The relations between schoolmasters and administrators

G. Hewson

T H E S I S

presented for the

Degree of Master of Education

in the

University of Durham.

J. T. Hewson.
June, 1930.

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN SCHOOLMASTER

AND

ADMINISTRATOR

From the point of view of the Secondary School, with special reference to:-

(1) The legislation and developments during recent years.

(2) A comparison of the systems of England and those of Germany and France.

(3) The relations existing between the internal (the Schoolmaster) and the external (the Governors and Director) authority of the School.

S U M M A R Y.

Section I.

It has been clear for some time to those who take an interest in schools that in our world of School Government there is an atmosphere of constant friction due to disagreement on matters of control, of responsibility and authority, and to a conflict of ideas and of personalities.

To the outsider the point at issue may appear to be trivial and merely a question of professional jealousy, but to those actually working in the schools it is of paramount importance. It affects the individuality and independence of the Secondary School, and raises the question of the power of the Headmaster to control his school with the minimum of interference by administrators.

Educational Legislation during this Century as it affects Secondary Education.

Previous to 1902 the education we now call Secondary was given in Grammar Schools and High Schools, many of them old endowed schools and free from State control. They were not sufficiently numerous to allow all children capable of profiting by secondary education to do so, nor were they all satisfactory in buildings or equipment, but generally they did their work and some of them were fields of educational experiment on a grand scale. In the latter half of the 19th century when, owing to the rapid industrial

developments, new centres of population arose or old centres increased in numbers beyond all expectations, there came the demand for more schools, including schools giving an education higher than elementary. The High School, as many of these 'middle-class' schools were called, was often the result of the initiative and enterprise of the local leaders of industry, of the men who were responsible for the expansion taking place, whose efforts certainly benefited themselves, and their fellows. These men as heads of firms- iron, coal, ship-building, and so forth- felt the need of 'well-educated foremen, clerks, chemists, draughtsmen and others --- hard-working, painstaking capable young men,' and again with profit to themselves, but also with great benefit to their neighbours, gave land and money to build, furnish and maintain a 'middle-class school for boys.' Governors of this type felt keenly the success or failure of their venture, and, though they were materially interested in the efficiency of the training in Science and Mathematics, believed with Dean Church that 'Education only fulfils half its office, it works with a maimed and distorted idea unless it deals with character as well as intellect,' and the first of the Regulations

Middlesbrough High School.

compiled by one notable Board of Trustees declared that 'the High School shall be a nursery of good manners, of integrity and obedience to duty, of punctual and orderly habits, and all that conduces to an honourable, virtuous and useful life.' The bond between these Governors and their school was strong and intimate, and though financial conditions were often straitened the neighbourhood saw that these men in their zeal for the promotion of their ideal were themselves prepared to make sacrifices.

ø The Act of 1902,"with all its imperfections embodied the idea that the service of public education should be a specific function of ordinary local government as re-organised by the Act of 1888, that in every area there should be a Local Authority primarily responsible for the provision, organisation and administration of public education."

The passing of the Act involved the handing over of many of the existing Secondary Schools to the Local Authority, with consequent loss of independence but not necessarily of dignity or individuality. Many took on a new lease of life and regained a position of worth and influence

ø The Board of Education. Selby-Bigge.

lost through poverty, others with more money retained their independence and extended their buildings to cope with the growing demand for higher education, but much more accommodation was needed than was available. New secondary schools in buildings far superior for their purpose to those of the older foundations came into being alongside them, and the great post-war demand is still supplied from these two sources, one with a long history of benefaction and interest on the part of bodies of private individuals, and the other of recent origin but with the great resources of the municipalities, County Councils and the State to draw upon.

It was perhaps natural that those directly responsible for their maintenance should have regarded these municipal and County secondary schools in very much the same light as they did their elementary schools to which they had become accustomed, but it was distinctly to the schools' disadvantage. Hope ø says about these new secondary schools "they have not quite settled down into the scheme of things. They have suffered two disabilities from the start. In the first place, the only models which they could copy were the endowed schools with rather conservative views about education.

ø Comparative Education. Sandiford.

In the second place they are supported and managed by the municipality and county which tended to impose upon them the rather restrictive oversight they gave to elementary schools under their control." With such control the wide and generous outlook, the spirit of freedom and of leisure so often given lip-service as an end of education and the mark of an educated man, became truly restricted and levelled down to a comparison of costs and examination results.

"The main idea underlying the Act of 1918 was that there should be an active and constructive partnership between the Central and Local Authorities to organise the service of education on a progressive, systematic and comprehensive plan."

The plans for reconstruction so widely discussed towards the end of the world war included education as one of the chief means of building the world anew; the provision of "an organised service of education on a progressive, systematic and comprehensive plan" is undoubtedly a means whereby a nation can be moulded to a pattern determined by the powers that be, and the Act "made possible the establishment of a national system of public education available for all persons capable of

The Board of Education. Selby-Bigge.

profiting thereby. It became the duty of Local Education Authorities not merely to provide elementary education and such forms of higher education as they considered desirable, but to prepare and submit schemes to the Board of Education providing for the progressive development and comprehensive organisation of education in respect of their area."

With the consolidation of the various Education Acts in the Act of 1921 "a national policy has come in sight," so that it would appear that we have at last reached a stage in the educational history of our country comparable with that of France in 1808, and of Germany at an even earlier date.

The foregoing is a summary in the barest outline of the course of educational legislation during the present century. A.more detailed picture is obtained by following up from the special point of view of the Secondary School the effects of this legislation in the towns and county areas.

Before the 1902 Act was passed the chief official of the School Board was the Secretary, who, by virtue of his office, dealt with elementary education, and then only with the Board Schools, but who was frequently Clerk to the Governors of the local Secondary School. As such he had no administrative powers. The headmaster of the Secondary school held a position of large authority; his status was

that of the professional classes, and generally he was a distinct help and asset to the community which he served. Since that time our educational system has been so expanded and organised, administration both national and local become so complex, that the secretary to a Local Education Authority occupies a post requiring organising capabilities of a high order, experience of scholastic and administrative work and also to a special degree the more spiritual and intellectual qualities demanded of one who is to be the official head of the local educational service.

Dr. Ikin in his book "The Education Department", says that when the 1902 Act was passed it was "necessary to have some one in charge who could guide and direct the committee in the development of the various forms of higher education placed under their control," and defines this official, now the 'Director of Education,' as "an administrative officer who is concerned with the formation of policy, with the co-ordination and improvement of local government machinery, and with the administrative and general control of the various departments of the education service." As secretary he is "an executive official with a wide field, requiring in varying degrees qualities of judgment, initiative and resource," Dr. Ikin amplifies by citing an extract from a draft scheme. "The Director of Education is the

x p. 41.

ϕ p. 42

responsible adviser and executive official of the Education Committee to advise the Committee on educational matters and to carry out all decisions when the general policy has been settled by the Committee."

"As Estate agent he supervises property."

"As Managing Director he deals with appointments and supplies."

"As educational adviser he advises on all changes of policy and on all new departures in the work of education. He supervises the carrying out of schemes in the elementary, central, secondary, technical and other schools and institutions, and advises on all schemes of work in the schools and the arrangement o f the time tables under which the teaching is carried out. The secretarial work of the education office, the work of the School Medical Department, the Attendance Department and the Juvenile Unemployment Department are carried on under the supervision of the Director of Education."

It is therefore painfully clear that such wide powers wielded by any other than the most large minded of men will conflict with those of headmasters, and that the situation has changed very considerably during the last decade. The Board of Education itself foresaw some such development, and made an effort to legislate in favour of

the school. In Legge's 'Rising Tide' - an illuminating book and one to be read with E.D. Simon's 'A City Council from within' for an exposition of the attitude and trend of thought of some influential educationists - he says

ϕ "we have now to consider the third of the general difficulties that confronted the Board of Education after the passing of the Act of 1902, viz. the relations that should obtain between the new local education authorities and the governing bodies and heads of grant-aided secondary schools. There is no use in disguising the fact that as the Board were a little apprehensive of the elementary school child, so they had some fears that a want of 'culture' among the rate payers' representatives, and their officials, might lead them to ride rough-shod over secondary schools and under-rate the importance of allowing a certain amount of independence to such schools and the headmasters immediately responsible for their conduct, many of whom, in the case of the old schools taken over by the Authority, had enjoyed under the old régime, or lack of régime, much of the freedom enjoyed by the headmasters of the great private schools known as the public schools. They ensured that schemes for the constitution of Education Committees should make provision for co-option of members:

ϕ p. 18.

they insisted that every secondary school should have a Governing Body. In their report for 1905-6, the Board's view is clearly put: "Some of the local education authorities have not yet distinguished in practice between control and management in the case of the secondary schools which they have provided and for which they have absolute responsibility." In their report for 1908-9, the Board insisted that "there should be secured to the Headmaster or Headmistress a voice in the appointment and dismissal of the assistant staff and a right to submit proposals to, and be consulted by the governing body."

That the Board's fear was not groundless has been shown forcibly at Sheffield and Bradford quite recently. In 1926 the Sheffield L. E. A. abolished the separate board of governors of the King Edward Vll School, and placed the school under the same board of management, a sub-committee of the education committee, as the four other secondary schools of the city; they then disbanded the O. T. C. against the wish of the Headmaster, and finally the latter received the following letter from the Director of Education:

> "The Chairman of the Secondary Schools Committee has discussed with me a growing tendency on the part of the Heads of Secondary Schools to address him personally with reference to administrative matters. He asks me to say that all administrative matters should be

> referred in the first instance to the Chief Administrative Officer of the Committee for decision and for such action as he, after consultation with the Chairman- where such consultation would appear to be necessary or desirable- may deem to be called for."

The first result of these efforts was a definite degrading of the school, and was so regarded by the Headmasters Conference; if the position were anomalous, and that was the reason assigned for the change, a much more dignified procedure would have been to raise the status of the other four schools by giving them each an independent governing body, but no, there must be no 'privilege', and uniformity was obtained by levelling down.

The disbanding of the O. T. C. was also within the Authorities' powers, and is I suppose on a par with the present Government attitude to the O. T. C., the Cadet Corps and the Boys' Brigade: we shall soon be forbidden to walk in step! The letter from the Chief Education Officer would seem to be an attempt on his part to manoeuvre the Chairman of the Committee and the Headmaster into placing him in a position of absolute power, so wording his letter that if discovered he could retreat, as he did, by explaining that 'administrative' meant 'business'. In this case the Head's only legal protection was the wording of the Committee's scheme in accordance with the Board's regulations cited above.

The Bradford Grammar School case arose from a different set of circumstances, but the point at issue is the same.

ø What the L. E. A. requires is "that the Governing Body, which gives its time to understanding the details of the working of the school shall at every point be subject to being over-ruled by a body which never comes in contact with the school and knows nothing directly about it."

(Y.P., Nov. 13th 1929. Correspondence.)
'Yorkshire Post'

X Again I think, Mr. Legge may fairly be quoted as giving a clear idea of what the administrator is aiming at. "With the responsibility on them of working out the new order in post-primary education during the next decade it will be necessary for Local Education Authorities to keep a tight hand on the policy and administration of <u>all</u> the schools under their control ....."

