipulative skill, and develop a constant fearless attitude towards life.

"A happy alternation of routine and free play patterns these early days with security and adventure. Bricks to arrange, pictures to paint, sand to build in, water to pour, songs to sing, tables to lay, seeds to plant, a jungle gym on which to climb, pets to tend, questions to pose and answer, stories to hear and to tell—by such and other occupations the child's natural energy and craving for experience are satisfied. Play is both his way of life and his emotional safety-valve. His expanding world gives him ever fresh material for thought and speech. At one time personal initiative is applauded, at another the group interest is made the paramount attraction.

"By close contact with other children the child begins to realize that the claim he makes on the community involves the admission of their claims on him."¹

The terms "teaching" and "teacher" are as far as possible avoided: the teacher's task is primarily the creation of an environment, and in that environment the child follows the lines of his natural development and learns by living his own life. This assuredly is a new world which modern education offers to children.

Many of those who have knowledge and experience of the upbringing of young children feel that the ideals and methods of the Nursery School are of such proved value that they should be continued, with the necessary adaptations, beyond the nursery school age, and there is a tendency to extend these at least into the earliest years of the Junior School: it may well be that we shall see this process carried still further. At the same time it is recognized that at this stage sterner things are necessarily afoot, and in particular that the time has come for a mastery of the three essential skills of reading, writing, and counting.

The three R's are not therefore excluded from the curriculum,

¹ Appendix to *Primary Education*, Scottish Education Department, Advisory Council on Education in Scotland.

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rather do they form its core: but they no longer exhaust it, nor are they taught as mere mechanisms and as ends in themselves. Reading is presented as an element in English, and English in its turn no longer as a subject but as a tool—a tool which confers “the power of communication not only with the whole of the present world, but with the past and the future”.¹ Writing is another use of the same tool, but is also the exercise of a manual skill, and thus becomes part of handicraft: and inasmuch as handicraft may involve measurement and calculation, arithmetic also falls within its scope. Thus these time-worn subjects become relevant and adapted to natural development: for a child wants to communicate, primarily through the spoken word and then through pictures and writing: wants also to be busy with his hands and to create.

The Report of the Scottish Advisory Council on Primary Education crystallizes much modern thought on this subject: it posits Physical Education, Handwork, and Speech as the fundamentals of the curriculum, and of the two latter it writes: “Handwork is a word to which we are giving a wider meaning in this Report than it usually has in the school time-table. For our purpose it may include anything done by the hand, with tools in the hand, or with machines made and operated by the human hand. As it involves measurement and calculation, mathematics and arithmetic are its children and handmaidens. It includes all industries, many sciences, and the arts of the painter, the sculptor, the architect and the musician.

“Handwriting, or the making of conventional signs by means of simple tools, is only one of the many divisions of handwork. Speech or language is the foundation of all human communications, the vehicle of thought and memory.

“Reading, whether oral or silent, is a development that depends on the human capacity for speech and the birth and development of language. From speech and the written word have developed the power to retain and accumulate observations of fact, to exercise the mind on the meaning of history and life, and to express in literature the visions and imaginings of the human soul.”²

Verbalism is not dead: words, words, words—but words with a difference, words which mean something and do something: words, therefore, which are relevant to a period of expanding mastery.

A great variety of subjects, linked to one another and linked to the essential skills, are included in those three fundamentals: and room for them, and for other subjects, all of them involving

¹ *Primary Education*, *op. cit.* Sec. 83.

² *Primary Education*, *op. cit.* Secs. 113, 115, 116.

various degrees of activity, will be found in the time-table for the simple reason that schooling will continue to fifteen or sixteen, that primary education will no longer be the sole educational fare for the majority of our children but all will go on to a secondary school, and that there will no longer therefore be that sense of rush about the earlier stages and that futile attempt to squeeze a quart into a pint pot.

Moreover, the secondary school will provide a clear *terminus ad quem* for the primary school child; there will be a definite and attainable aim set before him, and his curriculum will be framed with this in view; his business will be to live a whole life now, adapted to his needs, and in the process to master the skills and the tools which he will need in his secondary school, whatever variety of school that may be; and his curriculum should be characterized not by rigidity and aimlessness, but by flexibility and relevance.

When we reach the secondary school, we find the same two principles expressed in the modifications of the curriculum which are being worked out. It is clear that the mere multiplication of types of secondary school will enormously extend the range of secondary education and will increase the chances of children finding a curriculum to suit their particular needs, minister to their particular line of development, and provide sustenance for more than one side of their multiform personalities. But within each type there are signs that the curriculum will develop on more liberal lines than those to which we have been accustomed.

The new secondary modern schools, which will educate the great majority of our children and are at present unfettered by the restrictions of any external examination, are in a position to ask themselves the question, What kind of education do these eleven-to-fifteen-year-olds chiefly need? and to give an answer on entirely educational grounds. They are in process of working out something new in school time-tables, and much experiment will be needed before anything like an agreed answer to the question is reached. But all are agreed that an essential feature of the new curriculum must be width of experience: and it is felt by many that these schools have an unprecedented opportunity for teaching the application of techniques mastered in the earlier stages, as well as the mastery of new techniques.

The secondary technical schools are not likely to see their task as purely vocational. There is a tendency to-day to relate the technical to the cultural, and no longer to see these two on opposite sides of a harsh line of division: to recognize the cultural potentiality in the technical, and the technical potentiality in the cultural, and to fuse the two in a new conception of twentieth century

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culture: and this tendency will be reflected in the schools of to-morrow.

In the grammar schools we see two tendencies at work. On the one hand, there is the attack launched by those who accuse these schools of an excessive verbalism and bookishness, and who demand a general dilution and activization of the curriculum. On the other hand, there is the conservative tendency to defend the academic tradition which these schools have built up and to claim that the education which they give is that best fitted for a minority, but an all-important minority, of our boys and girls, the academically gifted: for these, dealing with ideas and with words, thinking and writing are "activities" no less than the making of a model aeroplane or domestic science are for others.

There are weaknesses both in the attack and in the defence. The attack commonly overstates its case, and is blind to the very considerable dilution of the "bookish" curriculum which has already taken place: art and craft, music and drama have established their positions: new languages have been added (Russian is the latest comer): history has been brought up to date, and aspects of it which are of current importance are stressed—the history of Russia, for example, or of the United States of America: social studies and social activities are vigorously pursued: practical subjects have been added to the curriculum of *all* pupils, for their educational and not for their technical value: the consideration of current affairs (by the appropriate methods of expert lectures and open and inconclusive discussion) is a common addition to the timetable:¹ and such organizations as the Council for Education in World Citizenship have found a ready welcome in grammar schools and have done much to expand the horizons of their boys and girls.

On the other hand, the defence has to meet the objection that, even if it is granted that this education is the best for the academically gifted, many of those who have been admitted to grammar schools are not academically gifted: and if the reply is made that the existence of other types of secondary school and improved methods of selection will see to this in the future, the question has to be faced whether it is desirable that any school should consist of none but the academically gifted, whether the academically ungifted have not made a great contribution to grammar school life in the past, and whether this mixture is not

¹ cf. Milton: "The newer generations must know the beginning, end, and reasons of Political Societies; that they may not in a dangerous fit of the Commonwealth be such poor, shaken, uncertain Reeds, of such a tottering Conscience, as many of our great Counsellors have lately shown themselves, but steadfast pillars of the state".

essential to a school at its best. Similar questions should, of course, be addressed to the other types of secondary school.

Before we leave the curriculum, it is pertinent to observe that the considerable expansion which has already taken place, and the still more considerable expansion which must take place in the future, is on the one hand the inevitable issue of certain external forces, partly political, partly social, and partly educational, and is on the other hand the parent of a specific problem to which some schools are already beginning to address themselves.

The external forces are first the decision to raise the compulsory school age to fifteen (or sixteen) and to provide secondary education for all, and second the disappearance from the experience of many children of those contributions to their education which used to be made by other agencies entirely outside the school.

If all children are to pursue a secondary course till fifteen, it is no good making this a mere repetition of the old elementary course or a dilution of a course hitherto designed for a small proportion of boys and girls with a fairly well-defined future: something new has to be grafted on to the old, or instituted alongside it.

Moreover, this must not be felt to be a waste of time. A boy or girl who at present leaves school at fourteen, leaves too early and is deprived of much which should be a right: but work and the earning of a wage bring with them a certain self-respect which is an important element in education at that age: unless the schools can provide through their curricula and life channels through which this self-respect may be achieved, they will fail, and there will be no justification for raising the age or for providing universal secondary education. This need alone will demand a new diversity in teaching material. The demand will be reinforced by the fact that the breakdown of family life, the progressive urbanization of society, and the concentration of children in large masses mean the loss of many educational influences hitherto provided outside the school walls: the schools will have to teach many things hitherto taught in the home, the countryside, and a number of small groupings.¹ This is a modern tendency which puts a new responsibility upon the school.

The problem which emerges is that of establishing some unity amidst this diversity, and such a relationship among a multiplicity of subjects and activities that each separate course may attain a status and a self-respect of its own. No solution of this problem has yet been found: it cannot be found in any blue print, but will only come as the result of experiment. Such experiments are already

¹ *cf.* below pp. 62-66, and the Report of the Harvard Committee on General Education in a Free Society, where the problem is ably dealt with as it affects American education.

being tried, and we shall refer to them more fully when we deal with the egalitarian trends in modern education.

These matters, however, are only partly matters of curriculum: they are also matters of instruments and methods, and we must now turn to the significant expansions which are taking place here. If the widening in the curriculum has been due to a clearer understanding of the ends which it serves and the needs for which it provides, the driving force behind the enlargement of methods and the multiplication of instruments is the recognition, characteristic of teaching circles to-day, that school work is not a process of being taught, but rather a process of learning—and that the two are by no means the same thing. "The test of teaching is not how the teacher teaches, but how the pupil learns," wrote John Adams. If you are taught, you are performing the function of a passive verb: if you learn, you are active. "I'll learn you" may be a colloquialism, but it expresses sound educational theory—and it has a respectable ancestry: twice in the Prayer-Book version of the twenty fifth psalm the verb "to learn" is used in this sense of causing another to learn ("Lead me forth in thy truth, and learn me", and "Such as are gentle, them shall he learn his way").

Many teachers are only too well aware that what they have endeavoured to teach has often been very different from what their pupils have learnt, and the teacher to-day wonders whether the stress has not been laid on the wrong end of the process. Have we not paid too much attention to the technique of teaching and too little to the technique of learning? The tendency to-day is to reverse this process: the enlightened teacher "learns" his pupils rather than teaches them. He recognizes that the pupils' learning is an activity, and his business as he "learns" them is the stimulation of this activity. The corollary of this is that he thinks, as the Hadow and the Spens Reports both recommended that he should think, in terms of activities rather than in terms of subjects: for if learning is a general activity, each subdivision of it is a particular activity.

Such activity, moreover, demands instruments other than the spoken or written word and the ideas which these symbolize: these verbal and conceptual instruments will undoubtedly be appropriate for some boys and girls, a small proportion of the whole: others will need more graphic, more manual, more visual, more mechanical instruments—they will learn most readily through the activity of the eye or the hand, through some occupation which exercises the physical or the æsthetic part of their personality rather than the purely intellectual. The variations among children in this respect are embarrassingly multiform: the diversity of gifts in any undifferentiated class demands a diversity of teaching instruments: alter-

natively we must adopt a policy of segregation on the lines of these variations, if indeed they can be diagnosed accurately enough early enough. But whichever policy is adopted (and both are being tried in the schools of to-day), new instruments and new methods are called for.

There is no intention here to discriminate sharply between intellectual activity on the one hand, and other forms of activity, such as the manual, on the other. Intelligence runs through all: it is "not a special function (or not that only), but a way in which all human powers may function", and some of these powers demand different media for their functioning from others: they also require different methods of stimulation.

Finally, these activities need a measure of deliberate integration. The process of learning is an articulated whole, and this articulation cannot be left to chance: if that is done, children will find themselves active in schools along a number of parallel lines which never meet, and which lead to no single comprehensible or satisfying end: and busy along these lines, they will enjoy neither an inner unification of spirit nor a sense of community with their fellows.

This integration can be brought about to some extent by a skilful and intelligent grouping of subjects, but still more by the elaboration of new methods of teaching and by the use of new instruments which may help to focus otherwise discursive activities. The result aimed at will be a school experience which will consist of an intelligible pattern of dovetailed activities.

Hence proceed the current experimentations in the classroom. Some illustrations may be given. On the side of method, the teacher looks upon his task less as one of instruction, and more as one of intervention and interpretation. Direct teaching occupies less of his time and attention than it used to do: indirect stimulation occupies more.

It is sometimes held that the most successful teacher of to-day is the teacher who most successfully effaces himself in the classroom. The boys and girls for whom he is responsible are touching life at a number of circumferential points, and passing through experiences which are outwardly heterogeneous and therefore bewildering. His duty is to relate these points to their centre, and to introduce some degree of homogeneity and therefore of sense. Many of their experiences are conditioned by the programme set for them in school, others are semi-conditioned by their own choice from a number of extra-curricular activities which are provided, others again come from sources entirely outside the schools' control, and others are purely accidental. They find their origins in books, in persons, and in events. Moreover, children's reactions to these experiences, will be highly individualistic.

The teacher's duty, apart from his share in the provision of these experiences by prescribed tasks, is to step in at critical moments and to perform a double act of interpretation: the first is the interpretation of the experience to the child, and the second is the interpretation of the child to himself.

This task he performs by keeping himself as far as possible in the background: by establishing wherever possible relationships between diverse subjects, and by resisting the tendency to keep these in water-tight compartments: by the use of various devices for group-work, such as the Dalton Plan or some modification of it, whereby children are allowed to proceed at their own pace and to choose within limits their own order of attack: by the method of discussion, which encourages self-expression and creative activity, rather than by the method of lecture: by the grouping of subjects round a "project", such as the building or decoration of a house, where certain social studies, art, architecture, local geography, geology, mathematics, and English may all be required: by providing copious opportunities for "finding things out" rather than for "taking them down": and by recognizing, and encouraging throughout, the process of self-education, and of mutual education of boys and girls by one another.

It will be realized that this is a far more exacting task than the old task of direct instruction. To aid him in it, the teacher will use new instruments. Thus he will call upon the local community—its social and industrial life, its topography, its craftsmen, its government, and its social services: he will have recourse to museums, art exhibitions, public libraries, and concerts: he will introduce into his classroom visual and mechanical aids of all kinds—pictures, charts, diagrams, isotypes, films, the gramophone, the radio; some of these will be the particular instruments through which certain children most readily learn ("He is the best teacher", says a proverb, "who can turn the ear into an eye"), and all will be valuable for the expansion and interpretation of experience. The criticism is sometimes made that these aids are "uneducational and do the teacher's work for him": the criticism contradicts itself, and applies with equal force, or lack of force, to the text-book and to all prefabricated lessons. Such aids can be of enormous help in the classroom, and not least to the conscientious teacher.

It is interesting to reflect that ex-Service recruits to the teaching profession, who have used such aids in the educational activities of their Service life, will be able to bring a valuable experience into the schools. We shall need such help, for we are still but feeling our way in this region: it is encouraging to read that a National Visual Education Committee has been set up by the associations of authorities and teachers. Its functions are "to plan a visual educational

policy, to collect and collate views, to nominate educational advisers to the producers of films, to develop regional film libraries and to encourage authorities to purchase suitable films, to advise on the supply, selection, and maintenance of suitable apparatus, and to carry out research."¹ The appointment of such a Committee is a sign of the new times.

We have dealt at some length in this section on the expansion of the teaching process through an extended curriculum and the introduction of new methods and instruments. But no apology is needed for this. It is one of the major trends in education to-day, and it opens up before children new horizons of interest and worthwhileness, of creative activity and enjoyment, and of a school-life which makes sense.

(5) Expansion in the teaching profession. It is evident that the reforms towards which the tendencies described in the last section are leading will demand both a quantitative and a qualitative expansion in the body of teachers: and such a double expansion is already taking place. The two are inevitably linked together.

The raising of the compulsory school age demands an immediate increase in the number of teachers, and the urgent necessity to reduce the size of classes (from the present forty in primary schools and thirty in secondary schools) will mean a further increase as this much-needed reform comes into operation.

Where are the extra teachers to come from? Some will be provided by an increased output from Training Colleges and University Training Departments: but these cannot meet the need, and particularly the immediate need. To meet this the Local Authorities, with the support of the Ministry of Education, have set up Emergency Training Colleges: these give their students a one-year course, and then send them into the schools as qualified teachers: these teachers then take a further part-time course during their first two years in a teaching post.

Over 80,000 men and women applied for admission to these courses, and though some thousands of these subsequently withdrew owing to official muddle and delays, enough remained to make a substantial additional recruitment to the profession: it is estimated that there should be some 30,000 of them at work in the schools.

Some 90 per cent of the applicants came from the Services, many of them actuated by a similar sense of national need which made them willingly accept service in the Forces, many by a desire for work which will be human rather than mechanical, and many by a sense of vocation.

¹ This statement is taken from a note in the *Journal of Education* for February 1947.

The profession will thus draw on a wider circle of recruitment than in the past, and will be enriched by men and women actuated by new motives and enjoying a new range of experience: for service has meant service in war, commerce and industry, in canteens and hospitals in the educational work of the Forces, as well as on the field of battle. To these it is hoped that there will be added as time goes on and as inter-occupational mobility develops, increasing numbers from other occupations who feel themselves fired with an enthusiasm to teach: the Service of Youth is one of the most obvious of these occupations. Even if we discount, as we must, a certain proportion of failures, we may confidently expect a new breath of life to blow through our class-rooms from these sources.

By this step the quantity of teachers will be increased, and their quality will be varied. Quality will similarly be affected by changes in the established training courses in Training Colleges and University Training Departments, and by the content of the courses in the Emergency Training Colleges.

The report of the McNair Committee on the Recruitment and Training of Teachers and Youth Leaders sets out the lines along which, in the Committee's opinion, old courses should be extended and modified. The Government has not yet declared its mind on this Report, but it is to be presumed that reform will follow generally the unanimous recommendations of the Committee.

It is unnecessary to detail these recommendations here. One general principle at the back of them is that the emphasis should be laid rather on the liberal education of the future teacher than on his technical training. In order that this may come about, it would be necessary to lengthen the Training College course from two years to three, and to introduce substantial changes in the curriculum both for that and for the University course. These changes are directed to a more realistic, more comprehensive, and above all more humanistic programme.

The Committee were agreed that the Universities had an important part to play here, but they were equally divided on the precise measure of responsibility which the Universities should assume: one half recommended that Universities should accept the ultimate responsibility for the training of all teachers for all types of school, while the other half were of opinion that they should content themselves with a close association with independent institutions either existing or to be set up for that purpose.

The Minister of Education has left the decision to the Universities—an important official recognition of the University's proper independence. But it is to be noted with satisfaction that already most of the Universities have adopted the recommendation of the

first half of the Committee (surely the right one, which enjoys the unanimous support of the teaching profession). Others are likely to follow suit, and in any event it is certain that the influence of the Universities on the training of teachers will be far more effective in the future than it has been in the past. This will do much to improve the quality of teachers and to enhance their status.

The Emergency Training Colleges are trying various curricular experiments: these are designed to meet the needs of the more mature students who attend them and to enrich their outlook. One may be described as typical. At the Borthwick Women's Emergency Training College in South-East London, "each student was asked to think of a topic in which she was particularly interested and to follow her own initiative and direction in the pursuit of it during the five hours in the time-table allotted weekly" to its study: "as little guidance as possible was given by the staff in the choice of subject, nor was any particular stress laid upon its direct educational bearing upon school work."¹

By means of explanation and diagram students were shown how their chosen themes fitted in with the other parts of their course and with the themes of their fellows: the curriculum was thus saved from falling to pieces, and became an integrated whole for each student. The themes chosen covered a wide field: they included Britain's food to-day and through the ages; town development and planning; the house and its furnishing; designing of stage settings and costumes; the Sussex scene; the history of Kent; the history of the British home; music for children through the ages; Chinese jade; and the weather. (The writer who spoke to a student who had chosen the last, was interested to learn that she had been able to use it in her school practice and had aroused a good deal of enthusiasm for it among the boys whom she had been teaching: she found it of absorbing interest, and it had stimulated in her a new liveliness and mental alertness.)

It will be noticed that some of these themes are more closely connected with school life than others—music for children, for example, than Chinese jade. But that is of little importance: it is the genuine interest that matters, and the methods pursued in following that interest up: these mean much independent work, visits to museums, art galleries, libraries, the docks, churches, factories, and to private persons: they may involve the use of various media—lettering and illustration, dressmaking, modelling, carpentry, map-making, diagrams, charts, and models.

It is hoped that the experiment may develop qualities of

¹ These quotations and some of the details which follow are taken from two articles in the *Times Educational Supplement* in December 1946.

initiative and self-direction, self-discipline, resourcefulness, the careful adjustment of means to end, and "awareness": the students will have learnt moreover, from their own experience, that there are ways of learning other than through the printed page and the formal lesson, and this should have a profound effect on their methods of teaching when they join a school. It may be said that in this experience they have been educated rather than trained.

If training courses are thus to provide the future teacher with a wider experience, his scope and his opportunities when he enters on his work will be similarly enlarged. No longer will he be occupied solely with routine teaching: his duties, as we have seen, will go far beyond that.

There is considerable complaint to-day about what are called the "extraneous duties" which a teacher is called upon to perform. These have multiplied during and since the war—purely clerical work in the keeping of registers and the completing of forms, taking measurements for extra clothing coupons, the distribution of milk, the supervision of school meals, and the like. The area in which a teacher operates has been enormously extended, and the complaints which are heard are sometimes, but not always justified. Their validity turns on the interpretations of the word "extraneous", and that in turn is determined by the conception which is held of the teacher's function.

If the view is held that the function is to teach and nothing more, then any non-teaching work is extraneous to his proper duty: that is the old-fashioned view, and it is perhaps significant that most of the complaints have come from those who by their experience and seniority might be expected to share it.

Those on the other hand, who believe that the teacher's function is to educate, and that nothing which promotes the child's physical, moral, intellectual, or spiritual development can be extraneous to his education, will take another view. They will discriminate between such of these extra duties as are broadly educational, and such as are not: in the first category will fall, to take one example, the supervision of school meals—an opportunity for social education which appears nowhere else perhaps in the school day: in the second category will fall purely clerical activities.

The teacher of to-day, while seeking quite properly to be relieved of the second, will welcome the first: he will indeed ask that these should be multiplied: for it is in the performance of such duties that he will find the readiest opportunities of getting to know his pupils, effectively directing their growth, enjoying the human relationships of his career, and diversifying and enriching his own experience. Many teachers are both more effective and happier out of class than in class.

NEW HORIZONS IN EDUCATION (*continued*)

There will be a greater variety of schools for the young teacher to choose from as he enters upon his career. Some of these, and particularly the secondary modern schools, are new to our educational set-up, and offer a field for important and exciting constructive work: the content of their education has to be determined, and their status has to be established—tasks which will call for initiative, experiment, and inventiveness. That this prospect is attractive is evidenced by the large proportion of students in the Emergency Training Colleges who are contemplating this branch of the work: it is to be noted also that some of the ex-Service students in University Training Departments are heading in the same direction.

A teacher's choice will no longer be fettered by financial considerations: until recently the discrimination between salary scales in elementary schools and secondary schools had its inevitable effect in deflecting into the better-paid secondary field many men and women who would have done their best work in the other: a recent Burnham award equalizes the rates of pay in all types of school, and this together with equal superannuation schemes, leaves on the financial side a clear field and no favour. This equalization, moreover, should facilitate mobility between one type of school and another, and it will no longer be necessary for a teacher to look forward to a life-long association with the type of school in which he begins his career.

If a similar mobility could be fostered between teaching and administration, a further advantage would be gained: at present there are many obstacles in the way, and there are few signs of these being removed:¹ but at least they are recognized, and the desirability of their removal is being widely canvassed: that is the first step and if it is followed by others it may well be that within a reasonable time the teacher of proved ability in the classroom and of proved administrative competence in the affairs of a school, may be able to look forward to a seat in the administrators' office. Both sides would benefit by such a change: administration may be over-professionalized, and may become a dangerously "closed shop"—its doors would be opened: while the teacher would be given new worlds to conquer.

Finally, there are at last signs that the unification of the teaching profession may come about. For long it has been a hierarchy of professions rather than one, to its great loss both in effectiveness and in reputation: the hierarchy has been stabilized and maintained by the mutual suspicions and fears of the various grades. But new

¹ "Administrative experience" is frequently required in a candidate for an administrative post (*cf.* the advertisements *passim*): this automatically rules out the teacher.

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influences are at work, fostered in part by the equalization of salary-scales and conditions of service, and in part by the recognition that it is idle to demand "parity of status" among schools while there is "imparity of teachers". Moves have been made by some of the Teachers' associations¹ to break down the barriers, and there is a general disposition to come together. If such unification is successful, the teacher's world will be a healthier and more attractive world than it is to-day, and the status of the profession as a whole will be immeasurably enhanced.

"There is no educational reform so important as the improvement of teaching."² The improvement of teaching depends on the improvement of the teacher, and that in turn on the improvement of his world, the extension of his opportunities, and the enrichment of his life. There are tendencies to-day which point in these directions, and towards new horizons of variety and vitality.³

(6) Expansion of the agencies. "In simpler times, still partly perpetuated in small towns and in the country, schooling, far from being the whole of education, was only one among several influences at least as strong, probably stronger." "All are teachers and all are equally necessary, who give to young people, through the curriculum or beyond it, the opportunity which makes for completeness of life, and improvement in teaching will depend on this wider vision of who the teacher is."

These two quotations from the Harvard Report express a point of view which is progressively being adopted by educationists of to-day: the wider vision is becoming part of their new horizon. What are these influences of simpler times? They are the home-teaching of parents, life in a large family of brothers and sisters (a small school in itself), household chores, the care of animals, contact with the countryside, the pressure of a small and closely-knit community, membership of a church.

It is true that the force of these influences has, through changed social and economic conditions, greatly diminished: but happily they are still to be found educating our children, and it is recognized that wherever possible steps should be taken towards reinstating them in their pristine power. Meanwhile, other influences have entered the field, some in substitution for certain of these, some

¹ e.g. the National Union of Teachers.

² The Harvard Report on General Education in a Free Society.

³ It is interesting to compare with these prospects those which faced Jane Fairfax as she entered upon a teaching-career: "With the fortitude of a devoted novice, she had resolved at one-and-twenty to complete the sacrifice, and retire from all the pleasures of life, of rational intercourse, equal society, peace and hope, to penance and mortification for ever". (Jane Austen, *Emma*).

supplementary to them. The wider vision of to-day comprehends both the old and the new. In this section we shall consider some of these agencies, which education has been expanded to include.

First in order of importance come the parents. It is generally held that during the earliest years of a child's life, the more its upbringing can be left to its parents, the better: but it is also known that there are limits to the extent to which this can be done. Bad housing-conditions, hours of work, preoccupation with other interests and cares, ignorance, and diffidence make it difficult for many parents to bring up their children as they should be brought up.

It is partly to meet these difficulties, and partly to afford the help which all parents need, that nursery schools and classes have been instituted; but, as has already been pointed out, the co-operation of parents with these schools is an essential condition of their full success: such co-operation is needed in the interests of the school, the children, and the parents themselves: the latter, by making themselves familiar with the school, become much better educators at home. (Such co-operation, it may be noted in parenthesis, is easier where there is a separate nursery school than where there is a nursery class in an infant school (a strong argument in favour of the former).)

Some parents avail themselves of these facilities, and some do not: but there is a strong tendency to-day to associate as many parents as possible with these schools and to encourage their fullest co-operation. At the age of five, however, there is no longer any option, and children must go to school. "The earliest educators, the parents, have come to the end of their technical resources. Nor can they make instruction a full-time job. The child demands wider horizons and fresh activities. His growing strength and restlessness make him a distraction within the home and a source of anxiety outside of it. The compulsory school entering age is for the majority of parents one of the most popular of our laws. The child is safe, and in competent hands."¹ But he must not be left wholly there, and the parent still has his part to play, and his co-operation must continue, even on a reduced scale.

That this is recognized by the authorities to-day is symbolized by the open approaches which have to-day replaced the high walls and the shut gates surrounding the schools of earlier times. Parents are welcomed by the schools to-day as they have never been before—not only on formal occasions such as prize-givings and concerts, but on "open-days" when they are free to wander

¹ *Primary Education, op. cit.*

round the classrooms, see the children at work, and talk to their teachers: Head Teachers are more accessible, and are more ready in consultation not only to express an opinion but also to listen to an opinion: occasions are found for inviting parents to meet the staff and discuss their problems: Parents' Associations are much commoner than they used to be: masters and mistresses realize the usefulness of sometimes visiting a child in his home.

Such Associations are more usual, because they are more necessary, at the primary stage than at the secondary stage, but they increasingly tend to last on, taking perhaps different forms, throughout school life. Much has been done, but much remains to be done. Meanwhile, parent and teacher are no longer in opposite camps: they are coming together as partners in a single campaign. The help which may thus be given to parents is a new form of the training of teachers.

But there are other actual or potential teachers beyond those to be found in the school, such as an athletic team, a secret society, or at a later stage the school society recognized for the pursuit of some worth-while activity: others are outside the school, such as the street-gang, the troop of scouts or guides, the club, the village-community, or the church.

But whether inside or out, all these are educative, even though some may give a bad rather than a good education: and one reason why they are educative is that their formation and management are often in the hands of their members: all are teachers, for all "give the opportunity which makes for completeness of life".

The importance to education of this group-life is recognized to-day to such an extent that deliberate efforts are made to multiply the groups to which children may belong. Without such, as Miss Reeves points out in a valuable book recently published,¹ the child is but a unit in a mass-society whose chief characteristic is size, and is denied the benefits of sharing in the life of a manageable community: his experience is of *masses*, rather than of *groups*.

The modern teacher knows the child's imperative need of such group-life, and fosters the life of appropriate groups within the school-community: he either co-operates with those outside, or attempts to control or maybe to counteract their influences. In doing this he must have some idea of what characteristics make a group positively educative in the best sense: Miss Reeves points out that essential characteristics are (1) that the group should be subject to law, willingly accepted by all its members, (2) that it must treat its members as persons, (3) that it must give each a

¹ *Growing-up in a Modern Society*, Marjorie Reeves.

significant part to play, (4) that it must be a mixture of types, and not a homogeneous selection, (5) that it must serve some bigger purpose outside the immediate interests of its members. Such a group joins the ranks of a child's teachers, and in concerning itself seriously with this matter education accepts a new responsibility and enters upon a new field of activity.

Other such unprofessional teachers are to be found in the radio and the cinema. It is not a question here of using the radio in the classroom, or of showing educational films: so used, the two are, as has been pointed out, but new instruments in the hands of the professional teacher. We are concerned with the uncontrolled listening-in and the indiscriminate cinema-going which form such a large part of the ordinary child's life.

This is not the place to attempt a critical examination of the effects of such activities on the growing child, nor indeed is the time yet ripe for any reliable judgement to be made. Vague generalizations (particularly as to the *evil* effects) are all too common: but the evidence is lacking, both of the extent and of the quality of such effects, and we would suggest that one of the most urgent pieces of work to face the National Foundation for Educational Research is an enquiry into this matter. In the meantime the important thing is that the teacher should be fully and daily aware of these external contributions, whether negative or positive, to his own work, and in particular should make up his mind what is going to be his own expressed attitude to the broadcast programmes and the films shown at the local picture-house: it is likely that this, more than anything else, will determine whether these are going to be helpful to him or the reverse.

We see other teachers coming in from outside. There are representatives of local crafts and industries, to explain to the community's children how it, as a whole and in its individual members, lives: there are members of the local Council, to explain how it is governed: there are professional men and women, to explain the training, conditions of employment, and prospects in their occupations: there are country-folk, to explain the lore of the countryside, and townsfolk, to explain the inner life of the city.

All these amateur and part-time teachers are beginning to find their way into the schools, and to make their contribution to the education of the rising generation. A similar contribution is made by the popular series of Christmas-holiday lectures for school-children by distinguished scientists and others.

Services of a somewhat different nature, but no less educational, are rendered by the psychologist who helps with educational and vocational guidance (the appointment of such by local authorities

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is becoming increasingly common), by the psychiatrist for difficult and maladjusted cases, and by the School Medical Officer, who is partly responsible for physical education in its proper sense.

Finally, we are beginning to look to industry as educator as well as employer for those adolescents who have left school, and to ask it to regard its young employees as learners first and earners second: it is recognized that for many young people some form of employment is the best form that their further education can take, but the employment must be educational as well as wage-earning, and it is only if this is accepted that any form of juvenile employment can be justified.¹

Such are some of the new agencies which are becoming active in the work of education, and it is along the lines of this expansion that we catch a glimpse of a new horizon in which the community outside the body of professional teachers, is accepting its responsibility for the education of its children.

(7) Expansion from means to end. Our final expansion is that of an idea. The old idea was of education as means to an end: the end may have been narrowly conceived or widely conceived: it was narrowly conceived when it was confined to earning a living, and particularly a living through a specific occupation: it was more widely conceived when, in the form of a "liberal education", it paid attention to the all-round development of the pupil: in the first sense it encouraged early specialization—the end was determined at an early stage, and the means adopted to its attainment: in the second sense it felt less sure of the end, and postponed its determination and the consequent specialization of means as long as possible. But in both senses, the end was all-important: it determined the means, and education was always a preparation for something which was going to happen in the future.

The new idea, while recognizing this preparation as one of the functions of education, refuses to regard it as the sole function: it includes it in a larger whole: while not disregarding the value of education as means to a preconceived end, it sees a greater value and a greater vitality in education as an end in itself: that end is the satisfaction every day of a child's immediate needs, physical, moral, intellectual, and spiritual: if that end can be achieved. education as a means can safely be left to look after itself,

¹ cf. Lewis Mumford: "It is important to order industry so that it will contribute to the maturing educational needs of its members". cf. also *The Education of the Young Worker*, Report of a Conference held at Oxford in July, 1948, under the auspices of the University Department of Education (Published for King George's Jubilee Trust by the Oxford University Press).

NEW HORIZONS IN EDUCATION (*continued*)

for these needs will include the acquisition of the knowledge and skills demanded by the future.

The old idea educated for to-morrow, the new idea educates for to-day. This idea is slowly gaining ground, and as it does so is importing significant changes into the reciprocal processes of teaching and learning: this is inevitable, for it starts from the child of to-day, and not from the adult of to-morrow.

IV. EGALITARIANISM

"Democracy comes short of what it should be just to the extent that it fails to provide for the exceptional individual, no matter how poor his start in life, the highest kind of exceptional training; for democracy as a permanent world force must mean not only the raising of the general level, but also the raising of the standards of excellence to which only exceptional individuals may attain. The table-land must be raised, but the high peaks must not be levelled down; on the contrary, they too must be raised. Highly important though it is that the bricklayers be excellent, it is nevertheless a grave mistake to suppose that any excellence in the bricklayers will enable us to dispense with architects."

IF there is a current tendency in education to expand both in width and in depth, to embrace new fields of activity and to plumb new depths of the human personality, to enlarge its theory and to diversify its practice, this tendency is to some degree conditioned by certain other concurrent tendencies: of these the two most important are first that towards egalitarianism or the practice of a general theory of human equality, and second that towards mechanical efficiency. Both these are dominant notes in public opinion to-day, and both are having important effects on education. We shall discuss egalitarianism in this chapter, and mechanism in the next.

"Liberty, Equality, Fraternity"—this slogan of the French Revolution (though the phrase had been coined before that event), as interpreted in human experience, seems to contain certain incompatible terms. The stress has been laid on one or other of the first two, and they have not commonly been found to agree well together. In this country and until our own day the stress has been on liberty. We have succeeded in obtaining and preserving our liberty, but part of the price we have paid must be reckoned in the currency of inequality of conditions and injustice: man's natural selfishness is such that, under a full-blown doctrine of *laissez-faire*, there can be no guarantee that men will receive equal treatment or enjoy equal rights or opportunities.

