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EDUCATION IN BRITAIN

EDUCATION IN BRITAIN

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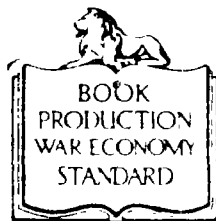
Edited by
R. A. SCOTT-JAMES

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PREFACE

THERE are two reasons why this book appears at this particular moment. Firstly, we are on the eve of far-reaching educational reforms which cannot be carried out without much preliminary discussion, perhaps much controversy; therefore it is necessary to know where we stand to-day, what is our starting-point. Secondly, our own need for information coincides with a growing demand among our friends abroad to be told more about British life and institutions. Most of the essays appearing in this volume together formed a series of articles in *Britain To-Day*, a monthly journal published under the auspices of the British Council for circulation in the Dominions, the United States, Latin America, the Middle East and friendly countries elsewhere. Those of Oxford and Cambridge, the Boys' Public Schools, and the Girls' Public Schools, appeared a little earlier in the same journal. It was felt that these articles, each written by an expert in his own field, presenting up-to-date pictures of education in its various fields of activity, would be as useful to British readers as to foreigners.

This book shows that the way of reconstruction is not through airy Utopias, but that we must build on foundations that already exist. Our educational system has become what it is not by a single creative effort on the part of the State, or several such efforts, but by a long, continuous process of growth, with origins far back in the middle ages. Though the Englishman, as Professor Frey Clarke says, "can be fertile enough in the creation of new institutions he hates to scrap old ones. So he adapts and re-adapts them to changing needs and purposes". There

are Colleges in the older Universities which were founded in the thirteenth century, with the original buildings still in use. Some of the great public schools and the grammar schools owe their establishment to pious founders who lived centuries ago. It was only in the last century that the State itself intervened and took up a task that could no longer be left to voluntary effort.

It became apparent in the fourth decade of the nineteenth century that no power less than that of the State could satisfy the needs of the eager, inquiring, zestful society which was then coming under the influence of the second Renaissance—a term by which we may describe the movement, moral, intellectual, humanist in character, and world-wide in scope, which had begun a century ago and is reaching its zenith in our own time. The extension of the franchise by the passing of the first Reform Bill in 1832 was a sign that the centre of gravity in British political life was changing. The passing of the second Reform Bill in 1867 was the occasion of the famous saying: "We must now educate our masters." Three years later came the Act which made elementary education universal and compulsory; and by the Act of 1902 the way was opened, as Professor Clarke says, "for promising pupils of the elementary schools to pass to secondary education, and the road was much broadened by the provision of many new and well-appointed secondary schools at public expense".

Since that time there has been a succession of legislative and administrative measures which have modified the elementary school system, increased the services of State-supported secondary education, created facilities for admission to the Universities, improved the status and training of teachers, provided better buildings, though many are still woefully inadequate, and established a school medical service destined to have a profound effect on the nation's health. The process of adaptation to modern ideals is still



ELY CATHEDRAL GRAMMAR SCHOOL



ASHBOURNE GRAMMAR SCHOOL



CHRIST'S HOSPITAL.
The Dinner Parade



SHREWSBURY SCHOOL
Rowing on the Severn

going on, but no contributor to this book finds any ground for complacency. We are acutely conscious of the failings of a half-educated democracy. Much is still defective, much remains to be done. But the spirit of reform is stirring, and the Board of Education, in response to the over-whelming demand of educationists, is preparing plans¹ with a view to raising the school-leaving age, increasing facilities for secondary education, and varying them to meet the needs of different boys and girls. The proclaimed object of the Government is to give reality to the ideal of equal opportunity for all.

The avowed aim is nothing less than the best possible mental training for every boy and girl, man and woman, in the country. This does not imply that all the children who pass from the elementary school should have the same education, but rather, that each should have instruction according to aptitude and up to the point that he or she is capable of assimilating it. The distinction is clearly understood between education in the true sense of the term and vocational instruction, by which the pupil is fitted for a trade or profession, though in practice the two will not always be separated. It is due to every human being in a civilized State, and in a democracy it is essential, that he should be given so much general education as will enable him to develop his faculties of understanding and appreciation to the utmost. Without this he cannot fully develop his individuality and live his own life to its highest capacity, or be competent to fulfil his duties as a public-spirited citizen; moreover, a balanced, all-round intelligence makes a man more efficient even in pursuit of his business. Yet general education is not an alternative to technical education. In the schemes that are under con-

¹ Since these words were written a White Paper entitled "Educational Reconstruction" has been presented to Parliament by the President of the Board of Education and the new Education Bill itself has passed through all its stages in the House of Commons.

sideration it is realized that more and more attention must be given to sound vocational training and to making it compatible with the provision of a mental gymnastic which will fit children and youths for all the purposes of life. A balance, or rather a harmony (since there need be no opposition between the two) has to be found between the process which contributes to wisdom and happiness and that which serves utility.

A democracy is what its citizens make it, and therefore it depends on how it makes its citizens. It follows that its educational ideal must be the same as its civic ideal, aiming, in this country, at a combination of freedom and self-discipline. Both rest on a twofold conception of duty—the duty of the State to the individual, and that of the individual to the State. And just as the first can only be fulfilled if every citizen is made free from constant unemployment, poverty, and a sordid environment, so too the best education that is possible must be at the disposal of every child, so that he may grow up to enjoy the freedom which exists for none but the developed mind. And precisely in proportion as the citizen of the future has been brought up in this way will he have the knowledge to realize that he must give to the State as much as he has received, working in the spirit of service, contributing his own ideas to the common stock in that perpetual action and interaction of minds which make a healthy, active, creative community.

The educative process will be continuous. It should never be forgotten that it cannot stop at school or even at the University, but will go on for better or worse through the whole of an adult's life. Great Britain has survived much inadequate schooling thanks to the fact that education has extended far beyond the recognized teaching institutions. I am not thinking only of that movement for adult education of which Sir Ernest Barker writes,

though its importance can scarcely be over-estimated—the movement which deliberately “sought to train working men and women to become better citizens of a democratic community—better, because more educated; better, because more aware of the history, the politics, and the economics of their community, and more alive to the treasures of its literature and all its culture”. But the value of this conscious movement is enhanced by the fact that the material of education lies abundantly around us, and that activities which appeal to the mind and imagination assail every individual incessantly, provocatively, with terrific power.

Freedom of religion and freedom of the pen were fought for and won, at least in principle, two and a half centuries ago. It would be hard to exaggerate the influence of the Press, which at least has become free from State control (apart from war censorship), though much of it is still dominated by powerful owner-dictators. Day in day out it has been communicating facts and ideas, as well as sensations and half-truths, to millions of receptive readers, who in the future will be qualified to receive the first and fortified to reject the second in proportion as their mental training has been sound. With all its faults even the popular Press has already tended to create a more informed public and one more ready to think for itself.

But the periodical Press is only one of innumerable influences, actually or potentially educative, which are ceaselessly at work on the human mind, moulding it to new shapes, or hardening it—refining it, or it may be coarsening it. Among these are free public speech and discussion, in which all may share as talkers or listeners, books disseminated widely and without hindrance, broadcasting, the cinema, and how much besides—the theatre, art galleries, concert halls, each performing its own function—lectures, private talk—a thousand potentially stimu-

lating influences in which mind impinges on mind and the educative process goes on. We have seen that in wartime the State has been compelled to take a wider view of its educational duties, providing Army education for the troops, and music, drama and art for the industrial provinces through the beneficent agency of the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts (C.E.M.A.). If we read correctly the signs of the times, the State will be asked to aim increasingly at imparting the knowledge, the background, the mental elasticity necessary to equip the future citizen for life and work, so that he or she may continue his education, and be fit to give and take, to influence and be influenced, in the varied, vigorous, zestful life of a free community. And in this later stage of adult development the State will no longer dare to stand aloof like an indifferent spectator and watch the ruin of rural beauty, the starvation of serious drama and opera, the neglect of treasures in museums, but will be compelled to admit its responsibilities to the new citizens whom it will have sent out into the world with sharpened faculties and a greater craving for mental sustenance.

It remains to offer acknowledgments to those who have made possible the preparation of this book. First, to the fifteen authors who responded to my appeal. Mine has been the subordinate task of inviting them to contribute, and this preliminary work I could not have done efficiently without the wise and unstinted help given me by Miss M. C. Glasgow. I have also benefited much from the advice of Professor Ifor Evans, and other members of the staff of the British Council. Each author is solely responsible for the facts or opinions given in his or her essay.

R. A. SCOTT-JAMES.

INTRODUCTORY

By SIR FRED CLARKE

Director, University of London Institute of Education

SINCE Englishmen themselves often have difficulty in understanding their own national system of education and since good authorities differ as to the interpretation of certain parts of it, the task of describing it to non-English readers is not an easy one. Perhaps the best course will be to leave detailed description to the well-qualified writers of further articles in this series, and to devote this introductory account to certain considerations which need to be kept in mind in order to understand the system as a whole. I must hope that later contributors will correct any errors of fact or emphasis into which I may fall.

Perhaps the most necessary thing to grasp is the contrast between the system of education as it now stands in historic England and the systems which operate in those countries—particularly the “new” countries—where provision for education has come into existence through public action making use of the powers of the State. The State came upon the scene quite late in the history of English education, little more than a century ago, and for a long time its action was reluctant, grudging, and confined to what it regarded as unavoidable necessities.

Indeed it was not until the great Act of 1902 that a truly positive attitude was adopted with the intention of creating at last a system that was both adequate and national. The year 1902 may well be taken as marking a real change both in educational and in political philosophy. Along with this reluctance to make use of the powers of the State a further

powerful influence operated. This was the Englishman's liking—his passion we might almost say—for preserving historic continuity. Though he can be fertile enough in the creation of new institutions he hates to scrap old ones. So he adapts and re-adapts them to changing needs and purposes until there is little or nothing of the original left. But the process of change has been slow and continuous. The institution keeps its old name and a good many of its old customs, and so the claims of continuity are satisfied. France, in the Revolution of 1789, made a clean sweep of most of the institutions of the *Ancien Régime*. England, in 1832, carried through its own political "revolution" merely by broadening and regularizing the electoral basis of Parliament. Parliament itself and all that it stood for remained not only intact but stronger than ever.

Essentially the same story is to be told of the history of educational institutions. They originate in action not by the State but by *communities*. Chief of all perhaps is the religious community, the Church, working through pious founders or, later, through charitable organizations. But trade organizations like guilds and London City Companies also played their part, and local communities like towns and some parishes often took the initiative in the creation of schools. Communities of scholars, settling where conditions suited them, gave rise to universities.

The full story of all this free growth, in its intricate relationship with changing social and economic conditions, has never yet been told. The reason why it has not been told is itself a part of the history, a paradox into which we cannot enter here. What we must emphasize is the problem that was thus presented when, early in the twentieth century, a serious attempt was made to modernize the nation's educational equipment and to make it adequate in both quality and quantity to the complex needs of the modern English State.

Here was a task much like that of a landscape-gardener, faced with a great stretch of country covered already with a rich and varied growth of tree and bush, and told to turn it into a garden without destroying anything but dead wood and useless bushes. So it was done, though some years had to be allowed for the new growths that were necessary to complete the pattern.

Elementary education for the mass of the people, already compulsory, was provided for by a dual system of schools. The older group, dating from the early years of the nineteenth century, and in some cases even earlier, consisted of the "voluntary" schools, founded almost entirely by Church bodies and, from 1833 onwards, increasingly aided by the State.

The newer group, the "Board" Schools, had come into existence under the Act of 1870 which, for the first time, allowed specially elected local bodies (School Boards) to impose local taxation for the erection and maintenance of elementary schools.

Both types of schools were brought by the Act of 1902 under a single local administration which could use local taxes for the support of both.

Secondary education up to 1902, in spite of repeated efforts at reform, was provided for in much less regular and adequate fashion and was accessible by elementary school pupils only with the very greatest difficulty. The schools themselves presented a bewildering variety of historical growths. First there were the "public" schools, wholly independent of the State, and subsisting on endowments and fees. Some, like Winchester, Eton, and Charterhouse, were ancient foundations; others, like Harrow and Rugby, were old local Grammar Schools which had expanded to public school status in the eighteenth century when the gentry adopted the practice of sending their sons to such schools. A third large group, such as Clifton,

Marlborough, and Cheltenham, were nineteenth-century foundations, brought into existence to serve the new wealthy classes that arose from industrial progress.

Then there were Grammar Schools in great variety and of many degrees of size and efficiency.

Later in the nineteenth century another group of schools of somewhat doubtful status came into existence to meet the demands of a growing number of working-class parents who required for their children something more than the ordinary elementary school could provide. Among these were Higher Grade Schools, Higher Elementary Schools, Organized Day Science Schools, and other types.

By the Act of 1902 all these groups except the independent "public" schools were brought either under the control of the local education authority or into co-operation with it. The way was thus opened for promising pupils of the elementary schools to pass to secondary education and the road was much broadened by the provision of many new and well-appointed secondary schools at public expense. For the administration of the reorganized system the School Boards of 1870 were discarded (they had had powers only over elementary education) and a new authority was set up in the form of the Councils of the counties and the larger towns. The powers of the Councils extend to all forms of education within their respective areas, and are exercised through an Education Committee on which one finds almost invariably a number of co-opted members chosen for their special knowledge and competence as well as a majority of members from the popularly elected Council.

It was perhaps unfortunate that Parliamentary pressure compelled the creation of a large number of minor local authorities in the less important towns who had powers over only elementary education. Their existence and powers are now creating difficulties in educational develop-

ment of a kind which later contributors to this series will doubtless explain.

Few things are more striking in recent English history than the great expansion of administrative powers in the hands of the Councils of the ancient units of county and borough. The most significant form of this growth concerns education. In less than forty years a vast new social service has come into existence touching the lives of the people intimately and at many points, and as efficient as it is liberal and humane. The official Directors of Education are a real power in the land combining all the old regard for continuity and historical tradition with quite modern enterprise, alertness, and professional zeal.

In this land where *Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose*, it is of the first importance to remember that in these great new local authorities we find expressed just the ancient English principle of community, initiative, and control re-invigorated and highly modernized. For it is the local community which, through its Education Authority, plans for local needs, erects schools, employs and sometimes trains teachers, directs the work of schools, and provides for the needs of the young in an ever-increasing variety of ways. The emergency of war-time has tested them severely and they have stood the test well, proving capable of carrying a great deal more than their ordinary heavy load.

But they are not wholly autonomous. The powers of the central Ministry, though not always clearly defined, are real and substantial. The Board of Education is not, in active effect, a Board at all. Its President is really Minister of Education and his Department is not so much a master in control of local authorities as a national partner co-operating with them. The principle is clear, not a dividing of the seamless coat of education—this bit to me, that bit to you—but a logical division of functions, national functions to the centre, local functions to the areas.

Two important links in this co-operative scheme must be emphasized. The first is the system of grants from the central Exchequer, paid through the Board of Education in support of education as provided by the local authorities. The grant is calculated on a somewhat complicated formula which many think ought to be simplified. But its general effect is that the central Government carries about half the cost of education in the country. This proportion is large enough to ensure that a local authority will give serious consideration to the wishes and policy of the Board, for a threat to withhold grant is a powerful weapon in the Board's hands. Yet the proportion is not so large as to deprive the local area of its proper responsibility and independence.

This suggestion of a balanced partnership between local and central powers is characteristic of the whole system. In the local areas standards in such matters as buildings, staffing, and general efficiency are now so well understood and so loyally observed that little pressure from the side of Government is needed. Indeed there has been a marked tendency recently among large and enterprising local authorities to use all their powers to the full and to move well ahead of general government policy.

The spread of this tendency is likely to render necessary before long some considerable revision of the powers and organization of the Board itself.

The second link is that eye and ear of the Board, "His Majesty's Inspector of Schools". This dignified and powerful official seems to be a peculiarly English creation. He is not an administrative officer, he has no powers to give orders, he can only inspect, advise, and recommend. The Board can ignore his reports, but dare not alter one comma of them, for, in principle, he reports to His Majesty on the way in which His Majesty's money is being expended for the benefit of his young subjects.

A highly qualified body of men and women, the Inspectors exercise their vital though slightly mysterious office with tact and discretion. Their power, though indirect, is very real, and, well trusted as they usually are, both at head-quarters and in the localities, they provide a central pivot for the co-operative machine.

Largely outside the general State system there stands the loosely defined and rather mixed body of the so-called "public" schools. Practically all of them now accept inspection by the Board of Education in their own interest. Otherwise many of them are quite independent. Some others accept grants direct from the Board (i.e. not through a local authority) in return for providing a number of places for pupils from elementary schools.

War conditions and profound changes in the distribution of income are causing many of them to feel that their position of independence is now one of rather bleak exposure. So they show an inclination to seek, on some terms or other, the shelter of the State system.

But, to do them justice, it must be agreed that financial distress is not the only motive at work. The "public" schools have always had a deep feeling of identity with the national interest and if it becomes clear to them that, in the national interest, the gulf between those educated in the State system and those educated in the "independent" schools that carry so much prestige, must be closed, they will be ready to act accordingly.

In conclusion, to those who are accustomed to Ministerial Edicts ordering teachers in the schools to do this or that, the real truth about the English Board of Education is well illustrated by the title of one of its most widely used publications. It is called "Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers and others Engaged in the Work of Elementary Schools".

Suggestions for their consideration!

ENGLISH ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

By DR. R. W. RICH

Principal, City of Leeds Training College

TO an external observer the English "system" of education reveals many inconsistencies, due to the fact that English education is an organic growth and not a device created "all of a piece". The term "Elementary Education" presents one of these inconsistencies, in that, while it is applicable to the work carried out under the Regulations for Elementary Schools, it is not synonymous with "Primary Education". By almost universal consent this latter term is applied to the period of education ending at about the age of 11 years, at which point the pupil enters upon the Secondary stage. Since the great majority of children between the earliest ages and 14 years spend the whole of their educational career in an Elementary School, it comes about that they receive, not only their primary education, but also such secondary education as they enjoy, in a school officially described as an "Elementary School". This is an instance of the way in which administrative regulation tends to lag behind commonly held educational principles and the realities of practice. In the reconstruction of education after the war, there is no doubt that the official framework within which the schools do their work will be remodelled in such a way that all forms of education dealing with children between the ages of 11 and 17 or 18 years will come under the same scheme of regulations, and it may be that the term "Elementary School" will disappear altogether.