"To allow any body of governors of a secondary school, or any other school publicly maintained, to become so powerful and influential as to constitute itself an "imperium in imperio," to establish a vested interest, to block the path of reform, to hinder reorganisation designed to provide for new developments

ø Mr. Wade, Chairman of Governors.

X Ch. <u>X</u> The Rising Tide.

or to prevent waste of money in overlapping, would be worse than an act of folly. It would amount to a betrayal by a local education authority of the interests of their fellow-citizens which they are elected to safe-guard ....."

"Against any pretensions of social superiority on the part of one type of school over another, local authorities should set grimly their faces, and headmasters of secondary schools who recognize the changes that are coming over political and social conditions, and are willing to smooth the process of transition to a new order, can do much to help them. They will play a far more manly part by frankly accepting the control of local education authorities than by assuming the role of poor relation to the headmasters of the independent Public Schools. Most of them are men of energy and ability, and if they cannot attain to positions of influence with their authorities, and their authorities' officials, what has been the value of their boasted university training in leadership and the handling of men ?" Our Mr. Legge overstates his case, and the green-eyed monster lurks in the pages of his panegyric on local education authorities: it is symptomatic of his outlook that he should think it necessary for a headmaster to 'attain' to such a position, even in the reorganised national

scheme now acclaimed by educational 'reformers'.

The organisation of education under a Local Authority and the reasons for the methods adopted are described by Alderman Simon of Manchester in his interesting book 'A City Council from within', Chapter VI, and at the risk of quoting to an undue extent, I give ~~you~~ the following extracts from it:

"The Education Committee has the biggest and most varied administrative task of any committee. It provides elementary education for 110,975 children in 387 school departments, and secondary education for 2,248 boys and girls in five schools. It has eighteen central schools, containing 5,793 pupils.

It employs 3,775 teachers, 22 doctors and dentists, 50 school nurses ..... The Education Committee's administrative staff includes 346 men and women."

Committee organisation and control

The Committee consists of 20 members of the Council and 13 co-opted members.

There are 29 standing sub-committees.

20 meetings each month."

Mr. Simon then asks, "Is it possible for a committee to control effectively so vast an organisation ? ~~Can the~~

Can the members be in personal touch with the work, and prevent the evils of unchecked bureaucratic control?", and gives a concrete example of the control of secondary education by the higher education sub-committee. "It holds meetings monthly, usually ½ hour in length. It has five secondary schools, as well as five institutions giving special training in education, technology, art, domestic economy and commerce. Ordinary Grammar School governors spend twenty four hours a year in committee on business of one school, whereas the higher education sub-committee spend 6 hours a year on 5 schools, in addition to much other work. How can they do it? Can they in fact do the work properly?"

"The Education Committee has little time to waste on trivialities. Not only so, but it could not get through the work at all if it attempted to supervise directly the work of each school through the members of the Committee. It has therefore been necessary to devise other methods of control, and the Education Committee has at its disposal two kinds of assistance which are not available to a board of governors of a high school. Firstly it has a skilled administrative staff under an experienced and able director, ~~and~~ he knows all about the schools, has the advantage of being able to compare one with another, keeps all the

routine business in order, and can give the committee any desired information. He is necessarily a man of higher qualifications and far wider experience than the secretary to the board of a private school. The Director presents all the business to the committee in the best way: the committee trusts his judgment, and gets through the ordinary business with no waste of time. Secondly, the committee has the advantage of regular reports from the Board of Education inspectors, first class civil servants, with experience of secondary education in other parts of the country, from whom it receives independent evidence, independent both of the headmaster and its own administrative staff, as to the work of the school and whether all is going well."

"As regards personal visits to the schools, and personal reports from or interviews with the headmasters, here the committee is in the same position as the Board. Certain members are allocated to visit each month, though admittedly the large number of schools makes it difficult, or even impossible, to give as much time to each school as may be given by a keen member of a board of governors to the one school for which the board is responsible."

"What are the essential duties of the Governing Body of a school? It seems to me that they come under four heads:

(1) To appoint the headmaster, and to appoint or approve the appointment of the junior staff.

(2) To keep in general touch with the work.

(3) To control policy.

(4) Finance.

"The first, although it requires the greatest consideration of all, takes very little time comparatively, because the occasion arises so seldom, and is no doubt equally well done by a committee as a board. The second usually takes a large part of the board's time; the committee probably does it as well as the board, though in a fraction of the time, through its administrative staff and the government inspectors. The same applies to policy and finance....."

"The committee have certainly not the personal contact with the headmasters that a good board of governors would have; but this is replaced by contact with responsible officials, and by an advisory committee on which the head teachers, Education Committee and administrative staff are all represented. The head teachers always have access to the committee if they desire it.

Experience seems to show that the Education Committee has developed a technique of control which avoids bureaucracy, leaves the headmaster much freedom, requires very little of the Committee's time for each school, and yet does enable them to do the necessary work of control and finance at least as well as it is done by the average board of governors of a high school. There is necessarily, of course, much less personal touch between members of the Committee and the school than there can be- and is- between a good board of governors and the students and staff of a grant aided school."

After a similar account of the method of dealing with elementary schools, we have the conclusion: "It is generally agreed that the system as a whole works well, the head-teachers have a great deal of freedom in controlling their own schools, but if anything goes wrong, the inspectors quickly bring it to the attention of the administrative staff, and, if necessary, of the committee. The organisation as a whole seems to be well adapted to its purpose. One cannot help being much impressed with the conclusion arrived at by Mr. Spurley Hey in his evidence before the Royal Commission on Local Government, to the effect that an education committee could effectively, without danger of

bureaucracy or of interfering with the freedom or initiative of the teachers, deal with the education of a population of a million or more persons."

So education is now under bureaucratic control- Manchester alone has 346 men and women engaged in its educational administration- and the administrator replaces the educator in the public eye!

tion II In the years before 1914 the attention of students in training was often drawn to Germany's comprehensive and detailed system: admiration, almost lyrically expressed, knew no bounds; we English in our poor way were muddling through, with no real national end in view, certainly with none specifically expressed, while she both knew what she wanted and also how to get it. To a contemplation of this example in educational matters we shall now turn. France, too, had a very wonderful possession in her lycées and universities, and from an examination of these systems we may possibly discover something of the effect of bureaucratic control.

Germany.
Pre-war.

ø In Sandiford's 'Comparative Education', I.L. Kandel, who contributes the section on Germany writes with regard to

ø p. 118

the development there prior to 1918:

ϕ "In Germany the state appears as a separate entity to the self-realisation of which all other institutions are subordinated."

x "A nation's school system is but the reflex of her history, of the social forces and of the political and economic situations that made up her existence. From the point of view of the State, education is not in the first instance regarded as a means of laying the foundations for future progress, but a method of conserving existing conditions and prevailing ideals. Admitting the premises the first function of education in Germany in general and Prussia in particular is to produce the loyal and contented citizen, ready to take his place as a cog in the political machine known as the state. To this end the state must inevitably control and closely supervise the educational institutions: its educational function must be to secure uniformity, to define the standards, prescribe the courses of study and even the methods of instruction and regulate admission to the teaching profession. A system with such an object requires for its success an excellent routine and the highest degree of administrative efficiency."

ϕ p. 107.

x p. 112.

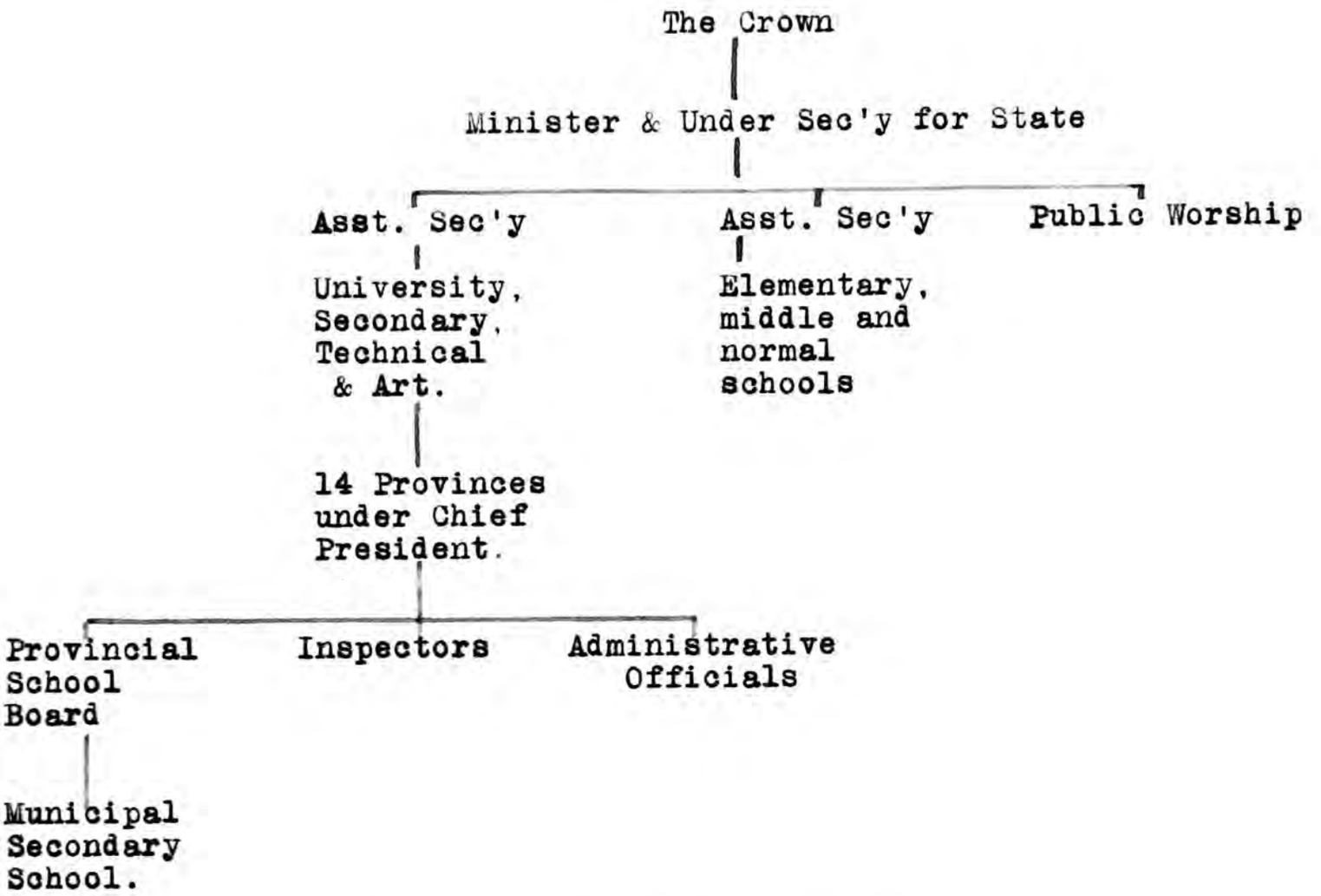
ø More particularly with regard to secondary education: "In Prussia Secondary Education is under the direction of the provincial school boards which serve as intermediaries between the Ministry of Public Worship and Education. The local authorities, even though they build, equip and maintain a school, have only limited powers of supervision in external matters once they have decided on the type of school to be established. Secondary Schools are there, perhaps, more strictly the concern of the central authority than the elementary. Hence their internal organisation, the curricula and the qualifications of the teachers are the same. The uniformity of control and supervision secures uniformity of standards, but the inauguration of reforms is dependent not on the initiative and vigour of the individual school director, but on the slowly moving machinery of the central administrative office and the ability of the provincial inspectors to get a hearing." Administration and Organisation.