It is partly in reaction against this that the stress to-day is laid on equality. We are consumed if not by a positive passion for equality (for that would be difficult to justify), at least by a negative passion for the removal of inequalities. There is a demand for the

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equal distribution of wealth and of our common resources such as food: for equal access to culture and to leisure: for equal opportunities in education and in social and political life: for equality between the sexes: for equal pay for equal work—and so on.

These equalities can be brought about only by planning and controls, and part of the price that we pay for their purchase must be reckoned in the currency of human liberty. Liberty and equality are uneasy bed-fellows.

Fraternity—the third member of the trio—has been left to look after itself, and has made a very poor job of it. It might have been better for all three if attention had been paid in the first instance to fraternity, and the groundless hope had never been formed that it would emerge as a kind of accidental by-product of the other two. But this order has never been followed, and neither those who have emphasized liberty nor those who have emphasized equality have succeeded in promoting fraternity: indeed the latter have been less successful than the former, and there is less fraternity among us to-day than there has been for many generations. This can only be put right when the conflicting claims of liberty and equality are recognized and justly balanced, and when neither is emphasized at the expense of the other.

Equality, however, is an ambiguous term. "Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal": "Men are made by nature unequal; it is vain, therefore, to treat them as if they were equal."¹ The ambiguity is obvious.

In our attempt to localize, as it were, modern egalitarianism in the educational field and to study its effects there, we must know, as precisely as we may, what is the nature of the equality or equalities envisaged, and between whom they should subsist.

The answer to the second question is easy; the reference is to all who are being educated or who are of educable age: there is no suggestion (except in a few extreme educational experiments) of establishing an artificial equality between the adolescent pupil and the adult citizen, but all the educands, to borrow Adamson's term, must stand upon an equal footing.

The answer to the first question is less easy. Few would venture to posit an equality in ability or practical capacity or æsthetic susceptibility or physical or moral qualities or usefulness to the community—though to judge from public utterances and letters to the Press there are some who come perilously near such fantastic propositions: but for the most part we accept Froude's implied

¹ Abraham Lincoln, Gettysburg Address. J. A. Froude, *Short Studies on Great Subjects*.

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interpretation of equality rather than that of the American Constitution.

While acknowledging, however, natural inequalities in these matters and rejecting any attempt to iron them out, we may hold that they are inequalities of kind rather than of degree, and that to stigmatize A as less able than B because he expresses himself through his fingers rather than through his brain is to draw an unwarranted conclusion.

The unequal kinds of ability, moreover, may on a long-term view, be of equal value, either actually or potentially, to the community; he would be a rash man to-day who would claim that the ability of the scientist to form an atom bomb is of a higher ultimate value than the ability of the skilled ploughman to drive a straight furrow or of the artist to paint a fine picture. It is an equality of status that is in question here; this is perfectly compatible with diversity of function; and if this equality is admitted (and the admission may demand a long course in the education of public opinion), it follows that both the work and the workman, in whatever sphere of activity, are deserving of equal respect and encouragement.

"Honour the work," Thring used to say, "and the work will honour you." It is here that we come to close grips with educational egalitarianism. The demand is for equal opportunities and equal conditions for the realization of potential qualities. There is much, as we shall see, to militate against the establishment of such equality: there are forces derived from tradition, from a false scale of values, from the social and economic background, which drive us in the opposite direction: but these forces can be met, and the inequalities to which they lead can be removed: the demand is for their removal, and it is a wholly proper demand.

It must be observed, however, that equal opportunities and conditions are not identical opportunities and conditions. To hold that they are so is a very common confusion of thought: it is claimed, for example, that justice demands that the opportunity to enjoy a University education should be open equally to all boys and girls, whatever their ability, their aptitude, their fitness for that particular type of education, their desires, or their needs. But it is idle to contend that anything would be gained or that justice would be satisfied by this indiscriminate equalization of opportunity: what is needed is that the opportunity to get the best possible technical training should be equally open to the future engineer as the opportunity to enter a University to the future scholar.

This is to be attained by improving the quality of the technical schools and of the higher education to which they lead on, so that the first may be comparable to the best grammar schools and the second to that given in the Universities, and by stressing throughout

that this technical programme is no whit inferior as an education to the more academic programme.

It is the appropriate opportunity that we must guarantee equally for all, and this is an equality which we have not yet achieved. Nor does it necessarily follow that, because a group of twenty pupils represents the number best fitted to pursue a certain course of study, therefore no school should contain classes of more than that size. The conditions, no less than the opportunities, must be appropriate, and in no circumstances must they be less favourable to one pupil than to another. There is no merit in an equality which is synonymous with identity: indeed, the very diversity of human nature demands a diversity of opportunity and conditions.

Egalitarianism to-day is in the atmosphere which we breathe. It is one of the most generalized of contemporary drifts. It is a social and economic and political force which makes itself felt, in varying degrees, along all the highways and byways of community living. It originates in circumstances external to the educational sphere: but when it impinges on that sphere, it finds a ready welcome: it takes there specific forms: and it is reinforced by tendencies which are native to the new field in which it operates.

No one is more conscious than the schoolmaster of the harm which is done and the wastage which is incurred through the inequalities of educational provision, whether these inequalities lie in physical surroundings, in floor-space and playground-space, in buildings and equipment, in the size of classes or in staffing-ratios: and his sense of vocation, his training, his professional pride, and the traditions of his service, inspire him with a determination to iron these inequalities out. The native reinforcement he brings to the cause of egalitarianism is a powerful one: it is also a peculiarly valuable one, because it aims at equality on a high level and not on a low level.

Any plan for a levelling out must be either for a levelling up or for a levelling down: either we must choose the best for the norm and try to bring the rest up to that: or we must choose some inferior quality and sacrifice the best to that. The latter is the line of least resistance: it is the easier plan to follow, and the less expensive. It makes a powerful appeal to the general public, and is recommended by those who desire to keep down the rates, to attack privilege, or to rally the forces of popular envy and malice.

This is egalitarianism, but it is destructive egalitarianism: it destroys the first-rate for the sake of the second-rate: it sacrifices quality to equality: it is based on the principle that nobody shall have anything till everybody has nothing: it kills the goose which lays the golden eggs because the other geese can only lay shell-eggs.

As against this we have the constructive egalitarianism of the teaching profession and educational circles: this destroys nothing,

but preserves the first-rate as the exemplar for the second-rate, and aims consistently at the raising of the latter to the former: its equality is an equality of the highest quality: it is based on the principle that it is better, if need be, that a few should have the first-rate (provided always that they are the right few, and that there are no obstacles to the increase of their number) than that all should have nothing but the second-rate: it does not kill the goose which lays the golden eggs, nor does it indulge in any fanciful imaginings or desire that all geese should follow this Midas-like proceeding, but it does endeavour to increase the breed and meanwhile to see that the conditions are the best possible for the shell-egg layers and that they are duly respected. Both these types of egalitarianism are to be seen in the proposals put forward for educational reform, and in contemporary movements in that field.

Egalitarian tendencies move in such a baffling diversity of directions and arrive at such heterogeneous and disparate ends that it is necessary to find some focal point for them if they are to be understood. This is to be found in an attack on the inequalities inherent in the present hierarchy in places of education. These may be arranged roughly in the following groups, and in each group public opinion rightly or wrongly accepts the order in which the constituent members are here placed as an order of educational merit: the older Universities, the newer Universities, University Colleges; University Training Departments, Training Colleges, Emergency Training Colleges; Technical Colleges, Agricultural Colleges; the Public Schools, Direct Grant Schools, Municipal Secondary Schools; Grammar Schools, Technical Schools, Modern Schools; Preparatory Schools, Primary Schools.

In each of these groups the first-named is popularly held to be "better" than those which follow, and these come in a descending order of merit. It is to be noted that there are historical and social reasons for the constitution of this hierarchy. Had we ever enjoyed a planned system of national education, had there ever been on the Statute Book anything approaching the recent Education Act, the hierarchy could never have existed, or if it had, it would have existed in a different form. It is constructed on the unsure foundations of class prejudice, economic necessity, industrial tyranny, misguided values, social snobbery, and political myopia: and these are all unsure foundations for such an edifice, because they are all uneducational.

A hierarchy of schools which is to be of any use must be based on a true sense of educational values, and this has not only been conspicuous by its absence, but its very necessity has been ignored. The very term, "a better school", is highly ambiguous and no useful meaning can be attached to it (except relatively to individual

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needs). Some of the meanings which are popularly attached to it may illustrate its ambiguity. It is held, for example, that an expensive school is "better" than a cheap one, or that a fee-charging school is "better" than a free one, but both these conclusions represent a dangerous *non sequitur*. Or again, one school is "better" than another because it offers its pupils better opportunities of getting on in life: whether it does so or not, is an arguable point, but even if the claim is substantiated, the school will be no better than another for the pupil who because of his temperament or intellectual capacity is unable to avail himself of the opportunities; and if it leads him to an occupation or a way of life for which he is unfitted, it will be an immeasurably worse school.

The truth is that there has been much muddled thinking in the matter, and it is in the muddled thinking of muddled minds that the hierarchy finds its genesis. The first necessity for a true egalitarianism is therefore a clarification of public opinion on the issues involved. Meanwhile proposals are put forward, to which we must now turn, for an ironing out of the alleged differences between schools: in so far as these deal with superficial conditions, they may be helpful: but when they touch the deeper springs of educational values, they should be accepted with some caution.

There are many who think that the solution of our problem is to be found by including all schools in the national system of education, and laying them all under the control of the local education authorities through which that system in the main works. An important part of this proposal is that steps should be taken to equalize the facilities which these authorities provide: without this, the mere inclusion of more schools in a system where gross inequalities exist would do little or nothing to foster a greater equality of opportunity.

Certain measures, however, have already been taken towards this latter end. Thus the Act of 1944 embodies a compromise which profoundly modifies, if it does not wholly remove, the inequalities of the old Dual System. The new classification of schools into County Schools (provided and maintained by the Authorities), Controlled Schools (provided by voluntary bodies, but almost wholly controlled by the Authorities), and Aided Schools (provided by voluntary bodies, but receiving a measure of financial assistance from the Authorities which implies considerable control), will undoubtedly increase the degree of public control over primary schools and (to a lesser extent) over secondary schools (for the compromise applies to both grades).

Before the war there were more voluntary schools than council schools, though 70 per cent of the child population was educated in the latter: as time goes on, some voluntary schools will be taken

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over by the Councils, and others will have to accept Controlled status. The determining factor in the classification of any particular school will be the ability of its managers to bring it up to the minimum standards in premises, staffing, and amenities demanded by the Ministry's Regulations. Many voluntary schools in the past have been quite unable to reach even the standards set in the old days; a very large number of the schools on the Board of Education's "Black List" have been voluntary schools.¹ The standards have now been set higher, and the number of schools able to reach them will be proportionately lower. We shall thus see a levelling-out here which will be a levelling-up, and as such is to be commended.

At the same time, the Government Grant to Local Authorities, which before the war amounted to approximately 47 per cent of their recognized expenditure, is to rise to 51 per cent and subsequently to 55 per cent, with the addition of special grants to the poorer Authorities. What have previously been *powers* to provide certain types of education—powers which Authorities were free to exercise or not, as they wished—now become *duties*. Finally the Act demands development plans for their educational services from all Local Authorities, and these have to receive the approval of the Minister before they are put into effect: there will thus be a common authority to ensure that approximately equal provision is made in all areas.

It is sometimes assumed that inequality in education only exists between the private and independent schools on the one hand and the public system on the other, but this is not so: there have been grave inequalities of opportunity within the public system itself, and the Act seeks to mitigate or to remove these by the measures mentioned above. But even if these measures are successful, is it wise to attempt to include all schools within that system? It would be an immensely difficult operation, if all independent and direct-grant schools were abolished, and if all forms of private education were forbidden: in the absence of such a ban, there would be nothing to prevent parents sending their children out of the country to be educated, or entrusting them to private tutors who would soon be running what would in effect be a new form of private school: to impose such a ban would be a totalitarian measure which it would be as difficult to enforce as to justify.

Moreover, there would be a grave falling off in the variety of educational provision, and that liberty, which to many is the

¹ In 1924-5, when the Board of Education first drew up a "Black List" of unsatisfactory elementary school premises, 714 of the schools included in it were "provided" schools, and 2113 were "non-provided" (i.e. in the terminology of to-day, County schools and Voluntary schools); of the 753 schools still remaining in the Black List in 1943, 541 were non-provided schools.

life-blood of education would be sacrificed on the altar of an equality which has nothing to do with education. It is considerations such as these which have generated a vigorous opposition to the policy of an all-inclusive system of publicly controlled education. We have here two opposite tendencies in force.

Less drastic proposals, directed to the same end, are to be found in the Report of the Fleming Committee.¹ This Committee was set up to "consider means whereby the association of the public schools (by which term is meant schools which are in membership of the Governing Bodies' Association or Headmasters' Conference) and the general educational system of the country could be developed and extended; also to consider how far any measures recommended in the case of boys' public schools could be applied to comparable schools for girls". It reported in 1944 and made recommendations whereby opportunities for education in these schools would be available for boys and girls capable of profiting by it, irrespective of the income of their parents. The direct grant schools were to be abolished, and a new category of "associated schools" was to be formed, subdivided into two groups, each operating under its own scheme: the first group would consist largely, though not exclusively, of day schools, and would contain among others, the old direct grant schools: the second group would be restricted to boarding schools, and would include the independent public schools. In both groups there would be places reserved for the local education authorities to fill, and there were arrangements for defraying the cost of these out of public funds: and in the second group a scheme was evolved for the award of bursaries to boys or girls in need of assistance at these schools, by the (then) Board of Education.

The expenditure of public money on education in these schools properly called for some degree of public control: and this demand was met by the recommendation that the Governing Body of any school participating in the schemes should be nominated, as to approximately one-third of its membership, either by the Board of Education or by the Local Education Authorities.

This Report made an important contribution to the egalitarian movement, and took us a step nearer that equality of opportunity in education which we all desire. Unhappily the Government has not yet taken any action on it, though it has indicated its sympathy with many of the recommendations.

Meanwhile certain schools have been taking steps in a similar direction on their own initiative, and making their own arrangements with local education authorities for opening their doors more

¹ *The Public Schools and the General Educational System*, Board of Education.

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widely and admitting children from the State system of education whose parents could not, without public assistance, meet the cost of an expensive form of schooling. (The out-and-out egalitarian would reduce the cost of all schooling to the same level: but this is an extreme view, and it is commonly recognized that there is nothing improper or anti-social in one form of education costing more than another so long as the higher cost does not exclude children capable of profiting by it.)

Typical of these schemes is the arrangement made by one independent boarding school with its County Education Authority, under which the school admits over a period of five years forty boys *per annum*, whose fees are paid by the Authority at the normal rate charged by the school: these boys enter the school at the age of thirteen and must have been educated for at least two years in a county, voluntary, or assisted secondary school in the area: while meeting the fees, the Authority will recover from the parents, on an income scale approved by the Ministry, an appropriate contribution towards the boys' maintenance: the Governing Body of the School is increased by the addition of six representatives of the County Council.

Similar experiments, some on a less ambitious scale and some with a less local restriction, are being tried elsewhere. Such schemes as these are meeting with considerable success: they received the blessing of the late Minister of Education,¹ and are likely to multiply and to take an interesting variety of forms. They represent a practical measure of co-operation between statutory and voluntary bodies in education, and a fusion of classes, to the great advantage of all, at the pre-adolescent and adolescent stages.

Attacking the same problem from a different angle are those who advocate the institution of schools which will be common to the children of all social classes and which will provide a common curriculum with sufficient bifurcations into specialist studies in the higher stages to meet the needs of all children: "teach all the children everything they need under one roof" is the slogan of this school of thought. The proposals naturally take rather different forms at the primary and at the secondary stages. There are few difficulties of curriculum at the primary stage, and the common school could more easily be established then than later on. It is claimed that its establishment would not only act as a social solvent among young children, but would also result in a general raising of the standards in primary education; it is because (so it is argued) the more well-to-do and influential classes have not sent their children to the State primary schools in the past,

¹ Miss Ellen Wilkinson.

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that so little effort has been made to raise the standards in these schools; there would be a very different story to tell if all classes were under the necessity of using them. It is to be noted that the first of these is a social argument, and the second an educational.

On the other hand, it is argued that you cannot impose on children the same educational programme unless you can first guarantee approximately the same social and cultural background, and that any attempt to educate together children whose home-life provides them with social and cultural experiences which are an education in themselves and children whose homes can make no such provision, is bound to end in failure: an uneasy compromise will be reached under which the first will be frustrated in their cultural development, and the second barely saved from overstrain and an inferiority complex.

When we reach the secondary stage the matter becomes more complicated, and terms are used and misused with a bewildering looseness. In particular, the three terms: "The Common School", "The Multilateral School", and "The Comprehensive School", are often treated as if they were synonymous. They are not. "The Common School" is a school in which a common curriculum is taught to all children of all social classes: as such, while it may be possible at the primary stage, it can have no place in secondary education when individual interests are developing and demand different curricular satisfactions.

"The Multilateral School" is an ambiguous term until the number of sides in the many-sidedness which it postulates is specified: unless this includes all sides (and then the term "Omnilateral" would be more exact), such a school will have to be a selective school, and it is doubtful whether as such it would satisfy the egalitarians: if it does include all sides, then the nearest approach to it in our educational lay-out is the public school, and as such it will be still further from satisfying the egalitarians. "The Comprehensive School" is the most satisfactory term, and it is this type of school that the London County Council proposes to provide for its secondary school population.

What precisely will be the nature of such a school? How will it work? And what are its peculiar advantages and disadvantages? It may perhaps be described as a kind of educational Woolworth's, an institution catering for the whole child population, without discrimination of class, and attempting to provide for all their needs, both basic and more specialized.

The school would admit at the age of eleven all the boys and girls in the community to which it would belong and which it would serve. During their first year or two in the school a preliminary

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diagnosis would be completed, and they would thereafter be allocated to one or other of the many "sides" according to their abilities and aptitudes (there would be opportunities at a later stage for correcting faulty diagnosis). The sides would not necessarily be limited to the traditional three—Grammar, Technical, and Modern (though it is likely that these would absorb most of the children)—nor would they be kept rigidly distinct: many activities and subjects would be shared by all, and every effort would be made to preserve the unity of the school and not to allow the streams to become too independent.

The advantages claimed for such a school over any other type are important. Thus the present catastrophic test to which a child is subjected at the age of eleven, and on the results of which his future is determined, would be avoided. Social distinctions, which may be regarded as an uneducational element in the lives of many children, might be ironed out. To bring together under one roof, and to associate in a variety of activities, the academically more gifted and the academically less gifted, would act as a stimulus upon the latter, and would enable the former "destined by their ability to grapple with the nation's problems, to know the people of the nation, and to understand the thoughts, feelings, customs, habits, language—the whole way of life—of the common people on whose behalf they think and act. How can they come to such understanding except by living with them, by sharing common experiences? And what better time for laying the foundations of this understanding than during the formative and impressionable years of adolescence?"¹

Moreover, this association would do something to obliterate the unhappy dividing line between culture (in which the grammar schools sometimes claim a proprietary interest) and technique, between the liberal and the vocational, and would prepare the ground for a much-needed synthesis between the two, and for the working out of a new and more comprehensive conception of twentieth-century culture. Within such a school, as in no other school, there would be place for both special and general education, "for those subjects which divide man from man according to their particular function, and for those which unite man and man in their common humanity and citizenship".²

These are substantial claims, and it may well be that they would be justified in practice. But we haven't yet the necessary experience, and before we can express a reliable judgement we must experiment boldly with this type of school as well as with

¹ A leading article in the *Times Educational Supplement*, 1st February, 1947.

² The Harvard Report on General Education in a Free Society.

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other types: we must set the multiple store by the side of the small retail establishment with its special "line" of goods and its limited clientele.

Meanwhile, we must note the arguments of those who doubt the validity of the claims made for the Comprehensive School. It is pointed out by this school of thought that whatever other advantages a Comprehensive School may offer, its education will suffer: and as a school is primarily a place of education, and not a place of social reform, this consideration is of paramount importance. "The multilateralists themselves have tended to be egalitarians first, and educationists afterwards, so that it is not always clear which is the horse and which is the rider."¹ Educational standards are liable to fall whenever education becomes popularized, and this tendency will be accentuated when popularization takes the form of large-scale centralization.

The Comprehensive School will have to be large: this is commonly admitted by its defenders: in the interests of quality, there should be a vigorous sixth form, and a sixth form of 25 to 30 postulates a school of approximately 450 pupils: if that is the size of the academic stream, and if that stream is not likely to include more than one-fifth of the total, we must contemplate a school of anything between 2,000 and 2,250: it may well be larger.

The main objections to such a size are two. In the first place, the school will tend to be a machine rather than a living organism.² This is borne out by the experience of the United States of America, where the comprehensive high school has been common: fifty of the high schools there contain 5,000 or more pupils each (few fall below 2,000): they are comprehensive and largely vocational, and the atmosphere is one of regimentation and rigid discipline: there are not fewer than 40 pupils to a class, and these have to be marched in military order from lesson to lesson. The school premises are locked at fixed hours, and libraries and other equipment have to be kept under lock and key: the teachers are all specialists, and professional "counsellors" are appointed to give the individual attention which the teachers cannot give.³ In these circumstances education suffers because it becomes mechanical.

The second objection is that in so large a school the influence of the headmaster cannot be felt: he cannot possibly know all the boys or girls for whom he is responsible, and he is bound to be little more than an administrator rather than their guide, philosopher, and friend: but the function which he performs in the latter

¹ *Times Educational Supplement*, 4th January, 1947.

² For those who aim at mechanical efficiency in education, this is, of course, an advantage. *cf.* below, Ch. V.

³ The Harvard Report on General Education in a Free Society.

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capacity in a smaller school is one of the prime elements in a good education.

If educational standards fall in the Comprehensive School, it is the Grammar School "side" which will be the chief sufferer. The main task of any educational system is twofold—to nurture ability, while raising the level of the average. The Comprehensive School may help towards the achievement of this second task, but if so, it will be by neglecting the first—and quality in education may well be more important than quantity.

Already there are signs of an attack, open or veiled, upon the grammar schools, and in certain quarters the Act of 1944 is being interpreted in a sense which is hostile to their best interests. Thus there has developed an attack on the whole academic tradition for which the grammar schools have long been the trustees: "academic" has degenerated almost into a term of abuse, and "intellectual" and "bookish" are used in a disparaging sense.

The task of the grammar schools—to train the best academic brains in the country—is either disputed or belittled. "It is the function of the grammar schools to garner in the brains, the originality and the initiative of the nation and train these for the service of their country in science, industry, and administration, in education and in scholarship. This function is as unwelcome to a large section of the egalitarian trade unionists as it is to the public schools."¹

The egalitarian does not take kindly to the notion of training an aristocracy of talent, and supports any measures which will counteract a tendency in that direction: thus he will press for a reduction in standards of equipment, buildings, playing-fields, the provision of books and so on, to the level of the new secondary modern schools: he will be unwilling to countenance any more favourable staffing-ratio in the one school than in the other: he will pursue an administrative equality by grouping three or four secondary schools of varying types under one Governing Body: he will curtail the out-of-school activities and the longer school day of the grammar school to fit in with the more limited life of the modern school, and will hold it important, on social grounds as well as on grounds of economy and administrative convenience, that boys from both schools should travel home on the same buses. Such steps as these are already being taken.

The Times, in a leading article of 18th February, 1947, on *Education and Man Power*, wrote as follows: "The new Minister of Education should not overlook the claims of another type of secondary education, more strictly intellectual in character, provided within the public system mainly by the grammar schools,

¹ *Times Educational Supplement*, 4th January, 1947.

which is responsible for feeding the universities with students and industry and commerce with many of its higher administrators and technicians. If there were any lowering of standards here, or indeed anything but a substantial raising of standards in many schools, grave injury would be done to the national economy. Such lowering, as a result of the Education Act, 1944, is widely feared; and for this and other reasons an alarming proportion of the abler teachers in the grammar schools is leaving them for more attractive or more lucrative employment. This flight must be arrested. It would be wise for the Minister to give early proof to the grammar schools that he is intent upon maintaining at its highest level the quality of the education that they give and on strengthening their powers to attract the kind of teacher they need." (It may be noted in parenthesis that the most recent Burnham Report, published since this article was written, recommends certain steps to arrest the "flight".)

Meanwhile, and in the absence of such proof, the threat to the grammar schools is gathering force even under the present separatist system: but "if they do these things in a green tree, what shall be done in the dry?"—the threat is likely to become much more formidable when all types of school are concentrated in one mass under one roof.

But it is not only the grammar school stream which will suffer. Critics of the Comprehensive School hold that it is unreasonable and unduly optimistic to assume that the distribution of children among the three (or more) sides of the school will be any more successful than their distribution among separate schools, nor will the process of subsequent cross-transference necessarily be any easier. Rather, you will have in the Comprehensive School a modern stream which will be a convenient dump, ready to hand, for any children who are not wanted anywhere else: and the social and educational distinctions which you have been trying to obviate, will merely be transferred inside the school (where they will be much more noticeable), instead of remaining outside. Nor will the children on the modern side, whose school life will end at fifteen for some time to come, ever enjoy an equality of opportunity within the school with their more fortunate brothers and sisters on the technical and grammar sides, who will be staying on longer: the average age for leaving a grammar school is sixteen, and is likely to rise: many pupils stay till they are eighteen: in these circumstances it is reasonable to assume that all the positions of responsibility and leadership in the school, with their inestimable educational values, will fall to the boys and girls with the longer school life.

The only hope for the modern school is that it should preserve its own identity, in its own premises, under its own management,

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with its own teaching-staff, its own athletic teams, and its own prefects, and so be given a fair chance of working out its own salvation and achieving its proper status. (In the above paragraph the argument has been confined to the grammar school and modern school sides, but it would apply equally well, *mutatis mutandis*, to the technical school side or to any other which might evolve.)

It is along these lines that critics of the Comprehensive School develop their arguments: it will be noted that they question the efficacy of the school both as an educational and as an egalitarian instrument, and they suggest that the egalitarians who support this plan will in fact defeat their own ends. Their arguments are supported by evidence from the United States. A correspondent writes from Massachusetts in *The Times Educational Supplement* for 12th April, 1947, as follows:

"There seems to be an assumption in Britain that, if different classes and types of children are all put into one school, democracy will follow as a matter of course. In the United States it has been found that merely to educate children of different race, religion and income level in one institution does not magically induce co-operation. The opposite is sometimes true, for children are made aware of such differences before they are mature enough to understand them, and the gang spirit typical of their age finds dangerous food."

The writer goes on to point out that a "Common" school means a large school: "Do we in Britain know what size means? Last week I heard a student say she spent a year in a high school of 7,000 pupils, and during that year she was not known by name to a single one of the teachers. Impersonality in teacher-pupil relationships is hard to avoid in four-figure schools, or in the higher ranges of three figures. . . . The teacher becomes, not a guide, but a purveyor of marks. . . . I have been told, by students as well as teachers, of an unexpected result from teaching children of different intellectual calibre in the same school. To shine too brightly is to risk envy and therefore to be unpopular with one's fellows. In the adolescent this will often outweigh the approval of parent or teacher, and the satisfaction of achievement. The best, therefore, hide their lights, and levelling is certainly attained."

Constructively, the critics' views lead them in three different directions.

One section proposes a modification of the comprehensiveness of the school on its curricular side. The school will not attempt to teach everything, but will limit itself to a combination of perhaps two main lines of study: instead of being "multilateral" in the sense of "omnilateral", it will be "bilateral", and its "bilateralism" may take various forms: thus one school will be a combination of

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the grammar school with the technical school: another combination will be that of the technical school with the modern school: other combinations will doubtless be effected as new types of secondary school develop in the future. These "bilateral" schools would have the advantage over the Comprehensive School of being smaller in size, but they would, of course, be selective.

A second section would prefer a geographical grouping of separate schools. There would be a common site, a "School Base", on which would be grouped three or four schools of varying types—two modern schools, perhaps, a technical school, and a grammar school, or other variations on the same theme. These schools would each preserve its separate identity and independence, and would live its own life: but contiguity would ensure social contacts, and many facilities and experiences (playing-fields, swimming baths, a central hall, religious worship, school societies and hobbies) would be shared in common. Such a plan, it is claimed, would foster a true egalitarianism, while safeguarding educational standards.

The third section, pursuing the English tradition of limitation of field with intensity of cultivation, would preserve the *status quo*, but with a difference. Each school, in each type, would remain a wholly separate entity, but there would be wider opportunities of transference from school to school, and the differences between them would be ironed out *at the level of the best*: this would mean raising the conditions in the new modern and technical schools to those in the grammar schools: it would be particularly important to adopt the more favourable staffing-ratio in the grammar schools throughout the whole secondary system, and to establish as soon as may be the same "leaving age" for all types: the highest expenditure at present being made on premises and equipment, books, playing-fields, libraries, and other amenities, would be taken as the norm.

In this way parity of conditions in all types of secondary school would be ensured, and parity of status, the ideal of egalitarians and educationalists alike, would follow in due course as a natural growth. At the same time an intensive course in the education of public opinion would be necessary, so that all should know what these schools are, what each is trying to do, for what type of boy or girl each is best fitted, and under what conditions it is doing its work.

All these are proposals for a new organization of the educational system so as to provide greater equality both of opportunity and of treatment for all boys and girls. But this is the mere structure, and it has to be equally accessible in all its parts for those for whom it is designed. It may be a house of many mansions or a few mansions, it may even consist of a single mansion, but the doors

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must be kept open and there must be no obstacles to the ingress of the proper traffic.

We have sometimes concentrated so much attention on the construction of a system, that we have overlooked the necessity of seeing that it is available for those for whom it is intended. With the structure we must provide facilities for its proper use. This means that we must examine our programmes of preliminary training from the earliest years, to ensure that they form the best preparation for particular courses of study: we must consider the tests for admission to the various types of educational institution, or if all types are housed under one roof, to the various streams into which the life and studies of the school fall: we must ask ourselves what obstacles there are, if any, to entry to a particular school (apart from the legitimate fence which the admission tests provide), and how these can be removed: and we must provide for diagnostic periods in every child's career, so that we may be as sure as possible that the right child is going to the right school at the right age; this will involve keeping open the communications between schools, so that, if diagnosis shows the need, a child may be transferred from one school to another without difficulty.

Let us take the particular case of John Smith. He is the son of a technician, has grown up in a technician's environment, and whether for that reason or for reasons of heredity or for both, looks as if he should be given a technical education. Is the training he is getting at the village primary school the best preparation for this? If the school is a good one, the answer is probably Yes, for no one wishes to begin specialization at so early an age. But if it is a bad one, under-staffed, ill-equipped, and with few facilities and little encouragement for practical activities, for pulling things to bits and putting them together again, then the answer may be No, and he should go somewhere else.

At the age of eleven what kind of a test will he have to pass—for admission to a secondary school if a system of separate schools exists, or for admission to the appropriate "side" if he automatically finds his way into a comprehensive school? Clearly the old type of examination in the Three R's would be quite inadequate for the purpose. Should there be a preliminary test at that stage, and a further test after a diagnostic period a year or two later? and how should that period be used for purposes of diagnosis? what use should be made of the services of a trained psychologist for educational and vocational guidance? When he has gained his admission to the proper school, what are the obstacles to his entering? are there fees to pay which his parents cannot afford? is the school so distant from his home that the costs of travel become prohibitive? or will he have to live in a hostel away from

home, and what will be the cost of that? When his school days come to an end, and he is ready to go on to a technical college, similar questions of tests and costs will arise¹: or should he go to Cambridge? and if so, how is the money to be raised for that? and how is admission to be secured?

These are some of the questions which must be faced by those responsible for seeing that John Smith is educated according to his ability and aptitude. That they are being faced is shown by certain tendencies of the time. Thus the Act of 1944 pays unprecedented attention to the earliest stages in education—to the pre-primary stage, with the provision of more nursery schools, and to the primary stage, with a more comprehensive content and with measures to raise the efficiency of backward schools: this preliminary training will be more effective, and will look forward not to a dead end, but to a new beginning in a more advanced stage.

Those who are anxious to open the doors of the public schools more widely, are faced with the difficulty that the primary school does not provide the right kind of preparation, and the Fleming Committee included in its report a recommendation that the preparatory schools should be associated with the new scheme and facilities made available there for boys from State schools who would be going on to the public schools.²

That financial obstacles to the entry of boys and girls to secondary schools may be reduced, fees have been abolished in all County schools. Should this abolition be extended to the direct grant schools? There are many who contend that it should, and a majority of the Fleming Committee reported in this sense in a preliminary Report issued in 1943.³ Others hold that it is important to preserve somewhere in our educational system opportunities for parents to spend money on the education of their children (as well as on cinemas, tobacco, and cosmetics) and to buy for them the education which they desire, and that the independent schools do not provide adequate opportunities for this.⁴ Equality of opportunity in education must mean that those who wish to buy one type of education should have equal opportunities with those who wish to have another type free. Let us then retain fees for those who can

¹ One local education authority treats all education up to the age of 18 as secondary, and therefore as free (under the Act) in its maintained schools (of which the School of Technology is one). But for those whose course takes them beyond 18, fees suddenly become payable at that age.

² *The Public Schools and the General Educational System*. Board of Education, Sec. 181.

³ *Abolition of Tuition Fees in Grant-Aided Secondary Schools*, Board of Education.

⁴ The fees charged in many independent schools would be too high to meet the need.

pay them and give financial assistance on an income scale to those who are anxious to make some contribution but are unable to meet the full cost. This would be true egalitarianism over the whole field.

Tests for admission, as has already been indicated and as will be developed more fully in a later chapter,¹ are broadening out from tests of pure attainment in a limited field to tests of all-round fitness for certain types of education: a new technique of testing is being perfected, and new kinds of tests will doubtless be invented.

Much thought is being given to the matter of diagnosis, and to re-diagnosis after a testing period. Those who support the Comprehensive School propose that the first year should be an exploratory year, and that the distribution to streams should not take place till the end of that: and one of their chief claims for this type of school is that if mistakes are made in this distribution, they would be more easily rectified by transfer to another stream than by transfer to another school.

The Report of the Norwood Committee,² which favours the retention of three distinct types of secondary school, recommends that the curriculum in all these schools for the first two years should be basically the same, differing only in emphasis between school and school, so that transfer at the end of that time would not be difficult. The French in their *Sixièmes Nouvelles* are attacking the same problem of diagnosis in a more deliberate way, and we shall have much to learn from their experiment.

Mobility between schools still leaves much to be desired: but at least the urgency of the matter is increasingly recognized and it has become a major point of discussion in educational circles: we may anticipate that as conditions improve, for staff and pupils alike, in the schools which to-day are less well thought of, so these schools will improve in public esteem and some of the difficulties in the way of transfer will progressively disappear.

Finally, a more generous system of grants out of public funds for higher education will remove some of the financial obstacles at that stage. Thus, for boys and girls who win open scholarships at the universities, the Government have undertaken to make up the cost of their university course without further anxiety or scholarship-hunting on their part. By this measure the Local Education Authorities will be set free from the obligation to use their funds for supplementing such open scholarships, and will be able to spread them over a wider field and assist meritorious candidates who are not in the open scholarship class.

The number of State Scholarships, to be awarded on the results of the Higher Certificate Examination, was increased in 1947

¹ cf. Ch. VI.

² *Curriculum and Examinations in Secondary Schools*, Board of Education.

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from 360 to 750, and the selected scholars were distributed more widely among British universities: at the same time Technical State Scholarships to the number of not more than 100 were offered to students to enable them to pursue courses at universities, university colleges, and other institutions for higher education: and a beginning was made in the adult field by the offer of not more than 20 scholarships to students of experience and mature age who had shown their ability to follow a university course.

It is significant that the circular of the Ministry of Education in which these scholarships are announced ended with an adjuration to Local Education Authorities not to reduce the number of their major awards.¹ These are but samples of the more generous financial provision that is being made for higher education.