The reason for this anomaly is to be found in the history of the development of popular education in England since

the early days of the nineteenth century. The first steps in the provision of education for the masses were taken, not by the State, but by voluntary organizations, including the Churches. Only gradually did the State take any part in the undertaking, and it was not until 1870 that any degree of compulsion was introduced. The schools were unambitious in their programmes, and were for the most part content to devote themselves to teaching the "elements"—reading, writing, and arithmetic. As the social conscience was aroused in the matter of education, so the original idea of the "education of the poor" as a form of charity gave way to the conception that every human being has the right to an education that will make the most of his potentialities, and that it is the duty of the State to secure, and to provide where necessary, facilities to make this possible. Under the impulse of this newer view of popular education there was a steady movement for the extension of the duration of schooling, and the widening of its scope far beyond the original "elements", so that to-day it is fair to say that the "Elementary Schools" aim at giving not merely a grounding in the rudiments, but a liberal education for children below the age of 14 or 15 years.

Compulsory education in England begins at the age of 5 years and ends at 14, the provisions of the Education Act, 1936, which raised the age of compulsion to 15, having been suspended owing to the outbreak of war. A certain number of children enter Nursery Schools or Nursery Classes on a voluntary basis under the age of 5, and a few remain in Elementary Schools beyond the age of 14. At all stages the education provided in Elementary Schools is free.

The stages, or "grades", in the Elementary School system are:

Nursery Schools and Classes for children under 5 years.

Infant Schools for children between 5 and 7 years.

Junior Schools for children from 8 to 11 years.

Senior Schools for children from 12 to 14 or 15 years.

Nursery Schools and Classes aim at providing a suitable social and educational environment to supplement the training given in the home, which may suffer through poverty, inadequate housing, the unduly large or small size of the family, and the demands of industry upon the parents. There are no formal lessons, and the time is spent largely in play-activities, story-telling, communal meals, and sleep. In a good nursery school all the furniture and equipment is specially designed for small people, and a garden is provided. The greatest emphasis is laid upon the formation of right habits of personal hygiene and the acquirement of the art of living in the society of others.

This training in healthy and sociable living continues to play an important part in the life of the Infant School, where the natural interests and propensities of the children form the basis of its activities. In the best schools of this type the child has ample scope for free expression and free movement, and at the same time is introduced to the printed and written word and the world of numbers, thus laying the foundations for the basic skills of reading, writing, and arithmetic. There is considerable difference of opinion as to the stage at which formal instruction in these should be given, but the tendency is to postpone it until as late as possible, and to deal with the subjects in a concrete and practical way. Through activities and play of all kinds the child gains enrichment of its sensory and motor experience, while through painting, modelling, and instruction it finds expression for its rapidly developing powers.

In the Junior School the informal work of the previous stage becomes more systematized. The child learns mastery of its own language in speech, writing, and reading; it becomes proficient in simple arithmetical calculation; it learns something of the facts of history and geography, and

it is encouraged to take an intelligent interest in the world of nature. Scope is given for practical creative work in arts and crafts, singing is regularly taught, and there is organized physical training which combines scientifically planned exercises with a wealth of lively games. The peculiar problem of the Junior School is the preservation of the spontaneity and joyful activity of the Infant School while securing the attainment of standards of achievement which must be insisted upon at this stage, when solid foundations should be laid for the later educational structure.

At the end of the Junior School stage a considerable number of the children pass from the "Elementary School" to "Secondary Schools" of various types. A selection is made by means of an examination which commonly consists of a written test in English and Arithmetic combined with an "Intelligence Test" of some kind, and possibly a personal interview. This examination is the centre of much controversy. Its critics maintain that it is unsuccessful in picking out those pupils best suited for education of a more advanced type, and exercises an undue influence upon the curriculum and methods of the school. The cogency of these criticisms is widely recognized, and in some areas there is a tendency to lay greater stress on the teachers' assessments of the children's work and ability than on the results of a formal examination.

As a result of this removal of many of the brighter children the Senior School is faced with the problem of providing for the educational needs of pupils whose full-time schooling will end at 14 or 15 years, and whose general average of ability, especially in the more "academic" subjects, is lower than at any previous stage in the Elementary School system. During these years the school must provide these prospective citizens and workers with some equipment for entry into the world, and stimulate a desire to utilize those facilities for part-time education which are

available for the young wage-earner. While the schools are not "vocational" in any narrow sense, they are "realistic" in their outlook, and in the most successful the work of the school is kept in close relationship with the life of the community in which it is placed. Of particular interest in this connection are the Village Colleges which have been set up in Cambridgeshire. Each of these includes a Senior School for children drawn from a number of surrounding villages, and the activities of the school are based largely on the life and work of the rural community in which it is situated. In addition to the Senior School each College provides varied kinds of continuative education, and serves as a social and educational centre for the district.

An important function of English education is the safeguarding of children's health and physical well-being. Local Education Authorities are required by law to provide for the regular medical inspection of pupils in Elementary Schools and to make arrangements for necessary treatment. The School Medical Services throughout the country employ large numbers of doctors, dentists, and nurses who give their whole time to the care of schoolchildren. Treatment is given for physical defects and steady progress is being made in the provision of clinics, of which some of the most interesting and valuable are those concerned with the guidance and treatment of "difficult" or maladjusted children. The Ministry of Health maintains Maternity and Child Welfare Centres, which concern themselves with the health of the expectant mother and very young children. Too often there is a gap between the attention given by these centres and the regular school medical service which comes into operation at 5 years, and a necessary reform is the provision of adequate medical supervision to cover this period. Special schools are provided for blind, deaf, physically and mentally defective, and epileptic children. Many schools also play their part in fighting malnutrition

by supplying mid-day meals and milk. This provision is made without charge in the case of necessitous children.

The responsibility for the provision and administration of Elementary Education rests upon a large number of Local Education Authorities, which work in co-operation with the Board of Education, a Government Department whose head, or President, is a Cabinet Minister. The cost is met in the main by rates levied by the Local Authorities and grants paid out of the National Exchequer. This division of responsibility and control between the central and local authorities is characteristic of the English system. There is a considerable body of opinion which considers that the advantages of decentralization could be preserved, while avoiding the difficulties created by the existence of a large number of Local Authorities varying greatly in size and resources, by some simplification of the organization, by closer co-ordination of the work of the Authorities, and possibly by the establishment of larger local units.

We have seen that the religious bodies played an important part in encouraging popular education, and they continue to play a part in the Elementary School system. About 30 per cent. of the children attend schools which are provided by religious bodies, chiefly the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church. In these schools the provision and maintenance of the premises is the responsibility of the Churches, other expenses being met by the Local Education Authorities, who in return exercise a considerable measure of control. In these schools religious instruction is given in accordance with the doctrines of the religious bodies which provide them, whereas in the schools both provided and maintained by the Local Education Authorities religious instruction is non-sectarian. In both types of school parents may insist upon the withdrawal of their children from religious instruction on grounds of conscientious objection. This dual system presents many

administrative difficulties and is an instance of the part played by compromise and toleration in a free democracy, which recognizes the claims of sectional interests and opinions within the framework of the general good.

The English Elementary School system is the great reservoir from which will be drawn the rebuilders of a battered civilization. Much has been achieved, but much remains to be done if it is to play its part effectively, and in the midst of the present conflict careful thought is being given to problems of educational reconstruction. Better school buildings, smaller classes, extended health services, more adequately trained teachers, greater provision for the needs of very young children—these are some of the aims to be achieved.

STATE-AIDED SECONDARY SCHOOLS

By DR. W. P. ALEXANDER, ED.B., M.A., B.SC.

Director of Education, Sheffield

THE unusual complexity of Secondary Education in Britain has been a matter of comment previously in this series and, indeed, specific articles on the Public Schools have already appeared. Here attention is confined to State-Aided Secondary Schools. These are broadly of two types—those provided by the Local Education Authority or aided by such Authority, and those receiving direct grant from the Board of Education. For our purpose it will be more effective to regard these schools as one structure providing opportunity for secondary education, admitting pupils about the age of 11 to 12½ years and continuing their education to the age of about 18 years.†

The course provided falls broadly into two parts: the first stage leading to School Certificate at about the age of 15 to 16; the second stage leading to Higher School Certificate at the age of 18. There are rather fewer than half a million pupils in these schools in England and Wales, of whom about one-fifth go on beyond the age of 16, the majority tending to leave after School Certificate at about that age.

Pupils are admitted by examination and the process is, therefore, a selective one. Until quite recently this admission examination was usually in English and Arithmetic and inevitably had repercussions on the Primary Schools. In too many, perhaps, coaching work was undertaken at the earlier stage to help children to win a place in a Secondary School. More recently stress has been laid on the use of tests of capacity.

Until about ten years ago pupils admitted were either fee-payers or free-place holders, but in the last ten years the system of free places initiated about 1907 gave way to a system of "special" places. The "special" place system means virtually that the pupil wins his place in the Secondary School by examination and, having done so, the amount of fee which is to be charged is determined on the basis of the income of his parents. This change is of some importance because it has led to several Authorities making all admissions to their schools "special" places. Where this has been done the opportunity of secondary education to Primary School children has been substantially increased and, perhaps for the first time, admission to secondary education has been put on capacity to profit rather than capacity to pay.

It is interesting to note the development that has taken place. Thirty years ago there were some 50,000 free-place pupils in these schools; fifteen years ago the number had risen to 135,000. The proportionate increase was only

from 31 per cent. of free places thirty years ago to 36 per cent. fifteen years ago. It will be realized, therefore, that the step to 100 per cent. "special" places, which is increasingly becoming the practice of Local Authorities, was a major step forward, and to-day we find that of half a million pupils in these schools nearly half pay no fees at all, while another 10 per cent. pay only partial fees. The road to free secondary education is being travelled and perhaps the day is not far distant when free secondary education will be the rule. When we talk of fee-payers it should be noted that the fee charged is not the full cost. The maximum fee charged is about one-third of the actual cost, the rest being borne by the Local Authority and the Board of Education.

The question of variation from one area to another is of major importance. What has been said hitherto is for the country as a whole, but there are wide variations as between one Authority and another. The number of secondary school places available per thousand of the population varies from two per thousand to twelve per thousand. The chances of an Elementary School boy or girl going to a Secondary School depend, therefore, to some extent on his place of birth. In England, on the average, one such pupil in seven gets to a Secondary School; in Wales one in four. When we examine the position in different areas of the country we find an even more startling picture. The chance may be as low as one in twenty, or as high as two in five. These wide variations in educational opportunity present a problem which clearly demands thought and attention, and it is comforting to know that all educational opinion is examining the problem with the greatest care. It is the inevitable result of local autonomy in the provision of the service. Even so, progress in secondary education owes so much to local initiative that there are few people in Britain who would suggest centralized control to overcome difficulties such as this.

The secondary school life of the pupils varies a good deal. About 8 per cent. leave between 14 and 15 without even completing the first course for School Certificate, a further 18 per cent. leave between 15 and 16, over 40 per cent. leave between 16 and 17, rather less than 20 per cent. between 17 and 18, and some 12 per cent. go on beyond the age of 18.

In terms of examination successes, about half the pupils sit and pass School Certificate, but only perhaps one in twenty completes successfully the Higher School Certificate course. It is interesting to note that the proportion of pupils whose fees are borne wholly or partially by the Local Authority who pass School Certificate and Higher School Certificate is higher than in the case of fee-payers. Here in itself is a justification, surely, for 100 per cent. "special" place policy.

These statistics may perhaps help to an understanding of the proportion of secondary education which is available, but figures can only tell a part of the story. Looked at more generally, the picture is of a development over forty years in which provision by Parliament for the general control and organization of secondary education has been made. Prior to that there was a substantial network of Endowed Schools, of which perhaps the backbone was the local Endowed Grammar School. During these forty years Local Authorities and the Board of Education, acting together, have steadily moved in providing an ever increasing opportunity for the Elementary School child to go on to secondary education. Forty years ago between five and six thousand children were being assisted to proceed from Elementary School to Secondary School. That five thousand has increased to nearly a quarter of a million. Similarly, the standard of the schools has gone up steadily. In the early days many of the schools had practically no post-School Certificate work or, as it then was, post-

Matriculation work. Increasingly they are now providing courses and more and more pupils are taking advantage of them. At the end of the last war there were only 127 recognized Sixth Form Courses. By 1925 there were 475 such courses and they have increased steadily since. This development undoubtedly is due to the fundamental fact of public control, carrying with it proper financial provision both for buildings and maintenance, making possible regulation of age and conditions of entry, developing advanced work, and, above all, building a body of teachers better educated, more generally interested in their work, and with fuller opportunities for learning the technique of the profession. The tradition of freedom which has been enjoyed by the English Public Schools obtains in these schools. Freedom is limited only by the claims of communal life—a freedom which is therefore true liberty.

The School Certificate Examination, perhaps more than any other single factor, tends to determine the curriculum of these schools which, while broad and essentially general in its nature, is certainly academic in form. An earlier major purpose of preparation for the University still influences, perhaps too much, the nature of the work done in the schools. The School Certificate, however, has become a preliminary to entry to almost all professions and increasingly to clerical and executive positions in industry and commerce. Whether the nature of the work done is appropriate preparation is very much open to doubt. As development in provision has taken place one wonders whether the great change in the purpose of the schools from being places preparing a limited number of people for further academic education to schools of general education preparing a vast majority for life in industry and commerce has been fully appreciated. It is true that additional subjects have been incorporated in the curriculum, and amongst the School Certificate subjects are now to be found Domestic

Subjects, Handicraft, Music, Art, and so on. Even so, it is still true that the basis of the Secondary Schools as we know them is academic. Probably it is for that reason that in recent years educational opinion has stressed the need for new types of Secondary School rather than for an extension of Secondary Schools as they are to-day.

A word may perhaps be said of to-morrow. Britain becomes increasingly conscious of the need for equality of educational opportunity. The opportunity to one child in seven to attend a Secondary School is clearly not enough. On all sides is heard a new slogan—"Secondary Education for All". By this is not meant that all children shall attend Secondary Schools of the type which this article is concerned to discuss. Grammar schools providing academic courses would not be suitable for all children. The Spens Report pointed the way when it advocated Technical High Schools as an alternative type of secondary education. It is always foolish to forecast, but educational opinion in Britain is moving steadily to a policy of unity and parity, a policy which will make secondary education a stage in the education of all children. The stage will be from the age of probably 11 or 12 years to 16 or 18. The Secondary Schools as we know them will be an important part. There will be Technical Schools and, shall we say, schools of general education. The Hadow Report of 1926, with its provision of Senior Modern Schools in adequate buildings with adequate facilities, has prepared the way. Many of these have standards of buildings and of staffing well worthy of recognition in secondary education.

The Secondary Schools of to-morrow of different type, but with similar standards, each offering an education appropriate to its pupils, will be the natural outcome of educational development as it has taken place in Britain. When that stage is reached what was a narrow ladder of educational opportunity will have been made a broad high-

way on which the children of Britain walk without restriction and without competition, each finding the particular track on the educational road that is most suitable to his own interests and capacities. The differentiations which exist between one Authority and another in the opportunity they now provide will be removed. The educational opportunity of the children of Britain will be independent of place of birth or economic or social status, but dependent only on the interests and capacities of the individual child. There are many things still to be done to make this possible, but I am convinced that all sections of educational opinion are agreed on the goal and there has never been so much thought given to the problem as now. I am convinced, too, that the people of Britain expect this opportunity to be made available to their children.

We go forward to to-morrow.

THE ENGLISH PUBLIC SCHOOLS

By H. H. HARDY, C.B.E., M.A.

Chairman of the Headmasters' Conference, 1936-7-8

Headmaster of Shrewsbury School

THERE was a time when the British race went about the world with confidence and assurance—some said arrogance—not for their own profit primarily, but certain that they had benefits to confer on peoples overseas from Britain among whom their diverse avocations took them. But for a generation or so that confidence has been lacking from their mien and bearing, and the British have seemed anxious to justify, or even apologize for, their presence beyond their own borders. Something very like

this has happened to Britain's Public Schools since the war of 1914-18. Till then, and certainly throughout the Victorian era, they had been securely, perhaps complacently, confident of possessing a secret value, recognized though unexplained, objects of respectful envy rather than of envious respect, and calmly expecting and obtaining for their sons a certain priority of claim in offices of importance or high emolument. But for the last decade or more those who have been emerging from their portals in even greater numbers than before have lost that assurance, and, in the face of such hostile and sometimes envious criticism, have worn rather an apologetic and deprecatory air, suggesting that, though they are Public School products, yet they must not for that reason be condemned untried, that they may even so be quite useful and reasonable folk.

If their Victorian and Edwardian self-confidence was excessive and at times aggravating, it may well be held that their present humility is overdone and shows a timidity unworthy of their past achievements. At the least they should observe that during the inter-war period their increasingly successful but friendly rivals, the State-controlled and State-financed Secondary Schools, have more and more adopted their technique and imitated their procedure in all that lies outside the class-room but within the boundaries of the school premises. Without any doubt manifest imitation has been the sincerest form of flattery, and it is a false modesty or timorousness which forbids the Public Schools to recognize this, and a disingenuous ingratitude on the part of their imitators if it denies the fact of imitation.

For the whole trouble of the Public Schools is fundamentally economic. With their great amenities, their extensive sites, their scholarships, well paid and carefully chosen staffs, their enormous expense of upkeep, they cost a great deal. Contrary to popular ideas, it is only a very

few who have endowments or other funds to finance them. The great majority wholly live, and even the small minority largely live, on the fees of their pupils—they are in fact supported by the British parent. It is he who has to find the amount of £200-£250 per boy which enables Eton, Winchester, Harrow, Rugby, and a few more to provide all that they do provide, or the £170-£210 required at such schools as Charterhouse, Cheltenham, Clifton, Malvern, Marlborough, Oundle, Repton, Sherborne, Shrewsbury, Uppingham, and a good many more.

There is no generally understood term so hard to define as the Public School. So unrevealing is the name, that its exact counterpart in the U.S.A. is far more exactly called a Private School. But the essence of each is that it is free from State control. A British Public School may indeed receive some public moneys, and still remain under the control of an independent Governing Body, who delegate their authority almost wholly, *except in finance*, to the Headmaster whom they appoint and can remove at pleasure. Indeed the main business of Governors as regards their Headmaster is either to back him, or to sack him; and to watch and control his handling of the finances.

Ultimately, the character of a school depends on the quality of its Headmaster and the teaching staff. Governors must get the best Headmaster they can find. Unless he is also a House Master (as fewer of them now are, and the number will and should decrease, since no man even pretends that he can simultaneously perform both functions fully), he may not be financially so well placed as the old-style House Masters, of whom fewer survive each year and in fewer schools, now that the "Hostel" system of house management is widely increasing. But his task is one of absorbing interest and remarkable independence. By far his most important duty, on the administrative side, is the selection of his staff, in which he has a perfectly free hand,

bound only by the salary scale that his Governors can provide.

Hercin lies his main advantage—and the school's advantage—over the great mass of State-controlled schools, where Education Committees and secretaries have the decisive word in the appointment of masters, with whom they will not be living and working. That makes the whole difference. The independent Headmaster of an independent school must and can choose the type of men with whom he can work, and their colleagues work, with real friendly co-operation in the pursuit of common ideals; and it does seem a plain fact that they do on the whole succeed in gathering a staff of men who love the work, who put duty before money or lesiure, who command respect and liking, and, not seldom, imitation, from the boys among whom their work lies, in school and out of school.