/ The relation of the State to education in Prussia is defined by the Allgemeine Landrecht of 1794. Under the

ø p. 145 Sandiford.
/ Sandiford's 'Comparative Education' Page 113.

first clause of the law of the constitution "schools and universities are state institutions charged with the instruction of youth in useful information and scientific knowledge". By the provisions of the third clause "all public schools and educational institutions are under the supervision of the State and are at all times subject to its examination and inspection." Since educational institutions may be founded only with the knowledge and consent of the State, it follows that the control of the state over education is almost complete.

The authority charged with the control of education, excluding commercial, technical and agricultural, is the Ministry of Public Worship and Education, responsible only to the Crown, organised as follows:-



The Minister's orders, regulations and decisions have the force of ~~the~~ law. He has the power of making certain appointments and ratifying others, the prescription of courses of study, approval of text books and examination papers, This authority he delegates to administrative bodies.

The Chief President appoints commissions to conduct examinations for teachers in middle schools and for

elementary school principals.

He has the deciding voice on all financial matters affecting teachers.

Under his direction the Board has charge of all branches of secondary education; it controls the appointment, promotion, disciplining, suspension and dismissal of teachers in the higher schools; it examines text books. All regulations for the internal management of schools under its charge must have the approval of the Board. It regulates and supervises the leaving examinations from the nine year secondary schools. Twice a year the Board transmits a report of its work to the Ministry.

The provincial boards are authorities delegated by the Ministry to act on its behalf; they are the organs of the central government exercising delegated functions; they are in no sense representative bodies.

The Schools

In the large graded schools the direction is placed ø in the hands of a principal (Rektor) whose task it is to see that the regulations are followed. He outlines the course of study and distributes the work among the teachers, inspects the class records and the work of the

ø Sandiford. Page 125.

teachers, and in general supervises and advises them. He holds teachers' meetings once a week, or whenever the occasion demands, and confers with his teachers on such matters as promotion of pupils. He reports to the district inspector. Under the supervision of the principal the teachers are required to keep a whole array of books and records that will indicate at a glance whether the machine is moving smoothly. These books include a class-roll, giving not only the names of the pupils but also the callings of their parents, a list of absentees, the course of study, an outline of work for the half-year, a weekly record of work completed, a record book of the pupils' attendances, conduct, industry and progress, a record of punishments, a time schedule, and an inventory of the equipment provided for the classroom.

Furnished with these and with a knowledge of the kind of training that the teacher has had, the inspector or other supervising authority can presumably discover with great readiness what progress a teacher is making in his work.

The teaching is mechanical. Learning is by heart, and only that prescribed, drill-sergeant methods are used.

ø Roman says "There is no doubt that the German schools

ø New Education. Page 222. Second Edition.

erred on the side of being too strict. The teachers had too much power over the children. Some abused it. Life was turned into a state of misery for some children, and a child suicide was a phenomenon which resulted from German school efficiency."

This was the spirit in which education was carried on throughout the Empire, the prestige of Prussia gave her a tremendous influence in the other states. She prepared her teachers for secondary schools by giving them at least eight semesters of academic preparation in a University followed by two years of practical preparation in a secondary school. The preparation of students during the two years is entirely in the hands of practitioners, principal, and teachers of the schools in question.

The Outcome

ø "The system is without doubt efficient and succesful, but it cannot too often be repeated that the efficiency is purely relative. If the Prussian system illustrates the importance in education of adopting means to ends, and of carefully defining the ends, it emphasises at the same time the dangers of centralised and bureaucratic control. A monotonous uniformity is attained - the uniformity of a machine. The individuality of the pupils and teachers is necessarily sacrificed, but consciously sacrificed, to the demands of the administrative regulations."

ø Sandiford, page 129.

Again:

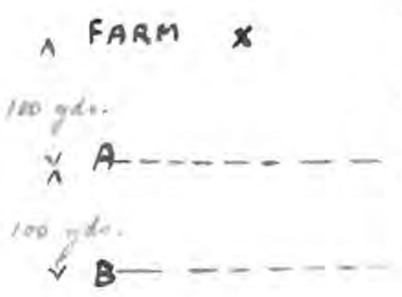
ø "The success of the secondary school system is due to the definiteness and precision of organisation and the appropriate training given to those who are to conduct it. The defects, as in the case of the elementary branch, are due to in-breeding and the narrow professionalising of teachers. The system has incorporated the spirit of order and discipline which characterises the military organisation. Mechanical efficency is secured, but at the sacrifice of individuality and growth."

"The mind is filled with information, but independence of observation or judgment is not developed or even encouraged. The very causes of the success of the German system, efficient organisation, standardisation, careful preparation and selection of teachers, tend to develop qualities of receptivity and passive acceptance of information."

An example of the extent to which this passive obedience and technical efficiency can be carried, so that it even defeats its own ends, comes into my mind. During the third week in August 1917, it was my business to go up nightly to Alberta Farm, a little west of Ypres and south of St. Julien, first to reconnoitre, then to take up ammunition to chosen forward

ø Sandiford, p. 159

positions and then to take eight machine guns over for forward barrage work in one of the big attacks. The first two nights were spent in getting the lie of the land, and studying out the places chosen by brother Boche for special attention. His scheme was thorough and his shooting excellent. He loosed off a battery at the farm, then put down a lot of heavy stuff on the line A, immediately lifted to B, giving each about five minutes, and then started all over again. By careful timing and moving quickly when the right time came, we got through to the farm with fifty men on three successive nights with only one casualty. Had Fritz varied his programme, or used shrapnel for a change instead of high explosive the place would have been unapproachable. A young British subaltern, straight out from captaining a school cricket-team, and knowing how to use and change his bowlers, would have been a godsend to him.



Post-War Changes.

ϕ The defeat of Germany in 1918 was followed, as in 1806, by enormous activity in education, and great changes were suggested: the teachers were to be given considerable freedom in varying their time-table and their syllabus, the schools were to be brought nearer the home life and concrete realities; parents' committees with considerable powers were to be set up in order to help the teachers to make education more human.

The "Suggestions of the Federal Government" issued in 1921 embody the new view that the aim of education is "the gradual development of the powers of the child, starting with the instinct of play and movement, and leading to the moral activity which finds its scope in the school society", and it is in pursuance of the spirit of these suggestions that the various states are still engaged in the task of finding the general principles which shall guide but not fetter the schools. Such a conception of education implies the freedom of the teacher, and Saxony declared in her law of 1922, "Teachers must be allowed the necessary freedom in the conduct of instruction to lead to successful results in teaching and education". Thuringia provides that "local and district courses of study must not prevent

ϕ Times Educational Supplement.
12. 3. 1927.
'a Changing Germany'

the teacher selecting and arranging materials and exercises in accordance with his own judgment as to the special needs of his class." Other states adopt the same attitude.

Every district school committee, every teachers' association of any size has a curriculum committee constantly engaged on the improvement of existing courses of study. The authorities constantly seek the help of such committees.

Apart from the influence of mental tests, the development of educational psychology has had important effects in the new schools. It has diverted the emphasis from the mere possession of knowledge to its acquisition, from the goal of imparting knowledge to the active development of the child's powers.

The difference between the old view and the new is strikingly shown in the first few words of the educational laws of Saxony. In 1873 they were, "The function of the elementary school is to impart to the young through instruction, drill and education.....", and in 1919 they had become, "The function of the elementary school is to promote the development of the children through systematic exercises of the physical and intellectual powers."

Gooch in his chapter on 'Young Germany' writes of Adult ϕ Education before and after the Revolution of 1918: "A mass of useful and interesting information was imparted at the institutions . . . . but it was not always assimilated, and the learner had to content himself with the passive role of a listener." After the Revolution, "In the Arbeitsgemeinschaft, the equivalent of the Workers' Educational Association, the teacher descended from his platform, mingled with his students, compelled them to think, ask and answer questions." The changes from mass production, learning by rote, and only learning that prescribed, to individual effort, and freedom of growth, and of necessity it carries with it a changed attitude to, and on the part of, the teacher.

Mr Edwards, for four years German master in the Wyggeston School, Leicester, and now for two years at Leipzig as Englischer Lektor, has generously spent considerable time in writing me his impressions, and says "After the war the Germans realised that they had gone too far with their systematisation in education: they began to see the advantages of our system: most teachers who came to England after the war were struck by the relations existing between masters and pupils: even now they find it difficult to understand how an English school staff cricket team can indulge in a

ϕ Gooch's Germany

match against the boys without losing prestige, and when I tell them of our boys in Leicester playing annual fixtures against the local clergy of all denominations, and against the local police, they shake their heads and probably think of the legendary 'mad Englishman'. But the Germans have accomplished much in this direction. Many schools possess their own Landheime or country homes where a couple of classes and three or four masters or mistresses spend a fortnight or so together during the school terms. I do not know whether English teachers would be in favour of such a system. In fact, I rather doubt it, because we have always been more for open air life and we have so many other ways of achieving that very desirable feeling of 'camaraderie' between master and pupil, but in Germany where the Wanderlust is so strong and where very few schools have any facilities for sport the Landheim idea is by no means a bad way towards a similar end. . . . ."

"In English weeks (another example of foresight on the part of Local and State Authorities here) I have lectured to German teachers, and parfticularly on English education. In dealing with the English examination system and with the more recent standardising schemes, Central schools, etc., I have pointed out that these movements indicate an attempt

to bring 'system' into English education and can only end by producing mere stereotyped book worms with little of the real spirit which Germany is striving to introduce after having gone too far in the direction which we apparently are trying to follow."

An article on education in Germany by Mr David Williams appeared in the April 1930 issue of the Hibbert Journal. He finds that at present Bavaria is reactionary, that Saxony and Hamburg are engaged in radical reforms, and that Prussia occupies a position midway between these and fairly represents the national situation. With regard to our present discussion he has the following: "The position of the teacher is one of considerable dignity. He is a civil servant, and once appointed cannot be removed except for moral reasons. He alone decides whether the pupils are to be promoted at the end of the year, for there is a laudable absence of examinations. The course lasts for eight years, and consequently the older pupils are capable of advanced work. Nevertheless the final examination is in the hands of the teacher. In German composition, modern languages, classics and mathematics, it is customary for him to prepare three sets of questions, one of which will be selected by the central authority. In all other subjects

the examination is oral, conducted by the teacher in the presence of the headmaster, and if possible of a government inspector. This does not seem to lower the standard of the examination, while it permits the teacher great latitude in the treatment of his subject, and still further extends the freedom which seems to be the main characteristic of present-day German education." And this is in Prussia!