Reference has already been made to the establishment of equal salary scales and superannuation schemes for teachers in all types of schools, and to the acceptance by some universities of the responsibility for the training of all teachers in university Institutes of Education. These measures will result in a general equalization of conditions in all schools, in the promotion of a professional solidarity in the teaching world, in an increased mobility between school and school, and in setting up a system of secondary education which will be accorded equal respect in all its parts: they will receive the energetic support of the egalitarian. But there are other questions which he will ask about the universities. In particular he will want to know whether there are in fact enough places in the universities to accommodate all the boys and girls of the necessary academic standard and capable of profiting by a university course: if there are not, do not accidents of birth, breeding, and education still give an unfair advantage to certain candidates in the resulting competition for the limited number of vacancies? It is commonly agreed that the answer to the first of these questions is in the negative.

Comparison with conditions in other countries (and particularly in the United States) where the proportion of university students to the population is almost invariably higher than here, is not, of course, convincing evidence, and depends for its validity on academic standards: but it is at least suggestive, and it is borne out by the experience of schoolmasters and schoolmistresses who know how often a deserving candidate is unable to obtain a place. Opinions differ on the extent of the deficiency, and the argument is sometimes befogged by a confusion of issues: thus it is not always clear whether the controversialists have in mind the needs of the country

¹ A Working Party has recently recommended a very considerable increase in the awards to be made by local education authorities for higher education.

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for university-trained technicians (a point to which we will return in a later chapter) or the proved capacity and need of schoolboys and schoolgirls for a university education: it is the latter which should be the determining consideration. The Barlow Report puts the deficiency as high as 100 per cent, and recommends the doubling of the university population within ten years.

Whatever the exact figures may be, most universities have considerably expanded their accommodation since the war, and there are indications that this expansion will continue. Egalitarianism here strengthens a tendency which has other forces behind it. But assuming that the places are found, the egalitarian asks whether the student in a non-residential modern university with no tutorial system (a kind of glorified day school) will enjoy equal opportunities of a good education with a student in one of the ancient universities: and will his degree be of equal value to him in the search for employment?

It is recognized here that the best-laid schemes of man cannot provide a complete solution to the problem: there are human elements in the situation, and imponderables of tradition and public esteem which cannot be planned or controlled. But as in the secondary schools, so in the universities steps can be taken to equalize conditions: these will involve a great increase in residential accommodation in the modern universities, and more generous staffing to make the establishment of a tutorial system possible. The modern universities are turning in both these directions.

An attempt has been made in this chapter to state the egalitarian's case, and to indicate some of the educational trends and counter-trends to which it is leading. No attempt has been made to pass judgement on it, but it is important that the reader should do this for himself, and in particular that he should ask himself these questions. Is equality in education an attainable ideal? are the two terms compatible with one another, or do they belong to two different categories of thought? if we attain the one may we not lose the other? is it possible so to measure education that one can establish an equality which will mean anything? is not some measure of inequality an essential element in education, and does not all education inevitably issue in that? Do we not need more education in equality before we can profitably pursue equality in education?

V. MECHANIZATION

"The present age is the age of the engineer; a kind of universal sway has now become his, his methods extending themselves over all regions and even penetrating the secret chambers of human thought. Our habits of thought have followed the development of machinery by moulding themselves more and more on mechanical models."

WE live in an age of planning, and the need for planning is a symptom of anarchy. It is only when the common life of men is ungoverned by any principle and uncontrolled by any absolute sanctions, when there is no generally accepted philosophy of life to map out the way and save us from taking the wrong turnings, when action is largely opportunist and dictated rather by selfish expediency than by a consistent logic, it is only in these anarchical circumstances that planning becomes a necessity if society is to be saved from the dangers with which it is threatened. It is then that the planners come into their own and rapidly constitute a new vested interest in planning for planning's sake.

The creation of this vested interest is one of the chief dangers in a planned society. The plea is put forward that planning is the panacea for all our ills: it is, in fact, never a cure: it is no more than a palliative, albeit a necessary one. It is a piece of machinery which may help us to repair a breach in the defences of civilization (and nothing less than the collapse of those defences is threatened to-day), but it is no more: and it is fatal to treat such machinery as an end in itself, or to worship it as an omniscient power.

Matthew Arnold saw this clearly a hundred years ago, and in one of his greatest works¹ delivered a fierce attack on the overweening faith in mechanical nostrums which was characteristic of his time, and prescribed as the only cure for the evils which threatened society an increase in culture: culture consisted in an inward condition of the mind and spirit, not in the outward circumstances of a civilization which was largely mechanical: it meant the disinterested endeavour after man's perfection, and it aimed at rendering an intelligent being more intelligent and making reason and the will of God prevail. It thus comprehended within itself a design for living.

To-day it is a similar culture that we need, and this will be

¹ *Culture and Anarchy*.

superior as a remedy to any amount of planning inasmuch as a design is always superior to a plan: the first is artistic and creative, and leaves room for free individual activity—indeed, depends upon such for its success: the second is rigid and restrictive, and cuts the individual to the orthodox pattern.

Planning, however, is inevitable, if only as an interim measure: and one of the fundamental problems of our day is that of planning for a democratic society, of adjusting the claims of the planner on the one side and of the free man on the other, of reconciling in fact the plan with the design. This was a problem to which the late Professor Karl Mannheim addressed himself in several of his books,¹ and though he presented a brilliantly acute analysis of the problem, he did not profess to find the solution. The preparation of the design is the work of education: but education itself is to be planned, and it remains to be seen whether the products of a planned education will have the initiative and the enterprise to tear up the blue-prints and substitute the more generous design: it may be that we shall find ourselves in a vicious circle.

Meanwhile, the planning goes on, and its ostensible aim is the promotion of efficiency. It is necessary that this term should be analysed with some care, for there is in fact no such thing as absolute efficiency, any more than there is an absolute fitness: both terms imply an end to complete their meaning, and both are relative to that end.

Mr. Bernard Shaw writes that "there are only two qualities in the world, efficiency and inefficiency; and only two sorts of people, the efficient and the inefficient"²: but his qualities and his people are efficient or inefficient for some specific object. You can no more be efficient *in vacuo* than you can be good *in vacuo*: to be good means to be good *at* something, and to be efficient means to be efficient *for* something. This at once introduces an element of mechanization into the conception, and efficiency is always the efficiency of a machine, not necessarily constructed by an engineer, to produce a specified product.

This is the efficiency at which planning aims, and the machines are the industry, the economy, the commerce, the transport-system, the agriculture, and the other activities (including to-day the education) of the nation. Thus a planned industry aims at the efficient production of specified goods for export and home-consumption, a planned economy at the efficient allocation of those goods to each of the two and their efficient distribution among the consumers, a planned transport-system at the efficient carrying of goods and passengers, to their planned destinations, a planned

¹ cf., e.g. *Diagnosis of Our Time*.

² *Major Barbara*.

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agriculture at the efficient growing of the right crops on the right soil, and a planned education—at what? That is a much more difficult question to answer (if indeed there is an answer), and must be reserved for further consideration.

This is a machine-age in more senses than one; "Faith in machinery is our besetting danger; often in machinery most absurdly disproportioned to the end which this machinery, if it is to do any good at all, is to serve; but always in machinery, as if it had a value in and for itself. What is freedom but machinery? what is population but machinery? what is coal but machinery? what are railroads but machinery? what is wealth but machinery? what are even religious organizations but machinery?"¹ The words of Matthew Arnold are as true to-day as when he wrote them, and we may add, what is a planned system of education but machinery?

The efficiency, then, which we admire, and which our planners seek to promote, is primarily the efficiency of a machine, and we judge it, in the economic and social and industrial fields by the same tests that we would apply to a machine which turns out screws or buttons: does it deliver the goods? and does it do this as speedily and as economically as possible? We want results, and we want them quickly and cheaply.

"There can be no economy," said Disraeli, "where there is no efficiency": the reverse is equally true in popular estimation to-day: and one aspect of economy on which planning lays especial stress is the elimination of waste. But it is not only the *tests* of mechanical efficiency which are borrowed from the factory, it is also the *methods* by which that efficiency is to be promoted. A high degree of specialization, the concentration of industry in large units, centralized control, standardization and mass-production—all these lead to that supreme form of monopolistic control which we know as nationalization (it is perhaps an unimaginative *naïveté* which sees the cure for the evils of monopoly in the creation of larger monopolies).

Nationalization is the most comprehensive, as it is one of the most obvious forms of planning: the Bills which have been brought before Parliament for the nationalization of this, that, or the other industry have often been described as "national plans", and a world in which all the producers as well as all the means of production were nationalized would be the planner's paradise.

Education is not unaffected by the prevailing demand for planned and efficient machinery, and the general drift of the times is reflected in the educational mirror. There are very cogent reasons for this. In the first place, if industry is to be planned, education, which is increasingly recognized as the key-industry of our time, cannot

¹ *Culture and Anarchy*.

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be left unplanned, and its efficiency must be judged, as that of any other planned activity, by its results. But here we are met by the difficulty to which reference has already been made. What are the results which we may expect, and by which we may judge the efficiency of the educational machine? There has been a complete failure to reach agreement on this point, and the reason is not far to seek.

However we may attempt to define our measurable results, whether in terms of citizenship or an efficient labour-force or an intelligent electorate or competent leadership, we miss the central aim and purpose of education. That is always elusive, because it is always spiritual: it depends upon a spiritual philosophy of education, and that is no more the possession of those who plan education than of the rest of us: it cannot be judged in less than a lifetime, and it is more easily judged in the lifetime of a generation or in a period in man's history.

"Results", indeed, is a word which should have no place in the vocabulary of education. Those who look for them will get them—and poor and pitiable objects they will be: they will all be objects of secondary importance, and there is no refuge to be found by the educationalist in secondary objectives. The appreciation of this fact reveals at the outset a weakness in educational planning. There is no finished product to which we can point and say "That is what we plan to make": in the nature of the case, there can be no such product: and there is, therefore, no test of efficiency for education in purely mechanical terms. But educational planning is bound to assume such a product and to presuppose a certain standardization: the more that methods of mass-production can be applied to education, the more amenable it becomes to planning—but the farther it travels from true education. Planning is bound to result in mechanization—and it is that mechanization which we are to study in this chapter.

A second reason for the planning of education is to be found in the failures of planning in other fields. When these failures occur, and lead to such a crisis as the economic crisis of August, 1947, the facile assumption is made that they are evidence of a faulty, because an unplanned education. If we had taken education seriously, the argument runs, and if we had planned it properly, we should not now be saddled with such inept and incompetent leaders, so bankrupt of planning ability that they can organize neither their own lives nor the affairs of the country which they are supposed to govern: the only result of their so-called planning is chaos thrice confounded, and an anarchy more anarchical than that which their plan set out to cure. *Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?* The planners must themselves be planned, and where is this to be done but in

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the schools of the country? But this will never come about by a happy accident—the experience of the unplanned past disproves any such expectation. It will only come about if the work of education is so planned as to make the planning of the planner a central part of its objective.

This means schools for leadership, but leadership is not enough: we also need those who will accept the plan and carry it out loyally and conscientiously, and the rank and file of the population must be conditioned to this end in the schools. This brings us perilously near the theory and practice of National Socialism, and it may be that a planned education can have no other end than that pernicious state of affairs: certainly Hitler has shown this generation quite clearly how tremendous is the power and how disastrous may be the outcome of planning an education. Clearly there are dangers inherent in this situation, and we shall examine to what extent these threaten us and to what extent we have endeavoured to avoid them in our own search after educational efficiency.

Possibly the greatest danger of all may be the educational plan which the planned planners may impose upon the next generation: there is no guarantee that an education conceived and enforced even by an educated educator will be successful—there is indeed no guarantee that it will be education at all.

There is a third reason for attempting to plan education to-day in mechanical terms, and it lies in the fact that there has been no such planning in the past: our educational set-up, bearing no resemblance to a machine, is an anachronism in a mechanical age, and to the superficial observer there is nothing that stands in greater need of tidying up. Such planning as there has been, has been the planning of bits and pieces, generally without any reference to a whole: it is as though the petrol tank and the carburettor were to be planned in isolation from each other, and no attention were to be given to the supply of spirit from one to the other and no attempt made to visualize the whole machine working.

Thus we have planned Elementary Education with tolerable efficiency: so long as we were clear as to the finished product, a child who could read, write, and count, it was not difficult to build a machine which could turn this out (though it is a significant commentary on the difficulty of judging education by results, that the system of "payment by results" so far from improving the efficiency of the machine, had rather the reverse effect): we have planned Secondary Education, on a much more limited scale and, owing to our uncertainty of what we had in view, with far less success: we have planned Technical and Adult Education, on a still more limited scale: we have planned curricula and time-tables and a tolerably successful technique for the education of the mind, but

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this has been vitiated by its complete disregard of the body and its all-but complete disregard of the character: we have planned games and physical exercises, we have produced athletes and won matches, but we have paid no attention to the effect these have on the mind or on the contribution which the mind has to make to their successful execution: in another autonomous department we have planned an admirable Schools Medical Service.

The list of sectional plannings might be continued, but we have never planned the thing as a whole. Education has developed not as a planned whole, but as a succession of *ad hoc* improvisations, each hastily constructed to meet a pressing need as it has arisen, or as the result of the inspired efforts of individuals which have later been incorporated into national practice. The work of Margaret McMillan is a striking example of this: from her earliest days she devoted attention to the child's body, and gave an initial impetus to the movement which culminated in the establishment of the Schools Medical Service: the issue of that same movement was, in course of time, the service of milk and meals: she it was who persuaded the Bradford School Board to introduce speech-training as part of the instruction of teachers, and this in time led to the inclusion of voice-production in the curriculum of training-colleges: and the open-air school in all its forms, and the Nursery School for which local education authorities must now make statutory provision, are among the other results of her work.

So it is that by improvisations and by inspired accretions our education has just "grewed". The system is based neither on psychology nor on logic, both of which are traditionally suspect among us, but has grown out of practical necessities. With this we may contrast any blue-print for education, such as we find for example in the *Republic* of Plato.

It is to be noted that action has never been taken on such blue-prints, and they have never been translated into a working system: but we may safely say that if they had been, they would have been far more efficient as pieces of machinery than anything we have known. Plato's scheme was coherent and consistent. It expressed a philosophy of education which was based on a philosophy of life. Its aim was clearly conceived, and the machinery was skilfully constructed for its attainment. But this has never been the British way, and it is possible for the critic of the British way to point to many signs of its inefficiency. Topsy, who just "grewed", was not a very efficient person ("I's wicked—I is: I's mighty wicked, anyhow: I can't help it"), and our educational system, which has done the same, may well be considered inefficient by mechanical standards: it may be cheap (before 1944 it cost no more than a hundred million pounds *per annum*, and when the Butler Act is in

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full operation that sum will be no more than doubled), but it is not economical: there is a good deal of waste, and much promising material is never exploited: there are too many potentially good ploughmen who are proud to become bad clerks: there are too many square pegs in round holes: experience with the Forces showed an alarming degree of illiteracy after seventy years of compulsory education in the three R's (so that even there the machine does not seem to have been working particularly well): the product must often be condemned as damaged goods: the machinery creaks and groans in its joints, when local education authorities have neither the resources nor the quality of man-power to enable them to perform their tasks.

It would be easy to prolong the list, but it does not follow that the British way is necessarily the worse way: efficiency may be bought at too high a price. Such inefficiency, however, which is inevitable in the absence of national educational factories equipped with approved machinery, would be tolerated by none of the educational planners, from Plato onwards, and is condemned by an industrial and technological age, especially when the national purse is low, the demand for expenditure on education is increasing, and we must have value for money.

It is for these reasons that one of the major trends to-day is towards an education planned on a national scale. The nationalization of education has not figured yet in the electoral programme of any political party, but it wins considerable support as a cure for inefficiency: and mechanical efficiency in education is the battle-cry of many beyond the limited number of "nationalizers". What are the signs of this trend?

The first signs are to be found in the provisions of the Education Act of 1944. It is clear that one of the principal objectives of that Act is the removal of obstacles to efficiency. At the outset, the establishment of a Ministry of Education and the conferment upon the Minister of powers of direction and control, in place of the benevolent supervision with which the President of the Board of Education has hitherto been charged, puts the whole matter on a business-like footing. The engineer is put in control and given the necessary executive power, and his Advisory Board is set up in the two Advisory Councils, one for England and one for Wales, which are to be in permanent session and to offer him expert opinions on any matters which he or they think fit. The machinery which he is to control is then set up: to that we will turn in a moment.

There is little doubt that centralized control will mean greater mechanical efficiency, less wastage and overlapping, and probably a more economical use of the available resources: this is the common experience of the business-world.

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Against these gains, however, must be set certain losses. It is possible that the efficiency will operate only in a limited field and will be the efficiency of uniformity, and uniformity and education are uneasy bed-fellows: efficiency may be purchased at the price of quality.

Moreover, there are serious dangers in a situation where so much is left to be determined by the Minister under Regulations which do not require the sanction of Parliament: there are said to be in the Act some 150 contexts in which the Minister has to exercise such powers: the danger of the intervention here of influences which are social or political rather than educational is obvious.

Many of these Regulations have already (July, 1947) been issued and have given rise to considerable controversy: an example may be found in Circular 136, which refuses to graduate students in University Training Departments, who fail satisfactorily to complete their training course, that recognition as Qualified Teachers which is accorded to other students in virtue of their graduation who never enter on a training-course at all.¹

Further, increased authority at the centre is always likely to lead to a loss of interest on the circumference, where the work should really be done: with the growing powers of Whitehall there are abundant signs of this diminishing interest on municipal bodies, and local education authorities are among the bodies most affected: local interest has been a powerful influence for good in our educational history, and there are signs of its weakening: and with the weakening of interest there goes the loss of that vitality and enterprise which are elements in another kind of efficiency not so easily measurable as the efficiency of mechanism.

A reduction in the number of local education authorities accompanies this centralization of power, and with the reduction in number goes an increase in the size of those which remain. This represents the local aspect of the centralizing process, the concentration of power not in Whitehall but at regional headquarters.

All the new local education authorities are given control over the whole field of education, and are to be provided with financial resources adequate for the carrying out of their stupendous tasks. If the right men and women can be attracted to serve on these

¹ "In paragraph 10 of Circular 30 it was intimated that teachers who are graduates . . . would be recognized by the Minister as qualified teachers. . . . It has been decided that this paragraph should be read as excluding those graduates who have taken an approved course of professional training either immediately after graduation or after an interval and did not satisfactorily complete the course of training. Such teachers cannot now be regarded as entitled to the status of Qualified Teacher unless and until they retrieve their failure". (Circular 136.)

authorities (and if organized industry will co-operate by giving its employees time and opportunity for such service), they will be more efficient than many of the Authorities in the past: the Part III Authorities, with the paralysing restriction of their powers to only one stage in the educational process, and their consequent lack of vision and lack of perspective disappear, but with the removal of the Authority to a greater distance from the school, the relations between the two will tend to be mechanical rather than personal: and though mechanism may spell efficiency, there will be loss here as well as gain.

If the sole object were to provide an efficient social service, probably the right course would be to abolish all local education authorities and concentrate the whole thing on the central Government. This, however, would be fatal to education. It would remove an essential buffer between the Government and the schools, and it would deprive the parent, the school, and the teacher alike of their essential liberties: if these liberties are to be safeguarded, the school must be a free spiritual community, and the preservation of this character depends largely on personal relationships with an interested Authority.

There may be a loss, too, in local interest: as the interest of the Authority may dwindle with the loss of certain of its powers to Whitehall, so the interest of the individual may dwindle with the surrender of responsibility to a remote and largely non-local body.

These dangers are recognized by the framers of the Act, and certain safeguards against them have been included in it. The chief of these are the device of Divisional Executives and the setting-up for all schools of Governing Bodies (to be called, with no apparent good reason for the distinction, "Boards of Governors" for Secondary Schools, and "Boards of Managers" for Primary Schools).

A Divisional Executive is a local body specially set up to manage education on behalf of the Local Education Authority in a certain geographical section of a large area, and its powers are delegated to it by the Authority: the system is now in the stage of trial, and experience gives rise to divided opinions as to its effectiveness: a good deal depends on the attitude and goodwill of the Authority: at its best the system increases the efficiency of the Authority, links it with its schools, and gives the private citizen the feeling that he has a stake in the education of his locality, and at its worst it merely leads to divided counsels and a general feeling of exasperation at the intervention of yet another Committee between need and executive action.

Governing Bodies make for diversity and local patriotism, but even here the dead hand of centralization is felt, and where it is

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felt the diversity turns to uniformity and the patriotism evaporates: the practice is not uncommon of grouping a number of schools under one Governing Body (whereas in the old days, every Secondary Grammar School had its own Governing Body, it may now share this with three or four other schools of varying types). This is done in the interests of economy in man-power, administrative convenience, and mechanical efficiency (it may be noted that none of these is primarily educational in intention). The first is the most compelling motive, and until there are enough men and women available to provide an effective Governing Body for every school, some such scheme as this may be inevitable: but it should be accompanied by the setting-up of special Committees of the Governing Body, with limited powers of co-optation, for each of the schools in the group.

Mention may be made of two other obstacles to efficiency which the Act seeks to remove, or at least to render less formidable. The first is the Dual System, the system whereby elementary schools have been provided on the one hand by voluntary organizations such as the churches, and on the other hand by the State working through local authorities: the first (known until the passing of the 1944 Act as the non-provided schools, and now known as voluntary schools) have been progressively maintained by the authorities, and with the maintenance has gone an increasing degree of control. But the control has never been complete or wholly effective, and the result has been that in the non-provided schools there have been buildings, equipment, playground accommodation, and other educational facilities far below the standard laid down by the central authority: the providing body has not had the financial resources necessary for bringing these up to standard, and the State has not had the power. There has been much creaking of antiquated and out-of-date machinery, and considerable inefficiency on the purely material plane.

The easy solution to the problem, and the only way of guaranteeing a uniform efficiency on that plane, would have been for the State to take over all the non-provided schools, buying out the owners of the property, and there were many and powerful voices which urged this drastic step. Other counsels, however, prevailed, and a compromise was reached under which the voluntary schools were assured financial resources more adequate to their task, and the control of the State was strengthened while essential religious liberties were preserved.

This compromise, which may be regarded as a compromise between two types of efficiency, the material and the spiritual, has the weakness of all compromises, and the weakness may be more widely felt in that the statutory enactments in this matter

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for the first time apply to secondary as well as to primary schools: but the new system should at all events be a more efficient system than the old. The other obstacles which the Act seeks to remove is that caused by the existence of private schools altogether independent of the State system. Many of these have been good schools—it would be difficult to make out a case of inefficiency *as places of education* against the public schools: but many have been bad, particularly the mushroom-growth of schools which has sprung up in the suburbs of large cities. The State has had no power to interfere with these, and there has been nothing to prevent the quack and the charlatan operating in the educational field, who would have been promptly and properly gaoled if he had attempted to practise in the medical field.

There is no doubt that many private schools have been grossly inefficient, and inspection, which is as far as the authorities have gone and which, though voluntary, has become increasingly common, has been quite ineffective: for there has been no action to follow inevitably on a bad report from the inspectors, and the school has not been closed down. The Act requires not only compulsory inspection, but also compulsory registration: and no school which fails to gain admission to the register to be kept by the Minister of Education can continue to operate. When this part of the Act comes into operation some machines of very questionable efficiency will be scrapped.

All these measures are part and parcel of the Government's plan to nationalize education in the interests of efficiency. For the first time in our history we have a national policy embodied in a national scheme and worked out on a national basis. The old partnership between Local Education Authority and Board of Education, under which the former *could* act without the approval of the latter (though necessarily without financial aid), is replaced by a directorship, under which everything must be sent to the Minister for approval; and compulsion can now be brought to bear on a Local Authority which has hitherto been impossible. There may be an actual inhibition of initiative here. The constitution of these Authorities, moreover, requires the approval of the Minister, and though the latter insists on a co-opted membership to guarantee the proper representation of the churches, industry, and other interested bodies, the ultimate power still lies in the hands of the elected members, who are in a majority but are not necessarily expert in education.

The attempt to preserve local interest by the institution both of Divisional Executives and of Governing Bodies suggests a certain overlapping of function and waste in man-power: could not the Governing Bodies have done everything necessary, and one inter-

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mediate body have been dispensed with? the string which leads from the Head of the school, through his Governing Body to his Divisional Executive, and from there to the appropriate Sub-Committee of the Education Committee, then to the Education Committee itself, and so on to the County Council, until it ends in the hands of the Minister, is a long one, and action may in the end be safe but is likely to be long-delayed.

Will the net result of these measures be an increase in efficiency or not? Is it possible that the mechanical structure may be too perfect, and the interest of the engineers too much occupied in merely keeping the machines running, and too little in the quality of the output? or are we likely to get an all-round increase in efficiency, with less wastage and more economy, but efficiency on a dull level of uniformity and a low level of quality? Time will show, but on the whole the last seems the most likely.

When we turn from the provisions of the Act to consider the development plans of the Local Authorities, we find the same ideal of efficient machinery dominating the scene. This ideal is expressed in two main directions: one is that of the centralization of schools, and the concentration of the child population in groups large enough to be efficient: and the other is that of a homogeneity of groups sufficient to allow of intensive and specialized treatment. These two directions are often opposed to one another: the first is taken by those who are primarily concerned with administrative efficiency, and the second by those who are primarily concerned with teaching efficiency, and it is indeed instructive to observe to what different ends these two ideals of efficiency may lead.

If we start at the bottom of the scale, we are met at the outset by the problem of the small rural school. These schools, very often provided by religious societies or by local landowners interested in education, are generally housed in inadequate buildings surviving from the Victorian age. The only merit of the accommodation is that it is not commonly overcrowded, but in other respects it is out-of-date, insanitary, and deficient: funds have been inadequate for the necessary structural alterations.

Moreover, where the scheme of reorganization recommended by the Hadow Report of 1926 has made any progress, large numbers of the children over eleven years of age have been collected from the villages and sent to a rural "Central School", and those left behind have not been numerous enough to form an efficient teaching-unit. It has become progressively difficult to obtain teachers for these groups, and the demands upon those who have been responsible for a one-teacher or even a two-teacher school have been heavy and deterrent. More and more these teachers have tended

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to live in the neighbouring towns, where there is a more satisfying social life, and to go out to their work in the village every day: this has had a disintegrating effect on the social life of villages.

School managers have often been uninterested in education, and the spiritual and intellectual isolation of the teacher has been almost complete. Nor has it been easy to supply these schools with the statutory medical and dental services, or to make available to them the cultural amenities which are playing an increasingly important part in the education of other children. This gives on paper a picture of drabness and inefficiency, and it is to combat that potential or actual inefficiency that so many Authorities are making provision in their development plans for the closure of these small village schools and for collecting all the children from a group of surrounding villages in one Central School, where the numbers will be adequate, the buildings and equipment up to date, the essential services readily available, the staff large enough to form a contented team, the teaching efficient, and the life varied and stimulating.

These are substantial gains, but they are offset by certain losses. The influence of the village schoolmaster at its best has been a most powerful educative force in the lives of hundreds of children, more educative than that of the most lavishly equipped modern school, and the village schoolmaster of the old type, though a disappearing figure, is still to be found in many places: the school itself has often been, and still is, a cohesive and cultural force in the life of the whole village, and with its closure and the draining off from the village of all its young life, the village loses self-respect and the claim it used to possess to be a self-educating community: there was possible there, moreover, an intimate knowledge of the children and their homes, and an educational use of the environment, which cannot be found in the larger and more impersonal schools at the centre: and the difficulties of getting to those schools in wet weather, walking to and from a bus-stop or bicycling all the way, are bad for children and cause their mothers to keep them at home: finally, there is abundant evidence of the excellent results which have been obtained in one-teacher schools, despite the wide age-range and the dislocation which may arise from time to time through the teacher's absence.

In these circumstances it is not surprising that development plans vary considerably: but while there are instances where County authorities are proposing to keep open all their schools which have 15 or 20 pupils, the general trend is towards centralization, the large school, and the more obviously efficient piece of educational machinery. Just as the hand-made product of the old village industry has given place to the machine-made product of

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the modern factory, so the hand-raised product of the village school gives way to the product of the modern educational workshop. If ever industry were to return to the countryside and the villages were to be repopulated, this trend might be reversed: but meanwhile it is a trend of the times.

One argument in favour of this centralization is its economy and its administrative convenience, and in so far as these are elements in efficiency they are relevant to the argument of this chapter. But they operate perhaps more powerfully in the next stage of the educational process. Development plans for secondary education show a most encouraging diversity of provision. There are few Authorities (the London County Council is one of the few) which have made a clear choice between the alternatives open to them and nailed their colours to a single mast. Most have decided on experimentation with comprehensive or multilateral schools on the one hand, and schools with a limited scope and a limited clientele on the other—the three acknowledged types of secondary school as separate entities, or some form of bilateralism. But on the whole the tendency is towards centralization, and the supersession of the small school by the large school.

The London County Council contemplates some 90 comprehensive secondary schools, each to accommodate approximately 2,000 pupils. The arguments for this development are social rather than strictly educational, and indeed only become educational if we think in terms of "social education" (as we are quite justified in doing), and believe that a large school of the type envisaged gives a better social education than a smaller, more selective, and more specialized one: on the whole the evidence of experience tells against this belief, but it is still an open question. It is difficult to find any *educational* argument except this for the large comprehensive school.

But there is a strong argument for this type of school, though it is not commonly used: the case would indeed be put more honestly and more effectively if it were used more frequently. This is the argument based on economy and mechanical efficiency. It is undoubtedly cheaper to educate two thousand boys in one school than two hundred in each of ten separate schools: and once the standardized product is admitted, mass-production in the large factory of manhood is far more efficient than dispersed production in a number of small factories.

Moreover, the problems of administration and control are immensely simplified: it is significant that in the large comprehensive schools of the United States of America, the teaching material is planned by the State authorities—a degree of control which would be difficult, if not impossible under a system of dis-

persal. It is easier for Education Officers to deal with ten Heads of schools than with a hundred, and supplies on a large scale are both more economical and more reliable than on a small. There is a saving of man-power in running the administrative machine.

If we bear in mind the immense additional burden that the 1944 Act has placed upon Education Offices which were already understaffed, it is not surprising that many local Education Officers support multilateralism.

These are perfectly sound arguments, and must not be lightly dismissed. If our problem is, with limited resources, to see that as many children as possible enjoy the same kind of education up to the same point (even though the point may fall far short of the ideal), and if that is what we mean "by equality of opportunity" in education: if, moreover, we share the mechanistic view of educational experience which is based on certain physical and physiological theories and which is held strongly by the Russians, and believe that environment is all-important and the workings of the individual mind of little or no importance—then there is much to be said for the multilateral system.

It is only if we reject these views, that we look for something different. The essential difference lies in a greater respect for the individual, a higher value placed on the contribution which he is to make to his own education, and consequently a more varied provision to meet individual aptitudes, abilities, and needs. These differences inevitably find expression in smaller and more homogeneous schools, in the greater importance attached to the teacher's task, and in an emphasis on efficiency in teaching rather than on efficiency in control, administration, and output.

Those who hold such views will demand smaller schools and will attempt to assemble in each school a more or less homogeneous group of children—those with academic aptitudes, for example, or those with technical leanings, or those whose instinctive response is to persons rather than to books or to machines. Such schools may either be geographically distinct entities, or separate schools but based on a common campus, where many facilities may be shared: or schools may be grouped on a neighbourhood basis.

It is claimed for these last two alternatives that they combine the social advantages of the multilateral system with the educational advantages of the tripartite system. There are numerous variations on this theme. As an example we may take the scheme of one County Authority for "Area Colleges": such a college in the countryside "would in effect be a community centre containing a secondary modern school, a county college, facilities for adult education, and provision for technical education, for

agriculture and other rural industries, for older students in the evening".¹

But whatever the variation, the essential feature would be that each school should preserve its identity and special character. It is claimed that the homogeneity of ability, aptitude, attainment, interest, and vocation thus assured will make teaching easier and probably more efficient, and will certainly facilitate learning, and that the same results would not be attained by a division into streams or groups in an omnibus school. Thus the pursuit of efficiency leads into two diametrically opposite directions, and we see two contradictory trends in operation. If we are wise, we shall not attempt to prejudice the question, but encourage experiment over as wide a field as possible.

The same tendency towards homogeneous grouping is seen within the school itself, and is indeed the source of all plans for specialization. The desire here, as in the wider sphere of organization, is for results, for quick returns: and if the efficiency of the process is to be ensured, it is preferable that the results should be measurable. This puts a premium on the teaching of certain subjects. It is, for example, easier to measure results in mathematics than in æsthetic appreciation: the yard-stick of market value is more easily applicable to the one than to the other. This disposition to teach only what can be measured is much more marked in America than here, but here, too, the tendency is showing itself. Further, it is easier to measure the results and assess the market-value of a highly specialized education than of a more general education, and the narrower the field the more reliable is the measurement.

A safer estimate may be made of the efficacy of vocational instruction than of liberal education, and what is utilizable submits itself more readily to assessment than what is useful. The extent of a child's knowledge, or his mastery of an essential skill may be gauged with some nicety, but the balance of his emotions, his adjustment or his maladjustment to his surroundings are elusive mysteries. Technique is far more measurable than culture.

Hence it comes about, under the influence of the mechanical view of life, that the sphere of education is progressively narrowed, and that a premium is placed upon intellectual content in a limited field.

Specialization becomes a dominating tendency. Men and women are appointed to teaching-posts who are specialists in their subject and know all that there is to be known about that, but who are mere amateur dabblers in the science of childhood or any other science known to man, and these teachers are shut up in the forcing-houses of their mathematical or scientific worlds, and are never seen in the open air.

¹ *Times Educational Supplement*, 5th April, 1947.

They are highly efficient; and in order that the process of learning may be equally efficient, the children are taken out of their usual class-organization and redistributed in sets for the study of certain subjects: of these, mathematics is the most common, and this regrading has promoted the efficient learning and teaching of that subject: more credits in the School Certificate are gained, and these can be added up and presented in a measurable form. A narrow departmental view of knowledge is engendered: the historian grows up with no interest in literature, the scientist with a contempt for the humanities, the student of classics wholly ignorant of science, and the materialist denying all spiritual values: but each one is highly efficient in his own field: each one has been taught to know, rather than to think or to feel or to be, and it is by his knowledge that his efficiency is tested.

It may be doubted whether this is good education, but it is characteristic of the time. It may be contrasted with the Greek view of life. "You do not look upon a man", wrote John Stuart Mill in 1833, "as having attained the perfection of his nature, when he attains the perfection of a wheel's or a pulley's nature to go well as part of some vast mechanism. The life of a Greek was a perpetual conflict of adverse intellects, struggling with each other, or struggling with difficulty and necessity. Every man had his part to play on a stage where *cram* was of no use. . . . But modern education is all *cram* . . . any purpose, any idea of training the mind itself has gone out of the world."

It is to be feared that Mill would have found far more wheels and pulleys being turned out of our schools in 1947 than he saw in 1833, for the machinery of education has been greatly improved, and what a writer in the *Journal of Education* calls "the dangerous specialism which achieves its speciality by attempting to abstract from human achievement everything that is human" has cast its dark shadow over wide tracts of school study.

The abstraction from human achievement of everything that is human—may not this be the result of these mechanical tendencies? There are disturbing signs on all sides of the abstraction from children of everything that is childlike. Critics of Thomas Arnold hold him guilty of this robbers' crime, and in so far as the charge is true, the explanation is provided by himself: "I like school life better and better," he said; "it has all the interest of a great game of chess, with living creatures for *pawns and pieces*, and your adversary, in plain English, the devil!" Pawns and pieces, to be moved about on the chess-board of life, at Rugby: potential administrative personnel in the grammar schools of the time, factory-fodder and units of child labour in the national schools: and to-day, constituents of an "age-group" or a "B stream", graded and classified

and docketed, "industrial personnel", "economic units", "wage-earners", "units in a catchment area", items in a child population estimated in percentages.