This complete freedom from bureaucratic control is in the long run the really distinguishing feature of the British Public School. The result is a great variety among the schools, each being free to develop characteristics of its own, ultimately due to the personal contribution and influence of a longer or shorter series of Headmasters, House Masters, and assistants, all of them free to develop on their own lines, and justified by the confidence of the public in entrusting its sons to them for the greater part of the year. Thus is evolved a tradition in each school; and a score of traditions can differ widely and yet all be intrinsically good. Of course, a tradition can become a shackle, and it is here that the carpers find their most vulnerable point of attack. But an excessive traditionalism can certainly be avoided if Governors will always choose a Headmaster of real individuality and change him frequently enough.

All this, supposing it to be true, applies to schools that are up to strength, as nearly all were from 1920 or so until 1935 or a little later. But much that is desirable ceases to be



A CENTRAL SCHOOL CLASS



BEAUFOY INSTITUTE, LAMBETH



ST. MONICA'S SCHOOL, CLACTON-ON-SEA
The Solarium



possible when numbers fall below a certain figure. This fall was inevitable from 1937 onwards, merely as the result of the birth-rate which fell sharply in the early twenties and then flattened out at a level much lower than that of 1919 and 1920. It was plain to all who could read the Registrar-General's statistics that this fall must come, that schools should make hay while the sun shone, and in particular get their big outlay for necessary improvements completed by 1938; and that it was most unwise to commit a school, during the short boom, to the need for larger numbers, when the lean years were already peering gauntly over the horizon. Five or six years ago the leading schools were constantly turning boys away, whether by rejecting them in an entrance examination, or by the perfectly true plea of "no vacancy". To-day it is possible to get a boy into any school at quite short notice, and by a decidedly easier entrance test. The sole question is whether his parents can afford to pay the fees. That may be reviled as mere plutocracy, but it certainly is no kind of aristocracy; and social standing simply does not come into it at all. But the number of those who can afford the fees has been violently decreased by the crippling taxation caused by the War.

Once again the future of Public Schools is largely an economic problem. True, there might come a Government in the United Kingdom which would not tolerate any independent school outside Government control. It will be an evil day for the country when independent traditions of education and manners and morals cannot flourish side by side with the necessarily far greater bulk of public education standardized by the State; for the country will then by that amount more nearly exhibit the Nazi ideal of *Gleichschaltung*, which the democracies loathe and detest. A "Napoli" school in Germany quite deliberately disallows independence of thought to its pupils, and most efficiently ensures that all think alike, i.e. exactly as the Party lays

down—in fact, do not think at all, but only feel. And the other “Napoli” schools produce exactly identical results. You can, in fact, make the adolescents of any nation think exactly what Government wishes them to think, provided only that Government is efficient enough, and thorough enough, and Philistine enough. And if Government desires its youth to feel hatred and contempt for other races, it can achieve this. It *has* its reward.

It is the glory of the British Public School system that each school is free to develop its own *ethos*, and its own approach to life, though most of them show a surprising similarity of ideals, however diverse their routes towards them; and that in each of them every boy is encouraged, especially in the sixth form, to think for himself, provided only that his thoughts do not lead to anti-social actions. On the whole, this latter danger is largely eliminated by the system of self-government by means of prefects and monitors, which may indeed tend to a certain rigidity of tradition, but unquestionably produces in the school an orderliness and general standard of decent conduct not otherwise to be got, and gives to these successive officers an experience of responsibility and administration, a self-reliance and ability to stand on their own feet, which is visible through generations of young men emerging from the Public Schools, ready to take over at a surprisingly early age any job that can fall to young men in the endless ramification of business and public life, whether in the home country or in the wide diversity of the British Empire; and men whom others, lacking this experience, do seem ready to accept as leaders in fact, however much democratic theory may deny or dislike the fact; and in time of war nowhere is this so self-evident as in the Forces, provided only that these privileged youths have learned that privilege connotes obligation. On the whole, that claim can be justly made.

For privileged the Public School boy is, whether because his parents' income, or the scholarship system open to all with brains above the average, has given him the chance of spending four or five years at the formative age in a community that is busy in mind and body, and has at its disposal outside school hours a great diversity of amenities, intellectual, social, athletic—in fact, cultural in the widest sense. These are more easily accessible to the Boarder than to the Day Boy, because the former has more time for them, having to use no time in transit. And that brings us to the last point that there is room to include here.

The British Public Schools (including of course the fine group of Scottish boarding schools, with rather fewer in Wales, and several in Ireland) have for more than a century tended to be quite predominantly for Boarders. It may seem strange that in a country second to none in the value it sets on home life the great majority of parents do in fact, if they can afford it, send their sons away for education for rather more than two-thirds of the year, often making real sacrifices to do so. (Indeed, the tendency to do this for their daughters has grown enormously in this century, though it is an open question whether a system suited for boys is equally suited for girls.) And it is clear that economic reasons are tending to reduce this majority towards something like a numerical equality. But, partly, the British parent believes that boarding school life is on the whole the best available training for a boy in self-reliance and in the art of living happily with all and sundry; and, partly again, a great number of homes are in the country out of reach of a school with the desirable equipment and resources. The sons of such homes must either go away to school as boarders, or consume unjustifiable time and energy in reaching daily a good school, or attend a less good school nearer home.

After experience of schools of both kinds, two practically

without Day Boys and two others where these are an integral part, one does seriously ask how many homes are suitable for the all-the-year-round residence of a 16-year-old. The idea that Day Boys lead a sheltered life, easier than that of Boarders, simply will not bear examination; for it is much harder work being a Day Boy, even though his bed may be softer and his meals more dainty, and possibly his privacy greater; and privacy is a priceless boon, but sadly lacking in many Boarding Schools, though not in all, yet by no means easy to come by in a small home, where a real difficulty is for a boy to find quiet and space for his home-work without interruptions of all kinds, whether to hear the 9 o'clock news, or to give the dog his supper and a run, or to take a hand in one of the many small tasks that fall to the children of any home other than one in which all is done by servants, an increasingly rare phenomenon.

In short, the Boarding School has proved necessary to the England of a century past, and looks like commanding the allegiance in future of those parents who can afford its high cost. Already there are too many such schools for the available clientèle, and some of them must undoubtedly close their doors because they will not be able to afford to keep open. How many will thus fall out, no man can say unless he has ascertained the general economic condition of the country after the war. Some will survive, because they know how to give what the parents want for their sons, both parties believing it to be something intrinsically good that has stood the test of experience. These survivors might still be superseded forcibly by a Government which insisted on total control of education, however much the additional cost to the State might be. But the feeling persists that Parliament is a long way from abolishing a good thing, merely because it is not available for all or for enough of the people. There is a better way, to make the privilege more accessible to more and more of those who could use it

well. That seems likely to be the wiser issue, if England emerges unbroken from the war, however bruised; and it will be welcomed by the Public Schools themselves as a double blessing, of the kind that blesses him that gives and him that takes. How it is to be financed is an acute problem, but would involve us in discussing the Public School of the future, whereas the writer's duty was to try to present some account of it in the present. And it is an interesting fact that in the fifth year of the second World War there is a sudden and often swift rise in the numbers seeking places in the independent Boarding Schools, both the more and the less expensive. It looks as if the British Public is again growing sure that the system suits it.

ENGLISH GIRLS' SCHOOLS

By ETHEL STRUDWICK, O.B.E.

High Mistress of St. Paul's Girls' School

GIRLS' schools in England are a much younger growth than the boys' Public Schools. A centenary is still a very rare celebration among them, the pioneer schools of the latter part of last century are in their seventies, and the large majority, consisting mainly of the secondary schools maintained by Local Education Authorities, are not much older than forty, while many are much younger and some are still in their infancy.

This means that they have not as yet experienced the advantages, and drawbacks, of hoary antiquity, that the tradition growing up in them is a modern thing, which is developing in modern surroundings, moving as the times move, and still influenced, perhaps more strongly than is the case with the older schools, by succeeding generations.

One characteristic, however, they share, and most for-

tunately, with the Public Schools, and that is an intense individuality, which is the saving grace of English education, which has resisted, and will, one hopes, go on resisting, all attempts to bring them to one common measure and mould them into one common form. Neither State nor local control, neither examination systems nor economic pressure on the homes of parents can make one school like another, and the innate desire in the girls themselves to cherish the ways, the standards, and the atmosphere of their own school, will help to keep alive the consciousness that each school is a separate entity.

Girls' schools are of many types. There are a certain number of independent Public Schools, both boarding and day, which receive no grant from the State or from a local authority, but derive their incomes from endowments and fees and are not run for private profit. There are High Schools and Endowed Schools which receive aid from the State and sometimes from a local authority. There are State secondary schools which are under the jurisdiction both of the Board of Education and of the local authority, and there are private schools, large and small, scattered over the country.

All these types, except in some degree the last, are represented by their Head Mistresses in *one* association, the Association of Head Mistresses, which was founded in 1874, and to which is affiliated the Association of Head Mistresses of Recognized Private Schools, i.e. private schools which are inspected by the Board of Education. This union in one association is in itself strong evidence of an identity of aim and interest which the very different circumstances of individual schools have not affected, and indeed their very diversity makes the annual Conference of the Association and its discussions a real contribution to educational theory and practice.

Academically English girls' schools have done a great

deal in a short time. When they were founded, there was very little contact for them with the Universities, and only the very exceptional girls went on to a College of any sort, but tribute must be paid to the high qualities of many teachers in these schools of earlier days, who were women of wide culture and interests, and above all of character, who from a real sense of vocation were able to give their pupils something which more than compensated for the lack, in some instances, of degrees and diplomas. They were in a true sense pioneers, little as they, or their pupils, may have realized it. When the Universities opened their doors to women, there was still suspicion among University teachers that the preparation given in the schools was not in all cases of a high standard, and they were by no means always ready to accept the verdict of the school as to the merits of an intending student. This suspicion has died hard, and even to-day, when the staffs of girls' schools are highly qualified specialists, the Universities, and especially the Women's Colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, make their own terms by means of a quite exacting Entrance or Entrance Scholarship Examination. Entrance into Oxford and Cambridge has a great attraction, and the limited number of vacancies at either of these Universities leads to a rather desperate amount of competition among the abler girls for open awards and for places, competition which was becoming more intense with the years in the pre-war period. The reason for this is that girls are tending to go to the University as a natural next step following on a school career, and a College training is no longer looked upon by them as a preliminary merely to service as a teacher. They want it if they can get it, whatever their ultimate work in life is to be. This has meant a great development of the work in the upper part of girls' schools, which has already attained a good standard and is giving encouragement and inspiration to the school as a whole.

In a very large number of girls' schools University work is for the few, and many have to leave at 16, as parents cannot afford either the money or the time necessary to give their daughters a University career. In these schools the responsibility which rests upon the Head Mistress and her staff is very heavy, for they must somehow give the girls, within the narrow limits of a five-year course, which is at present very closely bound up with the demands of the School Certificate Examination at the end of it, something which may help them and may be a permanent possession in the life to which they go out. With this aim the syllabus of the School Certificate Examination itself has been broadened as a result of the efforts of Head Mistresses, who have brought within its scope Art, Music, and Domestic Science, subjects which had been valued too lightly by examining bodies, and passed over as unworthy to rank with more academic studies.

This is, of course, only a small reform, and the hope is that when the war is over, the "school-leaving age" about which one hears so much, may be raised for everybody, and that by some more attractive plan of post-secondary education than is at present available, there may be revealed to everyone more of the beauties of art, music, and literature, more of the fascination of language, science, and mathematics, more of the philosophy of history than those who leave school now at 16 are able to visualize. This is an age of cheap snippets of information dealt out to us on the wireless and in the Press; solid reading has been to a large extent ruled out by the loud-speaker in the one sitting-room of a flat or a small house. The School Library and the desire to read in it are among the few protections that can go with a girl when she leaves school to become a wage- or salary-earner, or to be the unpaid upholder of a family as wife and mother.

It must therefore be the business of every school to find

out something for her to take with her when she leaves it, and girls' schools have, on the whole, been setting themselves honestly and with good will to the task. It is not an easy task, for 16 is a half-way age when girls hardly know what they are going to value later on, and the last school year is often apt to be spoiled for them by worry over one or other subjects of the School Certificate which are uncongenial and foreshadow failure. The year which follows, if it can be afforded, shows things in quite a different perspective: those who can have it become at once older and younger, older in their keener perception of realities and of the essential meaning of things they have taken for granted, younger in their enthusiasm at the beginning of a new venture which is their own choice, and no longer the following of a well-trodden track. 16 to 17 is a year of vital expansion which ought to be spent in preparation not for a livelihood, but for life. Let us hope that when the war is over, English girls' schools will, without losing their infinite variety, find themselves moving in an ampler air of encouragement and inspiration from those who control their destinies.

OXFORD IN PEACE AND WAR¹

By W. T. S. STALLYBRASS

Principal of Brasenose College, Oxford.

TO convey a true picture of Oxford in war-time to those who do not know her it is necessary first to draw a sketch of Oxford in peace-time. For Ox-

¹This article was written in October 1940. I have thought it best to leave it as a picture of Oxford at that date, pointing out in a note where there has been any substantial change during the last thirty months.

ford is unlike any other University in the world, except Cambridge. And it is only by a recognition of the differences which distinguish Oxford from any other University that a true conception of her can be obtained.¹

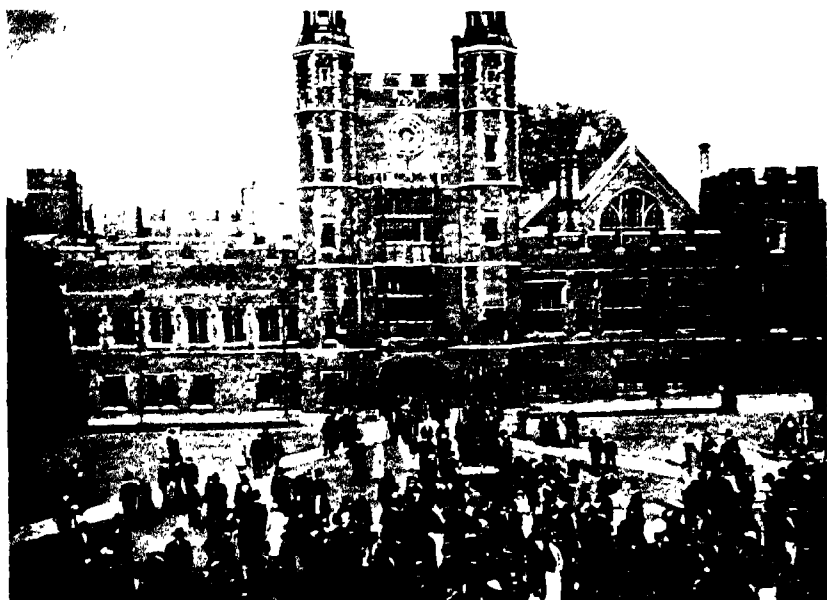
In the first place Oxford is primarily a University of undergraduates. Much invaluable research in all fields is carried on in the splendid libraries and laboratories of the University, but the great majority of the students are undergraduates—less than 7 per cent. of the whole are engaged upon post-graduate work.

In the second place, all the undergraduates reside in Oxford, and most of them live in the Colleges or Halls of which they are members. With rare exceptions, each student has his own bedroom and sitting-room where he sleeps and works and entertains his friends.

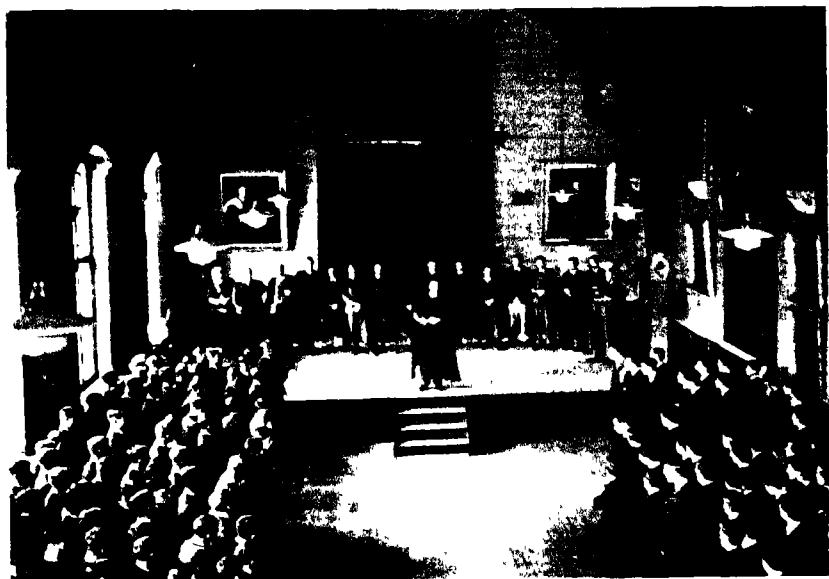
Lastly, and most important of all, the University is really the aggregate of the Colleges and the Halls. No one can be a member of the University unless he is a member of a College or Hall. But the whole is greater than the sum of all its parts. It is the University which conducts examinations and gives degrees. The University also provides the laboratories and most of the instruction for medicine, for natural science, and for engineering. It also provides most of the teaching for Modern and Oriental Languages. But the majority of the students at Oxford pursue humane studies—theology, law, philosophy, classical languages and literature, mathematics, history, English literature, and economics—and in these fields, though University Professors and Readers give lectures and hold seminars, the greater part of the teaching falls upon the

have also added one or two paragraphs to show more clearly Oxford's general place in English Education so as to bring the article more into line with others reprinted in this volume.

¹There is so much diversity in Oxford—so much variety in her unity—that in the following pages I have sometimes deliberately generalized at the expense of absolute accuracy, e.g. said “all” when “almost all” would be the strict truth, in order not to blur the general picture.



TRIN COLLEGE



BLUNDELL'S
Dismissing School



OXFORD
From a Drawing by Estell Canzar



CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY
The Library

Fellows and Lecturers of the Colleges, who not only lecture but give private instruction to their pupils. In every College the government of the College and the management of its revenues are in the hands of the Head of the College and the Fellows. Each College has its own buildings—its own kitchen, its own lecture rooms, its own Hall for dinner, its own rooms for residence—and some of the Fellows in each College make it their home. Each College has its own playing-fields and its own house-boat, known as a “barge”, on the river, as a head-quarters for rowing.¹

There are other differences between Oxford and Cambridge and the newer Universities to which attention is called by Professor B. A. Fletcher in his article reprinted in this volume. “Equality between the sexes,” he tells us, “is a basic principle of organization in the newer Universities, whilst the ancient Universities remain essentially masculine institutions.” It is easy to over-emphasize this distinction. With one important exception the disabilities of women within the University of Oxford are about as grievous as the disabilities of a Roman Catholic within the State. No Roman Catholic can be King or Lord Chancellor; no woman can be Vice-Chancellor or a Proctor. But the same regulations in every other respect apply to women as to men in regard to examinations, degrees, discipline and the governance of the University. Of recent years the members of the men’s and women’s Colleges have mixed freely with each other—not only in the lecture rooms. The one important exception is that, whereas the only limit set to the number of members that can be enrolled by a man’s College is its power of finding rooms and teaching for them, the number that can be admitted to a woman’s College is limited by Statute. If

¹Some of the house-boats have been recently replaced by boat-houses and it is planned that in 40 years’ time this change will be universal.

the gradual elimination of women from the Universities of Germany may be regarded as one of the signs of her relapse into barbarism, the whole-hearted acceptance of women into full membership of the University of Oxford is a proof of her unimpaired vitality and ability to adjust herself to a new world.