France
Pre-War

In 1808 all grades of education were joined in a single system called the University of France, taking away the aid and recognition previously given to 350 private schools and establishing a monopoly. An extreme centralisation and uniformity began which has lasted till to-day (1918). The discipline was military and the school was modelled on the barracks - - - hours were, and still are, signalled by drum, the boys were taught automatic obedience as the best training for future soldiers.

The spirit of French education may be summed up as a sense of national responsibility for the education, in various degrees, of all citizens, involving supervision of the way in which, whether by State officials or by individuals, their education is conducted, and the need for it supplied; and, besides this, supervision necessitating the establishment under State direction of schools and institutions which, if they do not monopolise instruction, shall at least set a standard to and act as a model for, all purveyors of an article so vitally important.

Sandiford's Comparative Education. p. 289.

The French system has for its head

The Minister of Public Education

assisted by the

Director of Superior Education	Director of Secondary Education	Director of Primary Education

each having

	Chief Clerk for Instruction and Scholarships	Chief Clerk for Personnel

The Superior Council which advises the Minister, but may not bind him, is representative of the teaching profession and of all the scientific and intellectual interests of the Country. It consists of:-

One Chairman - the Minister

Two Vice-chairman and secretary

Nine members nominated by the President of the Republic. 'Past and present directors, inspectors, rectors and professors of public instruction.'

Four representatives of schools free from State control

Forty representatives of military and central schools, the University faculties, the Collège de France, and the Institute.

Eight representatives from Lycées

Two -do- -do- College masters

Six -do- -do- Primary teachers

The Council is thus composed entirely of experts, it meets twice a year, gives it advice on

curricula
methods
examinations
points of discipline and administration
text books
State control of free schools

and is the final court of appeal of judgment on individuals.

In addition there are smaller consultative committees for each of the three departments of education, that for the secondary branch consisting of:-

The Director of Secondary Education

Fourteen Inspectors - all specialists and ex-teachers

Head of the Normal School

Vice-Rector of Paris

Chief clerks of the Departments

It deliberates on all questions submitted by the Minister, but is more specially occupied with appointments and promotions, Rectors are represented by reports, not in person, and promotions in the same school are arranged by the rectors and inspectors. The fourteen inspectors are the eyes of the Minister. They are a great influence in stimulating teaching and influencing promotion: an able teacher is easily marked for reward, and a new method of proved utility circulated by their agency. They supplement

the Academy inspectors, and by confining themselves to secondary schools, one or more of them come into contact with every school in France each year and report not merely on the teaching, but on the administration and competence of every State establishment.

Subordinate centres of Administration are the Academies, seventeen in number, all but two with a University town for their chief seat, and a jurisdiction extending over several departments. Each is under a rector, who represents the Minister, aided by one or more Academy inspectors, and together they superintend the superior and secondary teaching of their districts, visiting schools, receiving reports from headmasters, and submitting a monthly report to the Minister, appointing lower grades of masters and arranging the promotion lists of higher grades.

The Council of the Academy is on a smaller scale what the Superior Council of Public Instruction is to the Minister at Paris. It is composed of :-

The Rector - Chairman
Academy inspectors
Deans of University faculties
Heads of superior schools
Representatives of Universities
Secondary school professors
Headmasters
Municipal and departmental councils which contribute to the expense of higher education.

It meets biennially, and gives advice on regulations, budgets, and administration, and can judge cases of discipline, though appeal may be made from its decision. By means of this academic council, control is, so far as is possible, decentralised and local interests safeguarded.

Such is the effective control devised by France to secure the smooth working of her public secondary education. It will be noticed that it is throughout control by experts, generally ex-teachers, by a bureaucracy that is enlightened and can command respect.

The Schools

In the schools (the Lycees and Colleges) this system continues in still greater detail.

The Proviseur (Headmaster) is nominated directly by the Minister for Public Instruction on the recommendation of the Head Inspector in their special subject. He has no influence in the appointment of the 'professeurs' (specialists and assistant masters possessing the University degrees, bacheliers, licenciés, agreges) in his school: they too are appointed by the Minister on the results of national examinations (un concours national), practically competitive.

ø The position of the assistant master, security of tenure, and promotion are secured by law in the Councils to which elected representatives are sent. In the institution itself are the

Council of Administration (decides on the formation, maintenance or cessation of chaires d'enseignement)

Council of Education (methods and books)

Council of Discipline (tone and discipline)

the last two of which include only professeurs.

If any complaint arises against a professeur, his case is first taken before the Academic Council, with right of appeal to the Superior Council. He can present his case personally or through an 'avocat'. This is a highly prized protection which prevents any favouritism or intimidation, even if political interests are involved.

The Head does not assign the duties of the specialists, but draws up the time-table, after consultation with the appropriate committee and cannot make any change either in the time-table or in the duties of any professeur without further consultation.

ø Mons. A. Beltette,
Syndicat National des Professeurs des Lycees de Garcons.

The syllabuses and hours allotted to subjects are the same throughout the Country. In the Juillet - Septembre 1925 issue of the Bulletin Official du Syndicat National des Professeurs de Lycee there is given the 'arrêté' of the Ministre de l'Instruction publique et des beaux-arts relating to the hours and syllabuses of Secondary Education in the classes of Lycées and Collèges for boys: it occupies some sixty pages and is extremely interesting as compared with corresponding English schemes. This issue of the Bulletin contains nearly 200 pages, and La Quinzaine Universitaire appears as a supplement!

Whilst making enquiries concerning the French secondary schools, I got into touch with a young American teacher, now working in St. Paul's School, Concord, N. H., but who at that time was concluding a period on the staff at the Lycée Hoche, Versailles. He took the trouble to write me his impressions, though, as he knew nothing at all of English schools and methods, he could not make comparisons.

He writes:

> "In the first place the French Lycée is not a complete entity in itself. It is a part of the Academy of Paris, (for example) the head of which is the Recteur. Each Recteur is nominally responsible to the Minister of Public Instruction, each lycée is nominally

responsible to its Recteur. The result is a centralisation of authority and power, and, I believe, a discouragement of initiative and energy on the part of the Proviseurs, the heads of the lysees.

Moreover, the Proviseur has comparatively little power, and what he has is mostly of a disciplinary nature over the students. His only real hold on the teacher is in the report which he makes to the Academy, I believe, annually. In this report he may make recommendations for advancement or condemn his teachers. He is a sort of agent for the Academy and Ministry of Public Instruction, whose charge is the disciplinary health of the school. Thus the lycee itself is far from a unified body. There are few meetings of the entire faculty together.

The individual teacher having no immediate chief is free to conduct matters as he wills in his own class-room. The only check-up is that made by the 'Inspecteur d'Academie' who must visit classes of all teachers two or more times a year. . . . . the French teacher's relations to his authorities is a purely nominal one, except for visits of l'Inspecteur. He may not see his own Proviseur two times a month, of course the work which he must cover in his classes is clearly set forth in the Bulletin published by the Minister of Public Instruction and that acts as a guide and check. Not only however does this Bulletin outline the work but it ~~is~~ often prescribes the manner in which the teaching should be conducted- as in foreign languages.

It has seemed to me that the French professeur works in an atmosphere of bureaucracy and intense systematization. He is in most cases a cog in a great machine, usually a superior and intelligent part, but he must remain a part of the system. There is little chance for the personal factor to show itself in relations with his authorities, and initiative in lines of educational thought and advance are most frequently discouraged."

Another young teacher, an Englishman, who had had experience of the lycées and was, when I met him, accompanying Professor Findlay on a visit to France in order to make gramaphone records for Modern Language teaching, gave as

his impression that while the qualifications and general standing of the professeurs were high, theirr teaching powers were generally much lower than those of corresponding English teachers: there were exceptionally fine men, but discipline in class was often poor, with consequent waste of time.

Another picture of the French secondary school is given ϕ by Hope in Sandiford's 'Comparative Education':

"The staff consists of

(1) The Proviseur, the headmaster, who is the administrator, and has his deputy, his bursar (econome), two surveillants generaux, kitchen staff, and so forth. He is an ex-teacher with a good degree, but usually degenerates. He has a monotonous round of administrative duties, he is out of touch with his colleagues and boys, and is either immersed in official correspondence, or pompously granting interviews to parents. As a rule he is anything but a leader and an inspirer.

(2) The maitres d'etude, and repetiteurs, who are in charge when the boys are not in class.

(3) The teachers, professeurs (a) agreges
(b) licencies
who do the actual teaching, but have no further interest in the proceedings.

One of the things which interested me in a visit to a French lycée with a school party last year was the amazement of the 'économe' and his staff, the concierge, the cooks, waiters, and so on, at the comfortable, easy way in which English boys and masters get on together. The économe came

ϕ ff. 290, b.7

into the dormitory to investigate one night when a pillow-fight was in progress- loud, and apparently fierce: he expostulated, and when he saw that one of the masters was acting as referee, expressed his horror with tongue and eyes and hands. When, at the whistle, the fight was instantly stopped, and a polite wonderment at his intrusion manifested itself, his horror became amazement. Such 'abandon' and such obedience! 'Professeurs' were 'professeurs', supervisors were supervisors, boys were boys (if not something worse), always had been, always would be.

An interesting side-light on the effect in the school of the French logical, departmentalised management!

The Verdict.

Hope says: "The competence of the professeurs is admittedly the best feature of French schools, and from the point of view of enseignement (instruction) as opposed to education in the widest sense of the term they need fear comparison with no teachers in the world----- if the duties of teacher and tutor were fused, and there arose a race of masters interested in the all round education and out-of-school activities of the boys the French schools would no longer contrast unfavourably with their ecclesiastical rivals

Sandiford p.299

through their neglect of the pastoral spirit and their indifference to the fact that a boy has a body and character as well as a brain".

"What France sorely needs is a diversity and variety of type and experiment, and instead of aiming at a state monopoly, she should after taking suitable guarantees, encourage, rather than crush, free schools even if they are conducted by the clergy".

"The machine is still over-centralised, too bureaucratic, too systematized, too inelastic, too uniform. Apart from the Universities the teachers are too magisterial, too official: over-inspected as they are, they aim at an inhuman competency within prescribed limits: free workings of the spirit, 'soul kindling soul at the living fire of thought' cannot easily survive in such an air. In considering secondary schools we are tempted to admire their splendid teaching and deplore their educational sterility."

Post-war Changes.

During the war there was in France much discussion on the changes necessary to adjust her educational system to the ideas then gaining currency. The 'Compagnons' and other groups felt the need, and worked out the idea of a

'common school', uniform throughout the country, though regional needs would be considered, up to the age of twelve. From these the selected children would proceed to the lycees, others at fourteen to the technical lycees and normal schools.

There has not been any great reform in the lycees themselves, though there have been fierce contests, involving changes of Government, on whether the classics should be compulsory, or whether French itself should not be a vehicle of culture with a modernised curriculum.

The centralised system under popular control appears to be so stable, to have such an inertia, that radical decentralisation seems to be impossible and individual control of the schools almost unthinkable. Unless the teachers as a body can prove themselves strong enough to protest effectively against these constant changes in organisation, which are bad for pupils and teachers alike, the school itself is helpless in the hands of outside authority.

Italy.

ϕ In 'Educational Advancement Abroad', a reprint of articles which have appeared in the 'Journal of Education', Piero Robora writes:

"The educational ladder, therefore, was an accomplished fact: all schools were opened to everybody, and the fees to be paid were very low.