The process of depersonalization could hardly go further than this, and the motive for it once again is mechanical efficiency: "the argument runs thus—employ every method of scientific classification to get as uniform a group as possible, and then apply a uniform method of 'production' reducing to a minimum the wastage of effort caused by dealing with individual differences: determine the size of classes by the maximum number of finished products which can be efficiently turned out with the given equipment and teacher-labour".¹ It is, of course, the individual differences which make persons, but with these the machine can have no concern.

It is only with unindividualized childhood that the machine can deal, and this it turns into a standardized manhood. In the process children have to be sorted out and allocated to this or to that factory: who is to undertake this task? The right people to do it are the child's parents, and in the inefficient past they have often co-operated with the schools in determining their offspring's destiny.

But to-day, despite the lip-service of the Act to the ideal of parental freedom and parental responsibility, they have in fact little voice in the matter. Allocation becomes the prerogative of the educational authority, and it is difficult to see how efficiency can be otherwise served: the Headmaster of Leeds Grammar School puts the matter succinctly: "In areas where administrative efficiency has reached its highest pitch, the schools, receive little drafts of G.I.s each September. All the anxiety and responsibility of selection are taken from the shoulders of the school, and the system has now all the impersonal detachment of a conscript service. Despite what the Act says, parents in effect have little choice. The last word remains with the L.E.A. Formerly many parents could exercise a choice. If more parents opt for a grammar school education than the available places, then many are going to be forced to accept the modern school or to contract out of the State system."²

We know to our cost how disastrous are the effects on industry when the supplies of raw material fail or if its quality falls short of what is desired: the educational machine can be kept going and can be shown to be efficient only if the supplies of raw material for its various parts can be guaranteed, and these can be guaranteed only by some degree of authoritative direction of the nation's children:

¹ *Growing-up in Modern Society*, Marjorie Reeves.

² An article in the *Spectator*, 11th April, 1947.

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this comes perilously near the public ownership and the nationalization of human material, and the private owners, the fathers and mothers in their homes, may find themselves but little regarded. In the circumstances they tend to abdicate, and their abdication is very readily accepted.

There are one or two other straws in the trade-winds of efficiency which may be noted. Under Section 10 of the Education Act the Minister was empowered to "make regulations prescribing the standards to which the premises of schools maintained by local education authorities are to conform", and the duty was laid upon such authorities to "secure that the premises of every school maintained by them conform to the standards" so prescribed.

This section occurred in Part II of the Act, which came into operation on 1st April, 1945, and the Minister accordingly issued the regulations: in no instance have the local authorities been able to conform to them.

They are detailed and drawn on a generous scale: they cover in great detail sites, playgrounds and playing-fields, class-rooms, cloak-rooms and lavatories, staff rooms, kitchens, dormitories and cubicles, sick-rooms, domestic staff accommodation, staircases and corridors, assembly halls, dining-rooms, gymnasia: they specify methods of construction, and lay down requirements for the daylight factor in lighting (not less than 2 per cent at each desk in a teaching room, and a lower percentage elsewhere), for the lowest intensity of artificial illumination (ten foot candles at working level in teaching rooms), for the air temperature in different types of room (varying with variations in the Fahrenheit temperature outside), for the rates of air change (six air changes per hour in a teaching room), for water-supply, drainage, and sewage disposal.

Certain general standards are laid down common to all schools, and special standards are prescribed appropriate to county and voluntary schools, nursery schools and classes, special schools, and boarding schools. There is nothing that has been forgotten in these regulations—from the "mixing valves" with which "all showers should be fitted" through the provision of not less than thirty square feet to each prefect in a prefects' common room, to the avoidance of overhead electric cables which might be dangerous on a school site.

The machinery is complete in all its parts, and when the shortage of labour and of building material relaxes so as to make its construction possible, it will be a "miracle of rare device". There will be a certain sameness about the schools which form its component parts, but this will be the sameness of a high efficiency.

In the meantime it is realized that if any schools are to be

built in prevailing economic conditions, there must be some relaxation of the regulations, and fortunately there is a loop-hole in the Act which makes this possible: "Provided that if the Minister is satisfied with respect to any school that having regard to the nature of the site or to any existing buildings thereon or to other special circumstances affecting the school premises it would be unreasonable in that case to require conformity with the requirements of the regulations in any particular respect, he may direct that the school premises shall be deemed to conform to the prescribed standards if in lieu of conforming to the requirements of the regulations in that respect they conform to such other requirements as may be specified in the direction."

This piece of verbiage means that the regulations need not be observed. They do, however, set an admirable standard, and it is to be hoped that this standard will be maintained, even though for the time being it cannot be attained. The walls of the city will be well and truly built; and though it is men and not walls that make a city, the walls are not unimportant.

Some of the older public schools will make a very poor showing by the side of these up-to-date educational spas. The efficiency of the instruction to be given in them is to be fostered by the provision of the latest technological devices—episcopes, epidiascopes, cinema-projectors, gramophones, film strips, receiving sets, radiograms, and the like.

In order to ensure that the children are able to reach them, "A local education authority shall make such arrangements for the provision of transport and otherwise as they consider necessary or as the Minister may direct; such transport shall be provided free of charge, and where such arrangements are not made the authority may pay the reasonable travelling expenses of any pupil".

Finally, all pupils will travel or be transported to and fro between school and home, whatever the type of school or the stage of their education, at the same time and for the same number of weeks in the year, for school holidays are to be equalized and synchronized: this regulation is likely to be popular or unpopular with parents and pupils respectively in inverse ratio to the length of the holidays so standardized, but will undoubtedly make for administrative convenience and efficiency.

"A visitor to a recently constructed school remarked, after being shown round: 'What a pity it is that the Ministry of Education did not think to issue training standards for teachers at the same time as the building regulations.' His comment was not intended as a criticism of teachers or of training colleges—he thought the country better served in these respects than it deserved—but it expressed his conviction that too much attention was

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being paid to sites and buildings, and too little to the needs of those who taught. There are many who share this view."¹

The visitor's remark may be interpreted as voicing, in a small matter, a general uneasiness which many feel lest in the anxiety to make efficient mechanical provision for education, real human needs, whether of teacher or taught, should be lost sight of.

What are likely to be the products of the elaborate mechanical apparatus which has been described in this chapter? persons or things? fallible human beings, whose very freedom to be fallible is a passport to democratic citizenship, or efficient robots? Efficient education is not necessarily good education—indeed there are those who would claim that the very term "efficient education" embodies a contradiction in terms.

The systematization of education is always a dangerous process, to be compared with the institutionalization of religion. Both religion and education are spiritual processes; experience has shown that to confine the one within the institutional forms of a Church has often meant to take the soul out of it: to confine the other within the rigid framework of an educational system, however efficient that system may be, may have a similar despiritualizing effect and lead to the loss of true educational values.

The very efficiency of a carefully planned education may deprive the teacher of his last chance of educating his pupils. "The teacher is an artist, the very antithesis of mechanism: the transmission of life from the living, through the living, to the living is the highest definition of education." So wrote Edward Thring, and life is not to be transmitted on the conveyor-belt of mass-production. It is difficult to see an efficient educational machine as other than a machine of mass-production, and in mass-production the realities of human experience, which are always individual and which are the ultimate concern of the teacher, must be ignored.

"The world has formed a habit of thinking in groups, classes, masses; and civilization is breaking down under the burden of that error. It is an error, because masses are contrary to nature; they are not born, they do not die, they have no immortality; the poetry of human experience does not apply to them. Birth and death are solitary; thought and growth are solitary; every final reality of a man's life is his alone, incommunicable; as soon as he ceases to be alone, he moves away from realities. And the more he is identified with others, the farther he moves from truth."²

The poetry of human experience, thought and growth and truth—these intimate concerns of men's intelligence, his character, and his conscience—are not to be found in the mass except in a mutilated

¹ *Times Educational Supplement*, 2nd August, 1947.

² *The Fountain*, Charles Morgan.

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and perhaps unrecognizable form: but they are the stuff of education. In so far as education deals in masses, it tends to move away from them, and to move away from its true function and its true nature. "The test of every religious, political, or educational system, is the man which it forms. If a system injures the intelligence, it is bad. If it injures the character, it is vicious. If it injures the conscience, it is criminal."¹ Efficient mass-production in education tends to injure all three.

¹ Amiel.

VI. HUMANISM

"Like the navigator of unknown seas, education needs the chronometer to find its bearings and is thankful to the inventor of it; but its own way is in the great deep; the chronometer is the servant, not the master of the voyage."

WE studied in the last chapter the powerful effect which mechanical planning in a mechanical age exercises upon our education, and we surveyed the construction of a highly organized educational machine. While conceding and indeed admiring the efficiency of this, we had reason to doubt whether its output would in fact be recognizable as the proper fruits of education, whether the machine, for all its efficiency, would deliver the goods of the right quality.

The reason for this doubt is not far to seek. Mechanical planning is intimately associated with control, and it is no accident that an age of planning should also be an age of ever-widening and ever-increasing controls: we are all familiar with the phraseology of the hour—"controlled economy", "controlled industry", "controlled birth-rate", "a controlled social order", and the like: under the Act of 1944 and the subsequent regulations we are threatened with controlled education.

But man does not take naturally to controls: it is his natural disposition to shake them off, from whatever quarter they may come, and to revolt against the mechanism which would impose them. Man is most truly man when he is engaged in this process of self-liberation, and when he succeeds he realizes something of the divinity which is in him. This has been his age-long endeavour, the assertion of his self-hood against the machine which would mould it. Impatient of the scheme, he smashes the models and fashions his own world nearer to his heart's desire.

Thinkers and writers, poets and philosophers, as well as our own daily experience and our restiveness under all attempts to plan our lives, bear witness to this rebellious creativeness of the human spirit. Plato's tripartite division of the soul included a "spirited" part, the seat of man's self-assertiveness, and the ascent of his captives from the darkness of the cave, where they sat chained with their backs to the light watching a shadow puppet-show, into the full daylight of creative freedom, is an epitome of man's intellectual and spiritual history.

Liberation from the prison-house is the constant theme of the Hebrew prophets and of the Psalmist. It was the mission of Jesus to set man free from the machinery of tradition and law, and he reserved his most severe denunciations for those who allowed their lives to be dominated by mechanical conceptions: never were men more both the victims and the agents of planning than the Scribes and Pharisees. St. Paul preached the law of liberty as against the bondage of a mechanical legalism. The Councils in the early days of the Church were concerned to curb the rebelliousness of its members, as these shook off the fetters of formal creed and confession.

Milton's whole life was a protest against all attempts to mechanize his mind or the mind of the people. "If we think to regulate printing", he wrote in the *Areopagitica*, "thereby to rectify manners, we must regulate all recreations and pastimes, all that is delightful to man. . . . (It is not) Plato's licensing of books will do this, which necessarily pulls along with it so many other kinds of licensing, as will make us both ridiculous and weary, and yet frustrate; but those unwritten, or at least unconstraining laws of virtuous education, religious and civil nurture, which Plato there mentions as the bonds and ligatures of the commonwealth, the pillars and the sustainers of every written statute; these they be which will bear chief sway in such matters as these . . . Lords and Commons, consider what nation it is whereof ye are governors—a nation not slow and dull, but of a quick, ingenious, and piercing spirit, acute to invent, subtle and sinewy to discourse, not beneath the reach of any point the highest that human capacity can soar to . . . what a collusion is this, when as we are exhorted by the wise man to use diligence, to seek for wisdom as for hidden treasures early and late, that another order shall enjoin us to know nothing but by statute!"

William Blake wrote:

*"I must create a system, or be enslaved by another man's
I will not reason and compare: my business is to create,"*¹

and to Wordsworth man was "A sensitive being, a creative soul".²

Modern philosophy is full of the theme. "A religious faith", says Loisy, "is, in essence, nothing less than an effort of the mind, imagination, and will, to break through the mechanical framework of the natural world in which fate seems to have bound it," and Bergson finds *Homo Faber* a more satisfying description of man

¹ William Blake, *Jerusalem*.

² Wordsworth, *The Prelude*.

than *Homo Sapiens*: for a conscious being, he points out, to exist is to change, to change is to mature, to mature is to go on creating oneself endlessly—at every moment consciousness is creating something, and nowhere is this more true than in the soul of man where consciousness is seen at its highest: man's intellect aims for ever at construction.¹

"Life," says Professor Whitehead, "is an offensive against the repetitive mechanism of the universe."² What a piece of work is man! How infinite in faculty!—a being not easily planned or controlled. If he is made in the image of the Creator, he cannot fail to be himself creative, and it is in his creative capacity that we see him at his best and most human.

Now it is with man at his best, that is at his most creative, that education must always be concerned: human perfection must be its final objective, and it can rest in no secondary objective. The appreciation of this is becoming a dominant feature in educational thought and practice to-day, and the approach to the problems of education is progressively that of the humanist.

Mechanism, however, regards man essentially not as creative but as created, and the approach of the mechanist is, as we have seen, increasingly popular. Is a state of tension thus set up in the educational field by two opposing tendencies? there is certainly an antithesis between the two, but the antithesis may, on examination, prove to be more superficial than fundamental: and certainly the way to resolve the antithesis is not by the elimination of one or other of the opposite forces, for both are necessary.

Both may be said to aim at efficiency, and the difference between them lies in the different kinds of efficiency which they pursue, and these kinds will be found to be complementary rather than antithetic to one another. It would perhaps be more accurate to describe each as stressing a different aspect of one essential efficiency, and to find the solution of the conflict thus engendered in a compromise which will allow appropriate force to each stress. Mechanism aims, of course, at the efficiency of the machine or the system, humanism at the efficiency of the person, of the human being as an individual. The first stresses delivery of the goods, the second emphasizes that they must be good. The first is concerned primarily with production and quantity, the second with growth and quality. If carried to their logical conclusions the first means standardization and uniformity, the second means anarchy. But both these stresses are important. "All educational thinking must continually move between the two poles of the child in his nature and growth, and of society, as it is patterned and as we desire to modify that

¹ Bergson, *Creative Evolution*.

² A. N. Whitehead, *Adventures of Ideas*.

pattern"¹: and the difference between the two points of view finds some reconciliation and reveals its superficiality in the thought that the individual is as necessary to the machine, as the machine is to the individual.

It is creative man who creates the machine, and in the social sphere the educational machine of to-day is one of his most ingenious creations: he creates it, moreover, to meet his own needs as a creative being, and he supplies it with its raw material which is alike creative.

It follows that it is only so long as the mechanist remembers that machinery is not enough in dealing with human nature, that his machine will work at all.

On the other hand the humanist has to remember that by himself he can do but little, and that it is only in association with others as part of a living machine that he can fulfil his individuality: that the realization of his creative potentiality depends upon his being a part of creative machinery: that the truest artist is not the rebel against his age, but, as in Athens of the fifth century B.C., the child of his age.

In some spheres of human activity the part to be played by machinery is less vital than in others: in peace it is less vital than in war, in art it is less vital than in education. Progress in education, indeed, has depended to a marked degree on progress in the machinery of education, and there is little doubt that the latest piece of machinery, the Act of 1944, will lead to more people being better educated. Left to his own devices, and without the device of a planned educational system, there is no evidence that man would have produced a self-educated or a self-educating community.

What, then, is the essence, and what is the task of humanism in education? It is to put the child at the centre of the picture, and as the eye of the observer of Titian's *Bacchus and Ariadne* is constantly drawn to the flower in the foreground from which the whole composition springs, so to see that the eye of the educationalist is constantly brought back to the child from whom and for whom the whole machinery of education is composed. It is to look out upon the ever-widening circles of educational experience from the standpoint of the child—his physical, moral, intellectual, and spiritual make-up, his background, his needs, his potentialities, and above all his natural creativeness.

The humanist puts the pupil first, and any theory or system of education second, and he judges the truth of any theory and the success of any system by the contribution it makes to the transformation of creative childhood into creative manhood.

The mechanist works the other way round. He draws up his

¹ *Secondary Education*, Scottish Education Department, Advisory Council on Education in Scotland.

blue-print first, and constructs his educational machine according to its specifications, and human nature is subjected to a procrustean method of adjustment to the machine.

It is thus that Plato and Aristotle went to work, and their educational theories, illuminating and invaluable though they are, would infallibly have split on the rock of human nature had any attempt ever been made to put to sea with them. The same is true of Comenius's work: there would indeed have been a great didactic, but one fears that there would have been but little else. Thomas Arnold endeavoured to start with the boy, but he got him wrong at the outset; this was partly the result of his preoccupation with theory, and resulted in the sacrifice of the boy to the machine.

This is not to belittle the work of these thinkers and practitioners—they made valuable contributions to the mechanism of education, but their contributions were to the mechanism of a science and not to the humanism of an art.

There is less to be said for the other machinery which, masquerading as educational, has dominated from time to time the educational scene. Religious, social, political, industrial, and technological interests have all dictated in turn the drawing of the lines on the educational plan, and the child has been moulded to one or other of their systems.

The three R's, which constituted the statutory content of primary education up to 1944, catered for only one of a child's needs, the mastery of the essential skills: but these were neither the most significant nor the most creative skills, and were therefore the least characteristic of childhood: and the result was too often economic efficiency and human inefficiency.

It is against all such rigid mechanisms that the humanist protests. If he finds in the schools, as is often said, "good teaching and poor learning", he knows that he is witnessing the dominance of the machine over the human material; the one is functioning efficiently, and the other not; the master is servant, and the servant is master. His aim is to reverse this condition of affairs, and to put the efficiency of creative man first: and this he can do only by educating his pupils for mastery over the mechanisms which confront them and threaten their freedom, and above all over the mechanisms of systematized thought and schematic planning. Example is said to be better than precept: it is certainly more effective as an instrument of teaching, and the first task of the humanist is therefore to look to his own liberty, to use the educational machine as his servant, and never allow it to become his master.

There have been many such humanists in our educational history—men and women who have "studied their scholars' natures

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as carefully as they their books,"¹ who have refused to be strait-jacketed in a rigid administrative framework, leaders, in virtue of their position as teachers, in the revolt against mechanism.² These have reacted in an independent way to the "Suggestions" of the Board of Education, and the cause of humanism has been greatly helped by the use of Suggestions rather than Instructions as the channel for the views of authority: it is a disturbing sign of the mechanical times, and a disservice to the cause of humanism, that Regulations threaten to supplant Suggestions as the medium for authoritative action.

The humanist will have to be more than ever on the alert. He has learnt in the past that Regulations are often *more honoured* in the breach than in the observance, and he will need this lesson in the future. He is, however, in a stronger position to-day than he has ever been, for the ranks of his company have never been so full.

The humanist revolt against mechanism is a comparatively modern movement, and has acquired a gathering momentum with the passing of the years. The names associated with it all fall within the past two centuries; it is Rousseau who was responsible for giving it its first impetus, and it was he who imparted momentum to the psychological movement in education which has made such an important contribution to humanism in our own day: "in declaring so emphatically that education must accord with child nature, he made it clear that that nature must be known."³

Each in his own way, Pestalozzi, Herbart, Froebel, the Macmillans, Montessori, Caldwell Cook, Dewey, are his successors: and such devices as the Nursery School, the Dalton Plan, the Play Way, and the Project Method are the practical results of what they taught. (It is to be noted that some of these, though "modern" in practice, may boast of a respectable antiquity in theory: thus Plato is the progenitor both of the Nursery School and of the Play Way.⁴)

One of the most distinguished in this long line of humanists, and one of the most influential in the contemporary school of educational humanism, is the late Sir Percy Nunn: and his great book on *Education: its Data and First Principles*, first published a quarter of a century ago, may be taken as the humanist's most compendious text-book: in the preface to the third edition, published in 1945, the author wrote: "The central thesis of the book remains unchanged: it maintains that the primary aim of all

¹ Thomas Fuller.

² cf. L. P. Jacks, *The Revolt against Mechanism*.

³ J. S. Ross, *Groundwork of Educational Theory*.

⁴ cf. *The Laws*, Bk. VII, and *The Republic*, Bk. III.

educational effort should be to help boys and girls to achieve the highest degree of individual development of which they are capable." This concern for the individual, which is of the essence of humanism, has been fostered in our own time by three major influences—the effect of two world wars on public opinion and on the attitude of the public towards childhood, the developments of child-psychology, and the modern reinterpretation of Christian teaching.

We are far enough away from the first world-war to be able to form some estimate of the way in which it directed and determined the attitude of the man-in-the-street towards children—and particularly towards the children in the street: we are still too near to the second world-war to be able to form an equally reliable estimate, though certain effects are already clear.

The first war led us (perhaps for the first time) to take children seriously, and this laudable disposition was strengthened by the second war. We felt after the first that young people had suffered far beyond their deserts, that the massacre of the battlefields had been the massacre of the innocents, and that in France and Flanders, red with something at once more beautiful and more terrible than the poppies, we had squandered the best part of our national wealth. We resolved that we would make good to those boys and girls just entering on their education and to those others yet to be born, something of that which had been denied to their elder brothers and sisters.

This resolution, in which a certain measure of sentimentality was combined with a larger measure of wisdom, had a humanizing effect upon the life of childhood in school: but the effect was greater in the schools than in the homes. The conditions were more favourable and could be more easily controlled, and between the wars children were happier and therefore better educated in schools than they have ever been before. We saw also where as a nation our true treasure lay, and we resolved that this should not be wasted as it had been wasted in the repressive, unimaginative, and mechanical schooling of the past.

The Fisher Act and subsequent developments between the wars reflected this new humanism. The second world war was the measure both of our failure and of our success. On the one hand, the mass-evacuation of children from the big cities brought to light the fact that many of them lived in social conditions which shocked the community¹; in so far as education was concerned with the whole upbringing of the child, it had grossly failed, and the new humanity which was beginning to pervade the schools was matched by an inhumanity at home which rendered much of it meaningless and

¹ cf. H. C. Dent, *Education in Transition*; and *Our Towns*, (Women's Institutes).

idle. On the other hand, we had won the Battle of Britain, and that battle had been won largely in the State Schools of the inter-war period. What was the secret? What was it, people asked, that we had taught in our elementary schools? Or was it the way we had taught it? Or was it that indefinable thing called "atmosphere", that spirit of the school which is so easy to feel and so difficult to describe? Would the education which the elementary schools had provided before 1914 have won the Battle of Britain, as it had won the battles of the trenches? or was there something added since then, something which had infused a new vitality and versatility, a livelier enterprise and a more intelligent daring into our young men? and was this something what we have here called the new humanism? Many have felt that the last is the right answer, and have determined that this new spirit shall be investigated further and that new opportunities shall be found for developing it.

Thus the second war has added a new stimulus to humanism in the school, and a new determination to extirpate as far as may be inhumanism in the home. And with that has come a heightened sense of that wealth that is latent in our young people, wealth that can be realized only by a generous education, and a reinforced feeling of gratitude for what they have done for us, a feeling which may best be expressed by so educating their children that they may do better still and rise to the full height of their manhood.

Concurrently with this new interest in children there has developed a new interest in child-psychology. Psychology may still be a dangerously inexact science; perhaps there is no field of human study where the experts differ from one another more fundamentally, where language is used more ambiguously, or where conclusions are to be accepted with more reserve.

But there is one corner of this field where work is of a more reliable nature than elsewhere, and that is in the realm of child-psychology. One reason for this is that experimental methods of observation, which have been used especially in the investigation of psychological problems related to education, have been more possible with children than with adults: this is particularly true, of course, of such experiments as can be carried on collectively with a considerable group of subjects.¹

Thus, for the conclusions of child-psychology we have the foundation of scientific experiment, and when these conclusions are also the result of the analytical study of the personality, and are confirmed by common sense (an essential condition often ignored by the psychologist), they may be accepted, with some confidence.

Moreover, considerable publicity has been given to these con-

¹ cf. W. McDougall *Psychology*, Ch. VI. (Home University Library).

clusions, and to-day parents and teachers alike have at least a bowing acquaintance with them.

There is very general acceptance of the main stages through which children develop. From the purely emotional stage of infancy the child moves forward into the fantasy of early childhood in which he constructs his own world to live in. Then follows the matter-of-fact stage from approximately seven to thirteen, when "real" things and "real" events are of absorbing interest and subjectivity gives place to objectivity: there is "not only a diminution of nervous and emotional excitability but probably, also, a transfer of interest . . . from the interior realm of feelings and imagined situations to the exterior one of concrete facts and actual events".¹ To this there succeeds the complicated period of adolescence, with its emotions once more as strong as in the days of infancy, but subjected now to critical examination, so that a mysterious and indescribable inner life develops from which all strangers are shut out: with its wider outlook and its intelligent manipulation of new experiences, the flowering of new impulses, new energies, and new powers: with its quest for beauty, its gropings after a rational explanation of experience, its demand that sense should be made of things: with its first dim appreciation of fixed principles, and its search for a purpose in life: with its high and utopian idealism, and its impatient dissatisfaction with the social order.²

Together with this appreciation of the developing stages of boyhood and girlhood there has gone a new insight into the component elements of the growing personality, and it has become possible to distinguish with some clarity between innate dispositions (with the skills and the knowledge which they use), the activities and interests to which these give rise, the combination of these interests in wider systems, the formation of sentiments, and the discovery of the master-sentiment which "gathers all the others into a purposive unity dependent upon both their affinity to itself and its ability to give them full effect as parts of a splendid, dynamic whole".³

Light has been thrown, too, on the contribution made by the body to all this and on the intimate interdependence of the physical, the intellectual, the moral, and the spiritual. Nor has child-psychology made the supreme mistake of dealing always in abstractions: it has indeed outgrown that characteristic, which once belonged to it and which for convenience has been used in this paragraph, and knows now that there is no such thing as infancy or childhood or puberty or adolescence, but that at each

¹ B. A. Yeaxlee, *Religion and the Growing Mind*.

² cf. B. A. Yeaxlee, *op. cit.*, and Bompas Smith, *Growing Minds*.

³ B. A. Yeaxlee, *op. cit.*

stage we are concerned with a host of widely differing individuals: child-psychology has learnt to write not about "adolescence" but about an adolescent John or an adolescent Mary.

All this knowledge has been put at the disposal of the educationalist, and it has had the effect of humanizing his whole approach to his subject: for it has brought home to him the fact that his work can be no mere mechanical operation of administrative routine and teaching method, but even in its most seemingly mechanical details and text-book formalities is dealing with living and breathing human beings, and human beings whom psychology has shown to be of a baffling complexity. This has affected not only the teacher's attitude to his pupil, humanizing the relationship between the two, but the educational authority's attitude towards its system.

"We owe to educationists and psychiatrists a better understanding of the psychological train of events. Nobody now thinks of puberty as the one great crisis that comes to the growing personality. There are several turning-points both before and after it. It is upon recognition of these that our educational system is being reorganized and our methods of teaching are developing. Nursery school, infant school, primary school, and secondary school are not just the inventions of tidy-minded administrators. The provision of separate buildings and a specially trained staff of teachers for each is no luxury, but a scientific meeting of natural needs."¹ Psychology has, in fact, done something to humanize the machine.

Finally, the modern insistence on the Christian doctrine of personal value joins hands with the two influences just considered to introduce a more human atmosphere into the school. Whether this is expressed in Christian terms or not, it derives from the Christian tradition, and it finds fertile soil for its growth in the egalitarianism of our time and suitable conditions in the general climate of public opinion. Whatever other equalities have to be denied, the equality of personal value may always be maintained—indeed, must be maintained.

The democratic emphasis on the value of the individual is supported by the teaching of Christ: nor was it only the content of His teaching which drove home the point; His teaching-method was wholly dominated and permeated by His sense of individual freedom and of individual worth.

The effect of this on educational theory and practice to-day cannot be better put than in the words of the Report of the Advisory

¹ B. A. Yeaxlee, *op. cit.* It is to be feared, however, that tidy-minded administrators had too much to do with fixing the dividing-line between primary and secondary education at eleven.

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Council on Education in Scotland, on Secondary Education: "If there is any affirmation of Christian philosophy which lies outside the field of controversy, it is the sacredness and abiding significance of the individual, the insistence that the natural and social environment exists to promote the growth of free and rational beings, of spiritual personalities. Keats put it in a poet's way, when he described the world as 'the vale of soul-making'.

"For us then the conclusion is inescapable that the chief end of education is to foster the full and harmonious development of the individual. We do not suggest that only on a Christian basis can such an educational doctrine be built: on the contrary, all healthy democratic thinking, as opposed to State-worship, must remain unimpressed by the mere power and permanence of organized society, unless in so far as it 'helps to fashion desirable patterns of individual life'.

"What may be claimed is that such a concept of education finds in the Christian view of men its sufficient rationale and the necessary safeguards against anti-social excess or distortion."

And again: "Christian education means much more than finding a place in the curriculum for religious and moral instruction. It involves acceptance of a doctrine of human nature which courageously applied will determine priority of aim in education, or better still reconcile seemingly conflicting aims; it must enter into all debate on the content of schooling; and, above all, it decisively establishes the child as an end in himself, requiring an approach to him which is patient, persuasive, and at every point respectful of his growth towards personality. Democracy imports no fresh scale of values: it applies rather than adds to the affirmations of Christian philosophy. It moves between the same two poles of freedom and ordered unity, of individuality and integration. Hence the education which gives expression to it must not merely tolerate but actually delight in variety of gifts. It must welcome and foster diversity, and be content with no unity less rich than that of orchestral harmony, wherein each element is finely attuned to the whole and none is overborne."¹

The members of the Central Advisory Council for Education in England write in the rather disappointing chapter of their Report on School and Life, on The Moral Factor, as follows: "Men and women seem, even to themselves, to be more and more becoming cogs in some huge impersonal machine, so that the ordinary man finds it increasingly difficult to discover either a purpose in his work or a meaning in his existence. As far as he can judge, the value of the individual, his own value, seems to be declining; yet the

¹ *Secondary Education*, Advisory Council on Education in Scotland. Secs. 28, 29, 48.

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whole of our civilization for some centuries has ever more clearly insisted on the value of a person as such: that, indeed, has been the whole meaning of our democratic development. Our professions seem to fly in the face of facts, and this contradiction is one of the main sources of a widespread sense of frustration."¹ The humanist in education sets himself to do battle with that sense of frustration, and he arms himself with the sword of the Lord, of modern democracy, and of child-psychology.

The child is "an end in himself" and demands an approach "which is patient, persuasive, and at every point respectful of his growth towards personality". These words put in a nutshell the first article in the educational creed of the humanist. He endeavours to practice his faith by seeing the child always as a whole human being, with certain needs and capacities clamouring for satisfaction *now*, and a whole life to be lived to-day. What he will be to-morrow is always a secondary consideration: his education is not merely a preparation for something else, and he is no mere embryonic adult—a future clerk or technician or labourer or professor or civil servant. The humanist is not concerned with those children who figure so largely in Dutch interiors, with their adult heads on their childish bodies.

And as the child is an end in himself, so his education is more than a means for fitting him into a predetermined future: it also is an end in itself, and in a sense is complete every day. In pursuance of these aims the humanist distinguishes between those needs and capacities and experiences which are common to all children, and those which are peculiar to individuals, and he tries to meet the claims of both categories. Thus he bears at the back of his mind the stages of psychological development which have been outlined above, and adapts his educational programme accordingly. He recognizes the common need for physical nourishment and care, for physical activity, for the satisfaction of intellectual curiosity, for that emotional satisfaction which is most comprehensively described as "love", for a sense of security and friendliness, for a place to fill. He remembers those years of infancy during which, in Traherne's words:

*Every sense
Was in me like to some intelligence,*

and he adapts his teaching to a mind which is not so much a debating-hall (as it later becomes) as a picture-gallery or a concert-room:

¹ *School and Life*, Central Advisory Council for Education (England), pp. 98-99.

*No ear
 But eyes themselves were all the hearers there;
 And every stone and every star a tongue,
 And every gale of wind a psalm or song:
 The heavens were an oracle, and spake
 Divinity: the earth did undertake
 The office of a priest: and I being dumb
 (Nothing besides was so), all things did come
 With voices and instructions. But when I
 Had learnt to speak, their power began to die.¹*

As the poet explains elsewhere, it was a mechanical education which, in teaching him to speak (mainly about the wrong things) caused these powers to die: the humanist makes it his aim to keep them alive. He sees the child as philosopher, eagerly frequenting doctor and saint, hearing great argument about it and about (is not the experience of Jesus in the temple with the doctors, both hearing and asking them questions, the epitome of questioning boyhood?); he sees him a little later on as poet, the *maker*—maker of dreams come true and of all the lovely embroidery of his self-expression: and he teaches in turn the philosopher and the poet.

But he doesn't lose himself or forget his task in any sentimental gossamer-fabrics of his imagination. He keeps his feet on the earth, and he reminds himself that children come to school "not to be saved trouble, but to learn how to take trouble"²: this is one of the experiences which must come their way, and he asks himself what are the other experiences which they should meet before they leave school (if we could answer this question, would we not have solved the main problems of education?): he tries so to arrange school life that these experiences will all figure in it.

He knows, too, that all children need routine, and that the rhythm of a routine-life, as dependable and as comforting as the ticking of a clock in a quiet room, is a most welcome and most moving influence in their lives, a reassurance and a comfort.

Towards the end of school life the social environment becomes all-important, both the social environment which is experienced in school (a matter of importance throughout school life, but particularly important in its later stages), and also that which is experienced and will be experienced more fully in the near future outside. "Our supreme requirement of the secondary school must be something which hitherto has been much less highly regarded, that it should provide a rich social environment where adolescence grows

¹ Thomas Traherne.

² John Adams.

in character and understanding through the interplay of personalities rather than by the imparting of knowledge. Education thus presents itself as at once a preparation for life and *an irreplaceable part of life itself*.

"Hence, the good school is to be assessed not by any tale of examination successes, however impressive, but by the extent to which it has filled the years of youth with security, graciousness and ordered freedom, and has thus been a seed-bed for the flowering in due season of all that is of good report."¹

The humanist speaks once again in the words of the Scottish Advisory Council (the italics are mine). One word in this quotation is of particular significance: it is the word "security", and as a child approaches the day when he is to leave school, the need for security becomes a pressing anxiety.

It has been said on good authority that during their last year at school a large proportion of girls are obsessed by the fear that they won't find a mate, and an equally large proportion of boys by the fear that they will be trapped in their search for a mate. It is for the humanist to know this, and also to appreciate the need for economic security: the young must have a fair prospect of work and of a satisfactory life: they must be given faith and hope. They need a belief in work, and this is perhaps the strongest argument for vocational teaching at this stage, in the sense of relating their school-work more closely to the actual occupations of men and women, but not necessarily to the particular occupation to be followed: "there is more education in learning something that leads somewhere, even if you decide to go somewhere else, than in learning things that lead nowhere in particular".²

It is a human craving to feel that the road leads somewhere, and it is a humane education which shows that it does. But they need a more general faith than this: they need faith in themselves, faith in their fellow human beings, faith in their society, faith in a planned career, and faith in God.³ Such faith will be at once one of the surest antidotes to modern paganism and one of the hall-marks of a humanist education.

Such are some of the needs and experiences common to all children, with their corresponding demands on the teacher and the administrator for attention to many matters which have hitherto seemed to be largely outside the province of education and to which the mechanist can pay but little regard. But in addition to

¹ *Secondary Education*, Advisory Council on Education in Scotland, Sec. 51.

² Professor M. V. C. Jeffreys in the *Journal of Education*, April, 1946.

³ I owe this to an address by Mr. John Garrett, Headmaster of Bristol Grammar School.

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these there are individual needs and capacities and experiences which have to be considered, and to these the mechanist can pay even less regard.

*Were teachers plentiful,
and gentle environment as common as bramble-scrub,
never could human wit discern to accommodate
the countless idiosyncracies of mind withal;
indeterminable are they and never can be told.¹*

These idiosyncracies of intelligence or temperament, when most determinable, are seen to be due in the main to one or other of three causes. It may be something in the outward circumstances of a child's life that makes him noticeably different from others—something in his home-life, in the loneliness he suffers there, in the broken relations of his father and mother, in their neglect of him or (at the other end of the scale) their over-indulgence of him. Or it may be something in his own innate make-up, some defect, whether physical, emotional, moral, or mental, something which has upset his self-adjustment and his adjustment to his fellows. Or it may be some special inborn gift—for music or for art or for self-expression or for technical skill, some strange sensitivity to beauty, some touch of poetry or of creative genius. The mechanist is unable to meet the demands which these make upon him: with the first two he is apt to be impatient and the third fits ill with the prefabricated education which must be his stock-in-trade.