As Professor Fletcher says, the ancient Universities are self-governing, the newer Universities less self-governing, and the ancient Universities in a larger measure than the new depend upon their endowments to enable them to carry on their work. Roughly half of the income of the newer Universities comes from central and local grants. The State has consistently refused to give any financial assistance to the men's Colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, but over one-fifth of the University's income is derived from the Government block grant and large additional sums come from Government Departments. It must further be remembered that by the system of State and Local Education Authorities' Scholarships whilst the individual is the direct beneficiary the University is indirectly subsidized. He that pays the piper calls the tune and though the State has not yet directly interfered (except by Royal Statutory Commissions) the possibility of such interference has on one or two occasions undoubtedly been a factor in determining the University's policy. But the absence of direct interference from outside has not only an important reaction upon the teaching but, unconsciously perhaps, creates in the students a sense of freedom in the pursuit of their studies not found to an equal degree elsewhere. Education at Oxford is still largely non-vocational.

Professor Fletcher says that whereas the newer Universities have "civic roots, civic support and a civic influence that limits their scope" the "ancient Universities have few local connections and have established a national position and prestige." It is quite true that there is little

more probability of a scholar finding himself at Oxford University if his home is in Oxford than if it is in Newcastle, but Oxford's prestige is more than national. Every year some 70 Rhodes Scholars come to the University from the Dominions, the Colonies, and the United States and large numbers of other students from the Empire, Europe, China and South America. They come not merely to acquire knowledge but to learn a way of life which—so we proudly think—only Oxford and Cambridge can give.

And here it may be well to dispose of one erroneous impression which has received wide currency. Long before this war—even before the war of 1914—Oxford had ceased to be a preserve for the sons of the well-to-do. In 1939 almost half our undergraduates were in receipt of emoluments in the shape of scholarships or grants without which they could not have come to the University. Of the 1724 men and women who matriculated in that year 211 men and 60 women had started with an Elementary School Education. In fact there was no more democratic community in the land. But it is undoubtedly true that there was a larger proportion of men with means of their own at Oxford and Cambridge than at the newer Universities, for it was to Oxford and Cambridge that such, if anxious for a University education, naturally turned their steps.

Important as are these distinctions between the ancient and the newer Universities they go rather to the form than to the content, to the structure rather than to the life within the structure of the University. For a foreigner who wishes to understand Oxford the essential thing is to appreciate that the University is primarily undergraduate, is residential, and is based on the College system and not on the Faculty system. The engineers are not collected in one College and the lawyers in another and so forth. Every College contains amongst its members engineers,

lawyers, chemists, medical students, classical scholars, and historians, and it is the constant meeting in social life of men holding different intellectual interests which has so much to contribute to the general *ethos* of Oxford.

Of this College system is born a strong, though friendly, College rivalry. The Colleges are proud of their successes in the Schools, and in the field of play there is much inter-College competition. Most of the games played by undergraduates are matches between one College and another, and the Headship of the River is a much coveted distinction. The Colleges are proud too of their representatives in matches between Oxford and Cambridge—the holders of the prized “blue”. For, since Oxford is primarily a residential University of undergraduates, games play a large—perhaps too large—part in the lives of many. For the games-players are not at Oxford, as in some other Universities in the world, a class apart, but are the ordinary students reading in the great majority of cases for honours degrees.

In peace-time Oxford consists of 750 women and some 4000 men students, some engaged on research work, most of them studying for honours degrees, living in and taught in their own Colleges, many of them devoting much of their time to rowing, cricket, football or other games, others spending their surplus energy on political, debating, dramatic, or literary clubs—all of them educating each other by an interchange of thought and experience. For though the students of Oxford come from many different social strata, there is little class consciousness. Men in the same College may have a very different standard of living, one perhaps spending £800, another only £200 per annum. Yet the difference in the ways of life sets up but a slender barrier to intercourse, for it is scarcely apparent on the surface.

What changes has the war made in this picture? One

thing may be said with confidence—far smaller than had been anticipated. Most of us expected that the number of men in residence a year ago would not be more than one quarter of the normal; in fact, although to our great regret our Americans were not with us, it was over two-thirds, and even now after a year of war we shall have in residence nearly half our normal numbers of men, whilst the number of the women remains constant.¹ Yet after a year of the last war the numbers of our men had fallen to one-fifth, and by 1918 to one-eighth of the normal. There are several reasons for the marked difference between the effect of the 1914 and the 1939 wars on the life of the University. On this occasion the importance of medical and some scientific students continuing their studies was immediately recognized by the Government. Further, the Government decided not to call up men for military service until they had reached the age of 20, or, if a critical examination was in prospect, the age of 20 years and 9 months. Finally, whilst retaining all the ordinary examinations for those who are able to take the full course, the University created special examinations leading to a "War Degree" for those who cannot, thus enabling them to get some taste of University life and culture by taking a shorter course than usual.

As a result of the reservation of medical and science students the relative number of those students and the students in the "Arts" subjects has been greatly altered. In peace-time at a rough estimate there are about four "Arts" students for every medical or scientific student, now the numbers are about equal. In consequence, whilst

¹At the end of over three and a half years of war the numbers of the Universities still remain about one half of the normal. But now that the normal calling up is at 18 undergraduates tend to come into residence at an earlier age and Arts students seldom remain in residence for more than one year—and the science students normally for only two. Many of them are sent at Government expense to get six months of University life before going into the Navy, Army or Air Force.

the burden upon the teachers in the scientific subjects, mostly University Professors or Demonstrators, has scarcely been lightened, that borne by most College tutors has greatly diminished. The number of teachers has dwindled in about the same proportion as the number of those to be taught. Many of them have given their services to the Government for scientific research, or administrative work, thus offering yet one more justification for the annual grant which the Government makes to the University. Others have joined the fighting services. Yet others are combining much important advisory work for the Government with the discharge of their ordinary duties in the laboratory or the lecture room. On the whole, apart from a certain intensification and a speeding up in the medical school, there is but little change in that portion of University life which is to be found in the laboratories or the hospital.

In College life much greater changes have taken place. Many of the Colleges have been taken over by the Government for one purpose or another. The undergraduates of the evicted Colleges have found an asylum in the Colleges which have been allowed to remain in possession of their own buildings. There they have slept, and there they have fed. But the Fellows even of an evicted College have been allowed to continue to reside in it, and there they have taught their pupils. But just as the Colleges agreed to pool the receipts from Government compensation and the rent received from undergraduates, so the lessened number of teachers made a large amount of pooling of College teaching resources inevitable. In consequence a member of Brasenose may be sleeping and eating in Christ Church and taught in one subject at Brasenose by his own College tutor and in another subject at Balliol, if his own tutor in that subject is absent on war work. Further, that same young man may be rowing in a combined boat of

Brasenose and Christ Church, for most of the Colleges have joined forces with another College for the purposes of sports and games, and some have ceased to keep their own playing-fields in order.

When it was agreed to pool the use of College buildings for the war, it was also agreed that there should be throughout the University a fixed charge of £4 4s. od. a week during term and of £3 3s. od. a week in the vacation for undergraduates residing in the Colleges to cover board, lodging and service. This is based upon communal meals—breakfast, lunch, and dinner are all now taken in College Halls though in peace-time in some Colleges dinner is the only meal so taken. Private entertainment, except on a very limited scale, is no longer possible. Again, the fixed charge means that the fortunate possessor of a good set of rooms pays no more than the luckless man who has to share his bedroom and sitting-room with an uncongenial companion. For the congestion caused by the war made a certain amount of sharing even of bedrooms (unknown in peace-time) inevitable, though it is to be hoped that with lessened numbers this year this will seldom now be necessary.¹ All this has meant a regrettable loss of privacy. For, if Oxford's greatest lesson is to teach her sons to live in company, another of her lessons is to give men the resources for the self-sufficient life. The fixed charge has resulted in a standardization, a levelling of the standard of life, unknown to peace-time Oxford. Unfortunately it is no longer so easy as it was for the undergraduate of poor circumstances to live on £220, but it is also no longer easy for the gilded youth to spend £800 per annum. Wine clubs are in suspense, motor-cars are an almost unknown luxury, and hunting and shooting for undergraduates are for the time being a thing of the past. In fact there are few rich undergraduates left. *Noblesse oblige*. And for the most

¹This has in fact proved to be the case.

part the man of means has responded to the call of the R.A.F. or the Navy or has managed to join the Army before his time.

With one tutor taking several pupils from several Colleges, with no "blues" awarded and the Colleges combined for the purposes of games, the occasion for College rivalries is much diminished. Almost all the non-scientific undergraduates are members of the Senior Training Corps or the University Air Squadron which was resurrected in Michaelmas Term 1940,¹ and with their time much occupied with war-like activities, their opportunities for and engrossment in games and sports are much limited. But the political clubs have continued to meet and Oxford has been well provided with music and the drama. The cultural possibilities at Oxford are unimpaired. Never has Oxford looked more lovely than this summer that is now gone. Men can still walk and talk freely; the present order of things can still be frankly challenged; youthful enthusiasms are not damped, nor heresies persecuted; the passion for truth still prevails. And as young men talk to each other of poetry and art and politics and love and God those intimate friendships are still made which are Oxford's most precious gift to her children. So long as these things be, even though our streets be darkened at night and crowded by day with uniforms and refugees from hard-pressed London, we can say that in no essentials has the war changed life at Oxford.

¹In 1943 an Oxford University Naval Division was formed for those undergraduates intending to join the Royal Navy.

CAMBRIDGE IN WAR-TIME

By THE REV. M. P. CHARLESWORTH

Fellow and President of St. John's College, Cambridge

CAMBRIDGE, to start, as is most proper, with Geography, is a town of some 70,000 inhabitants, situated in East Anglia, acting as a market-town for the surrounding agricultural country, which possesses—for this is giving away no military secrets—an important railway-junction, and a rather small river. Yet most people, if they were asked what they think of when the word "Cambridge" is mentioned, would reply *not* "a railway-junction" or "a market-town", but rather "the University", or "the Colleges", or "the Cavendish Laboratory", or "the Backs". (Or possibly, "the Boat-Race", for I well remember discovering once in a remote part of Italy, rather to my chagrin, that though the inhabitants had no notion of Cambridge as a seat of learning, they were keenly aware of its connection with that great event of "il Sporto Britannico", the Boat-Race). For the great majority of people the name of Cambridge is inseparably bound up with scholarship and science, and very often I receive from friends, both at home and abroad, the anxious query "How has the war affected Cambridge?" or the still more pessimistic question "I suppose there's nobody left at Cambridge now?"

The most obvious answer to such a question would be that though there is still a great deal of teaching and research going on at the University, one visible effect the war has had upon Cambridge, apart from the apparition of sandbags around buildings, is in the diminution of numbers. In the last century scholars and scientists were pictured

as living in a kind of cloistered seclusion, unruffled by the turmoil of the world around; the peace of learning must never be broken by the irruption of politics or by the noise of battle. But "Total War" has altered all that; every member of the community knows that he is engaged in a common struggle against those who would repress freedom.

A great number of the Professors, Lecturers, Research Students and others, the "dons" and teachers, have departed to join the armed forces, or to work in Government Departments, and so take their share in the national effort. From time to time they return for a few hours or for an occasional day; some of them in uniform, others still in civilian dress, but wrapped around with an aura of mystery, and giving the impression that they are engaged in work of infinite secrecy, to the mingled envy and amusement of their friends. But they are no longer available for teaching, and so those who remain have to shoulder, and gladly, all kinds of additional work; sometimes extra teaching or lecturing, sometimes such duties as those of the Home Guard, or as Fire-Watchers, or in other branches of Civil Defence.

The undergraduate population has been affected equally. For one thing few of them are over the age of twenty, unless they possess special qualifications in medicine or science or engineering. Taught by the experience of the last war, where many medical students rushed to the colours, only to be dragged out of the army two years later and ordered to finish their medical training, the Government decided that the supply of trained doctors was a consideration of national importance, and that engineers and scientists could contribute usefully towards the smooth working of various technical branches of the Services. In consequence those who possess special knowledge or experience of this kind have been encouraged to continue their train-

ing; the others, the non-specialists, have been drafted to various units.

But though a visitor's first impression would perhaps be that undergraduates are, as a whole, much younger than before (for many men are coming up at an earlier age, determined to get at least one year of university life and experience), and though the population is much smaller—perhaps about two-thirds of the normal—undergraduate and university life proceed to all appearance little changed. At eleven or twelve o'clock you will still find the streets packed with hurrying crowds of men and women, on foot or on bicycle, going to or leaving their lectures or demonstrations, while the Professors and Lecturers proceed along at a more leisurely gait. The cafés are thronged with people taking rest and coffee after lectures or "labs", arguing or discussing the latest war news, or just talking; with the black of the gowns the dull khaki of the Training Corps contrasts strangely. And while most of the conversation is in English, every now and again unfamiliar tongues and languages can be heard, as visiting officers are shown the sights of Cambridge, and little groups of Czech, or Polish, or Dutch, or Norwegians may be glimpsed.

More important still, and perhaps most typical of all, the private and intimate life of the colleges persists; people can still meet in some room, and sit up over coffee or beer discussing till three in the morning and solving the problems of the universe in arguments that range freely and widely, and often illogically. If one were asked to say what differentiates the undergraduate of 1941 from the undergraduate of 1901 the answer might well be—"They are far more in earnest about things; they know that they will have to live in, and try to guide and control, the post-war world, and so they are far more anxious to learn about all aspects of it and to equip themselves as thoroughly as possible for the future." Consequently they are ready enough

not only to discuss problems among themselves, but to listen attentively to older people who have a name and standing and a message to deliver. Hence a number of flourishing college and university societies, and an eagerness to hear, albeit critically, those who come to address such societies, whether it be C. E. M. Joad, or Professor Barker, or Harold Laski, or Bill Rust, or the Archbishop of York. (Incidentally, nothing would probably surprise these gentlemen more than to find themselves lumped together in such a list—but the fact remains.) This attitude, too, accounts for the great interest taken in such associations as the International Student Service, and in such a course of lectures as those given last year by the Rev. J. S. Whale on *Christian Doctrine*, which attracted a crowd of between 500 and 600 listeners.

In various ways, too, the war has effected a bringing-together of younger and older people in the colleges in such organizations as Fire-Fighting Squads, First-Aid Squads, and in other special duties; in consequence college life has tended to become far more of a unity, and of a community, than it had been for many years before. The task of protecting college and university buildings against damage from incendiary or high-explosive bombs is so vital that many dons and many undergraduates are staying up during vacation times, and some surprising results have accrued. When fire is the enemy to be feared it is essential to have access quickly and easily to any part of a building; so, whereas in former days the sport of roof-climbing was frowned upon by the authorities and practised only by the more skilful and daring, under cover of night and with the risk of discovery, now it is almost encouraged; ladders stand invitingly placed against walls, and dons may be seen guiding fire-watchers along the roofs, and indicating easier routes. Perhaps thereby roof-climbing has lost something of its attraction; for what can the thrill be in a sport

if there is nothing of the flavour of danger and of disobedience in it?

In spite of diminished numbers, in spite of the fact that many of its sons are away, Cambridge still carries on, at once changed and unchanged. And there is one element that does not change, the natural setting: the buildings remain, mercifully, undamaged, representing the slow transition from medieval to modern times, and giving as it were an epitome of English social and architectural history. Nature seems at once lovely and unheeding: it is the height of summer as I am writing these words; the slow-moving Cam still threads its peaceful course past the colleges, the smooth green lawns still fringe its banks, and the willows still bend to the waters. In the cool of the evening people wander and talk along the banks, and the wood-pigeons coo from the trees in the gardens. Indeed the very peace and quiet of the "Backs", lovely though they are, are at times almost intolerable for those who reflect what horrors are being enacted elsewhere, while miles away men are fighting and dying to glut the megalomania of a fanatic.

But it is intolerable only so long as it is regarded as a contrast rather than as an incentive to action. Those who study here have a chance to absorb something of the unordered, yet sober, freedom that a university life offers, and can be inspired to greater deeds and to more enduring efforts than those who simply obey slavishly the commands enjoined upon them from above. "Bolívar", wrote José Martí, "recorrió más tierras con las banderas de la libertad que ningún conquistador con las de la tiranía."¹ So Cambridge goes on working, and preparing its sons to take their part in a struggle against an aggressive tyranny that has already embraced four continents. It is a sobering and yet an

¹"Bolívar overran far more territory with the flag of freedom than any conqueror with the flag of tyranny."

inspiring thing for a teacher to receive, as I myself have done recently within the last few weeks, letters from pupils and friends in such widely separated quarters as Iceland, Syria, and Africa. That, with the interchange of scientists and experts between the old and the new worlds, may give some idea of how Cambridge is carrying on in war-time.

July 1941

THE NEWER UNIVERSITIES

By PROFESSOR B. A. FLETCHER

Professor of Education, University College, Southampton

THE middle years of the nineteenth century in England were years of political and social ferment. There was a new sense of the formidable problems created by the rapid development of industrial life. There was also a new realization of the possibilities of education as a source of national power. An expanding prosperity and a strong tide of optimism issued in a pulse of university building as important for England as that which had established the European universities six centuries earlier.

This zeal for education showed itself first in the building of Mechanics' Institutes, humble forerunners of the new universities. In 1841, a few years after the first Institute had been built in Glasgow, there were no fewer than 220 such Institutes in existence. There was everywhere a demand for the wide diffusion of a knowledge of science and its applications. It was this eager-minded democracy that called into being a new group of universities. One by one they arose in the ports and cities of England and Wales. From small beginnings they expanded with astonishing speed both in scale and diversity. This expansion, in

rather less than a century, has been one of the great feats of the British people.

The first association formed to carry the new ideas into effect was that established by the poet Thomas Campbell in 1825 to found a university in London. The story of the growth of London University from an Examining Body into an Imperial University demands fuller treatment than can be given here, where mention can only be made in passing of this, the first of the newer universities. In addition, because of its history, the University of London stands rather apart from the large group of "civic" universities that form the main subject of this article.