"Now we may pertinently ask ourselves what was wrong with Italian education, if the machinery itself was excellent in theory, and why such a drastic reform has been found necessary, and has gained the general approval of the nation.

"The faults were many and serious: spiritual more than technical and administrative. On the one hand, Italian State Schools were too mechanically controlled and had very little hold on the moral life of the nation at large. The teachers were strictly bound by Draconian directions to certain curricula, time-tables, text books, syllabuses, etc. The intellectual side of education was almost exclusively taken into account, and all other sides- ethical, human, aesthetic and religious- were neglected to an amazing extent.

"The teachers themselves being merely officials paid by the Government to cram the pupils' minds with that particular

ϕ p. 139.

amount of knowledge which was rigidly determined by the programmes, were hampered by them in their essential functions as educators.

"We could add that the positivistic mentality of the last forty years had shaped a pedagogical science on purely empirical principles, considering educational questions mainly from the stand point of salaries, material organisation, devising of new didactic methods, and other purely exterior considerations. We venture to observe that this machanical mentality, indeed still dominant to-day in many countries, has been responsible for great distress in the world, under the well-intentioned appearance, of course, of helping them."

The aims of Gentile's reforms - - - - "First of all he maintains that the only reform worth the name is the reform of the teachers. Any system of education will be efficient if the teachers are intellectually and morally efficient. The teacher must realise that education is not a routine to be followed according to empirical rules, or merely a question of organisation, but a spiritual activity, a mission which requires continuous recreation of one's culture and didactic energies. Gentile's system does not give rules, does not invent modern methods to educate, but strives to prepare in the teacher's mind the intrinsic capacity, the sense of mission, by which only he or she will

be able to communicate intensely with the pupils. In the end teaching and being taught must be a work of mutual co-operation and an identical process of auto-education."

The English Tradition.

It would seem, then, that the organisations of our continental neighbours, so frequently described and admired, so favourite a theme with many educationalists in the pre-war days, have been found wanting, and wanting in their conception of the meaning of education, and of the school as an organism with a life of its own.

x The idea that 'education is a function of the State, conducted primarily for the ends of the State, to the good of which all other institutions must be subordinated' α has given way to 'the function of the school is to promote the development of the children', and the corollary is β "the teacher must realise that education is not a routine to be followed according to empirical rules, or merely a question of organisation, but a spiritual activity."

Now this latter view is not unfamiliar to English schoolmasters, even to headmasters of Public Schools and Secondary Schools, reactionary though they may be dubbed by their critics. Thring of Uppingham in his early days ø as a schoolmaster wrote: 'The difference between merely teaching and λteaching and training, is simply immeasurable.

ø G.R.Parkin. Life and Letters of Edward Thring. Page 67.

x Sandiford p. 137.

α See p. 30.

β See p. 48.

'The introduction of the training element at once makes a different world.' He is, of course, writing of a boarding school, but this does not detract in any large degree from the truth of his statement when applied to any school. He goes on: 'It will simplify every school question to get rid at once of the idea that the actual teaching and knowledge part of the matter is the main thing from the English point of view. . . . It is an absolute necessity in training, a self-evident truth, that every boy whatever his abilities may be, should be intelligently cared for and feel that he is so cared for.'

Sanderson of Oundle found that 'after establishing broad types of education for groups of boys of different gifts and abilities these again were divisible into smaller and smaller groups, till he arrived at last at the individual boy; but then he saw that the real problem was not that of creating different courses to suit different types, but of reversing the process, and taking the boy himself for the starting point and trying to devise for him and those like him the appropriate carriculum.' ..... 'While his (Sanderson's) initiative is to be traced in every department he left all practical details to be settled by each man according to his own judgment. The result was that everyone felt that he had a free hand. Whatever a master wished

he might try without risk of disapproval. All that was asked of him was life to impart to his class.' In one of his last speeches he said: 'The chief duty of the authorities is to keep up the enthusiasm of the teachers. And I will tell you why. Both schoolmasters and schoolmistresses have to give of their own life to the life of their boys and girls.'

Arnold of Rugby once said to his boys after observing some display of bad feeling among them, 'It is not necessary that this should be a school of three hundred, or one hundred, or of fifty boys: but it is necessary that it should be a school of Christian gentlemen', and such was the aim.

From Arnold to Sanderson this is the ideal towards which the great schools have looked, and though the terms 'public-school spirit', 'esprit-de-corps', and so forth are hackneyed, they stand for real spiritual values, and day-schools all over the country, like the Royal Grammar School, Newcastle; Whitgift School, Croydon; Bradford Grammar School; King Edward Vll School, Sheffield, to name only one or two of the older ones which spring to mind, have built on the same ideal, and have the affectionate regard of the neighbourhood of which they are a proud possession.

Mr Legge says that we- the Secondary Schools- must not 'ape' the Public Schools: agreed. But we can appreciate the good, and imitate it, wherever it may be found, and he himself admits 'the public school boy at his best is perhaps the finest type of manhood yet developed. ..... The new secondary schools will do well indeed if they turn out new recruits for the governing classes as like the lords of creation as the old. They will certainly turn them out as intelligent, and not less hard working. May they turn them out as honest, and fair, as ready to own up when rightly called upon, as well mannered and good looking.'

He agrees with the headmaster of Harrow in one of his speeches arising out of the Sheffield dispute when he praises the public schools and cordially supports his conclusion that if we take a broad view of the education of our nation as a whole 'it would be a disaster to sweep away all independence from our national provision.'

Even Roman, a democrat and a severe critic of any establishment enjoying special privileges, who writes with a certain amount of disparagement, if not of contempt, of the 'awe' felt towards the English Public School says in a

The Rising Tide. pp. 52, 3.

" " p. 54.

ø paragraph headed 'Certain barriers that make democratic growth in English education difficult': "It will be all the more difficult for democracy to break down these barriers because it must be admitted- and even the most thorough-going democrat will admit this- that the English system of education has apparently a fairly good record to show. Any rival system will certainly have to make good its claims."

We have then the admission that the idea underlying our English system of higher education is sound, is the one to which other nations are turning in their dissatisfaction with their own, and that our peculiarly English secondary schools, when judged by their fruits, are fulfilling their purpose. We who work in them, and know them intimately, know their faults and have our own notions as to how they might be improved, but the outsider says that we are on sound lines. This system is costly, when measured in terms of money; the children in it enjoy amenities not available to elementary school children, and it is on that account regarded with jealous eye by many local officials, but surely the thing to do is to extend the scope and number

ø New Education in Europe, page 13.

of the secondary schools, and to see that children not able to benefit by a highly academic course are made partakers of the 'privileges' by being catered for in the same school, but with a more practical syllabus.

The men whose names are household words were not, and are not, the only schoolmasters with vision and ability to adapt environment to the boy, or with the power of translating ideas into action. There are many at the present time who, in elementary and secondary schools, are building on sure foundations; they need what Arnold and Thring claimed for themselves if they are to do their best work. In a letter dated July 1st 1839 to the Under Secretary of State, Arnold wrote: "Uniform experience shows, I think, so clearly the mischief of subjecting schools to the ignorance and party feelings of persons wholly unacquainted with the theory and practice of education, that I feel it absolutely necessary to understand fully the intentions of the Government on this question." Thring said, in his report of his evidence before the School Commissioners in 1873: "At last I succeeded in bringing out clearly that if the skilled workmen, taking a series of years, could not do their own work

Arnold of Rugby. Tuckey. Letter CCII. p. 20.

G. R. Parkin. Life of Edward Thring. Page 366.

most certainly unskilled external power could not; I explained also that I did not want to make the professional man the ultimate judge, but simply to throw the responsibility of working well on him, when the kind of work to be done had been assigned. That then the instrument must work in its own way, and bad laws well carried out in such a case were better than good laws badly carried out; that I acted on that principle with my assistant masters in letting them work, and I claimed the same liberty for myself; and I made a strong distinction between supervision which I admitted, and interference and power of initiating and prescribing which I said nothing should ever induce me to work under. The upshot was the doctrine of non-interference and supervision was admitted, and they declared themselves ready to modify all the obnoxious clauses."

Germany, France and Italy had for many years a thorough, beautifully organised, system of education. In Germany the teachers were splendidly equipped by long academic and practical preparation, and the preparation was carried out in the schools by men who were themselves trained teachers. Of France we are told that the 'professeurs' are, at any rate academically, the equals of those of any other country, and that the organisation and supervision of the system is

performed by inspectors who have intimate knowledge of the schools gained by practical experience in them.

In Germany and Italy we now have what amounts to a revolution of thought with regard to the function of a school, bringing with it a corresponding revolution in treatment, and in France, though no such great upheaval is yet very apparent, there is a tendency in the same direction.

This revolution hinges on the decision that the working out of the whole system must begin with the individual child, and work from him outwards, that the whole educational fabric is to develop on this foundation. The organism is now to create its own environment: previously it was forced into a shell, externally beautiful in design, but one which cramped and distorted.

Some system there must be, and any system must, of course, be administered, but the experience of our Continental neighbours is that even a well planned organisation, administered by experts, generally ex-teachers, by a bureaucracy that is enlightened and can command respect, cannot fulfil the purpose of education, that freedom and initiative must exist within the school, and that those doing the work in the school must be regarded as experts.

This experience confirms the claims of those now protesting against the present bureaucratic intrusion into our own schools, but the administrators persist in their determination to have their way, 'in the best interests of the children, and of the nation', (vide Mr Legge).

The following pages, therefore, contain an attempt to work from the boy outwards, to see where the line between direct control and management of the school from within, and supervision from without, should be set. The attempt may not work out logically, and the line may be somewhat blurred, but the effort may be of service.

Section IX.

The School an Organism.

(1) The Relation between the Boys and the School.

We schoolmasters are expected to develop in our boys a civic spirit, a spirit of service for their town, and country, and for humanity at large, and we have to remember that many of these boys come from homes where what is called higher education is a new experience, and where conscious service for the community is not a part of life. I do not wish to imply that their parents are more selfish than other people, or to disparage in any way, but simply to state as a fact that providing and maintaining a home occupies so much time and energy that leisure is not plentiful; without prejudice we admit that there is a fair amount of help freely given to neighbours, and that in many cases time and money are spent in furthering the cause of their church or chapel or other organisation. We have, however, to deal with children who come from every kind of home, and to foster this spirit, to encourage its application in a wider sphere, where the benefits to themselves and to others are not so clearly seen, is one of the duties of a school; and since we are educating immature young humans we must use wisely any means available for enlisting their goodwill.

The boy needs something concrete, concrete to him, to appeal to his emotions, to his feeling of loyalty, which calls for an opportunity for expression, and for him at first this concrete thing must be small enough for him to realise, to be familiar with, so that he can take his place and move in it with ease. Any teacher who has to deal with children coming into a new school, or into a new form, knows how this state of familiarity comes about gradually, that the time taken varies with individuals, and that until each has made his own place in it there is really not such a thing as a form, much less a form spirit.