*To know (writes Browning),
Rather consists in opening out a way
Whence the imprisoned splendour may escape,
Than in effecting entry for a light
Supposed to be without.*

The more systematized education becomes, the less chance there is for the escape of imprisoned splendour. But these are the most obvious instances of a diversity of gifts: they cannot normally be overlooked, and some provision, both in special schools and in special methods of teaching, may be made for them.

More subtle and more elusive are the infinite variations among those who are commonly known as normal children, the children for whom, to all outward appearance, the elaborate educational machine is expressly made and admirably adapted. But is it? A closer view, the view of the humanist, may lead us to question this presupposition. "Degrees infinite of lustre there must always be,

¹ Robert Bridges, *The Testament of Beauty*.

but the weakest among us has a gift, however trivial, which is peculiar to him, and which, worthily used, will be a gift also to his race for ever."¹

The humanist administrator may be able to some extent to meet the needs of those with outstanding gifts or difficulties or weaknesses (though he will need the co-operation of the humanist teacher), but it is only the humanist teacher who can meet the indeterminable needs of the majority, which never can be told: and this he can only do by a deliberate attempt at discovery and then by a patient attempt at development, a development which cannot be brought about by any cut-and-dried teaching-method, but only by what Thomas Carlyle calls the "mysterious contact of spirit with spirit".

If this is the outlook and the scope of the new humanism in education, how does it express itself in official and unofficial activity? What are the signs which we can see of this modern trend in education?

Let us consider first the evidence of the 1944 Act and the Minister's Regulations. It is an interesting and instructive experience to read this Act through, and then to read through earlier Education Acts—the Act of 1902, for example, or Mr. Fisher's Act after the First World War, and to ask oneself what general impression (if any) is left with the reader.

On one reader at least the general impression is quite clear, and it is that the last Act, for the first time in our educational history, starts with the child, and endeavours throughout to keep the child at the centre of the picture. At the same time it constructs round the child the most elaborate educational machine ever devised by the ingenuity of man, and this is exerting a pull all the time in the opposite direction: the very intricacy and comprehensiveness of the machine endow it with a certain centrifugal force.

The result is a very evident tension which runs through the Act between the child and his needs on the one hand, and the machine and its needs on the other. This tension is not felt in previous Education Acts, because there the child has been forgotten: but here he is remembered, and when the machinery is threatening to become most violently centrifugal, a centripetal force is introduced and some provision is made for the human needs of a human being—the baby, no longer muling and puking in its nurse's arms but transferred to the nursery school, and the whining schoolboy, not creeping like a snail unwillingly to school, but collected from a catchment area and transported in a motor bus.

The very clause in the Act, one of the central clauses, which speaks of the provision of education according to ability and aptitude is humanist and child-centred both in letter and in spirit:

¹ John Ruskin.

for its logical conclusion is that each child shall determine his own curriculum.

The new duty of local education authorities to secure the provision of adequate primary and secondary education includes the specific duty of "seeing that provision is made for pupils who have not attained the age of five years by the provision of nursery schools or . . . nursery classes in other schools", and also "for pupils who suffer from any disability of mind or body by providing, either in special schools or otherwise, special educational treatment" by appropriate methods: and boarding accommodation is to be provided for pupils for whom this type of education is considered by their parents and by the authority to be desirable.

This provision *must* be made—it is no longer a *power* of the local authorities, but a *duty* laid upon them: regard is thus paid to three special varieties of educational need: the Act makes no provision of "special educational treatment" for those pupils of outstanding ability.

Under its "Supplementary Provisions as to Primary, Secondary, and Further Education" the Act specifies a number of ancillary services which are to be provided: these include not only compulsory medical¹ inspection (which is extended, but not instituted here for the first time), but also comprehensive facilities for free medical treatment (an innovation), the provision of milk, meals, and "other refreshment" (possibly a dangerous phrase) for pupils in maintained schools, and hostel accommodation where neither day school nor a full boarding school life is desirable.

Moreover, "where it appears to a local authority that a registered pupil in a school maintained by them is unable by reason of the inadequacy of his clothing to take full advantage of the education provided at the school, the authority may provide him with such clothing as is necessary"; clothing is interpreted in a later section as including boots and other footwear: it is to be noted that the clause here is permissive, and not compulsory. (Under a later section of the Act these facilities may be extended to pupils attending schools not maintained by the authority.)

Drastic powers are conferred upon authorities to deal with actual or suspected cases of uncleanness among their pupils. Adequate facilities for recreation and for social and physical training must be ensured, and in addition to what is provided at school there must be camps, holiday classes, playing-fields, play centres, gymnasias, and swimming baths available for all who need them.

The employment of children and young persons is controlled, and existing enactments are strengthened: no child may be employed at all until he is within two years of the compulsory school age

¹ "Medical" includes "Dental".

(i.e. at present until he is over thirteen), and then employment is subject to such restrictions imposed by the local authority as may seem to them in the best interests of the children: local by-laws already impose certain limitations (e.g. week-end employment), and in certain circumstances the Act rules out any employment before school in the morning. It must be admitted that this is one of the weakest sections of the Act, but it is significant that it is included at all.

Finally, the education committee must report to the local authority any children who are properly certified as being ineducable, and it is then the duty of the local authority to make provision for these, and such provision may be of life-long duration.

These examples of statutory action will illustrate the concern of the central authority for the child as a whole person, both in school and out of school, with physical needs as well as intellectual, with an individual make-up and individual needs, and with a whole life to be lived as a whole, whether in the school, the street, the cinema, the swimming-bath, the home, or on the newspaper-round in the morning: and that whole life is regarded in its entirety as the business of education. The Act is child-centred.

This same interest in the child is seen in many of the Regulations which have poured from the Ministry since the Act reached the Statute Book, and in such official pamphlets as *Youth's Opportunity*, dealing with Further Education, and *The New Secondary Education*. Among the Regulations those dealing with School Buildings, to which reference was made in the last chapter, and those restricting the size of classes to 30 in the secondary school and 40 in the primary school, are particularly relevant here. A child is recognized as a being who needs space to move about in, fresh air to breathe, and light to see by: and the mass-production methods of the old classes of 50 or more, where the teaching and the learning alike were perforce mechanical, are no longer acceptable to the more humane standards of to-day: there is more chance for the individual than there used to be, but nobody can feel happy with the present limits, and humanism will not have done her work till there is no class above 25, whether in primary or secondary school.

The Ministry's Circular on School Records of Individual Development is another illustration of the new official interest in the whole child: it is there pointed out that the object of such records is to give as all-round a picture as possible of the child's development in various directions, and suggestions are made as to methods of assessing and recording physical qualities, general mental ability, educational attainment, special aptitudes, special interests, and qualities of disposition.

There is other official and semi-official action pointing in the

same direction. The care of the infant begins before birth, in the special provision made for expectant mothers,¹ and continues after birth in the granting of milk-priorities and other considerations.

The public outcry which arose over the fate of children deprived of a normal home-background and the revelations of the treatment which they received, led to a full enquiry into the whole question of the neglected child and to the issue of the Curtis Report. Doubts were publicly and commonly expressed whether any form of institutional life was desirable for young children, and the suggestion was made that the only way to meet the needs of a child deprived of a home was to provide him with a home, and this could not be done in any institution. New directions were circulated to local authorities as to the proper way of caring for these children, and much of the old institutional machinery was discredited and discarded just because it was mere machinery. A great fillip was given to the whole movement for boarding such children out, and steps were taken to find foster-parents of the right quality and in the number required.

In August, 1947, the Home Office announced the appointment of a Central Training Council in Child Care, to organize courses and to select candidates for training for work with homeless children. The universities and the local education authorities were invited to co-operate in the setting up of two types of courses: (1) for boarding-out officers, who would be responsible for the supervision of children placed in foster homes; (2) for what are called "House Mothers" in children's homes.

It is true that character and personality are of greater importance for such work than technical training: but technical training has its part to play, for the number of technical problems which confront the holder of such a position is considerable and is not likely to diminish: and it was reassuring to read that a large part of the courses should consist in practical work. It is a sign of the times that such a Council should be appointed. For children who have a normal experience, special attention is paid to their home-conditions: these are seen as part of the general pattern of a child's experience, and the educationalist is concerned with the whole pattern: he regards each child as an individual whose individuality is conditioned by his membership of a family, with strong links binding him to his home, and with all the loyalties, difficulties, and distractions which that association involves.

It is part of the humanist's aim that this pattern of living should be as rich and as intelligible a pattern as possible, and that each thread in the weaving should have a contribution to make to the

¹ It is interesting to note that Plato regarded this as an important part of education: cf. *The Laws*, Bk. VII.

whole. To this end, the co-operation of parents is sought from the outset. We have seen already how important this is at the nursery school stage,¹ but it goes beyond that, and contacts between parent and teacher are developing in a variety of forms and are encouraged by official authority in the primary schools, the secondary schools, and (so far as they exist) the day continuation schools which are the prototypes of the County Colleges. The commonest of these forms is that of the organized Parent-Teacher Association. In the summer of 1947 there were known to be 800 of these in existence, and though this number is a small proportion of the total number of schools, it represented a great increase on anything previously known in our history, and was growing rapidly.

The chief advantage to be reaped from such an Association is the more intimate knowledge of the child as a whole human being which is gained by parent and teacher alike: the experience of the child, which each partner to the Association possesses, is pooled, and something much richer than either can form alone comes out of the pool. Subsidiary advantages are the insight which parents get into the life of the schools, and the new share which teachers enjoy in the life of the community. So fully is the importance of these Associations being recognized that movements are on foot for the formation of a Federation of Associations, whether on a local or a national basis.

When the time comes for the child to leave school, he will, once again, find his needs as *an individual* considered as they have not been considered before. The report² of the Ince Committee on the Juvenile Employment Service is largely taken up with this matter. Assistance is to be given in the choice of employment, and an attempt is to be made "to ensure that, either under the auspices of the local education authority or of the Ministry of Labour, in every area in the country there will be a service which will help a pupil on leaving school, first, to decide the kind of job in which he could do best; secondly, to help him to get such a job; and thirdly, to help him in the early stages of his working life with any of the questions relating to the planning of his career". The machinery for this will consist partly in talks during the last year at school on careers open to pupils, whether in the neighbourhood or farther afield, partly in conferences between head teachers, parents, and Youth Employment Officers, and partly in the use of experience gained in the County Colleges. "The Juvenile Employment Service will be the bridge from school to working life",³

¹ cf. Ch. III

² Report of the Committee on the Juvenile Employment Service (Ministry of Labour and National Service).

³ W. P. Alexander, *The Education Act: a Parent's Guide*.

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but the Service knows perfectly well that each user of the bridge must cross it in his own way and reach his own destination at the other end: what matters is that the crossing should be a happy one and that he should find himself at the end where he would be.

Society's method of treating its delinquent children is an important part of its educational processes, and is an indication of its mechanical or humanist outlook. It is safe to say that there has been an immense humanizing of the technique for dealing with juvenile delinquency. This dates largely from the publication in 1925 of *The Young Delinquent*, by Dr. Cyril Burt (as he then was), and a large debt of gratitude is owed to him and to the work which he has done. The part which environment has to play in juvenile delinquency is increasingly recognized, and it is realized that often punishment should fall on the parents (who are only too ready to put their child away in an Approved School until he is old enough to be a wage-earner), rather than on the child. Where there is desire accompanied by opportunity, and where there are no restraining moral or religious principles, no fear either of the law or of the Lord, a juvenile "crime" is committed—and for this teachers must bear their share of responsibility no less than parents. Moreover, the crime is normally a crime against property, and "to steal" commonly means to steal property: but there are other forms of stealing, perhaps deadlier forms, to which no penalty is attached—the stealing of reputation and a good name, of credit, of time, of affection: crimes of this description are daily occurrences, and it seems to the humanist a little unfair that crimes of the former type should be singled out. It is along these lines that he thinks, and where he has the opportunity, acts.

The Approved School, at its best, has been one of his outstanding successes. These schools vary enormously in character, and this depends to a very large extent on the headmaster and his staff. They are elementary boarding schools, and their cost per pupil to the public purse is approximately that of one of the smaller public schools. The instruction is mainly general up to the compulsory school age, and vocational above that. Some schools specialize in certain trades, and there are now classifying centres to which boys and girls are sent on committal for a few months, during which they are studied and then allocated to the right school for their needs and capacities. Classes vary in number from 20 to 25, but the aim is that they should not exceed 20. The period is normally one of three years in the school and one on licence: the school is responsible for the whole four years, and welfare-officers are appointed to do the visiting and after-care of boys and girls on licence: the school is also responsible for seeing to their employment when they leave.

Discipline is strict, but just: a rigid routine is adhered to, and this is found to be one of the most educative and reformatory influences. Boys are paid for their work, and there are voluntary school societies to cater for their interests. Such is the picture at its best, and it is becoming an increasingly common picture.

In all these spheres the new tale of humanist education is being told. We must now turn to the ordinary schools, and see what is going on inside their walls—or rather, in their open-air class-rooms, their air-conditioned libraries, and behind their vita-glassed windows.

The scene is all set for the growing of a healthy human being: how, in fact, does he grow in wisdom and stature and in favour with God and man? And first let it be said that there is a much better chance than there has been in the past that he will find himself in the environment best suited to his growth. There are no longer any obstacles, financial or other, to keep him from the place of education where he should be: the abolition of fees in all maintained schools, family allowances, and generous scholarships and grants ensure that all doors will be open to him: the one difficulty is that there are not yet enough doors entering upon all the kinds of education that we need: but these will come.

Education to-day is a house of many mansions, and these mansions are open to all: they will be increased in number and variety in the not distant future, and new wings will be thrown out. We have the grammar schools, the technical schools, and the modern schools: it is to be expected that more craft schools will be provided, more schools for the out-of-door child, more camp schools, more boarding schools and boarding departments of day schools (some of these co-educational); more schools closely related to local demand and local interests.

In particular a new type of technical school for girls is envisaged—a school where a sound general education can be combined with a vocational training for commerce, the catering trade, the nursing profession, cookery and domestic science, secretarial posts: these are all techniques within the capacity of girls, and the right place to train girls in these techniques is a technical school, which they would enter at the age of 13 or 14 and leave at the age of 18, developing a large sixth form section as a respectable alternative to the grammar school.

There may be schools, too, where it is not forgotten, as it is so often forgotten to-day, that a natural vocation for a girl is marriage. Doubtless the need for other varieties will show itself as time goes on.

Humanism to-day demands this much wider provision, and the demand is being met. But humanism also demands the devising of methods of selection far more reliable than in the past, to ensure

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that the right child gets into the right school, and that children are no longer subjected *en bloc* to a stereotyped education imposed from above. Elasticity and flexibility will be necessary, careful diagnosis and it may be the institution of definite diagnostic periods, distributive rather than competitive examinations, a comprehensive and scientifically devised system of tests, and easy facilities for transfer. Experiments in all these directions are being made. Attention has already been directed to this fact, as part of the general expansion in the scope of educational activity¹: it is our business here to consider it in its effect upon the individual child as a human being.

In order that the true needs of each child may be justly appreciated and that he may find his way to the school where these needs are most likely to be met, tests have been devised which will measure not only his attainments (these are measured by the traditional type of examination), but also his intelligence, his specific abilities, his attitudes, his aptitudes, his interests, his will-power, and his personal qualities. It must be recognized that some of these tests are more scientific and more reliable than others, and some are still in a very rudimentary and experimental stage.

The importance attached to the old type of examination has diminished, and an improved technique has been worked out for its conduct. This technique aims at the elimination of its worst weaknesses—its cramping effect upon the curriculum and upon teaching-method, the unsuitability of some of its subject-matter, the uncertainty of its aim and the effects of the personal factor in assessment.

Written examinations to-day, in the earlier stages of education, are less ambitious in their scope, and standardized methods of scoring have been introduced which may be regarded as practically "personality-proof": their place has indeed been taken by attainment tests, and there is a large supply of test material now available. But the aim here is strictly limited, more limited than in the discarded examination: it is only attainment that is measured, and no attempt is made to assess thinking capacity or the power to organize ideas.

Certain aspects of this are measured by the Intelligence test, probably the most scientific and reliable test yet devised. In the form of the Intelligence Quotient² this discloses a child's innate

¹ *cf.* Ch. IV.

² "Intelligence Quotient". If a child aged 5 has only developed mentally as far as a four-year-old, he has a "mental age" of 4: the Intelligence Quotient is arrived at by multiplying this by 100, and dividing by the chronological age, i.e. $\frac{4 \times 100}{5} = \text{I.Q. of } 80.$

mental ability, and nothing more: it has nothing to say about specific abilities or about attainments, and though the ability to read and (in many tests) to write are both involved, the demand for these "intellectual skills" is so elementary as not seriously to weaken the impartiality of the result.

Here, too, there is a large supply of standardized test-material, both for group-tests, where the child works as an individual and gains an individual "I.Q." but is engaged on a test taken by a group of children at the same time, and for individual-tests, where the tester's whole time and attention and the material of the test are all concentrated on the individual: this probably leads to a more accurate result, but is a long and cumbrous business and requires very expert handling; it is useful in doubtful cases: for most cases the group-test, particularly if more than one test is taken, gives a sufficiently accurate result. The value of these tests is, however, vitiated by the developing technique of coaching for them.

Other tests are less easily administered, and their results cannot be accepted with the same confidence. Neither attainment-tests nor intelligence-tests tell us anything about a child's aptitudes: in both these types of test the use of pencil and paper are involved, and a child's aptitude may lie in some quite other direction.

An aptitude is a fitness for some particular activity, a fitness which may be caused by some physical quality, by some mental characteristic, or by some peculiarity of disposition. Occasionally such aptitudes are quickly recognized, but more commonly they have to be probed for: and the efficient probe has not yet been discovered, though interesting and promising experiments are being tried both in this country and more particularly in America.

Nor has a satisfactory probe yet been found for specific ability, at any rate in the early stages: if we could safely diagnose such abilities at the age of eleven, one of the chief difficulties in selection for secondary education would be solved: the recommendations of the Norwood Committee, equally with all plans for multilateral schools divided into "streams", assume such a diagnosis, but it is a dangerous assumption: attempts at finding satisfactory tests are continuing, but psychologists are more and more doubtful of success before the age of thirteen at the earliest.

Rough tests are, however, available to indicate ability in the manipulation of words on the one hand, and of shapes on the other. But psychologists are more optimistic about tests for personal qualities, and experience shows that many of these are successful in measuring a subject's anxiety, or sense of security, or powers of perseverance, or strength of emotional reaction.

The well-known "ink-blot" test, much used in the Services, gives a very useful estimate of general personality, and it is inter-

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esting to observe how often high intellectual ability can go with a very poor performance in this test. All this is very revealing, particularly in extreme cases of mental or personal ability or disability: but the tests, as they improve in their powers of discrimination, are becoming more and more applicable to the ordinary individual, and the ordinary individual is more and more getting his chance.

These tests are reinforced by school reports and school records. It is increasingly recognized that the judgement of a head teacher, who has known the child during his whole school career and has been able to study him in a variety of contexts, is likely to be more informative and more dependable than the judgement of an external examiner, whose relations with the child are nothing more than a "paper-transaction"; and as increasing confidence is placed in the integrity of teachers, so increasing weight is attached to their reports. School records which are statements of facts or of observed qualities, just as the teacher's reports are judgements of value, suffer at present from there being no generally recognized and generally acceptable form for them to follow. Research is being conducted into this matter, and it is one of the most urgently needed pieces of research.

For purposes of accurate and reliable measurement, on which comparisons may safely be based, a standardized framework for a school record, within which the picture of the individual child may be clearly seen, is needed: and when this is devised, an important step will have been taken towards the appreciation of each child as a living whole.

Meanwhile, school records, even in their present imperfect form, are being increasingly used to this end. Even the accumulation of these tests, reports, and records, however, will not present the complete picture which we need. There are other factors which must be taken into consideration, some of them elusive personal factors, and others elements in that social environment which largely determines attitudes and reactions. Thus the humanist would know as much as he can about the child's own wishes, his prejudices and ambitions. Much of this may be summed up in his "expectations", and the Americans have made some experiments with "expectation-tests". Many young people "do not go on (to college) because they lack the desire. They tend to come from working-class families where no college tradition exists. . . . Expectations must be learned, they are not inborn. . . . (Usually these young people) adopt their parents' expectations and the ground colour of their surroundings. . . . Their ambition is bounded by the world they know, and to advance a step or two within it is enough".¹

Clearly these expectations are important, but despite the

¹ The Harvard Report on General Education in a Free Society.

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American attempts it is doubtful whether they can be satisfactorily tested and objectively recorded: but the humanist educator will make vital discoveries, albeit by less scientific methods. This "world they know" is another element in the situation: does it contain a home in the proper sense of that word? the right kind of parental relations? conditions conducive to healthy physical growth? companionships which are helpful or the reverse? newspapers and books, music and pictures (other than those on the screen)? an ordered way of life, or a disordered chaos of disconnected happenings? It is only in his setting that the child can really be known, and we must know these facts about his setting.

And finally there are his interests: "there are the mechanical who like to make with their hands, and the meditative, often clumsy with their hands but quick at words and ideas: there are the literal, at home in everything exact, and the artistic, who see things intuitively and by symbols"¹: there are those interested in the movement of events, and those interested in the fixity of events: those interested in persons, and those interested in things: those interested only in themselves; it may be in their ideal selves—the child who

in the proud
realization of self common to all animals
becometh to be his own ideal, a such-a-one
*as would will and do this (saith he) and never do that.*²

There are infinite subtleties and variations of interest: some are susceptible to testing, but not all: all, however, are very much the concern of the humanist in education.

There are two points to be added before we leave this part of our subject. The first is that in order that the necessary discoveries may be made and the picture of each child filled out in the necessary detail, it may be necessary to set aside, somewhere during school life, a definite period for diagnosis. The most deliberate attempts at this which have so far been made, are the *Classes d'Orientation* and the *Sixièmes Nouvelles* of the French. The *Classes d'Orientation* were an experiment which was being carried out before the war, and the *Sixièmes Nouvelles* are their post-war successors. These classes were attached to the bottom of the *lycées*, they were staffed by a hand-picked selection of teachers, who worked together as a team, the co-operation of the parents was invited, instruction was definitely subordinated to investigation, and at the end of the period the child passed on to that type of education towards which the diagnosis pointed.

¹ The Harvard Report on General Education in a Free Society.

² Robert Bridges, *The Testament of Beauty*.

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So far we have nothing parallel to this in England. But the Norwood Committee's suggestion of a lower school in each secondary school of whatever type, in which the curriculum should be substantially the same with varying emphasis, may provide some opportunity for such a diagnosis. (A similar opportunity will be offered in the common school for the age-range 11-13 which the Surrey County Council proposes to establish.) The second point is the necessity for easy transfer from one type of school to another, and the Norwood scheme would do something to facilitate this.

It is commonly admitted that mistakes must be made in any attempt at selection at the age of eleven, and it is commonly assumed that these mistakes should be put right not later than the age of thirteen. Why this age should be chosen has never been made clear: it is certain that there will be children who will not be ripe for transfer till a later age.

However that may be, a number of transfers will have to be made, in the interests of the misfits, at thirteen, and these will take place more smoothly and with less interruption to education if two conditions are fulfilled: the first is that all types of school should establish for themselves some parity of prestige (it can never be established for them), and the second is that there should be no sharp differentiations of curriculum before that age. We are moving towards both these objectives. The first is immeasurably the harder to attain: it is of the utmost importance to humanism that the new Secondary Modern Schools should be given every opportunity of working out their own salvation and establishing themselves firmly in public esteem.

We have now reached the point where the child is admitted to the school for which he is best fitted, and we must ask ourselves how the new humanism will affect his studies and his experiences there. One of the major changes from the old dispensation will be that he is no longer treated as a disembodied mind, but as a whole human being, and this synoptic view of his being affects the whole of his school life, not only determining what subjects he should be taught but also the manner in which he should be taught them, their links both with one another and with the other elements in his experience, and the relative importance to be attached to each of those elements. The correct determination of this last point means a much stronger emphasis in the new dispensation on the physical side of his development, and a more enlightened attention to the emotional side.

It has been said that "While a few people are turned into saints by the education of their souls, millions are turned into sinners by the non-education of their bodies".¹ The Act of 1944 implicitly

¹ L. P. Jacks.

recognizes the truth of this in its generous provision for the physical needs of children and the physical education of pupils in all types of schools (including County Colleges): milk, meals, clothing, and footwear are to be supplied, there are to be grounds and equipment for games and recreation of all kinds, and physical education means more than physical training. This is the statutory reflection of a general movement of public opinion. We are alive to the fact that many children are educated better through their bodies than through their minds, and that physical education to-day must be regarded less as a department of education than as a mode.

Its aim is not an undefined fitness, nor merely health and well-being, but a fully educated personality. It includes not only games and physical exercises, but also the consideration of such mundane matters as heating, lighting, and ventilation—what the Scottish Advisory Council describes as “the prose” of education.¹

It demands that education in health, both personal and social, should be included in the curriculum of every school, and that children should be taught how to live in a physical sense as well as how to live in a moral and intellectual sense. This at once leads to the teaching of elementary physiology, as a basis for hygiene: but this subject is also valuable for training the mind and the powers of observation, for satisfying the natural curiosity of boys and girls about themselves, and for helping with the problem of sex-education.

Thus what begins as a subject in physical education widens out into a training of the mind and of the emotions as well as of the body. And that is a marked characteristic of physical education as practised in enlightened schools to-day: it is intimately associated with the whole man: “Physical activity rarely exists in isolation from feeling and cognition. The significance of the emotional tone which normally accompanies it, *e.g.* in games, is fairly well recognized, but it is not less essential to remember that all physical education ought to include a mental element also. The proper carrying out of an exercise-sequence is more than a physical routine; it is an intellectual exercise as well.”² It is partly for this reason that physical education is winning increasing recognition at the university stage: Birmingham University makes it an element in the curriculum for all students (under the age of twenty-one) in their first year, and it can be taken there as one of the three subjects required for a general degree in the Faculty of Arts. These are the considerations which make physical education an expression of humanism.

¹ *Secondary Education*, Advisory Council on Education in Scotland, Sec. 77.

² *Ibid.* Sec. 559 (6).

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Another expression of humanism is to be seen in the new attitude towards the emotional development of children. "While it is necessary to teach men to think justly through their intellects, it is no less important to teach them to feel rightly through their emotions"—no less important but infinitely more difficult. To this difficult task the school is addressing itself, as it tries to apply the results of the modern study of emotional development in children. The results of this attempt will not all appear on the time-table, and a scrutiny of a typical time-table will still suggest that schools are primarily concerned with the intellectual. But we must remember that the intellectual is the school's special province, while there are other agencies, and especially the home, concerned with the physical and the emotional.

Moreover, the education of the emotions cannot be expressed in terms of "subjects", and the medium for the most effective part of it is to be found not in a curriculum, but in the general conditions of school life, in the methods of teaching, and in the use that is made of traditional subjects and activities. Profound modifications are taking place in all these, in the attempt to develop their potentialities for educating the emotions. New relationships develop between teacher and pupil, relationships which may themselves be a practical education for proper personal relationships later on.

We are beginning to realize that deliberate education for these is needed, and that they will not develop automatically in adult life: children need some straight instruction on how the mind and the emotions work, and some help in adapting themselves to a whole series of personalities: they want to be taught why it is that they can never be with a brother or sister for more than five minutes without quarrelling (even though the two are devoted to one another), why it is that mother or father gets on their nerves, how useless and how dangerous is the habit of issuing domestic ultimatums, how to live in the present and not in a past which they regret or in a future which they anticipate with apprehension. They need direct help in understanding human nature.

"Family living involves all sorts of arts besides those of cooking, and these must form part of education. We must teach the process of living, with all its uncertainties and all its relativities."¹ This teaching is beginning in the schools of to-day, and with the humanist impetus behind it will become more common, more ingenious, more enterprising, and more effective in the years immediately ahead of us.

Many instruments are to the teacher's hand. Of these the three which are most promising (apart from the life lived together by

¹ Dr. Macalister Brew, to whom I owe the suggestions in this passage.

teacher and pupil, and the personal relationships established between them) are drama, art, and music.

The plays of Shakespeare, if properly taught, are a mine of instruction in personal relationships, and the emotional release and balance which a child often experiences by taking a part in a play or by producing some work of creative art, has to be seen to be believed. Acting is a living education in humanity and one of the most productive breeding grounds of social understanding.

Every child, Mr. Cyril Winn tells us, is "musicable", *i.e.* capable of being educated in music, and music is one medium for educating the emotions: it is a great spiritual factor, which enriches and ennobles life, while its ubiquity (in home, in cinema, in theatre, in school, in the street), its universal accessibility, its sociability, and its re-creativity (every song or "piece" has to be recreated by the performer)—all these make it a powerful element in the education of the whole man.

"When I go into some of our schools and see how the new heaven has begun to work in our new methods of dealing with the young; the efforts that are being made by enlightened teachers, and not unsuccessfully, to awaken a creative interest in the rising generation, perhaps, at the first stage, by some manual art, or by awakening the music that slumbers in young souls, or by teaching them to play their games and to dance their dances with skill and beauty and excellence—when I see these things in the schools, my hopes brighten . . . and I say to myself: 'That is the way to the things of the spirit: that is the first step to the Kingdom of God.'"¹

The same spirit has begun to pervade the class-room, and to influence the teacher's approach to his subjects and his methods of instruction, and as a consequence the pupil's method of learning. Humanism in this field has often been unduly limited to the desirability of providing students of natural science with some experience of what is termed, in a question-begging term, "culture". The case for this provision has been clearly proved and need not be laboured: steps are being taken to implement it. But the reverse process is, to the true humanist, equally necessary, and the student of the arts is no less in need of experience in the natural sciences. The difficulty here has been to determine what this experience should be, and the failure to conceive it as possible without practical work in the laboratory for which there are neither facilities nor time.

The conviction is growing, however, that what the arts-student needs is not experimental work but the learning of principles, a grasp of the nature of the scientific method, its scope and limita-

¹ L. P. Jacks, *The Revolt against Mechanism*.

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tions, an understanding of the difference between science (inquiry) and technology (application), and a knowledge of the scope of the various scientific disciplines and of the elementary facts and principles of physics, chemistry, and biology.¹

As progress is made in both these directions, so the education of students in both faculties is humanized. But humanism is affecting the teaching-process at levels far below that of the advanced student. "The teacher of any art," says Shelley, "must make a delicate compromise between the powers and needs of the child, and those of the future adult." In attempting to make this delicate compromise the humanist asks himself what subjects the powers and needs of the child require, and he answers, None: for subjects represent an artificial and an adult analysis of an experience in living and learning which for the child is one and undivided.

For this experience a basic culture is needed, and that will include the following elements: (1) The religious interpretation of life; (2) Mastery of the elementary physical skills and an acquaintance with physical culture; (3) Mastery of the elementary intellectual skills of expression and number; (4) The study of man in his social setting; (5) The study of the physical world in which he lives; (6) The structure and the use of language; (7) Creative work in the arts.

This programme is concerned not primarily with the study of subjects, but with the mastery of the essential tools, whether for living or for learning: it corresponds to the medieval *trivium*, which had the same aim, before the study of Subjects in the *quadrivium* was begun.²

It is in the later stages of schooling, in the extra year which the raising of the school age to fifteen gives us, and in subsequent years for those who stay on at school, that the application of techniques to further study will take place: for those who leave school these techniques will be applied to the art of living.

It follows that specific subjects will only begin to appear as the child makes some progress in his education, and will become more specific the longer the education lasts. But throughout the whole process they will be treated by the humanist not so much as separate suns, but rather as constellations or as solar systems.

Thus English is the study of humanity: it touches the life of the student at many points, and it calls into action all his faculties—intellectual, imaginative, emotional, and creative. It introduces him to a world beyond facts and logic, and presents him with a new set of values. It faces him with the situations of real life, and demands

¹ cf. an article on *Science for Humanists* by Dr. P. H. Plesh in *The Times Educational Supplement*, 16th August, 1947.

² cf. *The Lost Tools of Learning*, Dorothy L. Sayers (Methuen).

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of him his judgement. In the self-expression which it asks of him it gives him the opportunity of self-creation: and the discipline of learning how to write gives him self-confidence and self-respect. It is concerned with many worlds at once—the world of films and the drama, the world of philosophy and criticism, the world of imagination and creation.

The study of the natural sciences does more for a child than explain the physical world which confronts him every day (though this is important enough), and more than prepare him for his occupation in a scientific age: it stretches his brain and disciplines his mind; it takes him into the heart of things and shows him there the vision of the truth and gives him a respect for that immortal goddess, it satisfies his wondering curiosity, as it teaches him why the sky is blue or why the stars shine; it asks him "to solve the crossword puzzle set by God"; by its universality it takes him out of his parochial world into the company of men of all countries and of all ages.

The study of languages whether ancient or modern has a similarly enlarging effect, and opens the doors to a world in which men and women discuss in different tongues precisely the problems which perplex ourselves, and in their literature have discussed these during the ages which are past: these languages are not just a technique of words: they are the gateway to a civilization, a key to the understanding of humanity, and a signpost to a way of life.

History and geography are part of the study of men: they are social and humanistic, not scientific pursuits, finding their starting-points, perhaps, in the sights and sounds of the immediate neighbourhood, and reaching out from there into the wide world.

Criticizing the traditional teaching of history as a subject, Professor Butterfield writes:¹ "Ordinary curriculum-history may become so dark a screen to boys . . . that one may be forgiven for hoping that on all occasions it may be reduced to a minimum; so that children may wind their way into the past along tracks that have meaning for them, not so much 'learning history' as learning to see everything historically—railways, soldiers, or ships at one time for example; the English language and the science of geography at another time. In particular it would be useful and it would be humanizing if when they learn chemistry they could find that the teaching of the subject was always married and interlaced with the study of its history, so that the knowledge of the science itself might come to them, so to speak, wrapped up in the whole story of human thought and endeavour in this field." What solar systems are there!

Or let us consider the new role allotted to practical subjects,

¹ In an article in *Time and Tide*, 8th January, 1946.

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subjects that is to say, which involve some bodily skill, and particularly domestic subjects and handicrafts. In the old days these were regarded as a convenient alternative to more academic subjects for the less intellectually gifted: there was never any evidence that less gifted children were *good* at these subjects, but it was a popular fallacy that they should be. To-day practical subjects are "forms of education in which intelligence operates in and through concrete activities", and as such concern all pupils.

The point of view of the humanist on this matter cannot be better put than in a report to the London County Council of its higher education sub-committee on practical subjects in grammar schools: "Education through such subjects," the sub-committee considers, "is important because it is the surest way of helping pupils to develop serviceable as distinct from inert ideas, the best way of stimulating the intelligence and special aptitudes of many pupils, and necessary for the healthy development of the emotions. Education through practical subjects therefore goes to the very root of the problem of education and concerns all pupils and not merely those who find difficulty in learning in bookish ways. . . . For most pupils in these (*i.e.* grammar) schools practical education should serve either as a complement to academic education or as an interesting introduction to it."¹

Such is the humanist's approach to subjects. But he goes further than this. Reminding himself of the natural unity of the child's world, he endeavours to avoid its disintegration as far as he may, and with this in view he seizes every opportunity of synthesizing school experience in significant wholes. He erases, wherever possible, the artificial dividing-lines between "subjects", and organizes these "subjects" in organic structures.

This is the true value of the Project Method, whereby a group of superficially disparate subjects is organized round an intelligible project (such as the furnishing and equipment of a house), and each member of the group becomes significant and important in view of the contribution it makes to the fulfilment of the plan. Similar groupings can be effected, as we have seen, not round a project but round a centralizing subject such as English.