The majority of the newer universities were created out of the local needs of great cities and in response to civic vision. All are of distinct and different personality yet all hold certain features in common. They can be divided broadly into three large groups. The first group contains those universities that were built out of a federation of separate colleges. Typical of this group is the University of Durham, originally founded by Cromwell in 1657, but reconstituted in 1837 out of the union of an older college with the new Armstrong College of Physical Science and the Newcastle College of Medicine. Queen's University of Northern Ireland was also originally formed from the union in 1845 of the three new colleges at Belfast, Cork, and Galway. The third member of this federal group is the University of Wales, composed of the colleges of Aberystwyth, Bangor, Cardiff, Swansea, and St. David's, Lampeter.

In the second group the qualities of the new civic universities are seen in their simplest and strongest form. These have grown up in the large cities of Birmingham, Bristol, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Reading, and Sheffield.

The third group is of the latest comers in the field, and

consists of the young and still growing University Colleges that have not yet reached a size which merits incorporation under a University Charter. These are the University Colleges of Exeter, Hull, Leicester, Nottingham, and Southampton.

In all three groups common qualities exist which set them apart in contrast to the ancient universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The ancient universities are strongly collegiate and their vital life resides rather in the colleges than in the university. In the newer universities the more important unit is the university itself. The older universities are very largely masculine in outlook and composition. In the newer, co-education is the rule and equality between the sexes a basic principle of organization. The ancient universities are withdrawn as far as possible from the busy life of the city. The newer are set proudly in the midst of great centres of population.

The ancient universities are governed entirely by their own teachers. Parliament has remade the government of the newer universities in its own image. There is a two-chamber system of government. A University Council, on which persons drawn from outside the university sit side by side with university teachers, concerns itself with problems of finance and general policy. A Senate composed of university teachers of senior standing governs matters of teaching and discipline. The Council, with its representatives appointed by local County and Municipal Councils, as well as benefactors and local educational leaders appointed by the university, makes the newer universities less self-governing than the old but keeps them from the dangers of academic seclusion. In both Council and Senate deliberations are free of control by the State.

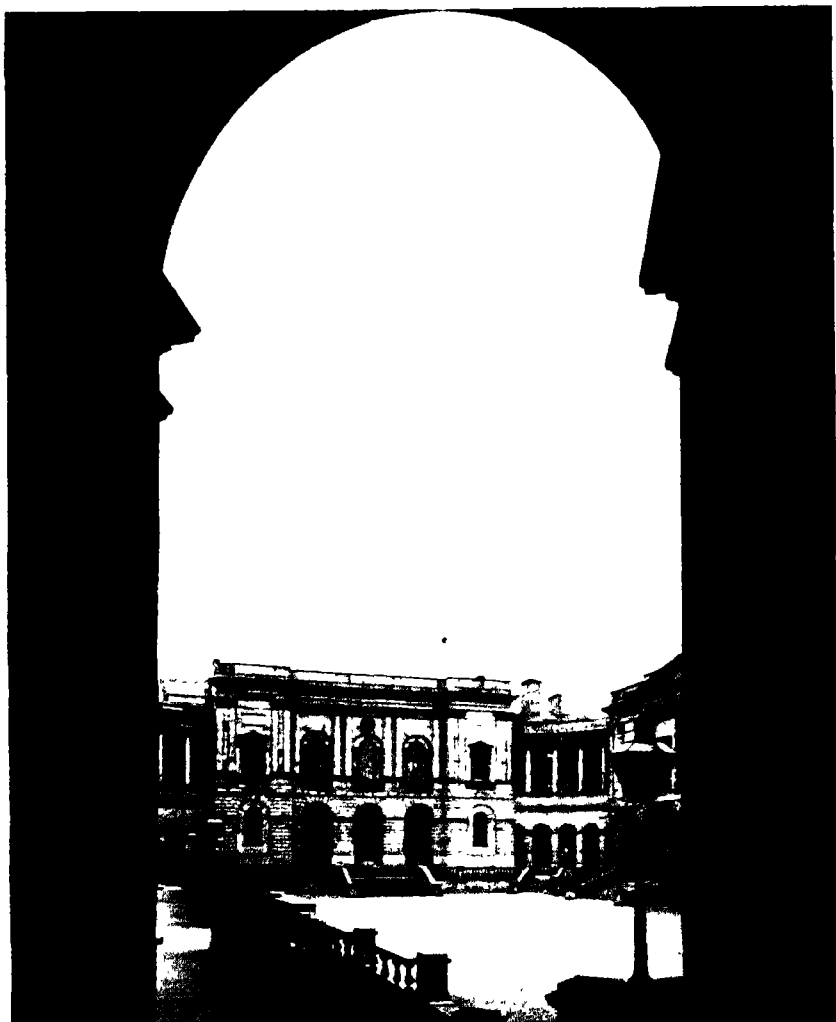
The State does touch the universities at two points. It gives them the Charter which authorizes them to grant degrees. It also distributes large block grants towards their



DURHAM UNIVERSITY



LEEDS UNIVERSITY
The Chemistry Laboratory



EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY
The Quadrangle

income. These Treasury grants are given without specification as to the way in which they shall be spent. Another considerable source of income to the newer universities comes from the grants made to them by Local Authorities responsible for education in the Counties and County Boroughs of the university region. These bodies follow the wise national example of refraining from imposing financial control in return for subsidy. Roughly half of the income of the newer universities comes from central and local grants and the remaining half from fees and endowments.

The endowments of the ancient universities came in large measure from ecclesiastical funds. In the newer universities they are the tangible evidence of civic pride and civic self-sacrifice. Thus Bristol might be given as an example of a university that has benefited from its association with the ancient Bristol Society of Merchant Venturers, whilst its graceful university buildings were made possible by the gifts of the Wills family. Examples of benefactions on a similar scale are the gifts of Sir Jesse Boot to Nottingham and the Rt. Hon. T. F. Ferens to Hull.

The ancient universities have few local connections and have established a national position and prestige. The newer universities have civic roots, civic support, and a civic influence that limits their scope but invigorates their life. It is this that gives them their essentially democratic character. The University of Wales is a good example of this. It grew out of a people's crusade and was built largely from the pence of the poor. It began with twenty-six students and in fifty years had become a federal association of four colleges generously equipped in academic and professional faculties, spreading the light of learning into the farthest Welsh valleys.

The setting of the newer universities makes possible a close and continuous interaction of life and thought. Students of law are in touch with practising barristers;

students of engineering with large industries; students of economics with men wise in business affairs. Leaders of thought and action in the city become leaders in the university. The danger exists, of course, that the civic university may be unduly unfluenced by the "idols of the market-place". Like all universities it must cultivate a certain detachment, so that life may be seen in true perspective. The newer universities, if they once were in this danger, have now freed themselves from it and gained strength from the struggle. Their association with the life of the city gives them a balance of philosophical and technological studies that is a sound reflection of the balance of modern life. Whilst none of the humanistic studies is absent there has been steady development in the technological subjects. An example at random might be taken from Liverpool University, which has Chairs in Civic Design and Naval Architecture, but also supports a Fellowship in Celtic Literature and a Department of Medieval History.

Civic associations have sometimes given a vital impulse to research at the newer universities. Thus Birmingham provides a Laboratory for Mining Research, a special Board of Research for Mental Diseases, and an Institute of Brewing Research; Leeds gives special place to Textile research; Liverpool maintains a Department of Oceanography, a Tidal Institute, and a Sea Fisheries Research Station; Sheffield provides research institutes in Engineering and Metallurgy; Bristol has developed a school of physics research second only to the great Cambridge school; Reading has developed a strong and influential school of agricultural research.

The civic university is soon brought to realize that one of its purposes is to disseminate knowledge and the spirit of learning among the general public outside its walls. It was the existence of the well-organized extra-mural departments of the newer universities that made possible the

rapid development on the outbreak of war of Regional Councils for Army Education as a joint work of the Universities and the War Office. The value of this work for the men and women in the Services cannot yet be assessed. It grows daily in scope and quality. It may have the effect of raising the whole standard of national education. Experience is being gained that will be invaluable in the reconstruction period after the war. The present regional organization may make it possible for Adult Education in future to be an essential part of national education, with the conception that at the centre of each of the great regions into which the country has been divided there will be a university unifying and inspiring the work.

Community life has always been part of the British, as it was part of the medieval, university tradition. To live as a member of a self-governing community of scholars is realized to be the best guarantee of a life of scholarship. For historical reasons the newer universities have not been able to develop the intimate college life of the ancient universities. The contribution to this aspect of university life has been by the provision of Halls of Residence. At some universities, such as Durham, more than 90 per cent. of the students are in residence; at others, such as Reading, the proportion is as high as 75 per cent.; on the average about half live in Halls of Residence. This encourages the growth of a common student life under which a second education develops, the education of the students by themselves, which some have thought to be the most valuable part of a university education.

In each of the newer universities this student life is fostered by a comprehensive Union Society which is both a federation of student clubs and a social institution, often with spacious buildings of its own. The student President of this Union occupies a rather special position in the newer universities. He plays a large part in student life, and is in

frequent touch both with the university authorities and with his colleagues of similar rank in other universities. It is from these separate Unions that there has grown up a National Union of Students, to act as a forum for student opinion and to deal with matters of common concern to all students.

At the ancient universities there are women's colleges and at Oxford the proportion of women is considerable; yet they remain essentially masculine institutions with a recent addition of women students. At the newer universities the relative proportion of women students is much greater and the absence of distinctions based on sex reflects the whole modern democratic movement in England. The social education that results from this mixing of the sexes is a valuable training for citizenship in a State in which women are taking their place side by side with men in all spheres of national service. This is in striking contrast to the subjection of women and their gradual elimination from the universities of Germany that is one of the signs of her relapse into barbarism.

The newer universities arose in the main as secular institutions, concerned largely with the pursuit of truth in practical and social spheres. But you cannot train men to become successful engineers or doctors without wondering if at the same time their training has developed imagination, widened sympathy, and deepened insight. The university, like other spiritual institutions, is bound to concern itself with purposes. A new tide is setting in and its flow is in the direction of an increased interest in religious issues. In more than one university this year, for the first time, public lectures are being given under such titles as the Philosophy of Religion.

The newer universities, precisely because they were placed in great ports and cities, suffered the same material losses as befell hospitals, schools, and workshops in the air

bombardment of last winter. Never, for an instant, was this allowed to halt or impair their work. On the contrary, in response to government demands, they started new technical courses, embarked on new research, and adapted their work to the new war needs of the nation. The result has been that out of this struggle the democratic purpose that gave them birth has been both strengthened and deepened.

THE SCOTTISH SYSTEM

By J. R. PEDDIE, C.B.E., D. LITT.

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THE Scots are accused of pride, to the point of complacency, in their educational system. It is true that ever since the Reformation in the sixteenth century there has existed in Scotland the proudly held belief in the right of every boy and girl, however poorly circumstanced financially, to the best education which the country has to offer, and it can be said in all fairness that this ideal persists undisturbed by the spectres of war or economic distress.

But the fact is that there is at present curiously little complacency over our educational achievements. England, we feel, is catching up on us. We recognize that we have an enviably simple machine. Yet the war has got us thinking beyond the machine to the whole content of what is taught, of examinations and the alleged evils attendant on them, of the weight on freedom of development imposed by a tremendously strong academic tradition; and, accordingly, while I do not believe that we shall witness any revolutionary changes after the war I feel convinced that Scottish education, from top to bottom, will get a most salutary

shake-up. This article, then, is written in no air of superiority but simply with a view to showing certain features of Scottish education that issue from the history of the country and the character of its people.

There are few "public" schools in the well-known English sense north of the Border and only a handful of schools that are not either directly under the control of the Town or County Councils or are subsidized by them, so that one's attention can readily be concentrated on the state-aided system, the structure of which is easily grasped. It proceeds from the Nursery School (3-5 years) to the Infants' Department (5-7 years), thence to the Primary School (7-12 years) at which point there is a break. The child is tested by the Authority in which its school is situated and it then advances to the Secondary School which is divided into two main parts, the Junior Secondary (12-14 years) and the Senior Secondary (12-18 years).

From the Junior Secondary School the pupil can go on to the Continuation Schools, held in the evenings, where a wide variety of subjects—technical, domestic, commercial, recreative—are offered, and from these schools the transition to what are known as Central Institutions for Engineering, Commerce, Domestic Science, Agriculture, &c., is easy for the abler scholars. If the pupil elects to remain at school for the full Senior Secondary Course the door is open, *via* the Leaving Certificate Examinations of the Scottish Education Department, to the Universities and the Training Colleges for Teachers. It must be understood, of course, that there is no definite line of cleavage and that many of the Senior Secondary pupils go to the Central Institutions as an alternative to the Universities.

The Nursery School movement, though young, was developing rapidly in the larger cities before war intervened and its promoters were showing the same enlightenment as has attended the Infants' Departments of the Pri-

mary Schools, where the children are taught under cheerful conditions by a keen and enthusiastic body of women. In the Primary School the groundwork is, rightly, reading, writing, English composition, arithmetic, history, geography, drawing, music, and physical exercises. Here it is felt at present that the content of the subjects of the curriculum might well receive a thorough overhaul, though it would be quite unfair to say that either the books or the methods of teaching or the general intent of the primary course have been humdrum and uninspired.

In considering the Secondary Schools whether Senior or Junior it is well to remember that the Scottish system has never been one into which specialization to any great extent has entered. The general aim has been to give an all-round education which, without undue specialization, would fit the pupil to play his part as a citizen. On the whole the system has produced admirable results, although it is being freely asserted that it does not do enough for the clever pupil whose advance is apt to be retarded by the general pace of the class. But, on the other hand, many English schoolmasters known to me are insistent that ours is the better system, and beg us not to be led into that premature cramming in one subject or set of subjects which is the result of the University scholarship system south of the Tweed.

In the Junior Secondary Schools where the pupils leave at 14 (15 once the war is over) this same desire to avoid undue emphasis on any one side of the curriculum manifests itself in the rather feeble response that has been made to attempts to give a large proportion of the school day to vocational training. Substantially the studies proceed on the basis of English, History, and Geography with such additions as Educational Handwork, Domestic Science, Elementary Mathematics, Music, Art, and Physical Exercises. Schools in the country have, of course, a

rural bias just as some of the city schools tend to specialize in wood and metal work or in typewriting, book-keeping, and shorthand, but such bias is never allowed to let the curriculum get into a lop-sided condition.

To go fully into the arrangements now operative for the medical and dental inspection of school children, or the feeding and clothing of those in needy circumstances, or the attention paid to physical exercises and games, would take more space than is available here. Nor is it possible to describe, within the limits of one article, the excellent treatment now afforded in special schools to the physically or mentally defective child. Again, within recent memory, there has been a truly enormous development in the provision of bright, airy, well-lit, and well-ventilated schools. Many old, badly-sited schools remain. The process of final elimination will take a long time. Yet to anyone whose acquaintance with Scottish education reaches back, say, 50 years, the general improvement in amenity is one of the outstanding features of life at school, and it is true to say that to-day the Scottish child is happy in his environment, and that, spiritually and physically, an amount of care is bestowed on him to which his forerunner could lay no claim.

Moreover, the level of proficiency in the teaching profession in Scotland is high. Since 1924 all males entering the profession in Scotland, save in the cases of those professing Art, Handwork, Music, or Physical Education, must be University graduates and all must be trained at Colleges which lie within the domain of the National Committee for the Training of Teachers. Graduation is not essential for women teachers but, in point of fact, a very large proportion of women do take a University degree as an antecedent to, or as an accompaniment of, their professional training as teachers.

At a time like the present when the subject of religion

in the schools has become a burning issue it is worth while laying emphasis on the tolerance afforded to religious minorities in Scottish education. The road to a settlement of outstanding difficulties was, doubtless, rendered relatively easy by reason of the fact that Roman Catholics, and Episcopalians in Scotland were (and are) relatively small in numbers except, in the case of the Roman Catholics, in the populous west of Scotland. Nevertheless it was greatly to the credit of the religious majorities that when, in 1918, there was embodied in the Education (Scotland) Act of that year a section making the denominational schools transferable by sale or lease from the religious authority to the local Education Authority on terms definitely advantageous to the religious minorities, no extreme opposition was offered. The schools, by 1920, had nearly all been transferred and, except in one instance the details of which need not be emphasized here, the relations between the local Education Authorities and the denominational authorities have been prevailingly harmonious. The Education Authorities appoint the teachers subject to the approval of the denominational body as regards religious belief, while religious observance in the denominational schools proceeds according to "use and wont" under a supervisor appointed by the Education Authority. The 1918 concordat can, in fact, be hailed as a genuine example of religious toleration.

To crown the educational edifice there are the four Scottish Universities, the oldest of which, St. Andrews, has borne the storm and stress of over five centuries. These great institutions which, within the past hundred years, have grown in every direction are in no sense remote from the people. In a country never well dowered with riches the path of advancement in life for the able and ambitious boy was nearly always through the Universities. He could live cheaply; there were bursaries to help him, and it is

true to say that there is hardly a town or village in Scotland but can point to at least one name, well known in Scottish annals, who, starting with the slenderest means, got his chance at St. Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen, or Edinburgh and took it with both hands.

To-day, while the resources for teaching, research, student welfare, and recreation have so developed that the Universities of earlier days are quite unrecognizable, the essential University tradition has not altered. The latest available figures of the University Grants Committee show that 1 in 473 of the population of Scotland goes to the University as against 1 in 1,018 in England. Fees are not high—about £20 per annum in Arts, £36 in Science, and £60 in Medicine—so that with the aid of bursaries which they may win at the University or receive from the local education authority together with assistance which they can get from the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland in fee payments, poverty on the part of the parents need be no absolute barrier to the intending students.

It has been said that the old Scottish spirit of sacrifice in order to give the children a University education is no more. That assertion, as I can testify from my daily work, is sheer nonsense. There still exist in ample and sometimes oppressive measure, decent folks in all walks of life in Scotland who are resolved, despite all the financial worries of the time, to give their children that same chance as was afforded their elders in days when life held a reasonable prospect of continuity from school to University, and from the University to a career of honour and responsibility in the larger world outside.