The school is a much larger thing, and often to the newcomer an awe-inspiring one; it takes a much longer time before the individual finds his feet, and often we find that the 'house' serves a useful purpose in binding together in a reasonably small unit for athletic and social purposes boys otherwise divided for lessons. From the form to the house and then to the school is the way in which there arises a conception of the meaning and unity of the institution, not the conception of an adult looking back, and not infrequently represented by some one aspect of it, or some part of it, or perhaps by one person in it. Grown-ups do the same thing;

soldiers when resting under fire after a bad time have visualised what they were fighting for - - - - not the Empire, not the State, not even England, but some bit which stood to them for home, and represented an ideal.

Then, especially since we are concerned with boys and youths and with children of a country which still maintains a monarchy, there must be some centre of authority, delegating its powers to individuals, even to the senior boys, and to which appeal may, in the last resort, be made. The natural leader, responsible for guidance and inspiration, representative of the school to the outer world, is the headmaster. If he is not the centre of authority, then whoever holds the power usurps his place, and if that centre is outside the school the latter has no focus, the image is blurred, vague, indefinite, and the loyalty and affection is dispersed.

Some would rather have it so; they talk about wider loyalties, getting away from the parish pump. encouraging international relationships; but spiritual things, feelings, loyalties, grow, and in their beginnings with children need more than an abstraction to fasten on. To grow outward from a centre, and so continually to bring more into the circle of apprehension is surely the better way- at any rate

we adopt it in our teaching, and call it the 'concentric' method.

The 'schulleiter' system in which 'members of the class staffs elected by the class teachers preside over the destinies of the school for a period of three years' does not fit into our way of looking at things. So far as I can ascertain this system is applied only in elementary schools.

Our children are accustomed to the idea of appointing their own committees to run form socials, football and cricket teams, house affairs, and so forth, but always there is a focussing of responsibility in an individual, the captain or whatever else he may be called, chosen according to merit, and retained as long as he is available and proves worthy. That their school should have an individual in supreme authority is natural to them, and there is no need to apologise for such an arrangement in comparing our methods with those of our neighbours. To do so would be to ignore the fact that, if we have not the remarkable progress in post-war years concerning which some enthusiasts never cease to talk, neither had we the same necessity for change, and moreover that we already possess what they are looking for.

Schools of Austria and Germany.
Liverpool Education Committee, 1929

Nor do I think that this system appeals to the masters. Mr Brown and Mr Lowe say in the same pamphlet, 'The system works well or badly, like the traditional English system, according to the individual concerned, and to the state of his mental and bodily health and vigour at any given point in time. The system has one great advantage, in that it enables every class teacher to satisfy a legitimate ambition, and also to make his or her contribution to the direction of the life and outlook of the school.' This great advantage does not appear to me to deserve the prominence given to it in this publication. To class teachers with experience, or memories, of the old German regime the advantage must be very apparent: to us the making of such a contribution is, and has been, a natural thing in most schools, and the assuming of 'a little brief authority' is not altogether welcome. Drastic and frequent changes, even if 'progressive', are not advisable, and for any reform requiring time and continuity of policy a three-year period is hardly sufficient. If continuity is maintained under such conditions then either the staff as a whole, acting in committee, must act, or the school must be directed from outside.

On page 18 of the same booklet there is a paragraph indicating a great disadvantage of this system; it describes the way in which time is wasted in conferences.

If we have a headmaster, his authority must be real, not only by force of personality, but by right. In secondary schools some of the boys are 17 or 18 years old, they are looked up to by their juniors, given authority by their seniors, and their attitude to the school sets its tone. Their relations with the head and the staff, and their feeling for the school are the tests of its efficiency, far more real guides to its worth than examination results, directors' reports, or those of Board of Education Inspectors. Professor Findlay says: "A difference is acknowledged between primary and secondary schools because the adolescent is not so submissive and requires the controlling hand to be more manifest in the personality of those who take charge of him", and any teacher knows that this is true. It is not that the boy is to be continually suppressed, on the contrary, but that for the benefit of the whole school there must be the knowledge that, if need arises, the power is there to cope adequately with any of the baser sort.

Foundations of Education. Part 1. Page 232.

Further, from these boys should come a fair proportion of the members of Local Government bodies, Town Councils, and other institutions which help to maintain what are known as the 'social services'. It is part of the school's objective that it should make the doing of such service a natural and welcome thing to those with ability in that line, rather than that it should become merely an opportunity for self-advancement or self-aggrandisement, but this attitude of mind cannot be forced; it must be fostered through a period of years if it is not to wither at the first breath of thoughtless ingratitude on the part of those served. This congenial atmosphere can hardly be expected in a school regarded with jealousy by authorities and their officials. These older boys can take an intelligent interest in local affairs; they can estimate the relative positions of their elders, and appreciate the inter-play of the prominent personalities of the district, especially in the towns. A good deal of their time is spent in being trained to examine critically, and to follow up implications. It is one of the ends we have in view- getting them 'to think for themselves', with the proviso that they should first seek out solid bases for their thinking- and they read the local newspapers, and

hear the local talk: especially do they prick their ears at anything which closely concerns their school, though they may assume indifference, or pass off their interest with an irritatingly non-committal remark. They reach a conclusion which must affect their attitude to the school, their teachers, their work, the authorities, their character and view of life. If their school is treated as having an individuality, as an institution of some importance and standing in the community, and its staff as people having the right as experts to hold and express views on matters educational, this reacts on them with good effect. If on the other hand the secondary school is simply regarded as one of the responsibilities of the Local Education Authority, run by them through their official, much in the same way as any other of the Council's undertakings, with the disadvantage that efficient management does not bring about a surplus to be applied to the reduction of rates, the deadening influence can hardly be estimated.

It is perhaps to be expected that that side of the school which can be set down in figures, its expenses and its examination results, should be most prominent in the eyes of the Local Education Authority, but, within reasonable limits, that is just the side which matters least. We are not yet

committed to the acceptance of intelligence tests as against the judgment of the man who knows the boy from long and intimate experience simply because they do not measure certain qualities which are of very real importance. When measurement and statistics take the field the core of education is ignored: if persisted in, the acquisition of information becomes the chief aim of the school, and education, as we in England have for long understood it, goes by the board.

Because secondary schools are classed with Technical Colleges and the like under the heading of Higher Education, some worthy people seem to think that they have the same end in view- well, in Technical Schools and Colleges there will be education as well as instruction, but the point is that in a secondary school the training, character forming, the effort to inculcate a right feeling in all things, is the reason for its being, and for such there are no measuring rods.

To put such great emphasis on the less important side, the material, is either to give these older boys of 16 to 18 a push in the wrong direction (by those whose duty it is to guide and keep them in the right) by leading them to think that all the talk about education and spiritual qualities is so much moon-shine, all very well but of no great consequence,

or to convince them that their Local Authority is composed of people who have no business in it, and thus to lessen their respect for elected representatives. Neither of these results is desirable.

To take away legitimate pride in achievement, or place, whether it be school, college, town, or country, is to destroy something which has been a sheet anchor to many and is hardly replaceable. To turn into a mere institution that which should present a great spiritual appeal is to destroy life, but this is what our 'standardised secondary education' and our 'rationalisation in education' will do. The leading article in 'Education' for May ~~the~~ 23rd 1930 on 'Higher Technical Education in Europe', has 'In England we cherish local sentiments and local autonomy, and until we have examined the possibilities of rationalisation in education we shall not know what wastage there is in local independence and isolation.' We know to what wastage the writer refers, but we also know that the last thing we must give up is the individuality of the school, because it is only by keeping it that we can do the right thing by the individual boy. At the age of tremendous change and development he needs every help we can give him, and what we call the 'tone' of a school can, by steeping him for years

in an atmosphere of high ideals, respect for honest, steady work, and the like, give him a standard by which to judge, and develop in him the power to stand by that judgment.

But before the school can hope to achieve such a result, it must have this spirit, and if it has that then it is a live thing, an organism, like others of its type in many ways, but with its own variations and methods of expressing itself. To an organiser such divergences from the standard are naturally abhorrent, and he seeks to devise methods of reducing them, but to the school they are the natural result of growth and gradual development through time: to lop off these things is not to prune for better growth, but simply to maim, and it is therefore incumbent on those who believe in the necessity for individual treatment for schools and scholars to maintain their opposition to standardised mass methods.

Teachers have had to deal with classes of 60 and 70: for many years they have asked for smaller classes, knowing that they were not doing what they ought to be doing, and that the methods they used were not the best, but only as good as the circumstances permitted. The so-called 'new teaching' and 'new methods' are not new to many who did yeoman work under pathetic conditions, their adoption in the present state of things is simply out of the question, and the uniformity

and rigidity decried in these large classes is simply another manifestion of the inevitable result of dealing with individuals in the mass; the same result must be expected when schools are lumped together, and run by one committee, unless that committee has the enviable faculty of leaving well alone, and not interfering unless it must.

Mr S.M.Shoemaker, a New York Minister, has evidently felt the same thing about the schools in his locality, for he writes: 'We need the consciousness of individuals in education. The tendency in education to-day seems to be toward maximum scientific efficiency, and that means the intellectual survival of the fittest. . . . I believe that real education means helping people to find the best that has been thought and said in the world, and then to act upon it. It is no easy thing to get from twelve to twenty, and to be herded according to mental tests, without regard for those intricacies of personality which differentiate us one from another, produces disastrous moral and psychological results. . . . Our organisations are, on the whole, adapted for the group, and not the individual. We think more in terms of clubs and committees than we do in terms of people.'

(2) The Headmaster and Staff.

Lord Eustace Percy in a speech at Reading early last year said: 'The Board of Education have dropped the curriculum out of their regulations deliberately as a challenge to Local Authorities and teachers to ~~work~~ work out their own ideas', and Dr Graham, Director of Education for Leeds, addressing a large meeting of teachers in February of the same year chided them for being too ready to adopt the fads of others . . . . 'Teachers should determine the method to be used, after careful investigation and experiment, and assume responsibility for so doing'. Mr H. G. Wells has also urged the teaching profession 'to stand on its own feet', and work out its own salvation.

Now these statements imply that teachers, as such, have the status of experts, which involves the right of representation on any body deliberating on educational matters, not only on academic questions, but on finance, policy, buildings. That many Local Authorities do not regard their teaching staff in such a light is shown by the way in which they treat requests for representation on Education Committees, and the extent to which such representation is conceded, even when

granted; and also by the comment in the official organ of the N.U.T. upon Dr Graham's speech- 'This decision contrasts strongly with the course followed in some areas, where the officers of the Board of Education and the administrative officers devise schemes and simply inform teachers when they are completed.'

If the present generation of teachers, heads and assistants, is not efficient, (and no administrator has yet said so), that is the fault of the authorities in whose hands lie the appointments; their policy with regard to preparation, both academic and practical, for the work of teaching has been one of frank opportunism, and even yet some of their regulations are farcical. ø 'As regards sins of ommission the greatest on the part of the Board of Education has been its failure to devise and follow up a permanent and organised scheme for ensuring and regulating the supply of teachers. I do but repeat the commonest truism in stating that here lies the crux of the whole question. Buildings, equipment, material, and method of administration are all subordinate to this'.