More important still, however, is the attempt to relate the work of the class-room to the other activities of school life, and to obliterate or at least to soften the unnatural distinction between work and play: it is unnatural because it is unhuman, and the humanist must seek to do away with it.

A useful connecting-link here is provided by physical education, with one foot in the class-room where physiology and hygiene are studied as "subjects", and another in the playing-field where the

¹ Report in *The Times Educational Supplement*.

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practical value of much that is taught in the gymnasium and classroom may be experienced.

But a more useful link still is to be found in the school play. Acting is good for most boys and girls, and it offers them opportunities for self-expression and for a catharsis which they do not find elsewhere, and drama in school is commonly recommended on this ground.

Acting, however, has its dangers, and the claims of drama can be based on more solid foundations than this, for taking part in a school play in any capacity is an intensely valuable educational experience.

"In no single school activity are all the values of the new education so fully embodied as in the production and acting of a play. It integrates, as nothing else does, almost every department of the school; for literature, the social studies, art, music and the dance, electrical science, the workshop and the sewing-room are all alike mobilized to one end. It draws together what educational unwisdom has too often divorced, the intellectual and the practical, the artistic and the homely. And it has its own lesson to convey; for it has brought to many a gifted youngster the first realization of his dependence on schoolmates whom he had lightly esteemed, and it has given to some who were but modestly endowed the joy and enhanced self-respect of discovering that they are needed and have indeed a part to play, whether it be before the footlights or behind the scenes."¹ We may remind ourselves of the question addressed by the unwashed Club boy to his unwashed father in Dr. Macalister Brew's book: "Did you hear the ghost what groaned at the end of the first scene? Well, that was me!"²

But it is the teacher who is the chief agent in this enterprise of sensible integration, and success or failure depends upon his outlook and methods. If he lives a unified life himself, touching existence at many points yet concentrating always on one focus, he will insensibly help his pupils to find a unity in the multiplicity of their experience: but if he is to do this, he will need a different training from that which he has received in the past: a philosophy of life and of education must form the central core of that training, and it is characteristic of the invasion of Training Colleges and Training Departments by the spirit of humanism that this is increasingly coming to pass. Such a teacher will be able to humanize his daily work, and to make it immeasurably richer, both for himself and for those whom he teaches, than it was in the old pre-humanist days.

¹ *Secondary Education*, Advisory Council on Education in Scotland, Secs. 319, 321.

² Macalister Brew, *In the Service of Youth*.

Those days have been described by Robert Bridges:

*'Twere well to consider in what a fusty crypt
the awakening mind is caged when—like a butterfly
that newly hath slipped its chrysalis to sport in the sun—
it thrusteth out its finely adapted tentacles
in their first palping movements to the encounter of life,
with confidence exploring its native yearnings.
How, when this apprehensive expectancy is met
by fenced obstruction: . . .
how should not childish effort, thus thwarted and teased,
recoil disheartened, bruised and stupefied beneath
the rough-shod inculcation of inculcated minds,
case-hardened by their own thoughtless reiterations.¹*

For this process the humanist teacher to-day substitutes the principle of co-operation with a child active in every part of his being: fascinated by the "encounter of life", whether it be an encounter with things or with experiences or with physical surroundings or with persons, and darting to that encounter with a bewildering rapidity of movement: thrusting out now in this direction, now in that: anxious to manipulate and to control persons or things: living at once in a world of reality and of fantasy, and using his fantasies sometimes to help him to solve his problems, and sometimes to escape from them: and all the time finding, in membership of some group or other, one of the principal instruments of his education.

To co-operate with such an elusive and mysterious Ariel requires more than the application of a fixed teaching-method, the rough-shod inculcation of an inculcated mind. It requires intuition and imagination, insight and sympathy, faith and charity, and the wisdom that is bred of experience: and these are the qualities, over and above high academic honours and professional skill, which we are seeking and finding in the humanist teacher of to-day.

This chapter has been mainly concerned with children, and it is in the treatment of children that the new humanism is chiefly needed and its influence is mostly felt. But it does not stop there, and it is beginning to invade the higher reaches of education.

It has become obvious that the more specialization is allowed to develop, the more mechanical does the process of education become, and the new humanism finds itself in revolt against the *mechanism* of Honours courses at the universities and sixth form courses in preparation for the Higher Certificate and university scholarships.

It has won some victories, though many more remain to be

¹ Robert Bridges, *The Testament of Beauty*.

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won: it has modified and liberalized the demands of certain examinations from the School Certificate examination onwards, and if the recommendations of the Norwood Report are implemented this process of liberalization will be greatly accelerated: it has broadened the basis of much sixth form work, and has won recognition for the fact that a training confined to the natural sciences is not the best preparation for the educated scientist whom the modern world needs, nor is a complete ignorance of science a necessary concomitant of the *expertise* needed in the student of more humane letters—that both, in fact need something of the learning of the other in the interests of their common humanity: it has led many university teachers to ask themselves whether it is possible for the university to fulfil its duty either to its own scholars in their search after truth, or to the general public in its hunger for the dissemination of culture, so long as it confines itself to the narrow trackways of its highly specialized degree courses: and it has fostered a movement for the provision of more residential facilities in the universities, believing that the best antidote to specialization and the best way to educate a human being is to give him every opportunity of intimate contact in the things of the mind and of the spirit with his fellow human beings.

Outside the schools and universities the new spirit can be seen at work in the organization and the curricula of many Day Continuation Schools which are being instituted by industries and which are the precursors of to-morrow's county colleges.

The breakdown of the scheme for day continuation schools inaugurated by the Fisher Act was not wholly due to lack of premises and staff, the failure of industry to co-operate, or the demands of economy: it was partly due to a lack of insight on the part of those who were responsible for the schools, which led them, in working out what should have been a wholly new educational instrument, to think too much in terms of the schools to which they were accustomed. The very term "school" was an unfortunate one, and to treat those who attended as schoolboys and schoolgirls was fatal. That mistake is not being repeated to-day. "County College" is a more attractive and more hopeful title than "Continuation School", and psychologically it is right, whereas the other was wrong.

It is the same psychological wisdom which leads to careful avoidance of all the associations and nomenclature of school: this is essential from the start, if what the headmaster of one such school has described as the "silent, but aggressive antagonism" of its members is to be overcome. And in drawing up the curriculum the only hope is to start from the young employee's end, and to build the curriculum on what interests him rather than to attempt

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to interest him in a curriculum which has been prefabricated without his co-operation.

It is the recognition of this necessity which has so far deterred even the wisest from attempting to define, except in the most general terms,¹ the curriculum for the County College. The truth is that the curriculum of each college will have to define itself, and the determining factor will be the human material with which it deals, the human needs which it seeks to satisfy, and the human ends which it seeks to serve. This is the humanist's approach, and it is becoming the approach of all who are concerned with this problem.

Club programmes and the organization of Club life are showing the effects of a similar humanization. There are more mixed clubs than there have been in the past, and the National Association of Girls' Clubs is now the National Association of Girls' and Mixed Clubs. That is a significant change. The issue between the Single Sex Club and the Mixed Club is a controversial one, and it is idle: for there is no absolute answer to the question which it raises. It is, however, certain that for *many* adolescents a club where they can meet their girl- or their boy-friends is the satisfaction of a very human need, and the humanist provides such a club. There are other adolescents where no club with the usual organized activities is the right place, adolescents who are allergic to all attempts to organize their interests or their activities: they are the drifters, and they will drift about from club to club, or drift about the streets, unless a club is provided for them where nothing is organized by authority but they are left entirely free to do or not to do as they please. The humanists in one city have instituted such a club, which meets with the disapproval of a large body of people, and particularly of those in the official club world. But once again, it meets a human need.

In drawing up programmes the old ideas of "getting them off the streets" and amusement and recreation, based on a false psychology of adolescence, are giving way to less negative and more constructive ideas, based on a more profound insight into human needs, and a firmer faith in human nature.

Finally, we are witnessing a new conception of adult education which reaches far beyond the university extension lecture or the tutorial class of the past, which sees a potential educational enterprise in every worth while human interest, and a tutorial class in every reasonable human activity. The stuff of adult education is to

¹ The Education Act, Sec. 43 (1) specifies "such further education, including physical, practical and vocational training, as will enable (young persons) to develop their various aptitudes and capacities and will prepare them for the responsibilities of citizenship".

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be found wherever a community associates itself together for the promotion of its common interests and for joint enterprise in the social, recreational, intellectual, cultural, and spiritual realms. This is the modern conception, and this is the humanist's conception.

Such, then, is the answer which humanism makes to mechanism in education. Perhaps both produce something which the modern world needs. Mechanism produces technical efficiency, but humanism claims to produce something more profound and more lasting:

*The lamp of truth we lit in youth,
The dreams of life's young morning:
In that dark hour, I found their power
Still in the embers burning.*¹

¹ A. G. Butler.

VII. EDUCATION AS A NATIONAL AND SOCIAL SERVICE

"Education is a major capital investment made by the community in its own interests, and the maximum return is expected of it."

THE school has a dual function to perform, an educational function and a social function. In performing the first, it is concerned primarily with the individual: in performing the second, it is concerned primarily with the State and with society. The first function aims at the development of the man, the second at the production of the citizen. Whether these two aims can be pursued side by side is a problem which has puzzled thinkers and practitioners in education from the earliest times, and there has been a continuous oscillation between the two poles of individualism and socialism.

Plato concentrated on the production of the right-minded citizen, and he cut the Gordian knot with his specious argument that the right-minded citizen, employed in the task for which his nature best fitted him, and the fully-developed and happy individual were one and the same person. It has never been possible fully to accept this argument, which in the use of the term "right-minded" begs an important question, and what we have seen in Nazi Germany is standing testimony against it.

Aristotle too, as was to be expected, stressed the social and political ends of education, and seems to have had even less interest in the individual than his predecessor.

Rousseau said: "We must choose whether we will make a man or a citizen; we cannot do both." But that is a counsel of despair, and the teacher of to-day, faced by the superficially conflicting claims of the individual child for the free flowering of its personality and of society for a certain type of citizen, sets himself resolutely to achieve the necessary compromise.

Progressive schools during the past quarter of a century have put the case for the individualist, and we have seen in the last chapter how the humanist ideals for which they have stood to-day colour the whole educational scene. But the pendulum is now swinging in the opposite direction, and we see the social ends and the social determinants of education stressed as they have never been stressed before. Thus we have a third tendency, which

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can be compendiously described as "socialization" (with no political significance attached to the term) running alongside the tendencies towards mechanism and humanism which we have considered, and of these two it has most in common with the first.

It is impossible, of course, to keep the educational function of a school wholly distinct from its social function, and where the two interact with one another we see the elements of truth in Plato's argument. Education, as Professor Mannheim pointed out, does not mould men in the abstract, but always in and for a given society, and any educational system must have "a kind of common strategy with social agencies outside the school"¹.

There must always be a close connection between the education of the individual and social progress: one of the effects of his education upon every child is the formation of his ideals both for himself and for society, and it is these ultimately which determine the direction which society shall take.

"Nothing good enters into the human world," wrote Sir Percy Nunn, "except in and through the free activities of individual men and women, and educational practice must be shaped to accord with that truth": it is equally true that nothing bad enters into the human world except through the same channels, and whether social progress is indeed to be progress and not regress depends on the individuals who are nurtured in the schools.

However successful a teacher may be in developing individuality, he will not feel that he has achieved his end or acted fairly by his pupils unless he has on the one hand fitted them for the life of the world which they will encounter, including the business of earning a living in that world, and on the other hand sent them out ready to change the world. Both of these objectives have their national and social relevance. The first means that teachers must concern themselves very closely with social environment, housing, industrial conditions, prevailing scales of values, and so forth: while a better state of society, and an improved way of life for all, depend on the teacher's success in attaining the second. These two functions tend, therefore, to coalesce, but at different periods there is stronger emphasis on one or other of the two elements in the resulting amalgam. To-day the emphasis is very strongly on education as a form of national and social service. Before considering the exact meaning of this we must see what are the causes, peculiar to to-day, for this emphasis.

There are in the main three such causes. The first is the deepening realization of the extent to which national welfare depends on national education. This is always brought home to a people in time of war, when a strong light is focused on educational deficiencies

¹ *Diagnosis of Our Time.*

(particularly in the technological field), and a resolute, if belated, attempt is directed to making these good. It is symptomatic of this that the well-known quotation from Disraeli should head the White Paper on Educational Reconstruction: "Upon the education of the people of this country the fate of this country depends." Symptomatic, too, is the demand that the universities' output of trained technicians should be doubled.¹

But the insistence on more and better education in the interests of the State is not confined to the scientific field. In the recent war our traditional way of life, which is bound up with the democratic constitution of the State, was at stake: with our victory in the field over our totalitarian enemies, the position was saved—but only for a time, and there are dangerous forces still threatening it.

The price of freedom is eternal vigilance, and the vigilance must be that of a people who have been taught to think logically, to think honestly, and to think for themselves, in short of an educated people. It is in the schools and universities that the necessary awareness and the necessary powers of thought must be inculcated, if democracy is to be made safe. Beyond our shores, again, the safety and the well-being of the State depends, as it has never depended before, on its relations with foreign peoples, and the proper understanding and right attitude here depends on what is taught in the schools.

There is a lesson for to-day in the proposal of the Dutchman in the nineteenth century that an international educational organization should be financed by the Ministry of War as one of the most effective of national defences: and there is a parable in the proposal of to-day that war-memorials should take the form of new schools, as a standing monument to the determination of the people, in its own interest as a people, to prosecute with the utmost vigour that war against ignorance and prejudice which is the only war from which the common man or the State ever profits. It is considerations such as these which lead to an appreciation of education as one of the main pillars upon which the State rests.

The second reason for the new stress is intimately connected with the phenomenal expansion in the whole concept of education to which attention has been drawn in earlier chapters. We are here concerned with society rather than with the State. The very complexity of modern society renders schools a necessity, and the more complex it becomes, the more impossible is it for young people to enter on adult membership untrained and uninitiated into its intricacies.

Education, viewed from this angle, is an indispensable social service. Moreover, it has become so intertwined, as we have seen,

¹ cf. *The Barlow Report*.

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with the other activities and experiences of society, it has penetrated so deeply into the homes and industries of the land, that it is no longer possible to disentangle the knot, and education to-day forms one of the dominant threads in the tapestry of that general social service to which we are committed. If "we are all socialists to-day", we are also all educationalists: one of the most striking expressions of our socialism is our determination to establish an adequate educational service, accessible to all, in the interests of society: and one of our chief characteristics as educationalists is our realization that we can no longer pursue our work in a corner, but it must form part of the main stream of social improvement.

Thirdly, these new conceptions have led to new provision by the State. The State is not only itself providing new facilities for education—new county schools at the primary and secondary stages, new technical schools, new county colleges, new bursaries and scholarships and grants for further education, new accommodation and new staff for adult education—but is assuming every day new responsibilities for the maintenance and the financing of provision made by other bodies: the new status of a voluntary controlled school under the Act differs very little from that of a school provided and maintained by the statutory authority. He who pays the piper, calls the tune: and in these circumstances it is natural that the tune should be that of national service. To the man in the street it seems reasonable enough that the schools should be conducted in the interests of the authority which pays for them: whether this is a vicious principle or not, depends upon how the authority interprets its own interests: and if it is objected that schools should be conducted in the interests of the children who go to them, the answer may take one of two forms: it may be said either that there is no reason why a child's interests should conflict with those of the State, and that it is his privilege as well as his duty to serve the State and to be educated to that end, or that if a parent wishes to determine his child's education, he must pay the school bills: and the fact that, under a system of free education, the State pays the bills out of the parents' rates and taxes doesn't alter the situation.

Such are the causes which bring about the new conception of education as a form of national and social service. But what precisely is meant by these terms in this context? National service has been interpreted here as the service of the State, and that is its proper interpretation, distinguishing it from social service. Its most obvious form is in the armed forces of the Crown, but this is not its only form. May it not also be found in the schools? The nationalization of education is the logical conclusion to which this view of the matter leads, and the legend "National School", still to be read

over many school buildings as a relic of the days of the National Society, may once again be an accurate description, though in a new sense. Education would be a Department of the State, all private schools would be forbidden, and all teachers would become civil servants.

There is a strong body of opinion which would have us proceed to this logical conclusion, but neither the logic in the situation nor the lack of freedom has ever been to our liking; and to-day those who look upon education as national service, prefer a more liberal interpretation of the term. It may be interpreted in the purely negative sense of prohibiting in the schools the inculcation of any subversive doctrines, and that is an interpretation which wins general acceptance. But many would go further than this and claim for the State the right to insist on specific teaching in the schools. On paper it may be difficult to controvert that claim, but common-sense and wisdom have commonly declared it unacceptable.

Or it may be held that any school which does its work well *ipso facto* performs a piece of national service, in that it sends out from its doors the good men and the good women whom the State needs: "No boy in the school," said a Chairman of the Governing Body at a recent speech-day, "must be content not to understand: there is no truer form of patriotism than this determination on the part of boys and girls to practise their understanding to the full and to achieve the habit of ordered thought."

These are not perhaps the quick returns for which the Chairman of the local Finance Committee looks, and they may not appeal to the man in the street: but the words imply a wider and a wiser interpretation of national service than any that have been considered, and if the truth which they contain can be brought home to boys and girls, the schools will serve the State in the most effective way open to them.

Social service may mean either a service performed by an individual or a group of individuals *for* society, or a service rendered to its members *by* society.

In the first sense, education performs a social service when it fits its pupils for the life of society, and enables them to find a niche for themselves in the social structure: when it develops in them sentiments of neighbourliness and good will which sweeten social relations: when it endows them with an insight which penetrates to the faults and weaknesses of contemporary life, and fires them with the practical idealism to put these right: when it fosters their individual gifts, and puts these at the service of others: when it provides society with new members who will be at once both critical and constructive, both individualist and co-operative. It is

these who will play their part in the community life which they find going on around them, sharing in its organized activities and enriching these by their contributions.

In the second sense, education is a service provided for the community, either by statutory or by voluntary bodies. If provided by statutory bodies it is a parallel service to those provided by the Housing Authorities or the Health Authorities: or it may be compared with any of the municipal services. Nor is education, so viewed, merely a parallel service to these others, running alongside them in an independent channel: it is intimately associated with them at point after point, and the teacher, as we shall see, is bound to take cognizance of them at every turn. If it is provided by voluntary bodies, we may compare it with the business of the retail distribution of goods, or with the Club movement, or with such organizations as the Boy Scouts or the Girl Guides, and the paid teacher is paralleled by the paid Club leader.

Apart, however, from the particular parallel of to-day between teacher and social worker there is a general parallel which is not without interest. We may carry our minds back some fifty years to the days of "slumming" and the beginnings of the Club movement, and ask ourselves what were the motives which took educated men and women to the East End of London, and to the back streets of Birmingham. The main motive was a desire to do what was known as "social work": with more adequate provision by the State, the need for such work is not as pressing as it was, but the desire is no less strong: and just as contributors to the voluntary hospitals are feeling that with the institution of a State Health Service they are no longer needed and are looking elsewhere for some outlet for their charity, so the social worker of the past is becoming the teacher of the present, and the same urge which fifty years ago sent men and women to Bermondsey or Bethnal Green is sending them into the schools to-day.

One further remark of a general nature is necessary before we pass to a consideration of the evidence for this new outlook. It may be argued that education for national or social service is the business not so much of the school, as of the university and the adult class, and that it demands a certain maturity and experience of life if it is to be either fair or effective: to subject children to it is to take advantage of their immaturity and to commit them to social, and it may be political, views which they cannot fully understand and for which they are not ready.

There is considerable force in this argument, and as will be seen, much of the evidence for this view of education is taken from its more advanced stages. But the school also has its part to play, and the development among school teachers of a sense of social

and national responsibility is one of the most interesting movements of our time. Higher education, though to a more limited degree than to-day, has recognized this responsibility for some time past: what is new is the extension of this to the schools.

What, then, is the evidence, first for the planning of education as a national service, and how is this affecting the organization, the personnel, and the curricula of schools and colleges? At the outset we may notice the new concern showed by the Ministry of Education for the *quality* of man-power turned out by the schools. On 1st April, 1947, the school age was raised to fifteen, and this meant that in September of that year 130,000 boys and girls were still in school, who would otherwise have been in employment; by September, 1948, the number had risen to 390,000.

This has been done at a time of acute shortage of labour, but it has been justified, and rightly justified, on the ground that it will "raise the standard of *trained ability entering the nation's service*". The writer of the article in *The Times* from which this sentence is taken, goes on to say: "This heavy inroad upon the scarce commodity of labour is a challenge to the teaching profession to make sure that the additional year in school *contributes to the national economy* more in skill and adaptability than it takes away in years of work."¹ The words which I have italicized are the important words for our consideration: it is the value *to the nation* of the additional year which is of paramount importance.

It is the same motive in part which animates the defenders of the grammar schools: these believe that the grammar school product has been of singular national importance, and that if the intellectual standards of these schools are allowed to deteriorate in any way (and we have seen that there is grave danger that this may happen), a serious injury would be done to the national economy at a most critical time.

There has been much discussion of this issue in the Press: one quotation which is typical of the point of view, will suffice: it is taken from an article by the High Master of Manchester Grammar School, Dr. Eric James: "In every field of social advance, not least in education itself, we have to make the fullest conceivable use of the intellectual capacity of our children, above all of the most intelligent. *A failure to do this means national disaster.* It is a dangerous delusion to believe that our problems can be solved by any except those capable of dealing with principles, abstractions, and general relationships—that is to say by any but the academically most gifted. The grammar schools have created in the past forty-five years the means by which alone we may solve our problems of expert man-power by seeking to ensure that the more intellectually

¹ A leading article in *The Times*, 18th February, 1947.

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gifted children of every class may *make their fullest contribution to the national life.*" Again, the italics are mine.

The "grand old fortifying classical curriculum" of fifty years ago gives way, as an apologia, to the needs of the national economy: it is to the fortifications of the nation rather than of the individual that we must look.

It is this same desire to improve the quality of our national man-power which lies behind the demand for more efficient technical instruction and a greater output of trained technicians from the technical colleges and the universities. The secondary technical school is a new experiment in our educational history, and its importance lies in the fact that it is to be both secondary and technical: the subjects normally taught in technical schools, centring round the romance of trade and industry, are recognized as being as basic and potentially as cultural as those normally taught in the secondary grammar school: the latter no longer enjoys a monopoly in producing a well-educated person.

Nor need technical education be confined to members of the male sex: a technical education, which will also be a liberal education, is possible for girls through the great industry of the home. As these ideas bear fruit, we shall see not only a great expansion in the extent of technical education, but also an enrichment in its quality.

The Barlow Report has demanded a doubling of the universities' output in trained technicians, and in order to make this possible, as well as to provide for other national needs, the Treasury Grant to the universities, administered by the Universities Grants Committee, has already risen to nine million pounds, with promise of a further increase to twenty millions. The effect of this upon the independence of the universities will be considered in our next chapter: its effect upon university life and teaching is likely to be profound.

If the universities are to remain universities and are not to deteriorate into polytechnics, the increase in the number of students on the technical side must be balanced by an increase on the Arts side: even so, the case for the cultivated amateur as against the technical expert may well go by default unless it is deliberately safeguarded, and university courses may be redrawn with a coating of culture round a hard core of science and technical *expertise*.

It is to be noted too that the Treasury grant is all made to the universities, and not to their constituent colleges, and this may run counter to an opinion which is steadily gaining ground in public approval that the true quality of a university education is best seen in the College system characteristic of Oxford and Cambridge,

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and that this system should be developed on a large scale in the provincial universities.

Whether we have the potential ability to justify the doubling of the university population, is a question to which at present there is no certain answer: but it seems probable that the answer would be in the affirmative: the evidence of intelligence tests would seem to support this, and it is perhaps significant that whereas the university population in England numbers one in every thousand, in Holland the proportion is one in six hundred, in Scotland and France one in five hundred, and in the United States of America one in one hundred and twenty-five.

It certainly looks as if the nation is not making the most of its human resources, and that is the view of the Government. If the desired increase is to take place, it will have to take place in the modern universities: Oxford and Cambridge have already expanded to their limits: and inasmuch as some of the modern universities are already over large, the increase can best be provided by the institution of three or four new universities: the stimulating effect of this on university life in general would be considerable.

There is further evidence of the new attitude of the State towards education and of its new concentration on national ends. The Act lays new responsibilities both upon the Minister and upon the local education authorities for the training of teachers, and the number of special courses for teachers organized either locally or from Whitehall has been multiplied many times. At the same time educational research for the first time gets official recognition: Section 82 of the Act runs as follows: "A local education authority may with the approval of the Minister, make such provision for conducting or assisting the conduct of research as appears to the authority to be desirable for the purpose of improving the educational facilities provided for their area."

Alongside this provision, a National Foundation for Educational Research has been established with the support of the universities, the teachers' associations, the local education authorities, and other representatives of public life. The promotion of educational research on a national scale and with public support is a new phenomenon.

We have already had occasion to notice that the provision in the Act for compulsory religious worship and religious instruction in all publicly maintained schools is admittedly *based to some degree on national considerations*: it is "to revive the spiritual and personal values in our society and in our national tradition". This is part of the general objective which the White Paper on Educational Reconstruction sets out—to enrich the inheritance of the country, whose citizens its young people are.

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In all quarters there is a new insistence on education for citizenship. The Act lays down that the curriculum of county colleges must be such as will enable their pupils "to develop their various aptitudes and capacities and prepare them for the responsibilities of citizenship".

In many schools "Civics" has been introduced as a new subject, and even where this has not been done, the teaching of citizenship has been pursued by more indirect (and probably more effective) means. The study of current affairs has become a commonplace, and the daily newspaper is becoming a school text-book. There is frequent contact between the schools and the organs of local government, and more and more the tendency develops to turn the school into a place where an apprenticeship for adult citizenship may be served.

The same attention to national issues is found in the sphere of adult education. During the war the Army Bureau of Current Affairs (A.B.C.A.), which was designed to foster an intelligent and flexible soldier-citizenship, provided a weekly platform for the discussion of these matters: though exaggerated claims were made for the success of the Bureau's work, this did become a weapon of victory and made some preparation for the more difficult times of peace: both the end which was aimed at, and the method of discussion which was used, were alike democratic.

Since the war the complexity of our affairs has heightened to an extent which makes the existence of a well-informed, intelligent, and quick-thinking body of citizens more necessary than it has ever been in our history: Government White Papers on Economic Considerations, the dependence of our way of life on hard work and high production, the necessity of exports to pay for our imports, the foundations of social security and the pre-conditions of full employment—these are matters of national importance which can only be grasped by an educated community. So the Bureau of Current Affairs (B.C.A.) takes on the work begun in the army. This Bureau operates under a charter from the Carnegie Trust which runs for five years: it is a non-profit-making body and is concerned to provide education in current affairs: its primary instrument is the discussion-group, and its outstanding problem is how to reach the uninstructed multitude, who cannot now be compulsorily paraded for the purpose, and not preach, as adult education so often does, only to the converted.

It is too early yet to attempt an estimate of its success: but it is significant that this enterprise for educating a public which will be alive to its critical responsibilities, is being made. "In a period when the democratic way of life as it is understood here is threatened, when new ideas and knowledge must travel quickly if our economy

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is to function well, there is much cause to regard adult education particularly as a form of political education—in the broad sense the old Greeks would have given to that term.”¹

Political education, however, is more than an affair of ideas and knowledge. Two other elements are necessary, and both are beginning to find a place in English education. One is a proper appraisal of values, and the other is certain qualities of character and personality. We must teach our children not only to understand the democratic way of life, but also to value it. Mr. Middleton Murry in an article in the *Fortnightly Review* puts the matter in these words: “It is preposterous that the totalitarian societies, both Communist and Fascist, devoted a large proportion of their energies to indoctrination; but British democracy does not. The reason probably is that democratic indoctrination is a far harder task. But it is just as necessary. To neglect it because it is far harder is to court disaster.”

Perhaps democratic indoctrination is far harder because, viewed from a certain angle, it is a contradiction in terms, and the more successful it is as indoctrination, the less democratic it becomes: the answer to this dilemma may be found in indoctrination by the democratic method of discussion. But whatever the answer, it must be found: and happily this is realized in schools and adult classes to-day as it never has been before. We are learning the lesson that it is possible to be too frightened of bias in education, and that there are matters, of vital importance to the national welfare, about which open-mindedness is not a virtue.

There is much difference of opinion about the instruments for this indoctrination. Direct teaching and exhortation are not likely to be the most effective instruments, and they will almost certainly be the most dangerous. Much faith is placed in the experience of life in a school which should itself be a democratic community, “a little world, the image of the great”, where the proper values may be maintained and insensibly inculcated. “The standards of a school are powerful teachers, and its public opinion is a lasting influence. Duty and loyalty to the school, responsibility of the strong for the weak, fairness in play, justice and tolerance in personal dealings—these are the virtues which a school may impart. Those possessing them will be devoted members of a free society.”²

It may be that that is the right method of political education: it is certainly a method which is being widely practised to-day. The word “devoted” in the passage just quoted draws attention to the other element necessary for successful political education, the quality of personality which it requires. In a word this is “love”

¹ *Times Educational Supplement*, 25th January, 1947.

² *Times Educational Supplement*, 13th September, 1947.

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—love of the community to which we belong and for which we are being educated. And who can teach love? or what child can learn it to order, as he learns his multiplication table? It can only spring up in him as the fruit of his contemplation of that which he believes to deserve his reverence and devotion, and it is the business of the teacher, a business which we are less afraid to perform than we used to be, to offer him this for his contemplation.

"Fix your eyes," said Pericles, "on the greatness of Athens as you have it before you day by day, fall in love with her, and when you feel her great, remember that this greatness was won by men with courage, with knowledge of their duty, and with a sense of honour in action, who, if they failed in any ordeal, disdained to deprive the city of their services, but sacrificed their lives as the best offerings on her behalf."¹ It is by setting that spectacle before the eyes of their pupils that many teachers to-day are best serving their country.

Political education takes a wider sweep when it transcends national frontiers and takes the form of an education in internationalism and world-citizenship: but despite its international scope, it is national in intent, for it rests on the recognition that no state can be safe which does not develop proper relations with its near or distant neighbours. It is national, even when it teaches a curtailment in national sovereignty—indeed, it may be more national at that point than at any other.

Such education began in the period between the wars, when the Board of Education encouraged the "Teaching of Peace" and issued pamphlets to that end, and the subject was supported by all the leading teachers' associations. It was promoted very largely in this country by the Education Committee of the League of Nations Union. Shortly before the outbreak of war in 1939 this Committee ceased to exist, and its work was taken over by a new and independent organization known as the Council for Education in World Citizenship, and this body now has the matter in hand so far as it affects schools and clubs. On a larger scale, the work forms an important item in the programme of U.N.E.S.C.O.: indeed, one of the initial Conferences from which U.N.E.S.C.O. sprang was one organized by the Council for Education in World Citizenship in Oxford in 1941.

This Conference made a strong plea for the setting up of an international education organization which might be comparable to the International Labour Office: the plan was elaborated at a further Conference, and was then sent to Mr. R. A. Butler, President of the Board of Education, who was forming the Council of Allied Ministers of Education. From such beginnings U.N.E.S.C.O.

¹ Thucydides, Bk. II, Ch. 43 (translated, Sir Richard Livingstone).

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developed, and as it developed extended its scope to include scientific and cultural, as well as educational matters. The result is that to-day teaching about international relations forms an important part of the teaching given in every good school.

The need for such education is abundantly clear: no less clear is its possibility. It is the most highly "educated" of European nations which have twice led the world into a catastrophic war, and it is because their education has been bad, or aimless, or mis-directed. In particular, it was not till twenty-five years ago that any attempt was made to direct education towards international co-operation: no provision was made in the Covenant of the League of Nations for any educational enterprise (without which it was bound to fail), and though, as we have seen, something was done between the wars, those who were interested in the venture were feeling their way and progress was slow. There was a good deal of opposition to be overcome, and misunderstandings had to be removed: to-day opposition has been dissolved in the stern crucible of a second war, and misunderstandings have given way to a very clear understanding that unless education in international relations can be successful, the people must perish.

But can this be successful? is it indeed possible? There are many who are doubtful on these questions. They point to the predisposition to aggression on the part of individuals, to the fact that man is by nature a fighting animal, to racial prejudice which they believe to be innate and an abiding cause for war, and to the natural bellicosity of sovereign states.

If, however, these considerations are to be accepted at their face value and the proper deductions made, the outlook for mankind is wholly black. The educationalist refuses to accept that defeatist position. He replies that man's fighting instinct is neutral, and his combative tendency may turn either to creative or destructive ends: the turning which it takes will depend on external influences, and of those one of the most formative is education. It is more natural for a man to behave as a citizen than as a soldier, particularly in an industrialized society, and on the whole he wants to live a peaceful life.

Nor are racial prejudices innate. The experience of the United States of America shows that time and tradition will make good national citizens out of very diverse races: colour prejudice depends mainly on external circumstances, children show no signs of it, and it is developed later in life under the pressure of social influences and a bad education. What education has done badly it can do well. The argument for the "natural" bellicosity of states is a stronger one, but it can be met. It is perfectly true that man tends to behave better as an individual than as a citizen, but he is not

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more "naturally" moral than society is "naturally" immoral.¹ Bellicose characteristics or peaceable characteristics can be imposed upon groups by social and national influences, and one of the strongest of these is education: a nation, moreover, can change its character as a group; States which were formerly warlike have become peaceable under changed conditions. Bellicosity, in fact, is not inherent in the sovereign nation and an education directed to the elimination of parochialism and to a realization that national welfare depends on international welfare may be a powerful instrument for that peace which is the nation's highest interest.²

These are cogent arguments for embarking on a programme of education in internationalism, in the interests of the nation: and such a programme is being put into action in schools and universities. There is a further argument of a different nature. Traditional ideas and prejudices have been one of the main obstacles to progress, and these are the peculiar possession of the old. Old men are indeed one of the major problems of the post-war world: they occupy the key-positions: the Service of Youth is itself largely run by old people, and is often as a consequence out of touch with reality. For the young, though outwardly accepting the leadership of the old, are inwardly in a ferment of revolt against it: and it is out of this ferment of new ideas that the brave new world must be born, if it is to be born at all.

Education is concerned with the young, who are anxious for a morrow which will be long, and not with the old, who show no anxiety about a morrow which to them is short. The young, taking their long view, are anxious to build a world fit for human beings to live in, and those who are responsible for education are beginning to realize that if they are to be given a chance to build this world, education must be international from the outset: moreover, it is only in such a world that the nation will be able to live, and such internationalism represents the highest and most enlightened form of patriotism.

This is a new orientation of educational thought, and is something much more fundamental and revolutionary than the half-hearted attempts to foster an international outlook among school children which were made between the wars. Junior Summer Schools organized in this country and abroad, the exchanges of children arranged by the Modern Language Association, teachers' exchanges with France and Germany arranged by the Board of Education, private exchanges arranged with very little financial support, L.C.C. Scholarships for the study of foreign languages, the

¹ cf. *Moral Man and Immoral Society*, Niebuhr.

² Prof. E. B. Castle, lately Headmaster of Leighton Park School, has dealt competently with these points in articles and public addresses.

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work of the International Committee of the Joint Four or of such bodies as the New Education Fellowship—all this was to the good, but it was a mere drop in the ocean. To vary the metaphor, it was tinkering with a spanner when the construction of a new engine was needed. Now the new engine is being constructed, and it is being constructed with good will because it is seen to be an essential piece in the *national* machinery.

How is this work to be done? How, in fact, is it being done to-day? It would be out of place here to attempt an exhaustive answer to these questions, but certain facts may be noted. There is a movement on foot to recapture for the universities something of the international character which they enjoyed in the Middle Ages, and to present in their life a picture of the fact that knowledge knows no frontiers. If this aim is to be achieved there must be a certain standardization of examinations and entrance requirements among the universities of the world (or among the universities of certain groups, *e.g.* those of the British Commonwealth), and a general acceptance of degree-values.