And now what of the future? It can safely be said that the bulk of Scottish educational opinion will press for the institution of compulsory part-time education for all adolescents between the ages of 15 and 18 years. No longer is it regarded as sufficient that considerable portions

of the youth of the nation should end their school days at the age of 14 or 15 years. School and industry must be much more closely linked together. We cannot, for example, afford to see boys and girls entering into blind alley occupations from which they are ejected whenever they reach the insurable age. A proper apprenticeship involving definite vocational education must go hand in hand with extended opportunities by day for such studies as will promote the sense of the responsibility of citizenship in a democracy and make the decent use of leisure a matter not beyond the range of anyone to attain. And while it is true that the Scottish University tradition has made what may be called in general terms "adult education" no remote affair, to be sought only by the few, there is a growing recognition that there is a definite place for the institution of non-University studies on a scale not hitherto attempted in Scotland. The late Marquess of Lothian by his gift of Newbattle Abbey as a residential college of adult education pointed the way to development. In the three years prior to the outbreak of war this College made a fair degree of headway. Yet many of those best fitted to take advantage of it could not do so by reason of domestic responsibilities and the fact that if they gave up their ordinary work for a period of six to nine months there was no guarantee that their jobs would be waiting for them on their return. Here is involved a problem which depends for its solution on a fresh angle of vision on the part of employers and a measure of security for the worker of a kind which he has never thus far enjoyed. Where the future is so uncertain it would be foolish to dogmatize. But what one is at pains to point out is that the war has, undoubtedly, had the effect of broadening everywhere in Scotland the whole concept of education so that those who have at one end of the scale advocated with persistence the full development of nursery schools and at the other

end the enrichment of adult life by a widespread increase in the facilities for study when manhood and womanhood has been reached now feel that their labours will not go unrewarded. I said at the beginning of this article that we shall not witness in Scotland any changes that might be called revolutionary. To that I believe most Scottish educationalists to-day would subscribe. But short of revolution, they would, I think, agree that the strong, highly intellectual academic conception which governed, explicitly or implicitly, so much of Scottish educational thought and practice for centuries has now gone and in its place has arrived a profound conviction that every child must be given an education to which his talents are suited amid surroundings that will ensure his physical well-being from his earliest days. Thus the provision of good homes, school meals, well-lit airy schools, playing fields and all the apparatus of health is nowadays canvassed with an intensity that would barely have been understood by an older generation of teachers and parents. The accent and emphasis have, indeed, changed yet there is no ground for fearing that the fundamental belief in the virtues of scholarship, so marked a feature of Scottish education in narrower times, will thereby be dissipated.

TECHNICAL AND CONTINUATION SCHOOLS

By P. I. KITCHEN

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THE average Englishman does not understand the English education system. Least of all, owing to its bewildering variety, does he understand technical education, which can only be approximately and imper-

fectly described in a short article. The pattern upon which are built the activities of an English technical school (the largest schools are now known as colleges or polytechnics) is not easy to recognize; it gradually shades off from a well-planned, closely knit central core to a less defined, loosely organized, outer fringe; it is technical in part only: and is not all admissible as education by the academic purist.

Technical schools were born to satisfy the thirst, particularly among artisans, for knowledge of mechanics, mechanical sciences and manufacturing processes which followed the introduction of machinery in the early years of the nineteenth century. As knowledge grew and expanded, schools, aided by public subscriptions, by wealthy benefactors, by charitable organizations, and by trade guilds and city companies, multiplied, but, in the absence of central planning or conscious direction, they developed irregularly. Since 1902, when the Board of Education and Local Education Authorities joined forces to develop and supervise all forms of education, technical schools have slowly but surely found a place in the general education system, and assumed a shape, not too rigid, but which nevertheless can now be discerned.

The quickest approach for a stranger to an appreciation of the present design of English technical education can probably be obtained from the view-point of a youth of about 16 in an industrial town of moderate size (say 100,000 inhabitants).

Such a youth stands on the threshold of the local college, which he has almost certainly reached by one of three well-recognized routes:—Through 1. A secondary school, which he entered at 11 and has just left, or 2. An evening continuation school or evening institute, which he has attended (resisting counter-attractions to which many of his friends have yielded) for two or three evenings per week during two winters since he left school at 14, (here

he dabbled in science, mathematics, drawing, workshops, or in commerce with perhaps some recreational occupation, which have kept alive his interest and given him a useful foundation upon which to build the specialized training which he is now approaching), or 3. A junior technical school (a general term covering a variety of full-time schools preparing for occupations in industry, commerce, or trade) which he entered at about 13 because he showed special aptitude for practical work. Here he combined in suitable proportion general education with vocational training in the direction of one of the predominant local industries or trades.

If the youth is ambitious—and the great majority who reach this point are—he has chosen his career and now requires industrial or commercial experience and college training. For some careers training precedes experience, and, if such be his case, he will take a full-time course of one, two, or three years in the college, and follow it by suitable experience. But the overwhelming chances are that training will be taken in evening classes on two or three evenings per week during the winter months concurrently with experience in the daytime. In the limited time available his training will be arduous and his curriculum severely utilitarian, with mathematics, drawing, applied sciences, and workshop exercises—the normal ingredients of industrial training—and economics, geography, accountancy, shorthand, typewriting—the ingredients of commercial training. His first three years will generally be called the senior stage, and with reasonable ability, perseverance, and conditions of employment he should successfully complete this and gain the recognition in his vocation appropriate to this stage. He might continue in the advanced stage which normally occupies another two years and, if he is successful, he gains thereby much coveted status. There is a 1 in 25 chance that he will be allowed

by his employer to replace evening work by a corresponding period of part-time day attendance for part or all of his training period. In this case the conditions will be less severe and the work more effective. Such highly organized training, in great variety, as thus outlined, fills the main highways through the modern technical college.

The youth may find the journey along such a highway too arduous for his temperament, or too difficult for his circumstances, and prefer to travel along one of the narrower lanes represented by single classes, vocational or otherwise, for short or long periods, in any subject which takes his fancy. Again, farther from the main highways, he may find his satisfaction in a less formal programme of popular lectures, societies, clubs, concerts, &c., of a social, athletic, educational, or recreational character.

The artisan character of the ancestral school has been modified but by no means obliterated in the descendant. There is universal insistence that the highest attainments shall be accessible to youths of humblest origin, and, to this end, fees are always low, often merely nominal, and not infrequently waived altogether.

In the typical town the technical college is housed somewhere near the centre and contains a great variety of classrooms, laboratories for pure and applied sciences, workshops, drawing studios, and the like, reflecting the main occupations of the neighbourhood. It is possible that these rooms are, usually a few years ago they were, dispersed in detached, shabby premises, cheaply improvised for their purpose. If the effects of the recent more generous policy in regard to technical education had reached the town before the outbreak of the present war, they will now have been assembled in a noble modern building, admirably conceived and generously equipped, not only with teaching rooms of all kinds, but with libraries, gymnasia, playing-fields, common rooms, refectory, concert hall with stage

and film projector, and other amenities which are creeping into technical schools, to encourage and develop healthy, social, communal life. In appropriate parts of the town will be perhaps six elementary school buildings selected to house the evening continuation schools or evening institutes which look after the needs of those who left school at 14 until they are ready for a senior course at 16. The junior technical school will probably be housed in the main college building, and will certainly use its workshops, and from them draw much of its character.

When the design of technical education for a medium-size town has been recognized, it will not be difficult to trace its application to a large city, where circumstances call for and great resources allow a higher degree of specialization than is usual elsewhere. As a first change, separate colleges are allocated to technical, commercial, and house-craft training. In London some polytechnics, while retaining their varied programmes, specialize and develop to a very high degree of efficiency one or two lines for which they are particularly fitted. Some colleges become mono-technics, as in building and printing. Junior technical schools in London tend to become trade schools for highly specialized occupations, as, for example, hotel and restaurant work, retail distribution, hairdressing, cabinet making, meat trades, music trades, &c., while in the provinces they are generally directed more broadly towards an industry, such as engineering, building, or commerce.

While a modern technical school fits neatly into the education system, perhaps its most outstanding feature is its real, intimate, living contact with industry and commerce. It is linked to them by many ties through which ideas pass freely, and, consuming dead matter like a healthy bloodstream, keep the college programme abreast of constantly changing practice, and its outlook refreshing, vigorous, and realistic. These ties are local and national. Local

schemes are planned by governing bodies and advisory committees upon which representatives of industry serve. They are carried out by full-time teachers, most of whom were formerly engaged in industry, and part-time evening teachers still engaged therein during the daytime; and they operate on students drawn from industry. National ties are established at the centre with the best of the innumerable professional organizations or societies. Membership of such an organization is generally a highly prized qualification for practising in the profession concerned, and demands suitable standards of educational training and practical experience. Through these central national ties standards of educational training are maintained, and methods of examining and certifying the results of training are worked out.

Examinations and certification, by erecting suitable goals to be reached by students, have always played an appreciable part in shaping organized technical education. But it is common knowledge that some examinations tend to sterilize local initiative, to impose rigid uniformity from the centre and attach overwhelming weight to the incidents of the examination room. In 1921 the Board of Education in co-operation with the Institution of Mechanical Engineers evolved a scheme of examinations for the award of national certificates in mechanical engineering at the end of two stages (ordinary at the senior stage, and higher at the advanced stage) which avoids most of the usual examination pitfalls and has proved so popular that it has since been adopted for electrical engineering, production engineering, building, chemistry, naval architecture, textiles, and commerce, each in co-operation with an appropriate institution. Under the scheme a school or college must be "recognized" as efficient for the particular purpose; it must prepare and submit a plan of training appropriate to local needs and adequate nationally to be "ap-

proved" at the centre; it must give the training and assess the progress of students each year, by examinations and by testimonies of study. At the end of each stage assessors appointed from the centre participate to ensure that satisfactory national standards are reached. National certificates then contribute towards qualification for membership of the co-operating professional institution.

In recent years much progress has been made towards pooling resources and developing lines of common policy between the many technical schools of an industrial region. In some areas regional unions, formed to conduct examinations, have for years prepared the way for the new larger outlook, which is developing in London and the Home Counties, the West Midlands, the East Midlands, Lancashire, the West Riding of Yorkshire, and the North East Coast.

An outline of the shape of things to come may perhaps be drawn from the present trend of public opinion in two directions. Firstly, on the youth in evening classes organized technical courses impose a great strain; his curriculum is narrowly vocational for present days, and, if more time could be given to it, might be enlarged and enriched by the addition of physical training and instruction in matters pertaining to citizenship of a modern democratic state; adequate opportunities for healthy recreation and for cultivation of social contracts are denied him. Secondly, there is concern about the many boys and girls who, on transferring from the protection of a full-time school to the uncertainties of early employment, drop contact immediately, or after a trial too short to derive much help, with evening school or other welfare organization. Lack of opportunity owing to working conditions, lack of desire in immature youth and the temptations of cheap amusements contribute to this state of affairs, and are particularly deadly in the continuation school period (14-16). Thus much

potential skill is lost to industry and enlightened citizenship to the State. A school-leaving age of 15 is foreshadowed. There is also a demand that for young people of the 15-18 ages (who are not in full-time schooling) evening classes shall be transferred to the daytime, the time doubled, the curriculum enlarged and attendance made compulsory.

If organized education is thus provided and taken in the day-time, evenings will be free for healthy recreations and informal occupations. Some such scheme was contemplated in compulsory day continuation schools at the end of the last war, and, in a few areas, schools were tried, but for various reasons did not survive early post-war difficulties, except at Rugby—where since 1920 a scheme has operated very successfully for the 14-16 ages. If compulsory part-time day education is adopted, nearly two million young people in the ages 15-18 will be affected, and in the great task involved technical schools enlarged, broadened in scope, and multiplied, perhaps with more specialized institutions in large cities, will undoubtedly play an important part.

THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS

By PROFESSOR BRIAN STANLEY

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THE system of education of any community is based on the community's idea of the good life. Some peoples, for example the English, do not formulate this idea very consciously; others, like the Greeks, have given as a nation a great deal of thought to it; and the Romans of the Republic brought up their sons in a worthy tradition, of which they were fully conscious, of personal and civic virtues.

Whether the ideas are consciously formulated or not, a country's system of education will not be seriously at odds with these ideas, though it may suffer from a time-lag of a generation or more.

A system of education implies that there are people to whom the preparation of the young for full participation in the adult community will be entrusted. These persons are presumably persons who are masters of the art of living in that community, masters to whom apprentices may be articulated to learn that art.

A democratic country has necessarily a less simple interpretation of the art of living than a totalitarian country has; but it is open to a democratic country to see that its masters have attitudes which accord with its guiding principles. If it attaches great importance to freedom of speech, its masters will encourage their pupils in the expression of responsible opinions; if it attaches great value to the purposeful co-operation of individuals it will arrange for its younger members to work together.

As in the totalitarian, so in the democratic system it will be important that the masters be scholars, deeply versed in the country's literary, scientific, or technical heritage. In nineteenth-century England the master would be a scholar as well as a gentleman, in contemporary Russia he would be a technician as well as a party-member.

If this idea of the schoolmaster is accepted, how will he be chosen?

He will have had a good education, and will have been able to profit by it. His education should have led him thoughtfully to formulate much that is unconscious in one who is only a practitioner of the good life. He will have had some practical experience of life.

He will submit to certain tests before he is granted the licence to teach. He will be required to show that he has some mastery of the art of living: a neurotic will not be

acceptable, nor will a bully be accepted in a democratic state. The democratic state will insist that the candidate be a balanced personality with a reflective and open mind. He will be required to show his knowledge of the specialized branch of the community's heritage which it will be his business to impart; but he should be aware broadly of other branches: the literary man should acknowledge æsthetic values in other cultural activities and should respect the achievements of pure and applied science.

When these tests have been passed certain professional training will be given. A knowledge of child psychology and the process of learning is not a necessary part of the equipment of the good man, but it is essential for the teacher. The directed study of sociology is essential. Mastery of the art of instruction is essential: the candidate must bring together the situation of group instruction and his knowledge of child psychology and the learning process, and must learn to make a distillation of his subject appropriate to different ages and types of child.

When he has completed this study the community will give him his master's licence.

The English system of selecting and training teachers makes a moderate showing when set against the above outline. It would be fair to say that those who select intending teachers in England look for the personal qualities—the broad outlook, the capacity for thought, the balanced moral stability and the free judgment—which characterize the practitioner of the good life in a democracy. It would be less possible to say with confidence that the education given to intending teachers in England develops the qualities which led to the candidate's being accepted, or seems to set on these qualities the value to which they are entitled. And in every country, class-room discipline, results, stupid children, and all the private pre-occupations of shabby gentility prevent the average man, even though occupying

the position of a master of the good life, from retaining much consciousness of the main justification for his existence.

The English teacher is trained in one of the two following ways. About three-quarters of the total of intending teachers go from a secondary school to a two-year Training College at the age of 18. The remainder go to a four-year University course, the minimum age of entry on which is 17. The two-year College supplies teachers for all kinds of elementary school, the University staffs secondary schools and senior elementary schools; a majority of teachers in senior elementary schools are still two-year trained. At the two-year College the student continues his education simultaneously with instruction in methods of teaching and practical experience in schools. At the University a degree is taken, and a year devoted solely to professional training follows.

Some Education Authorities give grants to intending teachers at 16 years of age, but for the most part it is not till a boy or girl is leaving the secondary school that he or she declares the wish to teach. The educational background of such a person is this: elementary school to the age of 11, secondary school to the Higher School Certificate. The grounds for secondary school pupils' decision to teach have been analysed in recent studies in this country by Miss Margaret Phillips and amount roughly to these:

I have always wanted to teach.

Teaching is a safe job.

The pay is good.

I cannot get to a University any other way.

I want to be something else, but training as a teacher is the only training I can afford.

The first can be subdivided into (i) I have always been

happy at school, in the whole of school life, or in some aspects of it; (ii) my parents or teachers have suggested or assumed that I should teach; (iii) I have always admired teachers and want to be like them; (iv) I feel a vocation to teaching.

A commentary on the other motives is provided by a report of the National Union of Teachers, which records (1939) that while certain secondary schools in prosperous districts produce only one or two candidates a year for the teaching profession, there are secondary schools in the distressed areas of Durham and Wales whose final year is composed almost entirely of pupils intending to be teachers.

If we remember the jejune idea of teaching which pupils in almost any type of school have, this analysis of motives leaves us only with the feeling that the most satisfactory candidates are desperately eager and the least satisfactory hopelessly resigned to instructing children in class-rooms and supervising them at their games. If these are the immature motives we must ask what are the possibilities of the immature persons who profess them. What are the possibilities of development of these young people into masters of the art of living? And who are the people who accept or reject the applicants for training, what are their qualifications to select, and what means have they at their disposal to help them in making their selection?

Let us take the last questions first. Applicants for training are selected at least six months before they enter College. They are interviewed by the Head of the College or Department they wish to join, sitting generally with one or more of his colleagues and helped by the candidate's examination record and Headmaster's report. The grade given at the interview is a composite impression mark; the people who give it have an intimate and varied knowledge of schools and a wide acquaintance among teachers, and have themselves been appointed by a Committee com-

posed on lines something like the committee which appointed the present writer to a post as a trainer of teachers. It comprised a former Chairman of the College Council, who was a business man with scholarly interests, the Chairman of a County Council, who was a large landowner, an Archdeacon of the English Church, the Principal of the College, who was a classical scholar and former Governor of an Indian Province, and the Professors of Mathematics, Philosophy, English, and Botany. This indicates just to what extent, and at just how many removes, the aspirant to teaching is in fact chosen by the community and would be acceptable to it.

It is necessary to add in parenthesis that only the more popular Colleges have for the last five or six years been in a position to turn away good candidates for lack of room; anyone who wants to teach can get into some College or other if he has the School Certificate and has been vaccinated.

Once admitted to a Training College or post-graduate Training Department, the student comes into contact with a staff chosen for their enlightenment as teachers and for the most part actively engaged in experimental teaching. For instance, much is being done by them in relating once again the earlier stages of specialized school subjects; in putting the schools in touch with the community, through visits to works and undertakings of a social service nature, and bringing the community into touch with the school through bringing into it men like dustmen, to be interviewed by the children on the nature of their work. Evacuated Training Colleges have started play-centres for evacuated children. One College has started a War Nursery, a University has a children's playroom and a member of its staff takes charge of the children's section of a large communal shelter, while students of many Colleges are helping with youth groups. Psychology as

well as sociology is becoming more real, and tends to include case studies. All these developments are manifestations not so much of the community's interest in the training of teachers or even of a carefully thought-out plan of training, but of the keenness of the trainers of teachers and their ability to make and use opportunities for putting life into their students' work.

My final question was: What are the possibilities of the candidates and are they being realized?

They are limited to some extent by their past education, which has been too often conducted in a series of meaningless rushes, till they arrive at a Training College or professional year played out, cramped, tense and unresilient.

Their contacts with the world are too often limited by life in street or suburb, in homes where trivialities are endlessly discussed and where culture is recognized only by turning the radio down (but not off) while the student "gets on with his studying". Their immaturity is often a premature maturity, not a potentiality of further sustained development.

Yet after a fashion the English system of training teachers develops further the material it gets. Intelligent direction of his work and contact with children cause him to grow a little as a man; and in every place of training he will learn to exercise the teacher's art in the light of the knowledge that the child must ultimately determine the curriculum and that coaxing and salesmanship are the only recognized forms of compulsion.