If school architecture lags behind that of Germany it may be because the last person the architect would think of consulting is the man by whom the building is to be used. On

ø English Education from Within. Page 200.
G. A. Christian.

page 41 of the Liverpool Education Committee's pamphlet on Schools of Austria and Germany, in a description of a new 'volkschule' in Munich we read: 'All the rooms are beautiful, and they seem to represent the last word in teaching convenience, largely as a result of consulting the teachers at every turn.'

In finance the view taken seems to be that teachers cannot be trusted to use money wisely, and that a hand-to-mouth existence befits them very well, when the truth is that were the funds available, and the school had its own bank account, not only would the work go on more efficiently, but money would be saved. Some authorities allot a secondary school a definite sum to use as it thinks fit; the headmaster and staff know their needs, apportion the fund to the various departments, and are able to budget for the year ahead. If necessary they can save on one year to allow for the buying of expensive apparatus in the next, and always the material urgently needed can be obtained quickly. Other authorities do not appear to regard their headmasters as responsible people: every item is scrutinised, generally by officers who know nothing about the apparatus they are dealing with, and whose only principle is cheapness.

Delay occurs because requisitions must pass through several hands before being sanctioned, and no single thing can be bought unless permission is obtained through the usual channel; all this is supposed to prevent waste and promote efficiency.

Not only in these matters, but in the actual work of education do authorities show their distrust. An example of their attitude to elementary school headmasters cropped up at the North of England Educational Conference in Newcastle, January 1929. The suggestion that the head of the elementary school and his staff, in co-operation with the secondary school staff, were the people to select children for the secondary schools, apart from any examination, or mental tests, was scouted by the Burnley Director, because 'it would throw too much responsibility on the head teachers'. It certainly would throw responsibility on the head teachers, and would entail a certain amount of trouble, but if the desired end, i.e. the selecting of the best children is attained, or more nearly attained, why jeapordise it because of a little trouble? Because the heads would have more power, and to the prevention of this the Association of Education Committees must devote its energies.

The Gateshead Education Committee has just furnished another example of this attitude. The newspaper paragraph

ø reads: 'A regulation made by the Gateshead Education Committee transferring the power to grant leave of absence to members of the school staff from the headmaster to the Director of Education is objected to by the headmaster of the Gateshead Secondary School. In a letter to the members of the Education Committee Mr Walton states that he regards the change as one which magnifies the importance of the Director by placing an indignity on the headmaster, and he refuses to recognise the regulation'.

In 'The Education Department,' Dr Ikin says that in 1902 'it was necessary to have someone in charge who could guide and direct the committee in the various forms of higher education placed under their control', thereby confessing that the committee was really not fit to have higher education under its sole control, and confirming those fears of the Board of Education scouted by Mr Legge. The composition of a Town Council is not, as a rule, that desirable in an Education Committee, or Board of Governors, and so powers are given to co-opt individuals who are not members of the Council, but who have knowledge of educational affairs, but it is clear

ø Newcastle Chronicle. 24th May 1930.

that even yet many of these bodies do not realise the nature of their function. They have constantly before them the idea of control, first with regard to finance, then policy, and finally in internal management, all based upon the slogan, 'he who pays the piper calls the tune', with the feeling, even if unconscious, that 'we can show him how to play the tune as well'. Technical colleges have been hindered all along by this treatment, so much so that Lord Eustace Percy in his 'Education at the Cross Roads' makes the charge: 'A great college should not be regarded as simply one department of a particular Authority's activities. It should be a self-governing institution, with a character and a bank account of its own. It is probable that the exclusively municipal character of technical colleges is largely responsible for the suspicion with which they are still regarded by many Englishmen who traditionally associate the idea of higher education with a certain standard of academic independence'. The treatment of Sheffield University by the Local Authority takes their claim into a still higher region where freedom from niggling control is even more essential. Time and finance are not the essence of the contract when research in any line is undertaken, yet some

Chapter III. V. p.70.

of these people appear to expect to buy results as they would coal. They drive away the men it would best pay them to keep, and stifle enthusiasm.

In Appendix II to the Report of the Burnham Committee, 1920, Lord Burnham writes: 'Special importance is at the present time rightly attached to the speedy and generous provision of Secondary Schools as the central point in our national system of education. But it is of little use to provide schools unless we can secure for them the cheerful and devoted service of competent teachers, and this is a task which has of late been made more difficult by the growing competition of other professions and vocations for the best young men and women as they emerge from the Universities'. Mr Fisher in reply says: 'I am in entire agreement with you in your insistence on the vital importance of securing conditions of service which will attract and retain highly qualified teachers for the Secondary Schools'.
'Conditions of service' connotes more than salary. The present scales of salary will continue to attract a sufficient supply of entrants to the schools, but whether they will be 'cheerful and devoted' after a few years' experience of the Director régime is doubtful, and the Authorities can hardly be surprised- though they will lay the blame at our door-

if the Secondary School staff is not wildly enthusiastic as to prospects in the teaching, not the administrative, profession when discussing the future careers of boys, especially boys of outstanding capabilities. It is not that we think such boys too good to be teachers, in any school; far from it. But the better the boy, the finer the man he is likely to become, the more will he chafe under the restrictions and annoyances due to the interference of a bureaucratic administrative machine with the living organism of a school: for mere instruction, for cramming with facts, for the making of good officials, a rigid system will suffice as Germany knows. For education, for a growth of the spirit, different methods and a finer touch are needed. There will not be any lack of entrants when schoolmasters can feel that in advising boys to adopt teaching as a profession they are helping them not only to a life which will be of service- and this will always appeal to some under whatever conditions they work- but also one in which they will, as teachers in schools, be able to develop with their colleagues in the school its fullest possibilities.

Teachers claim to be experts. The Headmaster of Harrow addressed the Middlesex County Head Teachers' Association in February 1929. He said: ' One of the greatest dangers

consequent upon the rapid growth of secondary education was that of mechanisation. There was an external standard of efficiency with the introduction of tests of that which could be measured quantitatively. He believed the secondary school should be independent and possessed of individuality, and for this purpose he advocated that the head teacher should be free to choose and dismiss his teachers, to draw up his own time-table, select his own books, and determine his own methods.
Dr Norwood feels that the greatest danger to education comes not from the Board, but from the Local Authorities and their permanent officials who desire to make schools similar to one another for easier administration. . . . Teaching was not a mere craft, a technique, it was an art, and the exercise of an art must be based on freedom'. Again the 'Schoolmaster' comments: 'We rejoice to find the Union's views so admirably reinforced and so eloquently stated.'

We have already seen the disastrous result of this 'dead hand of external authority' in Germany and in France, but even there the control was exercised by men who had intimate personal knowledge of the schools they dealt with. It is not always so with us. There are not many Directors of Education who have had experience for any length of time,

or even any time, as Heads of Secondary Schools: some have never taught at all in a Secondary School. In appointing to these administrative posts Local Authorities look for administrative as well as teaching experience, and the present tendency appears to be that a man shall teach for a year or two after graduation, shall get some- more or less- experience in more than one type of school, shall then enter a Local Education Authority's office to gain experience on the administrative side, and with these qualifiaations obtain a post as Assistant Director. After such an apprentice-ship he is fully qualified to be a Director of Education. From the point of view of varied experience of schools, knowledge of educational legislation and organisation, such a training is apparently satisfactory, and so long as the man recognises his limitations and bears in mind that he is but an amateur as regards the internal economy of schools, amicable relations may be maintained between him and the headmaster. According to Dr Ikin he is there 'to guide and direct the committee'; generally it would appear that he claims to guide and direct the school staff. This recognition of limitations is just the point at issue.

'The teacher as authority within his school,' writes Professor Findlay, 'which works through personal relations

ø with the scholars, is distinguished from his relation to other authorities. . . . . When we are dealing with the organisation of Education, 'Authority' is used as a technical term derived from modern law rather than scholastic tradition.

'Used in this sense it is evident that the classification of schools based on the nature of ownership involves widely different functions for the teacher viewed as an authority. In a private school no one intervenes between the teacher-owner and the supreme authority of the State. The other extreme is witnessed in many primary schools and departments of schools, where the State, for good and bad reasons sometimes reduces the teacher to the level of a clerk, allotting both to head teachers and staff the minimum of administrative power consistent with retaining sufficient control in discipline.

'Corporations for higher education usually allot a far higher status to the staff, as distinguished from the head teacher, than do our secondary and primary schools. . . . . This recognition of an assistant as something more than an assistant is one of the points in which, as I believe, reform in organisation lags behind the spirit of our times. It has relations to the movement in industry which seeks to

ø Foundations of Education. Part 1. Page 232.

improve the status of the worker over against the employer of company director, and is easier to attain, since a school or college is under no obligation to show a profit. And it has a close bearing on the efficiency of the teacher, for the best can only be got out of him when he finds that his value as an expert is appreciated in oversight as well as in the practice of his profession'.

Roman quotes from an article in the 'New Era' for
ø October 1926 by William Boyd, which also states, 'What our idealists object to is the control of their life and work at practically every point by some external person or authority. The conditions of entrance into the profession are fixed by the Scottish Education Department and so to a very large extent are the curricula and the stated examinations which ultimately determine the work of the school classes; and inspectors, executive officers, and headmasters, are never far enough away to let the practising teacher do his own work in his own way. The objection, it is to be noted, is not to any control of the teacher and his teaching, but to external control; and the freedom sought is not the right of the individual teacher to do what seems good in his own eyes, but freedom from the compulsion to do what seems

ø New Education in Europe. 2nd Edition. Page 101.

'good in the eyes of an outsider armed with authority. The ideal behind it is that of a free self-determining profession which makes its own laws instead of being subject perforce to laws made by others for it.'

When teachers make such claims they are for the time being acting according to the example given by their superiors, for it is a quaint, but very human, feature that those Authorities which believe most in organisation, re-organisation, and 'efficiency', complain most of 'bureaucratic' interference from Whitehall.

The true view seems to me to be well expressed in an article by Alexander Mackendrick in the April 1930 number of Hibbert's Journal. "In a recently published book bearing the promising title 'The Meaning of Democracy' the author seems to be obsessed by the idea that 'power' to control and coerce must find lodgment somewhere within the social organism, and that democracy means the conscious assumption of that power by the people. It does not appear to have occurred to any of these writers that the ultimate implication of democracy, the thought that gives it vitality, may be that of a community in which no individual or class should ever have either the desire or the opportunity to exercise 'power' over any other individual or class."

(3) The School as an Organism in its Relation to the Outer World.

To think rightly of a school we must regard it as a living entity, since only from an animate body can we hope to obtain the best output- mental, moral and spiritual- of its members, whether pupils or teachers. There is a constant interchange of spirit, a play of personality between boys and masters, boys and boys, which, partly consciously directed by the masters and partly unconsciously shared by the boys, creates in the school its 'aura', its tone, as we say, which people coming in from outside can feel. To develop and maintain this spirit is the concern of all the individuals in it, but it should also be the concern of those to whom the oversight of the school is entrusted as representing those who provide it. It seems to me that these men have a double duty to perform; they have, as representing the ratepayers, to be satisfied that money is wisely used, and that the general lines on which the school is run are sound financially; they have, as Governors of the school, become to some extent a part of it, and they should, in accepting office, be prepared to contribute their share to its life, and to be, naturally, its support and stay whenever need arises. Their function is to maintain continuity, and

to help whenever an emergency demands, and such a function demands a more than perfunctory interest, ability, knowledge, goodwill, and a commendable capacity for remaining in the background. In Chapter VIII of his book, 'The Rising Tide', Mr Legge says of the Public School, 'Its governing body works unseen, unheard, its very constitution and the mode of its election are matters of esoteric knowledge. How far it counts is a puzzle, for no reform ever seems to be attributed to it. . . . . In the list commonly given of great men who were responsible for the reform of the Public Schools during last century or were headmasters, not one a governor. When one prophet passes away, an Elisha is always at hand to assume the mantle of Elijah. The governors have only to appear ex machina to invest him.'