There are formidable difficulties here, but they are not insurmountable, and some of our best minds are addressing themselves to the problem. It is felt that in this matter of an international education the best start can be made at the top.

A similar internationalism could be expressed in the personnel and in the organization of training colleges, and it is perhaps from these that the best fruit may be expected. But the schools also have their part to play. Some of the Public Schools in this country might become imperial or international boarding schools, or new schools might be founded on that basis.

Within the school, the teaching of internationalism takes two main forms. The first is the conveying of a certain body of factual knowledge which can be done in the class-room—knowledge of events and of significant trends, of the mutual indebtedness of nations to one another, of the contributions which foreign peoples have made in the past and make to-day to the common world-culture, of the principles which have guided international action, of social and economic interdependence, of the work of the League of Nations and of the United Nations: this is all proper material for direct teaching, and is being increasingly used in the class-room. We must not depreciate its importance: sometimes too much reliance is placed on what is known as “atmosphere” or “tone” as an educational agent. The indirect influence of this must not be exaggerated, but it cannot be ignored: and the second form which the teaching of internationalism takes is the formation of desirable attitudes, and a redirection of thought and will to a co-operative and reconciling end.

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This redirection is the outcome of a daily concern for others, a sense of personal responsibility for the welfare of the school society, self-discipline, the mind trained to think clearly and logically and dispassionately, the vivified imagination, the experience of a good end achieved by co-operation in good means. And these qualities are the product of the general ethos of the school—its creation of an atmosphere of confidence against a secure and co-operative background, the justice of its way of life, the wide distribution of responsibility, the provision of numerous outlets for adolescent aspirations, co-operation rather than competition, and intelligent and imaginative methods of teaching. Such an ethos will produce in the school a sample of co-operativeness which, if based on a foundation of accurate knowledge, will be far more effective than a hundred sermons.¹

It is in these surroundings that a boy or girl can learn, as many are learning to-day, that the service of the nation leads up to the service of the commonwealth, and this in turn up to the service of mankind: and that the service of mankind can only be seen to make sense if it depends upon an understanding of the service of God. So an integrating principle is introduced into school experience, and the teachers become the exponents and the pupils become the beneficiaries of an intelligible philosophy of education.

In considering the teaching of internationalism we have imperceptibly passed from the conception of education as a form of national service to the conception of it as a form of social service in the first of the two senses in which we used that term, i.e. as a service rendered *to* society. It is true that the State encourages *in its own interests* the fostering of a sense of world citizenship in the rising generation, and we have seen how the State is served by this. But society is served no less, and inasmuch as the object of education in world citizenship is a world-society, such education is social service on the grandest scale. What other signs are there that we are professing and practising education in this light?

Possibly the clearest is to be seen in the frequent confusion, to which attention has already been drawn, between social and educational aims. Whenever an educational reform is supported on the ground that it will make for a healthier society, obliterating class distinctions, imparting a new coherence and a new strength to the social fabric, raising the standards of public taste, giving men and women more things and more interesting things to talk about when they meet, fostering a new sense of social responsibility, practising young people in the art of living together, or conferring some other social benefit—whenever this happens, and it happens

¹ I owe some suggestions here to an address given by Prof. E. B. Castle to a conference of Surrey teachers in June, 1947.

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very frequently to-day, it is a social rather than an educational reform which is being supported.

The two are indeed often almost indistinguishable, and it requires a deliberate effort in logical analysis to keep them apart. But in our present context the fact that they are indistinguishable is what matters: for it is an indication how easily social service and educational service are interchanged in the public mind.

In the educational revolution which has taken place during the past hundred years, and especially since 1870, one of the most remarkable developments has been the way in which education has progressively adjusted itself to the life of the community; such adjustment has proceeded with exceptional rapidity in our own generation, and has become a major trend in education.

The community now offers opportunities to its members far beyond anything which they have enjoyed in the past, but the initiative of the individual is still needed to grasp the opportunities: education conceives it to be its duty to foster that initiative in the young, not only for their own sake but for the sake of the community which it and they alike serve, and to make the life of the individual and of society alike complete. This is social service of the highest order, and unless it is performed the fruits of the other social services can never be fully gathered.

In playing his part in this social service the teacher must focus and interpret the life of the community for those in his charge: he watches the living movement of its life, immerses himself in it, studies its methods of earning its living and spending its leisure, is aware of the opportunities it offers and the qualities it demands in those who would enjoy them, and draws teaching material from its daily experience. In thus identifying himself with the community he facilitates a similar identification for each of his pupils: and the outcome of such identification is the service of society.

The war gave a powerful impetus to this adjustment of education to the life of society, for it brought the two into more intimate contact than they had ever enjoyed before. In a sense it is true to say that the schools got into the homes of the people and the homes into the schools. Sometimes this was an actual experience, as when a blitzed school carried on its classes in the back parlours of its pupils' homes, or when the members of a blitzed family found a centre for rest and refreshment in a neighbouring school: a relationship between school and society was thus established, and interaction between the two promoted, which did not end with the war but which have joined with other contemporary influences to bring about a new tradition of social service in the schools of the country: a school has no longer done its duty when it has instructed its pupils in the class-room, exercised them on the playing-field,

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disciplined them in the give-and-take of community life, and met their spiritual needs with religious worship and religious instruction: it must also concern itself with their social environment and seek not only to fit them for that environment, but by its influence upon them and upon their parents to better it.

It has already been pointed out that a nursery school is a school not only for small children, but also for their mothers: when it performs this latter function, it becomes an agency for social betterment. Similar functions are performed by other schools at later stages in the educational process, and Parent-Teacher Associations perform a piece of social work of peculiar value.

During the war and subsequently, schoolboys were called upon to help with the harvest, and both they and their sisters to perform other important duties in what was known as the "national effort": it was that, and when these duties were carried out education became national service: but it was also, and perhaps should be more accurately described as the "social effort"—the effort of society to keep itself functioning in circumstances of unprecedented difficulty: education then became social service.

It is important to observe that whether designated as national or as social service, the work involved was still part of a child's *education* and was organized by those who were responsible for his education: and many teachers discovered to their surprise that these activities were in fact more educational than much that had previously gone on in the class-room. It would be inaccurate and irrelevant to describe this social or national work as extra-curricular: it was, in reality, part and parcel of a child's education.

If we turn to some of the details of school life we find to-day a new emphasis on the social aspect. Schools are setting themselves more deliberately than they have done in the past to prepare their pupils not only for earning a living and for spending their leisure wisely, but also for membership of a club or some other adolescent or adult group, for becoming, that is to say, *active* members of society.

The secondary grammar schools are commonly and rightly regarded as our best secondary schools, and it is interesting to learn that it is from these that the best club members come: not only are the ex-pupils of these schools more ready to join clubs than their fellows from other schools, but when they join they are the club's best recruits. The truth is that in their school life they have learned certain lessons of social responsibility, and of the art of living with other people, which have been a valuable contribution from the school to social welfare. This is becoming a more deliberate contribution to-day, and is being made consciously by an increasing number of schools.

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Evidence of such social education is seen in other quarters, and it is significant that the very phrase "social education" is of comparatively recent coinage, and is being increasingly met with in educational writings. School meals undoubtedly are making an important contribution to the physique of the nation (and thereby are performing a valuable national service): but there are many who think that their importance as a medium for social education is greater still: it is this which justifies the placing of this duty upon the shoulders of the ordinary teacher, for it is a duty which he owes not only to the school children, but to society: it is, indeed, an "extraneous opportunity" rather than an "extraneous duty": and there is no doubt that in the school dining-room a vital piece of social service is done.

Similar service is done in and through school societies: it may be that their chief educational value lies in the very fact that they are *societies*, providing the opportunity which every society provides of learning the lessons which every society needs—and the adult society of men and women in towns and villages and suburbs most of all: lessons of bearing with a contrary opinion, of expressing your own with moderation, of courtesy and consideration, and of keeping the wheels of co-operative action running smoothly. Here again educational service and social service are one and the same thing, and it is partly the realization of this which prompts the demand from all quarters for an increase in the numbers and an extension in the activities of school societies.

Social education, however, takes more specific forms than any of those so far mentioned. Departments of Social Training (under whatever title they may appear) are common at the universities, and diploma courses are open to students who wish to make a serious study of society. Social studies figure in the time-table of the higher forms in many secondary schools, while in the lower forms they stand for the amalgamation of history and geography, and are sometimes the form under which those subjects are studied.

There is a new determination to make good the serious defects, from which we have suffered, in the teaching of the social skills, and a new recognition that without a mastery of these all other knowledge is useless. Of these the most important is the skill of communication: only when this is mastered can we expect that elementary necessity of a healthy society, congenial co-operation in a common task: English, which is the instrument through which this mastery may be achieved, thus takes on a new value, and is taught with a new emphasis—not primarily as language or as literature, but as a technique of communication, whether by the spoken or the written word. We hear, as we have not heard before, of the "social values" of English, and it is seen how the proper teaching

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of this subject may be one of the prime means, hitherto neglected or misused, of removing class distinctions. The study of the locality, which is common in primary schools, is a social study, and if the locality is to be the first text-book in such schools, it is because there their pupils will read the story of the society to which they belong and which claims their service.

At the other end of the scale the public schools are more and more asking themselves what is their peculiar social function: however excellent they may be as places of scholarship and education, can they be defended if their social effects are bad, dividing the people into two nations? It is mainly on social grounds that they are attacked, and to that attack the defence also must be based on social grounds: if these schools can inculcate in their pupils ideals of hard work, disinterested service, and incorruptibility, the three social virtues which are most sorely needed to-day, they will be performing a social service of the first importance: to that task many of their leading personalities are addressing themselves with a new energy.

In all types of school boys and girls are taught more than they have ever been taught before about the jobs which are awaiting them and the nature of the society into which they will go, and they are given this teaching as much in the interests of that society as in the interests of themselves. They are taught something of the relationship which exists between industry and commerce on the one hand, and society on the other, and how the latter depends upon the former for its very existence: they learn, in short, in general terms about the *social* functions of the industrial or commercial systems.

These lessons become more particular when they leave school and join a particular concern: it is common then for an effort to be made to mitigate the estrangement which used to exist between employer and employee, between master and man, by training young workers in an understanding of the industry and of its social purposes, and by helping them to make their adjustments to the social unit of the works. Foremen are now being given instruction in teaching-methods, and it has been cynically said that to-day the school-teacher merely trains, it is the works manager who educates; if education means social education, there is some truth in this, for the manager is in and of the society for which he is training his pupils, while the school-teacher too often lives in a different world and speaks a different language.

There has been a faulty liaison between the two worlds, but it is a sign of the times that this is to-day recognized: "the second-handedness of the learned world", wrote the late Professor Whitehead, "is the secret of its mediocrity": this statement cer-

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tainly begs an important question, but it also draws attention to an important defect, and it is because teachers recognize that their "second-handedness" is the cause of their social ineffectiveness, that they are seeking to remedy the defect. Those teachers who have come into the profession from the Services and the Emergency Training Colleges are likely, with their wide and varied experience behind them, to be peculiarly effective as social educators.

Two further points may be mentioned as evidence of the new emphasis on education as a social service. The first is the recommendation of the Ince Report¹ that "vocational guidance should be given before leaving school and that every school (including private schools) should be required by statute to register with the Service every school-leaver or every person attaining the age of seventeen if still at school and that the Service should be empowered to require the attendance for interview of any person so registered . . ." (the Service referred to is the Juvenile Employment Service, to be operated jointly by the Minister of Labour and National Service and the Minister of Education).

This compulsory vocational guidance is recommended partly in the interests of the young employee (to fit him into the right job according to his qualifications, aptitudes, and interests, and to divert him from jobs harmful to health or character and leading to no career), and partly in the interests of the nation and of society at large: it is hoped that it will ensure so far as possible that the limited supply of juveniles (considerably reduced by the raising of the school age) is distributed in accordance with national needs, and also that "the results will overflow into the whole personality of the worker as a citizen".

Misfits are more than a personal tragedy, they are a social tragedy as well, and education must take steps to avert them. The three stages in the child's passage from school to work are, first the school talk, second the school-leaver's interview, and third the actual placing in employment: it is encouraging to notice the stress that is laid on a properly-prepared job-analysis; vocational guidance has sometimes been attempted without this, and it is for this reason that the somewhat amateur efforts of "careers-masters" have not been more successful; such an analysis is essential for a national scheme, and the Report suggests ways in which the relevant information may be made available in schools. A new responsibility is laid upon the shoulders of school teachers, and once again the school is brought into the main stream of social consciousness.

Finally, we may consider the movement, of which the Village Colleges were the earliest manifestation, for associating the educa-

¹ Report of the Committee on the Juvenile Employment Service.

tional institutions of a community closely with its other social and recreative activities, assembling, it may be, on one site the school, the youth club, the county college, the adult tutorial class, and the community centre.

The movement takes a great variety of forms, but they all derive from the fundamental principle that "the organization of communities around their educational institutions . . . is the ultimate form of social organization". Mr. Henry Morris, from whom the foregoing quotation is taken, goes on to say that that element of unity in the life of society which is essential will be attained by such organization, and that it is only "by some such synthesis that modern communities can again become significantly organic". "Every local community," he adds, "should become an educational society, with its centre of gravity in that part of it which provides for youth and maturity . . . and public education should become the organized attempt of the local community to secure for all its members the best kind of life in all directions."¹

In these circumstances education would not so much be a consequence of good government (a matter which we shall consider in the final section of this chapter), as good government a consequence of education. The ideas here expressed are being clothed in various institutional arrangements: one of the latest is the plan of the Surrey County Council to make its County Colleges not so much separate educational establishments as focal points of educational activities, and to group them with the youth service, evening institutes, and the juvenile employment service.²

Such an arrangement would have, in a more limited field, similar social effects to those claimed by Mr. Morris for the education-centred local community. If education is the basis for the ultimate form of social organization, if it provides society with the unity and the synthesis which it needs if it is to function as a significant society, if it aims at providing the best kind of life for all the members of society, may it not justly be described as a social service?

It remains to consider education in the sense that it is a service provided by society. There is a growing consciousness of this, which is itself a growing development in our social life: society, whether through statutory or through voluntary channels, provides much *more* education than it did fifty years ago, and provides it at a lower cost. Much of it is commonly regarded as "free", and it is

¹ An article on Adult Education in *Education Handbook*, Ed. E. W. Woodhead.

² *cf.* also the Somerset plan for Area Colleges containing a Secondary modern school, a county college, facilities for adults and provision for technical education.

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in that sense that the provisions of the 1944 Act which forbid the charging of fees in any school, whether county school or voluntary school, which is maintained by public authority, are interpreted.

But it is beginning to dawn on the consciousness of the man in the street that he pays for this free education not in his capacity as parent, but in his capacity as tax-payer and rate-payer, and he pays for it whether he is the father of a family or not.

With this in mind he is beginning to demand that the control of the education for which he pays should be vested in himself, and that he should be able to see that he gets value for money.

The result of this is an enhanced local attention to education and an increase in local power over the educational machine: the attention may be an unenlightened attention, and the power may be unintelligently used, but both are there and both are forces to be reckoned with. More and more, control of education is slipping out of the hands of those who are experts in education, and is becoming the prerogative of those who are experts in local government. It would be as absurd, it is argued, to allow the private citizen to determine the quantity or the quality of the education supplied "free" to his children, as it would be to allow the private consumer to determine the purity of his water-supply, or when it should be turned on or off at the mains: both are social services, and both must be controlled by the elected representatives of the society which supplies them. (There are many who foresee a similar danger of the health of the nation being controlled by those who are not experts in health, now that the National Health Service is instituted.)

At the same time, the ordinary citizen is adopting a more and more external and irresponsible attitude towards the education of his children. He sees this objectively, and if all does not go right with it he asks why "they" don't do something about the matter: "why don't *they* reduce the size of classes, or appoint better teachers, or teach more science, or move little Willy into a higher class, or supply him with a bicycle or a pair of shoes?" and "they" are impersonal abstractions, hardly ever met in flesh and blood, seldom indeed visualized as human beings.

It is bad in any department of human life when this skeleton "they" is put into such a position of power and responsibility, but it is particularly bad when we are concerned with such a very *personal* activity as education: "they" may supply electricity, and little harm will be done: but if "they" are regarded as supplying education, and the responsibility for this is shifted on to their shoulders (if they have such limbs) from the shoulders which should carry it, great harm might be done. That harm is being done to-day,

and it is the result of a people allowing themselves to be spoon-fed with education as they are spoon-fed with other social services: the spoon-fed rapidly learn to disclaim any responsibility for the contents of the spoon.

What has been said in the last paragraph is on the debit side of education's account when it is supplied as a social service: but there are certain items on the credit side. A local authority, being now charged with "the duty to secure that there shall be available for their area sufficient schools for providing primary . . . and secondary education" and also with "the duty to secure the provision for their area of adequate facilities for further education, that is to say: (a) full-time and part-time education for persons over compulsory school age; and (b) leisure-time occupation . . . for any persons . . . who are able and willing to profit by the facilities provided", is likely to associate this duty with similar duties laid upon them in respect of other social services. The status of the Education Committee can hardly fail to be enhanced.

A local authority will be judged a good authority or not, not only by the efficiency of its sewage or tramway system or by the cleanliness of its streets, but by the quantity and the quality of the education which it provides in its schools and colleges. Good education will be recognized as a sign of good government, both local and national, and bad education as the reverse. And with this a very powerful local pride will enter the arena and will have decisive effects on the issue of the enterprise.

Moreover, the work for which the Education Committee is responsible will be seen to be closely connected with that which falls to other local committees, and particularly with Housing, Health, Parks and Open Spaces, and Highways. "Education is one of the social services," writes Professor Jeffreys, "like public health or housing: and the functioning of one of these various services depends on the functioning of the others with which it is connected."¹

There will be constant coming and going between the Education Committee and the committees responsible for these, and it will become increasingly apparent to the public consciousness that if adequate facilities are to be provided for a child's education, account must be taken of the home in which he lives, the open space in which he plays, the highway along which he travels to school, and the arrangements made for safeguarding his health and for treating him when he is ill.

An Education Committee, moreover, will find itself engaged in negotiations with Government Departments other than the Ministry of Education, and in particular with the Ministry of Health and the

¹ M. V. C. Jeffreys, *Education, Christian or Pagan?*

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Ministry of Labour and National Service: and though there is much to be said for concentrating all this work, in so far as it affects young persons, under one Minister, the Minister of Education¹, the width of vision which is implied in the new situation, and the broadening of view of what is involved in education, is all to the good.

By indirection this is already having its inevitable effects within the school walls, and teachers are awakening to a new consciousness of their concern with their pupils' social environment—with the homes from which they come, with slum-clearance schemes, and the material conditions on new housing-estates, with the geographical siting of schools in relation to new by-pass roads and open spaces, with the provision of adequate bus services, with sanitary conditions and drainage-systems. All these are social services, and they cannot be disentangled from the social service which is education. The more that education is seen as such, the more is it seen as part and parcel of the one and only social service which is the service of the local community.

Finally, a word must be said about the educational services which are supplied by other than statutory bodies: these, too, are a form of social service in the sense in which we are considering the term. The outstanding examples are to be found in the voluntary schools, in such uniformed movements as the Boy Scouts, the Boys' Brigade, and the Girl Guides, and in all the Club work which falls under the general category of Youth Service—a service rendered to its young people by society.

The voluntary school of to-day is the outcome of a movement which, in its origins a hundred and fifty years ago, was social and religious quite as much as it was educational: in so far as the earliest elementary schools founded by the churches aimed at literacy, they may be accounted educational institutions; but we must remember that the literacy was primarily needed for reading the Bible, and that social discipline was an aim of equal importance with the first; it was a social order that the churches wished to establish quite as much as a literate population.

We may, perhaps, venture on the generalization that the more the State has come to exercise control over the voluntary schools, the more they have tended to become educational rather than social institutions: but this social characteristic has never been wholly lost. It is recognized in the White Paper on Educational Reconstruction: "The services of the churches to the community as pioneers in public education, as the protagonists of Christian teaching in schools, and as having for many generations spent large

¹ The reader is referred to what I say on this subject in *Total Education*, Ch. III.

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sums on the provision and upkeep of premises for this purpose, cannot justly be disregarded."¹

A "service to the community" is a social service, and it is that which church schools have performed. We see here societies, within the great society of the people as a whole, rendering a social service primarily to their own members, but also to any others who care to take advantage of it: and the effect of the extension of State control over these schools has been to increase the numbers of those who can, without any difficulties of conscience, take advantage of it. The State, acting through the Ministry of Education, does this by concentrating on the purely educational aspect of the schools' work, and by paying less regard to the religious or social order in which they are interested.

At the same time, the schools are to serve a broad social purpose: they represent an element of diversity within the educational pattern, but a diversity which "must not impair the social unity within the educational system which will open the way to a more closely-knit society".² The tendency of to-day is to preserve a social purpose, but to broaden it.

The social values, and in some instances the national values, of the uniformed movements for boys and girls, whether these are to be found providing part of the educational programme within the school (e.g. the Cadet Training Corps), or whether they exist outside but alongside the school organization, need no stressing; there are many who think that Baden Powell was the outstanding social servant of his generation, but it may also be claimed for him that he was its greatest teacher.

This is a growth of the present century, and it shows no signs of diminishing in vigour: rather, the war has given it a new impetus. The most marked tendency within the movement has been a slight shift of emphasis from social to national needs, and a disposition to value it for its contribution to the State rather than to society. This is perhaps an inevitable result of two wars in both of which the movement has shown its national importance.

The Club movement is comparatively a new-comer to the educational field. Its inclusion in this dates officially from the day when the State early in the last war made the Youth Service the general responsibility of the then Board of Education, and the first directives were issued to local education authorities for its development.

Boys' clubs and girls' clubs, though founded primarily for social ends, had of course always pursued their educational activities, and these had come to occupy an increasingly prominent place in

¹ *Educational Reconstruction*, Sec. 51.

² *Ibid.*, Sec. 1.

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club programmes: but by its official recognition of the movement and by handing it over to the educational authority, the State took a historic step, the full significance of which has hardly been appreciated: it took over what was fundamentally a social organization, and made it part of the educational system: the dividing line between the two was rubbed out, and the identification of educational service with social service received official sanction.

VIII. FREEDOM AND CONTROL

"The justification of all State interference in the lives of individuals is to be found in an increase and not a diminution of individual freedom."

IN this chapter we shall study the nature of two opposing trends in education and endeavour to present some account of the resulting state of tension which is characteristic of to-day. The trends are on the one hand towards an increased control from outside over the whole business of education—its organization, its administration, its finance, its personnel, its content, and its method—and on the other hand towards an exuberant claim for a freedom which would burst all bonds.

On the one hand, education tends to be cabined, cribbed, and confined by external influences and alien considerations: the restrictions which discipline and control the social and industrial life of the people have their parallel in the restrictions which control its education: and these restrictions, in the one instance as in the other, are imposed in the alleged interests of the people as a whole. If social justice, which is held to be one of the first of these interests, can only be achieved by the suppression, or at least the limitation, of private enterprise, then private enterprise must go, whether in the social, the economic, or the educational field: if it is held to be better that all should enjoy a second-rate education, than that some should enjoy a first-rate and others a third-rate, then the conditions which make either of the last two possible must be eliminated: if the principle is accepted in the public interest that he who pays the piper shall call the tune, then the case for the rigid control of education by the popularly elected authorities is complete. There are many powerful voices which express these views: the premisses are accepted, and the conclusions are supported. On the other hand, education tends to kick over all the traces, and to break loose in an orgy of experimental liberty which is sometimes hardly distinguishable from licence: any form of control, whether exercised by the central or by local government, whether in the field of organization or administration, whether affecting the content or the methods of instruction, even the control of the teacher over his pupils in his class-room, is held to be fatal to the true life of education: this can only be lived if it is allowed to breathe undiluted the mountain-air of liberty.

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These are the two extreme points of view, the points at which the two tendencies arrive if there is no interference with them: but between these two extremes there are many halting-places, where control is questioned and asked to produce its credentials, but where freedom no less is examined and its extravagances are checked. We all of us make our way to one or other of these halting-places, and there we find some sort of a compromise between freedom and control: but we may not rest there for long: we may go further on or we may retrace our steps in search of a compromise which suits us better: we may find our way eventually to one of the extreme points, where the strait-jacket is fitted or where the lunatic is at large. It is this movement by the traffickers in education which is the subject of the present chapter.

The compromise which is reached at any one of these halting-places may be regarded in various lights. It may be regarded as the counterpart in the educational field of the compromise which is reached in the political between the centralization which is necessary to the smooth functioning of a modern democracy, and the vivifying of independent experiment which is its life-blood: it is true that education cannot exist except in an atmosphere of liberty, but it is equally true that it cannot be left unplanned, and that the greater the complexity of society, the greater the need for the centralization of the educational forces which serve it. We have these two influences to meet, the centrifugal and the centripetal, and somehow the balance must be held between them.

Or the compromise may be regarded as one between freedom and diversity in educational provision on the one hand, and mechanization and regimentation on the other: both the White Paper on Educational Reconstruction and the Education Act of 1944 represent a compromise of this character: "the new educational opportunities must not be of a single pattern: it is just as important to achieve diversity as it is to ensure equality of educational opportunity"—these words, which occur in the first paragraph of the White Paper, express an aspiration which falls progressively into the background as the pattern is unfolded, first in the remaining paragraphs of the same document, and then, in greater detail, in the Act.

But the aspiration never entirely disappears: it is to be seen in the retention of the Dual System of schools—this might easily have been abolished, but instead of that it is extended from the primary to the secondary stage: it is to be seen in the ingenious devices for varying the degree of control over schools of varying types: or again in providing for the continuance, under proper supervision, of independent schools, when there were many powerful

voices urging their incorporation into the State system: or again in the provision that "in the exercise and performance of all powers and duties conferred and imposed upon them by this Act the Minister and local education authorities shall have regard to the general principle that, so far as is compatible with the provision of efficient instruction and training and the avoidance of unreasonable public expenditure, pupils are to be educated in accordance with the wishes of their parents"¹; the compromise could not be more explicitly stated than in this section—on the one hand the efficiency of the machine, on the other the freedom of the human being.

And that brings us to a third light in which the compromise can be regarded: it is a compromise between the right of the State to control the type of citizen which it requires and for whose education it pays, and the right of the parent to bring up his child in the way in which he thinks he should go. Or, finally, it is a compromise between the teacher's right to teach, in virtue of his knowledge, his maturity, and his experience, and to control the surroundings in which a child shall grow up, the intellectual and spiritual nourishment with which he shall be provided, and his own inclination to profit by it, and the child's freedom to be himself, to touch life at many points according to his temperament and his choice, and to develop along the lines which his inner nature points out to him.

In all these circumstances the issue is clearly joined between control and freedom. In the main it is found, as might be expected, that the mechanists are in one camp and the humanists in the other: in so far as this is so, the two trends may be considered as an extension of the trends towards mechanism and humanism which we have already considered: but it is not entirely so, and control is often supported by the apostles of humanism, and freedom (less frequently) by the apostles of mechanism: these are, therefore, new tendencies with which we are confronted.

The reason why the humanist may be found in the camp of the controller is due to the nature and the sources of the control. This may be exercised either by experts in education, or by those who make no pretensions to any knowledge of skill in that particular art: it may be exercised either in the interests of education, or for the sake of some other vested interest—the lowering of the local rates, or social equality, or some political nostrum.

The distinctions here are very important. The control exercised by the educationist on educational grounds lays itself open to no fundamental objection: we may disagree with the form which it takes and we may seek to alter that form, but we cannot complain

¹ Education Act, Sec. 76.

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that it is improper: and the humanist here may well find himself side by side with the controller. If, however, the control is exercised by industrial interests, or by social or political interests, and for other than educational ends, then whatever form it may take, it is fundamentally improper, and it should be shaken off in the name of freedom.

It may be the control of ignorance, and then it needs careful watching and perhaps correction by the apostles of freedom. It may be surmised that the Houses of Parliament which in 1944 laid down the main lines of our educational development did not contain among their members a large proportion of educational experts: but these members did display two virtues—they were exercising their control, for the most part, in the interests of education, and they were conscious of their ignorance.

There is a great need for members of Parliament to have access to the necessary information on educational matters, and a great need for the public to learn how to instruct them about these—by inviting them into the schools and showing them what is going on there, and by other means. This problem of establishing a closer integration between the House of Commons and our educational institutions is a highly important one: upon its solution depends the wisdom and the acceptability of the control which Parliament must inevitably exercise.

But just as the humanist may be found in the controller's camp, so may the mechanist be found in that of the lover of freedom: and again it depends on the nature of the freedom which is claimed.

The only proper freedom, and the only freedom which can be defended, is the freedom to educate: once the mechanist is satisfied that the work of education goes on as well in the free environment of the independent school as in his own educational factory, he should be willing to relax the controls. But if freedom means freedom to propagate a political doctrine, to foster an anti-social individualism, or to serve some vested interest quite divorced from anything educational, then the freedom is as improper as the kinds of control which we have considered. Freedom must be freedom to educate, and nothing else: and control must be in the interests of education, and nothing else.

What are the signs that we see to-day of ~~these~~^{the} two trends? Let us take first the trend towards control. The ~~clearest~~^{clear} signs are to be seen in the text of the Education Act, which ^{provides for a} centralization of the control of education on Whitehall greater than any that we have hitherto experienced. Apart from the specific controls which Parliament exercises, such as the control of religious worship and religious instruction in all maintained schools, the first section of the Act lays upon the Minister of Education the duty

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of securing "the effective execution by local authorities, under his control and direction, of the national policy for providing a varied and comprehensive educational service in every area".

It has already been pointed out¹ that this is the first time that powers of control and direction over education have been vested in any member of the Government, and the subsequent sections of the Act show how extensive these powers are.

If we choose only the most important contexts in which the Minister is to exercise them, we find that he is empowered to appoint the members of the Central Advisory Councils for Education, and to make provision for their term of office and the conditions of their retirement (4)²: to authorize the assistance of non-maintained schools (9): to prescribe the standards to which the premises of maintained schools are to conform (10): to lay down the form which local authorities' development plans are to take, and to approve these plans after making such modifications as he thinks expedient (11): to make orders defining the duties of local education authorities in carrying out their plans (12): to modify or to approve proposals for the establishment or discontinuance of county and voluntary schools, and to demand, for his approval, the specifications and plans of any new schools (13): to determine whether a particular voluntary school shall be classified as a controlled school, an aided school, or a special agreement school (15): to make orders for instruments of management or instruments of government for voluntary schools, to approve articles of government for county secondary schools, and to order these for voluntary secondary schools (17): to modify provisions in the trust deed of a voluntary school to bring these into conformity with the instrument or articles of government which he has approved (17): to determine, in consultation with the local education authority, the number of persons to constitute the governing body of a voluntary secondary school (19): to make regulations defining the categories of pupils requiring special educational treatment, and to make provision as to the special methods appropriate for them (33): to approve schools as special schools, or to withdraw such approval (33): to settle the date for raising the compulsory school age to sixteen (35): to approve or to refuse a parent's claim that his child should be sent to a particular school (37): to demand schemes from local authorities for further education, to modify, approve or revoke these (42): to demand plans for the setting up of County Colleges, to specify how many there shall be in each area, and to make regulations for their maintenance, government, and conduct, and for the further education to be given in them (43): to issue certificates exempting

¹ *cf.* Ch. V., pp. 95-96.

² The figures in brackets refer to Sections in the Act.

young persons from compulsory attendance for further education (45): to make regulations for the provision of milk and meals in schools (49): to approve the provision of facilities for recreation and social and physical training (53): to issue directions for the provision of transport to and from school (55): to determine the income scales on which fees shall be payable for board and lodging of pupils in residential schools (61): to make arrangements for the training of teachers (62): to arrange for the registration of independent schools, and to issue orders exempting certain schools from such registration (70): to cause inspections to be made of every educational establishment at such intervals as appear to him to be appropriate (77): to make regulations empowering local education authorities to give financial assistance to pupils by means of grants, scholarships, or otherwise (81): to approve or to prohibit the appointment by a local education authority of a chief education officer (88): to demand from authorities such reports and returns and such information as he may require (92): to cause local inquiries to be held (95): and to make provision for grants and loans in aid of educational services (100).

This is a formidable list of actual or potential powers, and the list is extended by the general rubrics "save as may be otherwise directed by the Minister" or "unless the Minister otherwise directs", which occur here and there. Control and direction by the Minister become very real things, and it has never been more essential that the holder of that office should be appointed to it in virtue of his knowledge of education and his single-minded devotion to the cause: these two conditions have not often been fulfilled, but it is only if they are fulfilled that the two conditions necessary to justify the control of education will be satisfied, viz. that the control should be exercised by an educationalist, and that it should be exercised in the sole interests of education.

There are great dangers, as well as great opportunities, latent in this first section of the Act. Let us, however, leave the Lord High Educationist issuing his regulations from Whitehall about the refreshment to be supplied to schoolchildren and the methods of teaching the blind, the deaf, and the halt, or determining that children shall be educated otherwise than as their parents desire, the local authority proposes, or the teachers advise, and let us consider the controls exercised by some of his servants and partners in this task.

Among these we place first His Majesty's Inspectors. From the inquisitorial days of the nineteenth century, this service has developed into an educational advisory service of the highest value to the nation, and the Norwood Report¹ recommends that its modern

¹ *Curriculum and Examinations in Secondary Schools.*

function should be recognized by changing its name from the Inspectorate to His Majesty's Educational Advisory Service. That function should always be primarily concerned with the content of education and not with its administration or regulation: the Norwood Report lays down a three-fold function—Inspectors should be “the eyes and ears of the Board of Education, reporting regularly what is being thought, said and done in the schools”; they should “provide a guarantee to the public that the schools are doing their work honestly”; and they should aim at keeping “the friendship and the willing co-operation of the teaching profession”.

Few would quarrel with this statement of function, and there is nothing in it, or indeed in the titles of “Inspectorate” or “Educational Advisory Service”, to suggest any powers of control. Such powers have, however, developed, and under modern conditions and the controlling tendency of legislation and official regulations are likely to develop further.

During the war a growing burden of administrative work was necessarily laid upon the Inspectors' shoulders, and with the ending of the war this load has not been shed (as it should have been), but has been allowed to increase: and with the increase has inevitably gone an increasing control in matters which should be the prerogative of the local education authority or of the teacher.

The Inspector frequently enters the field now as an extra authority, whose approval has to be obtained to any action proposed by a local authority, in addition to that of the five or six appropriate Committees or Sub-Committees, the Office of Works, the District Valuer, the Regional Planning Officer, the Land Utilization Officer, the Safety First Committee, the private owner, or any other body which may be directly or indirectly involved.

However trivial the project, and however far removed from the actual business of teaching children, it has to be discussed with the Inspector, and his is a new controlling voice in its implementation: it may be the siting of a temporary hut in the school playground, the equipment of a kitchen or canteen, the collection of salvage, an architectural detail on a new school building, or the type of inkpot used in the class-room. Two examples may be given.

The first is taken from an article in the *Journal of Education* for May, 1947: “In no branch of the service is absurdity carried to such extremes as in the provision of meals. It is understandable that equipment has, at present, to be ordered through the Ministry of Works. But instead of orders for dish-cloths, crockery, etc., going to them direct, they *all* must be sent to H.M.I. for counter-signature. As a result, H.M.I. finds himself inundated with detailed problems connected with meals which the local authority pay an

expensive staff to deal with. . . . Let him, in the course of his inspecting, by all means comment on deficiencies and make suggestions regarding meals, but why not eliminate him as a post-office or Customs officer, and make the local education authority do its job?"¹ As a post-office he is otiose, as a Customs officer he exercises a dangerous power of control, and as neither is he doing the work of an Inspector.

The second example is now happily a thing of the past, for the offending Regulation which caused the abuse has been revoked by the Minister of Education: this was Regulation 18(3) of the Primary and Secondary Schools (Grants Conditions) Regulations, and it laid down that the permission of one of His Majesty's Inspectors was necessary before secular instruction in maintained schools could be given off the school premises: it was impossible, in other words, for a local authority to authorize a form-expedition to the local museum or art gallery without first getting the approval of an Inspector.