His training is very far from making him a master of the art of living. The English educationist must ask himself whether the student is not in fact less master of the art of living than he would have been after, say, the education of a skilled workman. If there is any doubt of this, then it is Problem No. 1 for the Committee just set up by the President of the Board of Education on the training of

teachers. It must be considered in conjunction with another problem—the deferred training or refresher course or post-graduate professional degree. Though less has been done in this direction in England than in America, the issue is a very topical one, and some would maintain that the answer to my question lies there. Certainly the appointment of the President's Committee suggests that educationists look to teacher-training as one of the starting-points for the reconstruction of education; the Committee's recommendations, when it has ploughed through the mass of inertia and momentum, professional vested interests, traditions, and dated enlightenment, will be awaited with interest.

FOR ADULTS: THE IDEA OF PEOPLE'S COLLEGES

By PROFESSOR SIR ERNEST BARKER

Professor of Political Science, Cambridge, 1928-39

ADULT Education is education for adults, from the age of (say) 20 upwards, given on a part-time basis, and given therefore concurrently with work and the earning of a living. It is given particularly to, because it is particularly desired by, working men and women; and that is the sort of adult education with which we shall here be concerned. (Not but that there can be adult education in *any* class, and not but what it is good for *all* members of the community. But it is obviously needed most, as it is certainly most desired, by the members of the largest class who have had the least chance of getting a full education in youth; and it is therefore right and proper that we should consider here *their* needs and *their* desires, and the provision which has been made, or should be made, to meet those needs and desires.)

Adult education has an old history. Indeed it is even older—paradoxical as that may seem—than elementary education. As early as 1823 Dr. Birkbeck had started a movement for Mechanics Institutes which by 1850 had led to the founding of 600 such institutes, with over 600,000 members, in the urban centres of England. A little later another movement was started by Quintin Hogg, who founded in 1881 the Regent Street Polytechnic, the model of a number of other Polytechnics which subsequently arose in London and in other cities. Both of these movements, as the words “Mechanics” and “Polytechnic” indicate, were mainly concerned with industry and the applied sciences, as was natural in the Victorian age.

But adult education is a movement which goes through progressive stages, broadening and deepening as it goes. By the first decade of the present century it had risen to a higher conception, which showed itself in the form of the Workers' Educational Association. Instead of seeking to train workmen to be better workmen in an industrial system, it now sought to train working men and women to become better citizens of a democratic community—better, because more educated; better, because more aware of the history, the politics, and the economics of their community, and more alive to the treasures of its literature and all its culture. This is adult education as we understand it to-day, and this is adult education in its best sense.

It was a spontaneous and voluntary movement which rose to this new conception. But the Workers' Educational Association soon found for itself allies. It enlisted the help of the Universities, which joined with it in establishing three-year “tutorial classes”, conducted on something like University lines, by teachers of University standing, for the benefit of working men and women. It enlisted the help both of the central government and of the authorities of

local government, which began to make grants in aid of classes—whether conducted by the Association itself or conducted by it in co-operation with Universities—if they reached a sufficient standard. It also enlisted the help of Trade Unions, many of which gave grants or other forms of encouragement.

On this basis and with these wide ramifications, there has been provided a system of weekly classes, the best of them meeting for 24 times during the winter, and the very best of them meeting for that number of times *in a continuous course conducted through three successive years*. The subjects studied in these courses—through lectures, discussion after the lectures, the writing of essays, and independent reading—have had a broad sweep, as befits the general civic intention of the movement. They have included history, local, national, and international: they have included economic theory and history, side by side with political theory and institutions: they have included literature and philosophy: they have included natural science, and, more particularly, psychology and biology. The sweep is almost that of a University: the spirit, too, has been the University spirit of disinterested study, directed to the pursuit of knowledge for the sake of knowledge.

Two notes may be added to this brief account of adult classes meeting, week by week, in any meeting-place they can find. In the first place, the Workers' Educational Association is not the only body concerned to promote such classes. There are other voluntary bodies and organizations which foster the cause of adult education, generally preferring to conduct their work independently and without the aid of grants. Among these bodies we may include the National Adult School Union; the Co-operative Union; and Women's Institutes and Co-operative Women's Guilds. In the second place, and of a different character, there are the evening institutes, or as they are technically

called Literary Institutes, which have been conducted in London since 1919 by the London County Council, the authority of local government for the London area.

These institutes have two notable characteristics. One is that they are conducted by the public authority, and not by a voluntary movement. The other is that they have their own building, provided by that authority, which forms a permanent and fixed centre, different in kind (and obviously superior in the facilities which it offers) from the variable centres which the classes connected with the Workers' Educational Association have to find and hire for themselves. Otherwise the classes conducted in Literary Institutes serve the same general type of adult student and cover the same general range of civic knowledge—unless it be that, as the term “Literary” suggests, they tend more particularly towards the study of the literary side of the humanities.

So far, we have been concerned with purely part-time adult education, conducted through weekly classes in some evening centre which is either hired for the purpose or provided (as in the London institutes) by the public authority. But it is obvious that there may be another type of adult education, which—though still in a sense part-time—is none the less continuous or full-time *for the period that it covers*, and, as such, is provided in a residential centre. In other words, you may have a residential college for adult education—something that you may call a People's College—to which working men and women may be “seconded” from their work for three or six months, or even longer, returning to their work at the end of the period for which they have been so seconded. This is obviously something important, and something different from evening study in classes when the day's work is over. It gives working men and women a chance to escape into a continuous period of leisure, and the time to do what the French call a “work of

long breath" in the development of their knowledge and interests. It deserves close examination.

There are a number of these residential colleges, some for men and some for women, already in existence. One of the oldest is Ruskin College, at Oxford (not one of the colleges of the University of Oxford, but a working men's residential college situated in the city of Oxford), which goes back for some 40 years. More recent is Coleg Harlech in Wales, founded by Dr. Thomas Jones, and Newbattle Abbey in Scotland, which owes its origin to the late Marquis of Lothian. These colleges, and a number of others, are affiliated to the Educational Settlements Association, founded in 1920 to foster the growth of residential colleges and educational settlements. They do not exceed in all about ten, and they are only available as yet for a select few. Can they be extended and generalized?

In answering this question we shall be dreaming a dream; but it is a dream which many are beginning to cherish, and which is likely to come true. It is a dream of People's Colleges dotted up and down the country—one in each county, and perhaps more than that in the more populous counties—to which adult men and women can go, either before they are married and have the care of a family, or later in life when that care has lightened or disappeared, to enjoy three or six months (or even sometimes a year) in whole-time study in the company of their fellows. They might be "seconded" from their work for that period, with a promise and an assurance of reinstatement in their old job on their return: they might be aided to go, but they might also use some little savings to help them to get the chance: they must have good teachers (but what an exciting opportunity it offers to a teacher!), and they must have a good place of residence, in good and healthy surroundings, with an adequate equipment of books and all other facilities for study.

How is it to be done? It may be done in different ways, which might be followed simultaneously. Voluntary bodies might found and manage colleges, on the same basis as the Danish People's High Schools (this is the way in which the existing British residential colleges for adult education have been founded and are managed): but they might also be aided by grants from local educational authorities and/or from the Board of Education. Alternatively, or rather additionally, local educational authorities, and possibly also the State itself, might found and institute People's Colleges—remitting their management, as far as possible, to voluntary bodies, in order to encourage freedom and variety of experiment. (Here we may invoke the analogy of our British Universities for full-time students—Universities aided by the State and by local educational authorities, but none the less free in all matters of internal government and internal development.)

Whatever the plan adopted, the spirit of the residential colleges in which these adult men and women reside should be a spirit of self-government and self-development, such as suits their age, their experience of life, and the temper of the democratic community from which they come. One final and simple observation about People's Colleges may be added. It becomes increasingly difficult for their owners to keep up the country-houses and mansions with which this island is studded. What better new use can be imagined for them than that they should become the homes of People's Colleges, which would thus begin their life in surroundings of beauty and old tradition? The Conservative party started, some years ago, a residential college for its members in a fine country house; and the college has prospered. What has been done for a party should also be done for the nation.

People's Colleges will not solve the whole problem of adult education. Perhaps the vast bulk of adult education

will continue to be done on a purely part-time basis, in weekly classes. This too needs its accommodation. Too often the classes are at the mercy of chance for their meeting-place. It is possible that People's Colleges, if they are generally founded, may contain additional lecture-rooms and class-rooms for the use of the weekly classes whose members come from the surrounding area. But there is also need for the provision of non-residential colleges, or institutes, or settlements, which can serve as general centres (particularly in thickly populated urban areas) for the holding of weekly classes, and may also serve to develop something of a common life among their members.

Something has already been done in this direction. We have already mentioned the Literary Institutes of the London County Council. We may also mention the non-residential colleges founded and managed on a voluntary basis, such as the Working Men's College in London, and similar colleges or settlements in other large towns. What is particularly needed, to provide a real home for weekly classes, is a large development of this latter (or voluntary) type of non-residential college, with the aid of grants from the State and the local educational authorities.

THE SCHOLARSHIP LADDER

By H. G. STEAD

Late Director of Education, Chesterfield, Derbyshire

THE symbol is no doubt an appropriate one at the present stage of development of education provision in England. The ladder is an implement which enables those who have access to it to climb to positions which would be otherwise inaccessible to them. But

it can be used by a comparatively few only, and then singly. The number of those who can use it depends upon the number of individual ladders available and not upon the number of those who have the ability and the will to achieve the greater heights.

It is not without significance that in these later days the ladder symbolism tends to be replaced by another—that of the broad highway. The change in metaphor implies a changed outlook upon the problem. There is a growing recognition of the fact that the true wealth of a community resides in the potentialities of its young people and that the wise community will provide the means whereby these potentialities can be developed and used in the whole range of creative activities necessary to the welfare of a dynamic society. For such a conception the ladder is far too limited a symbol. Something which indicates more general access to the new territories is needed.

There is a second and more subtle implication in the change of the symbol. The "ladder" was used to climb out of one level of social life into another. It was an expression of the completely individualistic point of view. Now it is realized that extreme individualism results in the disintegration of society and that we are faced with the need for the re-creation of a communal spirit which is an effective answer to the enforced cohesion of the authoritarian state. The broad highway traverses the whole land and forms a connecting link between the various parts of it. It permits of access to and from different tracts and of traffic in either direction. It is a means of communication rather than an implement of escape. It unites in a functional way whereas the ladder unites in a static manner.

In previous articles in this series, Professor Clarke has pointed out that the story of the attempt to build a state system of education in this country began as late as 1902, and Dr. Alexander has traced the development of second-

ary education since that date. The story is one of the replacement of a few casual opportunities for the development of capacity by a systematized plan for the development of all capacities. The end of this story cannot yet be written, for it is now in process of being lived out in the field of educational activity. The whole purpose of the educational reconstruction which is being so eagerly discussed and planned at the present time is the writing in educational history of "a happy ending" to this story.

The complexity of a modern industrial civilization, and the variety of abilities which are necessary if a dynamic pattern of life is to be retained in it, makes the problem one which can be attacked from many angles. Fundamentally, the task is to provide means whereby potential abilities may be developed, in order that through them every individual may find a satisfactory personal life and also be fired with a purpose which will result in these abilities being used willingly in the service of the community. This implies a two-fold process. In the first place there must be a satisfactory method whereby abilities of various types can be diagnosed, and secondly, there must be provision for the development to maturity of these diagnosed potentialities. The problem is not a new one, but it requires restatement and re-expression in terms of the modern world.

Prior to the Industrial Revolution two ladders existed. The one led the "scholar" to the University; the other, the "apprentice" to the position of master craftsman or merchant prince. There was no deliberate diagnosis of ability for either of these routes of development. Much depended upon the accidents of birth or place. The developments of the modern industrial world and its ever increasing specialization led to the decay of the "practical" ladder of apprenticeship—journeyman—craftsman and to undue emphasis being placed upon the "academic" ladder which led to the

University. As the industrial world tended to become insecure, the alternative ladder became increasingly sought after because it was thought to be the route to security. That has to be changed. The broad highway must be the path to service in all the forms needed by a dynamic community.

Some progress has been made in this direction and more is contemplated. The recommendations of the Hadow and the Spens Committees, taken together, are based on the twin principles of diagnosis and development. Methods of diagnosis are being developed and Dr. Alexandre has referred to these in his article. In this connection, the work of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology is of importance, and the work of the psychologists in connection with the placing of men in the Army, Navy, and Air Force may be expected to result in a big advance in diagnostic methods. Perhaps so far there has not been a general recognition of the need for development to full maturity if the entire benefit of *any* development is to be gained, but the generally accepted demand for some form of secondary education for all is significant of a growing belief in the need for this.

The process has been one leading from individual patronage of a few, through State patronage for some, to a view emphasizing the need of the community for the development of all abilities and the duty of the individual to render such service as his ability makes possible. The ladder led a few into a narrow, restricted field. The highway must lead all into the whole sphere of activities necessary to the welfare of the dynamic community.

Some indication of the extent to which the ladder of an earlier age is being transformed into the highway of tomorrow has been given by Dr. Alexander in his article. Whereas the number of scholarships available depended originally upon the bequests of pious founders or the gen-

erosity of Guilds, now to such provision is added that made by both the Board of Education and the Local Education Authorities for promising students to proceed both to Secondary Schools and to Universities. In most areas there is some form of transfer examination at about the age of 11 plus by which promising pupils are selected to proceed to Secondary Schools. Usually at about 12 plus or 13 plus a further selection is made of those who show the right kind of ability to attend Junior Technical Schools, although in some cases one examination is devised to serve the dual purpose. The Spens Committee visualized a preliminary selection at 11 plus, followed by a preliminary two years' course in the Secondary, Technical, and Modern Schools, at the end of which period there should be a further re-grading of pupils before the more specialized courses were started.

At the end of the school career and on the results of the Higher School Certificate and special papers set in connection with it the Local Education Authorities award "Major Scholarships" and the Board of Education "State" Scholarships, both of which are tenable at Universities or specialized institutions of similar standing. The Universities themselves, and the individual Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, make awards of varying value from the various scholarship and other funds administered by them. The total number of such scholarships tends to increase by reason of the growing number of awards made by the State or by the Authorities.

A big advance was brought about by the Board of Education's revised regulations for Special and Free Places. Gradually, the old "Minor Scholarship" system is being replaced by one which makes admission to Secondary Schools depend upon ability, while the fees payable are fixed in relation to the means of the parents of the children. Up to 1936, forty-two Authorities had availed themselves

of this new scheme, and of these eleven had instituted a system whereby 100 per cent. of the places in their schools were "special" places, i.e. filled upon a criterion of ability with fees payable according to means. In this connection it should be remembered that in State Secondary Schools the "full" fees charged usually vary between £10 and £15, while the actual cost of a child's education in such a school is about £32. In other words, every child attending such a school has in effect a scholarship worth about £20. The State bears half the cost of this £20 and the Local Authority the other half. In the past some children have benefited by this without being required to prove the possession of ability to profit by it. The 100 per cent. special place system means that every child admitted has to show ability to profit by the course provided.

Recently, suggestions have been made that the Public Schools, which have for so long remained outside the State system of education, should be brought into some functional relationship with it. The Board of Education has set up a Committee, which is now taking evidence, to consider how this may be done. A few pioneering Public Schools have already taken the step of awarding scholarships to elementary school children. There is every reason to believe that this additional step in the opening of educational provision to merit will be taken by all Public Schools.

Some figures will serve to show the progress that has been made. During the year ended March 31st, 1936, 346,000 boys and girls left the public elementary schools; of these, 16.6 per cent. of the boys and 14.9 per cent. of the girls proceeded to some form of full-time further education—secondary schools, technical schools, &c. The total was 1,600 greater than that for the previous year. In the same year, approximately 12,000 students were admitted to full-time courses in Universities and of these thirty per cent. came from grant-aided Secondary Schools, while twenty

per cent. were ex-elementary school pupils. The Local Authorities awarded 1,287 scholarships to a total value of £26,700. In addition, 1,011 State scholarship holders were in attendance at the Universities and in all about 16,200 University students during 1935-36 received some assistance. In England the percentage of such assisted students was 38.5, while in Wales it was 57. In Scotland 3,240 men and 1,400 women were assisted. This equalled forty-six per cent. of the total of whole-time students.

The record shows that the community has become increasingly aware of the necessity to capitalize all the potentialities of its citizens and is showing a determination to provide the means for their development. Gradually the provision it makes widens and embraces within its scope more and more of the nation's youth. The end is not yet. Methods of diagnosis must be improved and with this must go provision adequate to the demands of all potentialities. The ladders of the past are being so multiplied that they form the foundations of the broad highway. A community is creative in so far as it devises means to develop and integrate within itself its younger generation. The task confronting us is to ensure that the development of potentialities no longer depends upon the accidents of place of residence and wealth of parents.

NURSERY SCHOOLS

By LILLIAN DE LISSA

Principal, Gypsy Hill Training College

THE Nursery school is a new-comer among the educational institutions of this country. It was given a place by permissive legislation in the Education Act of 1921, carried there by the impulse

towards child welfare that arose during the 1914-18 war. Among the many organizations for the care of the young children of war-workers that came into being during those years, one was beyond all others outstanding, both in its achievements and in the possibilities it presented—the open-air nurseries at Deptford.

There, Margaret McMillan demonstrated what could be done at very moderate cost to safeguard young children and to help them to develop well during the precious growing years, and the eloquence with which she urged the importance of the work quickly won conviction. It has long been believed that for all creatures a good start in life is most important. The fact has been stated and restated from the days of Plato onwards, and modern medical and psychological research has confirmed this judgment of common sense. In the garden she converted out of waste ground in the midst of Deptford's squalor, Margaret McMillan showed how easily this good start could be given to the children of England.

There was, unfortunately, much evidence that the children's need was imperative. The incidence of physical defects among the five-year-olds entering the primary school was high, estimated by the Chief Medical Officer as 35-40 per cent. of the child population. The death-rate of children under five was also excessive, although infant mortality had been generally reduced. These tragic facts were rendered even more deplorable by evidence supplied by Sir George Newman which showed that the majority of these defects, though too established to be curable, were for the most part preventable, being simply the result of bad social conditions, poverty and neglect. Psychological maladjustments were equally widespread, resulting from unwise handling and other causes. These defects, though less obvious to the untrained eye than physical maladies, are quite as serious if neglected and may culminate in

neurotic conditions and break-down in adolescence or adulthood.

Margaret McMillan saw the way of preventing this lamentable waste of human vitality. The nursery school was designed to give every child between two and five years of age a healthy open-air life, good food, sleep, and happy occupation in the care of women who were by temperament and training capable of undertaking its direction. In addition frequent medical inspection as a means of early detection and treatment of any symptom of ill health was provided.

The movement, once launched, rapidly won support among thinking people. One of the most enthusiastic supporters was Sir George Newman, whose annual reports on the nation's health gave considerable prominence to the need for nursery schools and testimony to the valuable work they were doing. The Nursery School Association was formed in 1923 and became the meeting-ground of all who were eager to press forward the good work, and membership soon included medical officers, teachers, parents, social workers, psychiatrists. Though a voluntary body, without official status, it grew steadily in influence and usefulness and is now a source of information on all aspects of the nursery school movement. By the publication of literature, by lecture courses, summer schools, and conferences, the Association has been largely instrumental in educating public opinion and in creating a growing demand for the establishment of a network of nursery schools and classes in every area of Great Britain.

The fact that Local Education Authorities are under no obligation to provide nursery education for their pre-school population makes the creation of this demand a necessity. It is true that progressive Authorities have been quick to take advantage of their powers and to open nursery schools and classes, but in no area has the supply been equal to the

demand. Backward or indifferent Authorities have done little or nothing for their children, but progress in all areas has been helped by the opening of voluntary nursery schools which have been built and maintained by sympathizers who have provided the necessary funds. The Save the Children Fund has been particularly active in this respect. Voluntary nursery schools are, under certain conditions, entitled to receive a grant out of public money to the extent of 75 per cent. of maintenance expenses. They receive nothing towards the cost of building or equipping the school. Up to the beginning of the war about half of the total number of nursery schools was provided by Local Education Authorities; the others were all voluntary.

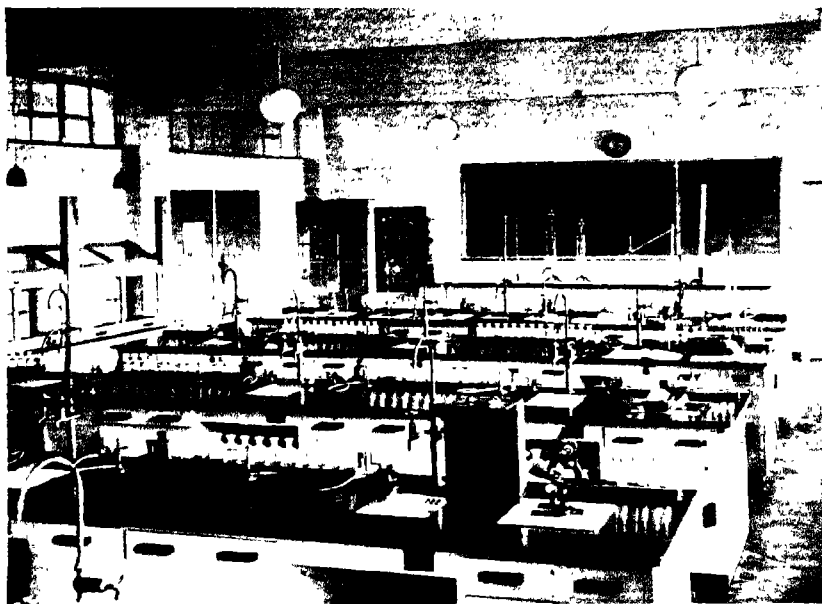
From the first, some Local Authorities preferred the method of gathering pre-school children into so-called nursery classes attached to primary schools. There are still many Directors of Education who welcome the influence of the nursery class with its informal education by life and its careful planning for all-round development of every individual child, seeing it as a means of bringing new vitality to the primary school. This has, in fact, occurred in several cases where nursery school methods have spread up, class by class, until they embraced the whole infant school.

The regulations originally issued by the Board of Education for the administration of nursery schools wisely gave considerable latitude. Experiment was encouraged, for it was realized that this was essential before any decision could be reached as to the best type of building, the nature of play-material, the organization of the day, the type of staffing required, and many other problems. The value of an open-air life, of a balanced day of activity and rest, the need of good well-cooked food and of frequent medical inspection, opportunity for free play and training in independence, self-reliance, and other good habits were re-

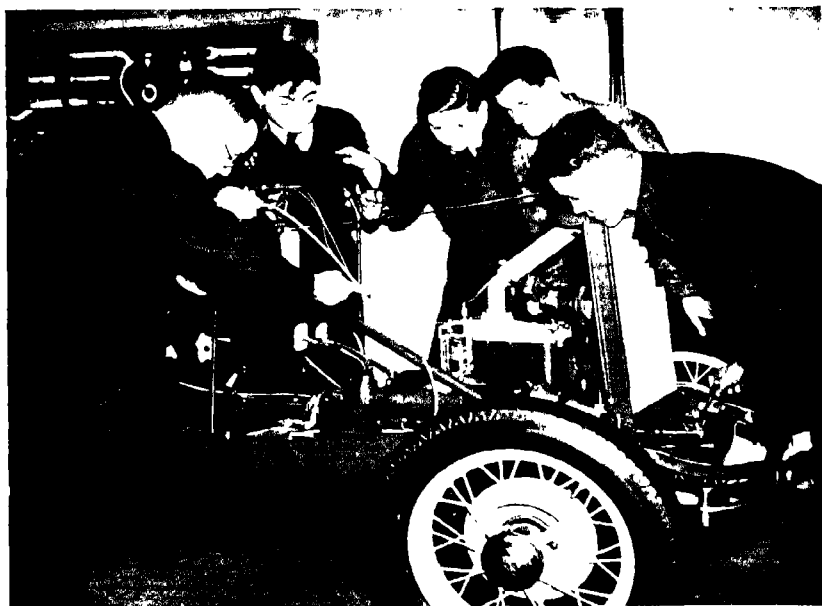
garded as guiding principles, and these features are to be found in most nursery schools to-day. Teachers who have had special training for the work are habitually appointed and are assisted by younger, unqualified helpers who are engaged, as a rule, for two years, after which they go on to train either for nursing or teaching. There is usually a hospital-trained nurse also on the staff.

To meet the demand for teachers suitably qualified, facilities for nursery training have increased, and it can now be obtained at several teacher-training colleges. Nursery school teachers rank, as regards salary and status, equally with those who teach older children. Their training is specialized to the needs of women who must be part teacher, part nurse, part social worker. They spend considerable time in the study of children's physical and psychological development and their interrelation; they work in hospitals and clinics, investigate social conditions, and become acquainted among other things with the various social services related to child welfare.

Teaching and training of the children by means of lessons at set times and places has no part in the education provided by the nursery school, which is a way of life carried on throughout the day and so carefully planned that everything the child finds to do has an educative significance. It is free from mechanical routine and is designed to stimulate and encourage the use of intelligence, initiative, self-reliance, and resourcefulness in everyday matters. The occupations are many and varied, ranging from the changing of garments and all the activities connected with personal hygiene, the preparing, serving, and partaking of meals, to the caring of pets, watering of garden, &c. The day is shaped by a few fixtures which do not vary, such as meals, sleep, and toilet duties, and includes periods for undisturbed play. The materials and toys provided for play are carefully chosen to meet the needs of these little



WALTHAMSTOW TECHNICAL SCHOOL
Inorganic Chemistry Laboratory



SWANSEA TECHNICAL COLLEGE



KENSAL HOUSE NURSERY SCHOOL

ones. There are run-about toys to aid muscular control and co-ordination; others that require careful manipulation and thus promote manual dexterity. There are toys that stimulate inventiveness, planning, experimentation, imitation, imagination, and that give outlet for fantasy play. There are occupations that stimulate the desire and habit of playing socially with other children and acquiring the capacity for give and take that such play demands.

During the playtime the teacher stands by alert and vigilant, observing the children and noting the occupations they choose. It is her responsibility to keep a happy friendly atmosphere in her little community, to come forward with help where this is needed or to leave the child to work out his own problem where he can do so with most profit to himself. In her knowledge of each child the teacher must help them all to good, integrated functioning, ensuring that those who habitually lead also learn to follow, that the timid child grows courageous, the self-assertive finds outlet for his impulse in ways that are not anti-social, and that all have opportunity to join with other children in play and thus to acquire social sense as well as the emotional and general self-control that social life demands. Above all, the teacher must help each child to feel confident, assured of her protection and her affection for him as an individual—this is essential to healthy emotional development.

A sense of security, based on trust in adults, and purposeful occupation in company with other children are as essential to good psychological development as fresh air, food, and sleep are to bodily growth. The nursery school endeavours to provide them all.

One of the most important functions of the nursery schools is the work undertaken with mothers and in raising home standards. The staff get into friendly contact with the home by means of visits and welcome mothers at the nursery whenever they can spend time to watch the children

at their play and other occupations. The practical demonstration of child management, given by the nursery school, is often a revelation to the mother, as it is to most adults, who are surprised to see the children so free, self-reliant, and purposeful, and yet so obedient and responsive to adults, and co-operative with other children. It is often astonishing to mothers to see food eaten with relish that is refused at home and children putting themselves to bed after lunch without a protest. Soon many ideas about children and their training are revolutionized in their minds. At Mothers' Meetings, which are held frequently, many aspects of the child's upbringing are discussed and informative talks and films are presented. As a rule the happiest relationship exists between mothers and teachers, which contributes towards consistent treatment of the child at home and at school.

Though nursery schools have varied very much in their standards and achievements, as is natural in a young movement and in one in which experiment is encouraged, speaking generally, they have more than justified the faith placed in them by those who have laboured for their creation. As a result of the improvement in the children, which is sometimes almost miraculous, public opinion has grown strongly in favour of increasing the number of such schools until they form a bridge that can carry all our young children in safety and good health from the Maternity and Child Welfare Centre, which they attend as infants, to the School Medical Service under whose care they are placed at five years of age. It is to-day fairly widely demanded that the gap which still exists between babyhood and school-life must be closed.

The crash of war called a halt to much of this good work. Most of the nursery schools were in congested areas and were immediately closed and the children scattered. Some nurseries were evacuated as units and are being carried on

as residential homes. Nursery classes were also closed, though many of them were re-opened as adequate air-raid shelter accommodation was provided. It soon became clear, however, that child-care during the war would have to be organized on a national basis, and a scheme for emergency nurseries was eventually launched by the Government. Unlike nursery schools, which were under the control of the Board of Education, war nurseries are administered by the Maternity and Child Welfare Authority for the Ministry of Health. In order to secure co-operation between the Ministry of Health and the Board of Education a special department has recently been set up at the Board to deal with all matters concerned with the under-fives, and the officers in this department are also officers of the Ministry of Health. By this means full collaboration between both Government Departments should be possible.

War nurseries are of two kinds—full-time nurseries, open for twelve hours daily for children from one month to five years of age, and part-time nurseries for children from two to five, which remain open during the usual school hours. Up to the end of June there were 402 full-time and 138 part-time nurseries with places for 21,404 children. The staff of the nurseries has to be recruited where it can be; young girls and women over thirty are coming forward to undertake this work as their form of national service. Some of them have had hospital, nursery, or teacher training; others are totally untrained. These recruits are given a short course of instruction which admits them to the Child Care Reserve, a qualification recognized for war-time service only.

One cannot but regret that some of the money now flowing so freely into war nurseries was not available for founding a larger number of nursery schools and classes before the war and for providing better equipment, for it is clear that the war nurseries are but a poor substitute for the

well-planned educational care that characterizes real nursery schooling. As a temporary measure, designed primarily to release women for war work, they are nevertheless protecting some children from the effects of war and ensuring them the good food, care, and happy play that is every child's birthright. Thus, we can welcome these nurseries as holding the fort from which the rapid and steady advance of better schemes for child welfare can be launched at the earliest possible moment.

SCHOOL BUILDINGS

By E. MAXWELL FRY, F.R.I.B.A.

With Notes by Jane Drew, F.R.I.B.A.

I DO not believe that the generous impulses that moved through education in Britain before the war and made it much the most interesting field of architectural development were falsified by the outbreak of war. On the contrary they and their like in other spheres of activity are among the prime justifications for defending ourselves and for determining that we emerge with liberty to continue in them.

School building had become an enthralling task for architects because the purposes of education, whatever they had been in times past, were moving towards a richer and warmer conception of life. Such at least was my experience in contact with several education authorities.

Any appreciation of school building in the future must be based upon the situation as we knew it before the war and take into account the varied forces at work on it.

Every individual work of architecture is prefaced by

some detailed and particular instructions to the architect which indicate to him the purpose of the building, the kind of activities which it is to house, the numbers and disposition of those who are to use it, and so on. This we may call the specified programme of building. There is another and more general programme that includes all that may reasonably be implied in a liberal architectural interpretation of these instructions, drawn from the pool of knowledge, custom, experience, and imagination current at the time.

This latter programme is of great importance because it sets the pace at which architecture may develop and colours each specific programme with the spirit of the time, be it liberal, autocratic, plutocratic, &c. Before the war we were in process of revaluing our educational system, and were entering upon a programme of re-building that reflected many new ideas. The future of school architecture lies in the resumption of this programme upon a still wider scale backed by a public opinion that values the impulses that brought the programme into being. Taxed to put into a few words the nature of these impulses I should say that they were humanitarian as opposed to authoritarian, preferring to encourage learning by interest and enjoyment, and seeking to create character by a scale of responsibilities adjusted to age-levels rather than through discipline imposed generally.

They may be estimated by studying the specific programme for a certain school of 450 junior mixed pupils in a mining area. The site covered over nine acres and provided for cricket, football, and hockey pitches, for an experimental market garden as an adjunct to the science laboratory, for flower gardens and a lawn. Apart from classrooms which were to have wide sliding windows on the sunny side with a view over lawn and flowers, there was to be a large gymnasium giving on to the playing-fields, a

science laboratory with glass-house attached, a workshop equipped with responsible modern tool equipment, an art room, a hall with stage deep enough and wide enough to stage plays properly and to show films, a roof top with weather recording apparatus, and a wide, well lit corridor in which exhibitions of pictures, specimens, &c. might be set out. This was the programme of a normal elementary school, one of many to be built in an old, tired, industrial area.

At both ends of the educational scale new ideas were developing: the nursery school¹ to care for the very young; the community centre to provide education for the adult through shared responsibilities and common interests and enjoyments.

It is interesting to notice that these new ideas found their expression in the elementary schools of county authorities and in slum-clearance schemes and new housing estates, and that public schools, to keep pace with new ideas, must model themselves on the state school and not vice versa: there is a closer affinity between Henry Morris's Village College² and the freedom and responsibility of a university, than between it and a public school.

¹ Like other building, school building has ceased completely during the war except for nursery schools. Here there has been an outcrop, as so many mothers are working in the factories, and the need for nursery schools is greater than ever before. One of the pioneer nursery schools was probably brought into being by Elizabeth Denby and Maxwell Fry in the excellent block of flats at Ladbroke Grove constructed by the Gas Light and Coke Company. The location of the nursery school is still vague. It is not yet settled whether it is to be near the home or near the workplace or near the other schools. Blitzes and evacuation do not really allow for a proper settlement of such problems in war-time. J.D.

² Henry Morris, the Director of Housing for Cambridgeshire, who has been a pioneer in a school policy for rural districts, has had his policy endorsed during the war. His idea of village colleges providing the best possible education for rural districts and forming community centres as well as schools has now been formally adopted as the national policy recommended by the Scott Committee. Cambridgeshire has the distinction of having given a lead in rural school building. J.D.

But in every sphere of education there was moving an ampler and more generous spirit, frustrated by Treasury parsimony that appears petty when set against our present expenditure on war, but gathering weight and public opinion steadily. Furthermore this attitude towards education could be found in the middle years of the inter-war period in most countries in Europe, and notably in Germany, France, Sweden, Switzerland, in Russia, and in the United States. It expressed, to me at any rate, the more hopeful aspect of industrialism, because from these schools one might expect to breed generations that would solve the problem of how to humanize the machine. The crime that we could least easily forgive in an enemy is betrayal of the children.

Modern architecture provides an environment the beauty of which accords with the facts of our civilization, since it exploits the qualities of industrially produced building materials in fulfilling the best requirements of education. It has gone still further where it has combined locally-produced with factory-produced materials, for it can be no part of a sound regional economy to encourage long transport where useful materials lie close at hand.

Physical environment is a strong educational force, as Oxford and Cambridge have abundantly proved. It is the more important therefore that the schools which we shall build after the war should be the best possible instruments for this task that still faces humanity, and the contribution that modern architecture can make to this end is measured by the value we set upon environment.

There is no doubt that we value it highly, but what we value in Oxford and Cambridge is not the surface markings of Gothic or classical architecture but the sense of fine quality which the best of this architecture insensibly instils into those for whom it is constant environment over a few

formative and receptive years. Mock or revived antiquity is useless for this purpose: indeed harmful. If it is our object to imbue youth with a feeling for the qualities of excellences proper to our own time and arising out of the facts of this present civilization and none other, then it is from the materials of our contemporary productive systems and in the forms appropriate to our social and educational needs that we shall find a quality that will be gladly received by them, and be, in the best sense of the word, an education.

Happily for us as architects these same materials—the large sheets of glass, possible only where the structural system uses steel or reinforced concrete, central heating, smooth surfaces, electric light and power, &c.—offer the clearest means of meeting the wishes of not only the teachers, but the doctors and the psychologists; modern architecture alone can join without comment the ends of science and of art with those of education, and act as a unifier. Despite every attempt to educate by specialization the human intelligence can more easily digest a unity: the beauty of a flower rather than an explanation of the workings of a part of nature; the beauty of architecture rather than an exploration of the structure of the contemporary world. Architecture is the silent teacher. It must therefore tell the truth.

Modern architecture had produced before the war examples in most classes of educational building—in the important classes at any rate. We shall in all likelihood pick up the development where it was left off, and as architects the world over reassemble to their job, in spite of the inevitable loss of talent and energy they will have suffered, they will gain the close contact with each other that had become a very real thing in the best of the inter-war years.

How we are going to overcome the dearth of essential

materials or meet the colossal programme of work it is useless to predict, and how we shall prevent these difficult conditions from leading to lowering of quality.

It will be necessary to re-establish as early as possible the training centres for architects. This is vital to the prosecution of a large programme of building with the education of a generation of war children as its immediate object, and the solution of the problem of how to be happy though industrialized as its long-term end. Already three years of architectural education have been lost to the men and women who will be largely responsible for this work, and, as they will come to it in a time when materials will still be difficult to get and pressure of building still severe, it is of first-rate importance that they should be trained to think clearly. There is no opportunity for real study now, but no time should be lost when war ends.

We have now worked out models for every stage of a complete educational system from nursery school to university. Some of these are not far advanced from the experimental stage, but taken together they offer material for a programme on a regional and national scale linked with the replanning of regions and towns devastated by bombing and with long-term town and country planning.

Schools have been built hitherto with little regard for their place in the community, yet the fact that a school, whether it be nursery school, junior, senior, or technical school, is definitely related to a number of families makes it a vital centre around which to plan: the social unit round the nursery school; the neighbourhood unit round the junior schools; and the borough unit round the senior and technical schools. In the same way the new type of country school lies at the centre of a district which an expanding rural economy has thrust beyond its old village limits.

There cannot be too much discussion and consideration

now, for success is going to depend upon a great deal of understanding both among professional educationists and architects and among the public at large. The more clearly the subject is known the greater the will to carry it out.