Even with that particular obstacle removed, there are difficulties enough, as we shall see, in a Head Teacher arranging any such activities: but that it should have been created at all is striking evidence of the multiplication of controls in education. It is not suggested that Inspectors have any desire to exercise these controls: they have been thrust upon them, and the sooner they are taken off, the more time will Inspectors have for exercising their proper functions of assessing and stimulating the work that is being done in schools and advising teachers on curricula and methods.

From the Inspectorate we turn to the chief of the Minister's partners, the local education authority. The powers of these authorities have been both increased and diminished.² By the recent Act, the division of education into two fields, that of elementary education and that of higher education was brought to an end, and with this an end was put to the existence of those authorities which were only responsible for the former. Authorities were reduced in number from 315 to 146 (62 County Councils, 1 Joint Board, and 83 County Borough Councils), and with this reduction in numbers there went an increase in the powers of some of the authorities which remained: every local education authority to-day is responsible over the whole educational field.

Moreover, what have hitherto been permissive powers granted to an authority, powers which, in fact, many authorities have not exercised, now become mandatory duties: the authority is compelled by the law of the land to exercise control over many matters which in the past it has been free to control or not at its discretion.

¹ *Control and Direction in Education*, by a Correspondent.

² cf. Ch. V.

The raising of the school age, again, to fifteen (or sixteen) increases the span of a child's life over which the authority has control, and the duty to provide nursery schools before the age of compulsory education is reached and part-time education in County Colleges after it is ended increases the scope of control still further.

The introduction into our system of the new status of "Voluntary Controlled School" brings under the virtual control of the authorities many schools which have hitherto been more than semi-independent: it is particularly important to notice that while there is no transfer to the public authority of the property or ownership of these schools, the whole cost of maintaining and improving the fabric and running the schools will be met out of the public purse, and in view of this the local authority has the power of appointing two-thirds of the Managers, and also of appointing and dismissing the teachers (with certain duties of consultation with the Foundation Managers). These two powers are vital, and whoever possesses them controls the school. The status of the Aided School is little changed, but such changes as there are involve a certain loss of independence.

"Independence", in the words of the White Paper on *Principles of Government in Maintained Secondary Schools*, "implies, not freedom from paper control, but freedom to exercise legitimate and appropriate functions",¹ and it is with this in mind that section 17 of the Act provides for the first time in our history for a body of managers or governors for every maintained school, and lays down the instruments that shall determine their constitution and the articles that shall determine their powers: but whether these instruments and articles leave adequate freedom to perform adequate functions, is a matter of some doubt.

There is a certain latitude of interpretation left to local authorities, and the degree of control which these exercise will depend to some extent on the strictness or the flexibility of their interpretation. It is clear that the number of teachers under the control of the local authorities increases under the new dispensation, and there is nothing to prevent the establishment of a central pool of teachers for service in the schools of an area: the link would then be entirely one between the teacher and the authority, and no longer between the teacher and the school.

Within the new framework the powers of local authorities have been extended in various directions, and matters which have hitherto been held to fall within the parents' province are now controlled by the Education Committee. Thus it becomes the duty of every authority to provide for the medical inspection and free *medical treatment* of all pupils in the schools which it maintains. Another duty is to ascertain what children in the area require

¹ *Principles of Government in Maintained Secondary Schools*, Sec. 5.

special educational treatment; and for the purpose of fulfilling that duty any officer of a local education authority may by notice in writing served upon the parent of any child who has attained the age of two years require him to submit the child for examination by a medical officer of the authority for advice as to whether the child is suffering from a disability of mind or body and as to the nature and extent of any such disability.¹

But perhaps one of the most important of these controls will be that exercised by the authorities at the beginning of the secondary school stage. It is true that Section 76 of the Act lays it down that so far as possible pupils are to be educated in accordance with the wishes of their parents: parents are given the right to say what kind of a school they wish their children to attend, but the local authority has the last word in the matter, and to them falls the duty of allocating a child to this, that, or the other school. In making this allocation they are naturally guided by such evidence of ability and aptitude as is open to them from intelligence tests, examinations, school records, and school reports: but they are bound to be influenced also by the amount of accommodation which they have available in the various types of school. In the old days the Special Place examination determined what children should enjoy a secondary education: to-day the local authority determines what type of secondary education every child will enjoy, and thus ultimately controls the destinies of the child.

One further example may be given of the newly-extended powers of control. In the early days of the last war the Youth Service was officially recognized and made the responsibility of the Board of Education: this responsibility was exercised through the local education authorities. Up to 1937 these authorities had been concerned with the leisure-time activities only of those young people who were attending a school or other educational institution and were under the age of eighteen. In 1937 both these limitations were removed. But the decisive step was not taken till shortly after the outbreak of war, when "the Youth Service was brought into being to extend the recreational training of young people by assisting the national voluntary organizations . . . and by enlisting the assistance of Local Education Authorities in increasing the opportunities open to young persons to use their leisure wisely to their own advantage".²

The Service, as the White Paper pointed out, was not to be regarded merely as a war-time expedient, but as "an integral part of the national system of education", and "a partnership was established between the voluntary agencies and the Education

¹ Education Act, Sec. 34.

² White Paper on Educational Reconstruction, Sec. 90.

Authorities through the Local Youth Committees". The partnership has taken many different forms, varying with the relationships between the partners, and on the whole it has been fruitful. But those who have had experience of it know how easily the voice of that member of the partnership which controls the purse-strings becomes dominant: it is significant how deeply to-day the success of the Club-movement in any town depends on the attitude of the Education Committee and the Chief Education Officer, an attitude which hitherto has been for the most part irrelevant. There is little doubt that immense powers of control over the adolescent life of its area may pass into the hands of local authorities through their manipulation of this machine.

In these ways the local authorities are controlling more and more of the mechanism of education. But it has been pointed out that in certain respects their powers are diminished.¹ This is due to the fact that whereas in the old days the authorities used to be the partners of the Minister, to-day they are more in the position of his servants: they act "under his control and direction": their constitution has to be approved by him, and everything of importance has to be sent to him for his approval, inhibiting initiative and causing delay. Many authorities feel that they have been given more to do, more duties to perform and more powers to exercise, but have been robbed of their freedom to do it. This does not, of course, lessen the degree of control over education: it merely makes the control more remote, and puts the local authority into the position of a buffer-state between the central administration and the school.

There is still the dichotomy between the administrator who knows nothing and does everything, and the practitioner who knows everything and does nothing. That is a dichotomy which modern trends in education are accentuating. With the shifting of control, first from the school to the authority, and then from the authority to Whitehall, the distance between practitioner and administrator is being lengthened, and communication between the two is rendered proportionately more difficult: they tend to live in two different worlds, and no effective steps have yet been taken to foster mobility and interchange between the two: the teacher teaches, and the administrator administers, and never the two shall meet. This is a modern tendency which all who have the cause of education at heart must view with apprehension.

Let us, however, leave the world of the local administration of national schooling and consider some other instances of increased or increasing control.

There is undoubtedly a threat to the independence of the

¹ cf. Ch. V.

universities. It is impossible to increase the Treasury grant to the universities from two million to nine million pounds per annum, with the prospect of a further increase to twenty millions, and not at the same time introduce the possibility, if not the probability, of increased public control. No public support without public control is a principle deeply rooted in our social system: it is an equitable principle and it has safeguarded us against many abuses: it is not lightly to be abandoned.

At the same time, changed social conditions demand its modification. With the extension of public support to new social activities, a rigid application of the principle may mean the public control of what depends for its value to the community on its very freedom from such control. The services of the medical profession to the community may be a case in point now that the National Health scheme is in full operation. The services of the universities are another case in point. Their acceptance of the objective standards of truth and of the intellectual scheme of things, with no deviations under the pressure of public opinion or of popular prejudice, is the most priceless of their gifts to society: and to preserve this position, they must be free.

It is the duty, moreover, of a university to produce expert and independent critics of public policy, to call in question, if need be, the actions of the very Government which supports it. To do this, it must be free. So far there are few signs that the universities are threatened by the improper control of any external body, and the methods adopted by the University Grants Committee in distributing the Treasury grant have been models of wisdom and broad-mindedness: but it is clear that the threat is inherent in the new position, and it may be that the university of the twentieth century may have to defend itself against the inroads of the State, much as the university of the thirteenth century defended itself against the inroads of Pope or Mayor. Whether that day will come or not, depends on the readiness of the public to substitute for the old slogan of No public support without public control, the new and wiser slogan of No public support without public confidence, to give its confidence to the universities (and it is to be hoped, to the schools too) generously and whole-heartedly, and to abide by the consequences.

Another form of threatened control is to be seen in the attitude of certain local education authorities to what are termed the "trade-union affiliations" of the teachers whom they employ. Are these members of a trade-union? and if so, which? Teachers are sometimes asked to give signed answers to these questions. It is a very short step from this to an acceptance of the full Closed Shop policy, and an insistence that teachers in the area should belong to a parti-

cular union. If that situation develops it will represent one of the most serious blows ever inflicted upon the teaching profession and the cause of education.

Teachers' associations are not trade unions, and it is essential to their character and to their usefulness that membership should be voluntary: for an association to accept compulsory membership would defeat its own purpose: and for such membership to be all concentrated in one monster association would be to give that association complete control over the teaching in the schools. "Even an attempt to compel a teacher to join an association is a serious interference with the liberty of the individual: we may hope he will be public-spirited enough to join the appropriate organization, if only to change its policy if he disapproves of it, but no one has the right to compel him to become a member.

But, beyond this, if the principle of compulsion is once accepted, what is to prevent the local authority from deciding which is the teachers' association it will recognize officially? Teachers, of all people, should surely be left free to make such important decisions for themselves."¹

There are other influences, more subtle and less direct, which are tending to dominate the educational scene. Some of these are industrial and social influences. An example may be taken from industry: the changes in the modern industrial system, with their effects upon the old system of apprenticeship, have put new responsibilities on education, enlarging its control and prolonging its duration: they have been one of the unseen forces behind the successive raisings of the compulsory school age: and this prolongation of education has far-reaching consequences for education generally. In a mass-society which is a planned society one change is always related to others, and education may well be changed by causes which are far beyond its control and which are themselves quite uneducational.

These new powers of control are growing, and the only defence against them is vigilance. In more specific forms we constantly see to-day the attempts of industry or the profession or society at large to dictate the school curriculum: more and more it is these who claim to lay down "what every schoolboy knows", or should know. The effect of this pressure, particularly from the professions, is seen most conspicuously in the control over the curriculum which is exercised by examination requirements. This has been one of the most formidable controls to which the education of boys and girls has been subjected.

If the professions are allowed to determine, as they have been,

¹ A note in the *Journal of Education*, February, 1947.

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what *school* examinations they are prepared to accept, and on what conditions, for admission to their membership, they virtually determine what subjects boys and girls are to study at school, and to what standard: a similar control has been exercised by business houses which have only recognized a School Certificate which is equivalent to university matriculation. The point to be noticed is that this control is exercised over a *school* examination and in consequence a *school* curriculum: it is not the perfectly proper control over professional examinations and a professional curriculum: and it determines the course of study, not only of those who are going to follow the particular profession or business, but of all the boys and girls in all the schools.

In the independent schools it may well be the force of tradition or of the Old Pupils' associations or of the parents which exercises a similar control. The power of the first two is extraordinarily strong, and exercises a control over the progressive Headmaster or Headmistress which may be completely paralysing: a Headmistress who had been in turn Head of a publicly provided and maintained school, a direct grant school, and an independent school, once said that it was in the first position that she enjoyed her greatest degree of independence, and in the last her least. This is a control which is not easy to shake off, and while there is no evidence that it is increasing in power, there is equally no evidence that it is decreasing.

As for the influences of parental opinion, these are sometimes under-estimated: and as parents are taking a keener interest in education to-day than they have in the past, so their control is increasing.

"The school will, in the long run, teach successfully whatever the parents really desire their children to learn; in other respects it will be ineffective. The public schools are the supreme instance of this. They have taught superbly what most of the parents of most of the boys in them wanted their sons to learn. . . . And naturally parental influence, which is largely unconscious, is even more potent where day schools are concerned. The parental attitude in education may be compared with sea-power in war. It is an influence exercised silently off the stage. But it is inexorable, unremitting, and irresistible. It will infallibly shape the pattern of the whole business and determine the nature of the final issue. To attempt to ignore this is a piece of folly which must prove disastrous to the plans of those who indulge in it."¹ There is some over-statement here, and not all Headmasters would admit that the influence is exercised "silently and off the stage"! but it draws attention to a fact which is too much neglected when we plan

¹ *Crockford Prefaces: the Editor Looks Back* (Oxford University Press).

ideal curricula in the fond imagination that we are free agents, and it contains a salutary warning.

Such are some of the developing controls in education to-day. If their development is not arrested, it can only result in an education which is static and not dynamic—a stagnant pool and not, as education must always be if it is to deserve its name, a running stream. The writer whom I have just quoted puts the point vigorously: "The more complete and effective the public control of a system of Education becomes, the more likely is it that the system will come to giving the public what it wants. Which means that it will forfeit any power which it had, or might have acquired, of raising the public standard in any respect. And what is the ultimate value of any system of Education, however admirable on paper, which does not at least attempt to do this? . . . It is clear that the publicly controlled elementary schools, as a whole, are not setting a standard. They have been completely conformed to this world and are therefore incapable of promoting social progress."¹ The criticism of the elementary schools may be out of date, but the general truth here expressed is as true as it has ever been, and has a new relevance to our present condition. It is partly because this is clearly recognized by the lovers of freedom in education, that we see the counter tendency with which this chapter deals—the tendency away from control and towards a freer state of affairs.

It is felt that only by a deliberate determination to preach and to practise freedom, whenever and wherever possible, can the paralysis which threatens to creep over education be arrested. Statutory controls, whether by Act of Parliament or by official regulations, are exercised by the Government: the other controls to which attention has been drawn are exercised by public opinion, whether that be the opinion of professional circles or of the industrial world or of the parent in the home and the man in the street.

But it is notorious that Government always lags behind public opinion, and public opinion equally lags behind the needs of the time and falls short of the first-rate. The controls which these exercise are, therefore, always out of date, and are exercised on a lower level of thought and taste, and are concerned with a lower standard of values, than those in which it is the business of education to deal. Public taste and public intelligence and public valuations cannot be improved by an education which follows public opinion. Hence the recognition that education, if it is to be true to itself, must shake off its controls or at least loosen their grip.

There are other reasons which lead to this same trend. The

¹ *Ibid.*

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life of the young is threatened to-day with two circumstances which are unobtrusive and may well be overlooked: but they are extremely dangerous to the national well-being, and unless they are recognized and met, they may have most damaging effects on the standards which the nation is prepared to accept. These two circumstances are first that boys and girls are growing up surrounded only by examples of the second-rate, and second that they are a generation habituated to restrictions and denied the priceless experience of freedom, that experience which has throughout our history been the mainspring of our efforts towards a better life.

As the old possessions in our homes are lost or broken or worn out, they are replaced by unattractive objects and shoddy material: the newspapers which we read and the paper in which our purchases are done up (when they are not, as is more common, handed over the counter "naked and unashamed") is thin and poor in quality: as we walk about the streets and look into the shop windows we see *ersatz* goods, substitutes tricked out to look like "the real thing", cups and saucers which are ugly in shape, coarse in material, and undecorated by any attempts at beauty: utility goods are second-rate goods, but the disparagement which should attach to the term is rapidly disappearing: that is a bad sign, for it means that the public are accepting the second-rate as the normal standard.

Those of us who are older may remind ourselves that our factories are still producing goods of first-rate quality, and that these are all going for export, and we may look forward to the day when they will return to our shops and our homes: but the young cannot remind themselves of this, for they have nothing of first-rate quality to remember, and they can, in consequence, look forward to no such day: and what they look forward to is a good deal more important than what we look forward to.

Meanwhile, what is likely to be the effect on children of growing up in a world of the second-rate? The most likely effect is that they will constitute a generation of the second-rate. How can this be countered? Not by an education controlled by a public opinion which is daily becoming more accustomed to the second-rate, and accepting it as the normal standard: not by the passive barbarism of the century of the common man.

There is a grave danger that a publicly-controlled system of education in a community of second-rate standards will itself be second-rate. The way to meet the danger is to assert the importance of freedom in education, and to nail that flag to the mast-head. The school must be free to foster a sense of the first-rate, whatever may be the publicly accepted standards: to confront its pupils

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daily with examples of the first-rate in art and music and drama and literature, in civic and in national life, in human character through the ages, however "useless" these examples may be to a utility-minded public: and to promote in boys and girls a desire to do something as well as it can possibly be done, whatever the labour-saving device which would do it more quickly if less thoroughly. A single example may be taken: in choosing a language for children to study, we should ask which is the most first-rate (a question not often asked), and we should find the answer to be Greek; but public opinion would choose commercial French, and would have that taught in publicly-controlled schools. The way of escape from a dull mediocrity and an acquiescence in the second-rate, is through an education free to present the first-rate as the standard proper to man.

The way of escape from the second circumstance is also through a free education.

Even more damaging to the common weal than the restrictions to which we must submit is the fact that we are growing accustomed to them. This is particularly true of children, who have never known any other state of affairs. For those now entering our schools there has been no experience of that freedom which was at one time thought to be the right of our people and the foundation of our greatness, and the prospects of its returning to gladden their school days are poor in the extreme.

"The restoration of our ancient liberties" has a hollow and unreal sound in the ears of those who have never known them, and freedom degenerates into a mere word, signifying nothing. It is an evil day when that happens to a people: and never more than to-day have we been in need of adults who know what freedom is.

Some of the machinery of freedom may still be preserved, but it is essential that there should be men and women who know how to use it: the publication of White Papers before legislation (such as the White Paper on Educational Reconstruction before the Education Bill) is an admirable custom, and provides the machinery for the public discussion of national policy: but this function of the White Paper must be understood, an habituation to the principles of free discussion must be inculcated, and something of its technique must be acquired, if the opportunity is to be used.

These things will not come naturally to a generation brought up in an atmosphere of restrictions: they must be taught, as parts of the lesson of freedom, in a school which is free to teach them. The school must be free to teach freedom. "Europe owes to humanism", said Jebb, "the creation of forces working not merely for freedom, but for something without which freedom itself may

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be a burden or a curse, the power to comprehend its right limits and employ it for worthy ends." It is precisely these forces which the school as an instrument of humanism, must be free to develop and release.

These considerations are powerfully at work in the minds of those who press for freedom in education: but there are others. 'Truth and understanding are not such wares as to be monopolized and traded in by tickets and statutes and standards. We must not think to make a staple commodity of all the knowledge in the land, to mark and license it like our broad cloth and our wool packs.'¹ This noble sentiment of Milton's is speaking to the condition of men to-day and winning the acceptance of their minds as it has done only in the great crises of intellectual freedom.

This is a day when more and more of our lawful activities and enjoyments are being traded in, ticketed, docketed, and controlled: men fear that this monopolistic process may be extended to the operations of their minds, as it has already been extended to their health and the details of their family life.

There are ominous signs that point in this direction—the cutting of newsprint, whereby ideas may be disseminated, as one of the first of the economies in 1947, and the attacks, sometimes scarcely veiled, on the freedom of speech or of pen. There is a growing apprehension that the day may not be far distant when there will be a marketing-board established for the control of truth and understanding, and when these will be obtainable only on the surrender of the proper official coupon.

Faced with this danger thoughtful people are turning to the universities and schools. In the universities they still find a break-water against the encroaching flood, though even here vigilance is necessary. An example may be taken from a single university.

In the annual report of the University of Oxford for 1947, it is pointed out that the Government grant had increased from 21 per cent of total expenditure in 1938-39, to 59½ per cent for 1947-48, with the probability that it would amount to 70 per cent in 1951-52: the report goes on: "Some anxiety may be felt lest the increase in the proportion of total University expenditure met from Government grant may bring with it a degree of Government control from which Universities have hitherto been free. Such freedom is the palladium of Universities, to be preserved at all costs. It is the more satisfactory that the University Grants Committee repudiates any intention of interference as warmly as any member of a University could wish. But a watchful eye should be

¹ Milton, *Areopagitica*.

kept on earmarked grants. It is clear that the amount of earmarked money which can be absorbed by any institution without loss of independence, depends largely upon how much free money there is to balance it."

The earmarked grant may well pave the way to the trade in truth and understanding which is to be feared: and it is disturbing to note from the same report that earmarked money at Oxford for the year 1947-1948 is estimated at round about 40 per cent. of the total expenditure.

But if the situation in the universities is not wholly reassuring, that in the schools is worse: for the schools are rapidly becoming absorbed, as we have seen, in the system which issues the official coupons, and are in grave danger of being the operative agencies for the marketing board. Unless their essential freedom can be protected and put beyond the reach of attack, they may well cease to be allies in the battle for truth, and go over to the enemy; they may cease to be purveyors of truth, and become purveyors of *the* truth. Hence the demand that the schools should be left free—the teachers free to teach truth as they see it, and the pupils free to think honestly, to think logically, and above all to think for themselves.

The argument in favour of this course is reinforced by the findings of child psychology. One of the most important things that this study has taught us is that the best way to educate a child may well be to leave him free to educate himself: that learning is self-teaching, an active process which is as likely to be inhibited as to be stimulated by the controlling influence of the teacher.

It is widely felt that the successful self-effacement of the teacher is one of the conditions of true education. Whether we are thinking in terms of intellectual education, of physical, of moral, or of spiritual, the freedom of the child must be safeguarded if any worth-while results are to be achieved. "You cannot teach a boy to do right unless he is free to do wrong" is the motto on the wall of a class-room in a secondary school in India. "After all is said, character can only be *my* character: if it has not been formed by me, if I am not allowed choice, if I cannot say Yes or No, then the virtues are merely borrowed; and the outcome is not a character, but an understudy."¹

Child psychology accuses teachers of having been busy too long with the production of understudies, and of intellectual understudies perhaps more than any other variety; and in so far as they have been busy with the production of understudies, they have not been busy about the work of education.

¹ J. J. Findlay, *The School*.

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*You may give them your love, but not your thoughts,
For they have their own thoughts. . . .
You may strive to be like them, but seek not to make them like you,
For life goes not backward, nor tarries with yesterday.*¹

Education has been too careful of the type: the modern demand is that it should be left more free to deal with the individual.

Child psychology, moreover, knows a good deal about the growth of the individual: and while recognizing that each one develops at his own pace, using his experience in his own way, and that his education will only be effective in so far as it acknowledges this fact and adapts itself accordingly, yet it recognizes also certain clearly-marked stages through which every child or adolescent passes, and claims for education the freedom to adapt itself to those stages and to vary its content and its method accordingly.

The findings of child psychology in these respects are based on experimental work of known validity, and are borne out by the common sense and the experience of every teacher who keeps his eyes and his mind open in the class-room. From all these directions the demand for freedom in education comes: and it is reinforced by the atmosphere of freedom in which we have lived, by the freedom that has been "in the air", and by the determination of a people not to lose, and especially in their spiritual activities of which education is one of the chief, the freedom which they have fought two wars to preserve.

What, then, are the forms which this movement takes? There is one general form which is to be found from bottom to top of the structure: it is a protest against any restrictions which are imposed from above. The child protests against the disciplines of school life, the school teacher against the limiting conditions of his life and the opportunities for active citizenship which are denied him, the Headmaster against the interference of his Governing Body in the appointments he wishes to make to his staff, his Governing Body against their loss of independence under the Act to the local education authority, and the local education authority against the limitations imposed upon them by Whitehall: and the more vigorously each exercises the control which is allowed him, the more strongly does he protest against the control which is exercised over him.

There is nothing to deplore in this: it is a healthy sign of the times, the assertion that "We must be free or die".

From Whitehall we see certain concessions to this educational protestantism, and within it we find certain interesting developments. There are concessions to be seen in the Act of 1944. Thus

¹ Kahlil Gibran.

the Minister is to be advised by two Central Councils, one for England and the other for Wales, and these Councils are left free to offer him their advice on "such matters connected with educational theory and practice as they think fit" (a power of initiative which the Consultative Committee of the past never had). It is true that the Minister keeps in his own hand the power of appointing the members of the Councils, but this does not seriously weaken a principle introduced for the first time into educational legislation—the principle of free advice freely offered by a body of educational experts. The Section which provides that a child shall be educated according to his age, ability, and aptitude, and which allows this education to be given by other means than by regular attendance at a school, embodies two important freedoms—freedom from a prefabricated curriculum, and freedom from a prefabricated machine.

There has been cynical comment on the Act's approval of the "general principle that . . . pupils are to be educated in accordance with the wishes of their parents": but however this may be hedged about with conditions ("so far as is compatible with the provision of efficient instruction and training and the avoidance of unreasonable public expenditure"), and however formidable the practical obstacles for a long time to come, this recognition of a parent's freedom has found its way on to the Statute Book.

Though religious instruction and religious worship are compulsory in all maintained schools, the rights of conscience are still respected, and parents may withdraw their children freely from either or both: and the reiteration of the Cowper Temple clause safeguards the freedom of the denominations.

These are straws which show the way the wind is blowing over the roofs of Whitehall, and it is blowing in the same direction when Whitehall finds itself in the provinces: for the Ministry of Education has adopted, and is operating even more liberally than in the past, the Board of Education's policy of encouraging experiment in the schools and of not interfering with a teacher upon his lawful occasions.¹

The right of the schools to free experiment is recognized, and the gain to the teacher (and through him to the education of the people) from the free exercise of his responsibility: and with this goes the recognition that it is the duty of the administration to protect this right and to guarantee this freedom.

¹ "The only uniformity of practice which the Board 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 his school."

The truth of Lord Roche's *dictum* is accepted: "The first principle is that, if in public or private life you confer discretion or responsibility upon a person, the way to take away all sense of responsibility is to interfere with his discretion."

This breadth of mind at the centre is not always found on the circumference: and though there are exceptions to prove the rule, it is still broadly true that there are more unwarrantable interferences with the freedom of schools under local education authorities than there are with schools under the direct control of the Ministry of Education. Indeed it is in the offices of local education authorities that the winds of freedom are most sluggish, and where fresh air is most needed: but there is a fluttering of the window-curtains.

If we leave the official sphere, and put ourselves inside the schools, we find the same wind blowing. There is a growing demand that every school should be accorded the status, the rights and the privileges as well as the responsibilities, of a free spiritual community: whatever its position in the official structure, whether it is county or voluntary, aided or controlled, or altogether outside the general system, it needs this character if it is to be a place of education, and not a mere teaching shop. The demand comes not only from teachers, who make it out of a conviction which is based on experience, but also from the man in the street, who wants for his children something more satisfying, more exhilarating, and more emancipating than the Gradgrind programme of instruction to which he was subjected, and from those who think and write about education: it has been the theme of not a few books in recent years.¹ It is in the environment of the free spiritual community where spiritual values can be made the central purpose and can be seen reflected in every lesson studied together and in every experience shared in common, that we find the most powerful educational instrument to our hand: and this environment can only be assured in a sphere which is beyond the reach of the State or the local authority or any external control.

The State may neither touch this spiritual sphere, nor make itself a competing spiritual authority. And the spiritual sphere is coterminous with the life of the school. The religion of a school is its whole life within its intention and the development of its common purpose, and this purpose it must be left free to determine and to pursue for itself. It may do this within a set framework, but what goes on inside that framework must be its own concern.

The schools which have been most successful, owing to the circumstances of their foundation and their historical growth, in expressing this ideal of freedom, have been the independent boarding

¹ cf. e.g. Cyril Norwood, *The English Tradition of Education*; E. H. Partridge, *Freedom in Education*.

schools: independence and the closely-knit community life have strengthened the intentions of pious founders and the tendencies of history. But more and more of their institutions and customs in which this ideal is most clearly embodied have been taken over and adopted by the grant-earning day schools: and it is not so much the institutions or customs which have been admired or borrowed, as the free spiritual values which they enshrine.

It is the duty of the independent schools to-day to preserve this freedom for themselves, and to do all that they can to extend it to other schools. They are themselves the proud possessors of school chapels: and perhaps one of the most effective, albeit indirect, way of furthering this extension is by giving their support to the movement, which is making some headway, for demanding a school chapel as the first and central building for every new school, whether publicly provided or not.

In the daily experience of school life the shackles are being knocked off the children more rapidly than off their teachers. The teacher, however, moves in a much larger room than he did fifty or even twenty-five years ago: he goes in and out more freely among his fellow-citizens, enjoys the freedom of more of their common activities, is more free to express his opinions in and out of school, to experiment in his work, to offer suggestions to authority, to try new methods, and to exercise his enterprise and initiative.

"The more active my own mind", said Thomas Arnold, "the better it is for the school": he was undoubtedly right, and the value to the school of free intellectual activity on the part of all members of the staff is coming home to-day to the minds of administrators.

For children at school, emancipation is the order of the day—emancipation from the control of the teacher, from the compelling effects of his instruction and the domination of his mind, from the restraints of rules and the limitations imposed by discipline, from the tiresome inhibitions imposed by ideals of industry and accuracy, from everything which threatens to stand in the way of self-expression and a free and spontaneous growth of personality. In drawing, the rules of perspective matter little compared with the sincerity of the self-expression: in language, accuracy in expression is of secondary importance to the originality of self-expression: in behaviour, it is better that a child should be his natural self, subject to no control but his own, than that he should be an unnatural self at somebody else's order. There are schools of what is known as "free discipline", which means no discipline at all. It must be admitted that much is gained by these methods of freedom in education, though much may also be lost. But, on whichever side the balance lies, they are a mark of the times.

Greater freedom, both for teachers and for pupils, is promised

in the proposed reforms of the examination system. The most recent report of the Secondary School Examinations Council¹ recommended a severe contraction of the field for external examinations, which it considered appropriate only for two groups of candidates—for those who wish to compete for scholarships at universities or comparable institutions, and for those who have proceeded well beyond the compulsory school age and wish to secure exemption from university or professional examinations or to establish their competence for some similar purpose: and even for these, all subjects should be optional and not controlled, as at present by "minimum" or "group" requirements. For the rest, the report recommended that every child leaving a secondary school should be furnished with a comprehensive school report, and did "not feel that any formal or complete system of external assessment of a school's internal examinations is either feasible or desirable."

The Minister while not yet dealing with the problem of external versus internal examination has accepted some of the Council's recommendations, and the new general Schools examination which takes the place of the old School and Higher Certificates, with its greater flexibility, its three levels of "Ordinary", "Advanced", and "Scholarship" standards, its removal of rigid demands for specified subjects in specified groups, its intention to postpone specialization by means of the new minimum age for taking the examination, and its liberation from many of the shackles forged by the old exemption-values—this examination is a far cry from the Higher Certificates and School Certificates with which we are familiar, with their restrictions on a candidate's choice of subjects, their Procrustean methods of fitting him to the examination bed, the limitations and the deviations which they have imposed upon his interests, and their denial of his freedom to follow his own bent. A new dawn of freedom from "the tyranny of the examination" is seen in the sky, both for teacher and for taught. At the same time the fact that the new age-limit should have been imposed by *the Minister* and not by the profession may well be an ominous sign of increased and improper intervention by the State in matters of curriculum.

One further example may be given of the trend towards the new freedom. It is taken from the sphere of adult education. The scope of adult education in the past has been determined to no small extent by the motives of those who have promoted it, and the motives were originally either religious, industrial, or political.

A writer in the *Journal of Education*² gives three significant

¹ Report of Secondary School Examinations Council to the Minister of Education, October, 1947.

² H. L. Hunter, M.B.E., M.A., *Motives in Adult Education*.

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quotations to illustrate this point. The first comes from the appeal for funds issued in 1812 on behalf of the British Institution for Instructing Adult Persons to read the Holy Scriptures, and it runs as follows: "Give liberally because adult education will put an end to existing crimes, make the lower classes less dependent on the more provident, and better able to practise meekness, Christian fortitude, and resignation; our poor rate will also be lightened." The economic motive here is clearly secondary to the religious, which is interested in the preservation of the *status quo* in church and society. The second comes from the prospectus for the Manchester Mechanics' Institute, which is formed "for the purpose of enabling mechanics' and citizens to become acquainted with such branches of science as are of practical application in the exercise of their trades, not to teach the trades themselves". The industrial and economic motives here are dominant: adult education means higher earnings. The third traces the interest in education of the Chartists and early Trade Unionists to "the fact that the French Revolution and the new industrial system brought ordinary men into politics and set them discussing momentous considerations"; it was important that they should be able to hold their own and defeat their opponents on the political field.

It is true that whatever the motive, the desire was for knowledge—and to that extent the movement might claim to be an educational movement: but fundamentally it was religious, or economic, or political, and these characteristics have followed it into the more spacious days of the twentieth century. But it is only to-day that the educational motive, in the proper sense, is taking the first place, and is overlaying the others.

Adult education is less and less something imposed from without because it is good for the untaught—saving their souls, or increasing their wages, or fostering their political consciousness: more and more it is something spontaneous and grown from within. And as in its earlier character its scope was necessarily restricted by the ends which it endeavoured to serve, so in its present-day character it enjoys a new freedom both of content and of method. The broad sweep of human interests is its province, whatever their connections with religion or with economics or with politics, and its method is that of free discussion leading to an end which nobody can foresee.

Freedom or control? This is the most vital question which faces education to-day. We have seen that there are powerful forces making in each of these contrary directions, and upon the issue of the tension thus set up depends much more than the settlement of this particular question.

In earlier chapters we have surveyed the dominant trends in education: we have seen it expanding itself in scope, in content,

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in personnel, and in method: we have seen it adapting itself to the prevailing egalitarianism, and endeavouring to express that in its own terms: we have watched it mechanizing itself, humanizing itself, nationalizing itself, and socializing itself. And as we have studied each of these trends certain questions have either explicitly been asked or have been implied in the argument: how far is this trend likely to go? and what will be its practical effects upon the education of our children and our grandchildren?

The answers to those questions will be determined by the answer to the question which is raised in this chapter, Freedom or Control?

If the forces of control drive the forces of freedom off the field, and if external authority, whether that be the authority of the State working through its local representatives, or of public opinion, or of economic and industrial needs, or of examinations, or of tradition and custom, establishes an ever closer grip on the educational process, then expansion will be limited; control is likely to begin there, and education will be told to mind its own business; it may thus be saved from losing itself in an arid waste of irrelevancies, and it may be denied the opportunity for doing its best work: an egalitarianism will be established based on social and economic status rather than on personal value, and opportunity for a certain quality of education will be more equally provided, but the quality may suffer: mechanization will be accelerated, and humanization correspondingly slowed up; we shall see a highly efficient machine, but the products may be well-taught robots rather than human beings in their infinite variety: the interests of the State and of society will be more directly served, but they will be served by those trained in the technique of a particular occupation and destined to fill a fore-ordained niche in the social structure, rather than by those educated in the technique of the free life in a free community, each competent to do well whatever the times demand of him.

If, on the other hand, freedom wins the day, we shall see education expanding itself far beyond its present limits and becoming the acknowledged means for an expanding life for all: giving an equal opportunity to all, the gifted and the intellectual no less than the unendowed and the mentally defective, but not deceived into thinking that the opportunity must be the same for all: constantly overhauling its machinery, scrapping the obsolete parts, refusing to work in out-of-date factories, questioning the wisdom of the engineers who are in control, keeping its whole industry flexible and elastic: never ceasing to protest, in season and out of season, that the child is more important than the machine, that the State and the society which set up the machinery exist to serve him and not vice versa, and that education is always an individual

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and a spiritual process, and not a mechanical: serving the State and meeting the needs of society, not by providing them with citizens specifically and consciously trained to that service, but by sending into the world men and women who because they have been taught to think their own thoughts freely in the free society of their fellows, to follow their interests unimpeded, to recognize and to accept responsibility for the good life of all, and to wander at will over the cultural tradition of a great people and to explore the secret places of the Most High, are the servants of the State because they are servants of humanity and of God.

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