He then defines the position of a member of an Education Committee, his large responsibilities, and goes on to praise the directors. Many of his statements as facts one can but accept, but his whole bias betrays the official mind; a governing body does not count because no reform can be attributed to it! One might equally condemn a Town Council's lighting sub-committee because it has not produced an individual capable of solving a problem in gas or electricity supply.

From the boy's standpoint the school occupies a big proportion of his life, though in a day school this is much less marked than in a boarding school. The right instincts of parents and their claims to bring up their own children must not be ignored, nor recognised only to be over-ridden, and their goodwill and help are necessary if a school is to succeed on the lines indicated. In some places parents' committees, though they have not any executive power, have been found to do very useful liaison work between the lay element and the professional, but in addition to that is needed a liaison between the school and the larger community, the town or district, including adults who are not directly connected with the school through their children, and it is in fulfilling this function that a governing body can be of most help. We have had many newspaper articles telling us that the money spent on education in our schools is wasted, that our present curricula are not producing the type of boy our industrialists need, but when enquiries are made and these critics meet to formulate a policy, not as individuals but as a body representing a variety of interests, we find that they really have not any revolutionary, not even a definite, proposal to bring forward but fall back on 'a sound general education'. Major Freeth in a paper 'Education in Relation to Industry and Commerce' to the North of England

Educational Conference, January 1929, read: " . . . . it seems to me that what education can do for industry and commerce is to turn out young men and women with as reasonable a stock of knowledge as possible under the circumstances, but above all with clear and open minds, free from fixed ideas. . . If you can turn out people who will grow to learn and to realise that you have given them a valuable scaffolding on which to erect their life's career, you will be performing an incalculable service to the country and one of which at the present time she is in dire need."

When teachers in a professional capacity propound that same doctrine it is not widely accepted; it is set forth by those with 'an axe to grind', and lacks novelty. Men of standing in the locality, themselves leaders of industry, acting as governors of a school, can by their attitude to it and by their influence among their fellow-citizens do much to foster a more kindly feeling, and to emphasise that the business of a secondary school is not to prepare a boy for any particular line of business, but to train and develop him so that for any walk of life he has a solid grounding, and a spirit which will carry him through.

ø 'To allow anybody of Governors of a secondary school, or any other school publicly maintained, to become so powerful and influential as to constitute itself an imperium in imperio, to establish a vested interest, to block the path of reform, to hinder reorganisation designed to provide for new developments or to prevent waste of money in overlapping, would be worse than an act of folly. It would amount to a betrayal by a local education authority of the interests of their fellow-citizens which they are elected to safeguard' . . . . . so writes Mr Legge. Whether we agree with him or not depends to a large extent on what we think of his 'path of reform' and the contemplated reorganisation, without denying the necessity for it. The present attitude to secondary schools presages a change for the worse, and a reform which brings about such a state merely for ease in administration is not desirable. It is acknowledged that whatever bias the modern school may have, and many of the Central Schools are simply copies of the older secondary ones, there must be a place for this academic type if we are not to fall into the error of some American schools which have given rise to the saying, 'A boy is entitled to his fair chance, even if he is of superior intelligence.'

ø The Rising Tide. Page 99.
/ A Modern Philosophy of Education. Dr G.H.Thomson.

The 'comprehensive secondary school', I believe, is one which would fulfil the expectations of those who rather decry our academic type, and would give the boys of superior intelligence a chance to develop the liking of many of them for manual work, which is starved, but my main thesis is that however these schools develop their present status should be raised, at least maintained at its present level, and that they need all, and more than their present freedom, to carry on their work of educating adolescents. In reforming our system I would suggest that the administrators imitate the method adopted in the reconstruction of Paris where the then existing monuments and buildings of architectural value were retained, and the planning arranged so that they both gained added dignity, and assisted in the general scheme to an extent appreciated even more by the present generation than by their predecessors.

This view of the function of a Governing Body as part of the organism, promoting its interests and furthering its cause, bringing it into touch with the neighbourhood it serves, and helping it by directly showing the goodwill and interest of the community, does not appear to have any place in the scheme described by Mr Simon. When analysed his account becomes

becomes:-

(1) The Governing Body is the Higher Education sub-committee which controls five secondary schools and five other institutions.

(2) It does not supervise directly the work of each school, but indirectly through (a) the Director and his staff, (b) the Board of Education Inspectors.

(3) It is difficult to give as much time to each school as may be given by a keen member of a board of governors. The committee have certainly not the personal contact with the headmaster that a good board of governors would have; it is replaced by officials and an advisory committee.

(4) Head teachers have access to the committee if they desire it.

Surely, on Mr Simon's own showing, Dr Norwood was right when he commented on Mr Percival Sharp's letter to the headmaster of the Sheffield Secondary School, and said, 'He was merely stating in words what I claim must be the inevitable result when an Education Committee tries to act as the governing body of all its schools, that the Chairman shall

be a shadow, the Committee shall be shadows, and the sole repository of power shall be the Director of Education.'

Sanderson of Oundle had a very different notion from Mr Sharp, for he said in one of his speeches: "The chief duty of the authorities is to keep up the enthusiasm of the teachers. And I will tell you why. Both schoolmasters and schoolmistresses have to give of their own life to the life of their boys and girls."

Professor Findlay, too, does not agree with Mr Simon. He writes: "We have assumed that each college or school should be managed by some group which takes it in charge; the essence of their position is that they stand on behalf of all other institutions, other than the teaching profession, which are considered in the well-being of the school." Continuing, he says: "Why are managers required? Each school has a life of its own, it is a permanent association, enduring in time and fixed on some spot which symbolises its permanent character. Every school society therefore displays a distinctive outlook and expresses its own needs: these cannot be known or fully met from a distance. Those who hold that the teaching staff can alone attend to its needs and can communicate them to an education office depreciate the benefit that accrues when a small body of lay men are placed in a position to share with the staff in promoting

Foundations of Education. Part 1. Page 236.

its corporate activities. I know that teachers are often of the opposite opinion, for conflict in any social situation may replace harmony, and they are already cumbered with authorities: the officers of the L. E. A. and Whitehall are ample. Our principle reverts to the conception we form of the aims of education: if we regard schooling mainly as occupied with the growth of intelligence, with courses and methods of study, controlled by codes and regulations, management may be dispensed with: if we regard the association as a mode of life for children we shall stress the importance of a managing authority."

One wonders what was the conception of the aims of education in the mind of the Chairman of the Education Committee mentioned by Mr Simon: he never entered a school for any purpose lest it should bias him!

This indirect supervision through (a) the Director and his staff, (b) the Board of Education Inspectors, is presumably necessary to any L. E. A., but is in its nature the opposite of the interest of a good board of governors; it is inquisitorial, and on the rare occasions when a full-dress inspection takes place the atmosphere of the school is changed, the whole business is artificial, the inspection cannot inspect the normal school. It is retrograde in that

it emphasises the idea of fault-finding, or at the best the elimination of faults, rather than that of helping.

Ø Mr Simon writes of the late Mr Spurley Hey: "He fought for the children, he fought for the teachers. Woe betide a new member of the Committee who took too seriously an adverse report of a school by the Board's Inspector, or who plunged into ill-informed criticism of a teacher. The offence was rarely committed twice. Mr Hey held strongly that only those who knew the schools intimately and understood the conditions under which teachers were working were entitled to criticise them. He took the same line about interference with the curriculum. If teachers throughout the country are as immune as they are in Manchester from interference by ignorant amateurs, they may count themselves fortunate."

I was glad to read this appreciation, and others, which have caused me to revise opinions formed during the last three years of Mr Spurley Hey's views, and incidentally to cut out several pages of this essay. Even so, my point is that by having a governing body for each school, a body composed of men willing to interest themselves in it, even to spend time on so-called 'trivialities', we gain by obtaining, in the aggregate, a large number of people who

Ø Education. May 16th 1930. Page 570.

'know the schools intimately and understand the conditions under which teachers work', and thereby we run less risk of 'ill-informed criticism'. We do not want busy-bodies who will run the school for us, but we do need a more intimate contact than that given by a state visit of a higher education sub-committee. The difference is rather on a plane with that between one's feeling for a house to which one goes on special invitation, with special preparation, and for that where one 'drops in', without ceremony, but with warmth. That such a relation is desirable both for the town and the school, I have no doubt.

Section V.

Conflicting Claims.

Where then is the line to be set?

Since we are concerned with the life of the school rather than with its place in any system, with something which enlarges its influence and has no fixed form, the question involves principles rather than rules.

As regards the school itself we feel that it must, in the first place, be treated as an individual: that it needs relations with its locality independent of those of any similar organism, but yet bound up with them by similarities of function and interests: that this relation should be a mutual one, and that a desirable one is that in which the school's requirements are known by governors ~~by~~ through personal contact, rather than through officials, and met, as far as funds allow, in a spirit natural to men thus interested.

As regards the boys, remembering that in secondary schools (and in the new central schools or modern schools) we are dealing with adolescents, we see that their attitude to matters of local government, representative authority, and the like, is affected by the ~~xxxx~~ relation between their school and those who act on behalf of the ratepayers.

As regards the teachers the principle, according to

Professor Findlay, involves 'one of the most debated doctrines in modern political theory. . . . . The expert claims for his corporation a distinctive function within the body politic as a juristic personality. . . . . The teacher claims for himself and his association a place in consultation and the right to give advice'.

On the other hand there are the statements of Lt. Col. W. E. Raley, Chairman of the Barnsley Education Committee: "He was always taught that those who paid the money had the right to call the tune. So long as the Public Schools did not take public funds they were perfectly justified in having their governing bodies, but if the public were going to supply funds for their Public Schools they are going to govern them." And the relations between headmaster and director are made clear in the terms of appointments. At Heaton, 'the headmaster shall be responsible to the governors through the Director of Education': at Lowestoft recently a similar condition was made.

In "Education" for April 27th 1928, page 452, there is an article on 'Recruitment of Administrative Officers of the Education Committee', and in it is the following: "In the

The Foundations of Education. Pt. I. P. 96.

"Education". January 6th 1928. Page 7.

present circumstances, and in view of present day tendencies, it is almost impossible, even if it were desirable to do so, to avoid the increasing influence of the official. There seems to be a prevailing impression that municipal governing bodies do not, at the present time, attract men of such standing, responsibility, experience of large interests, practice in control and delegation, as formerly came forward to serve on these bodies. The field of selection of membership of Governing Bodies is changing, and has a tendency to exclude such men as those who carried on the work in the past. The field of selection of the personnel of Administrative Officers is, on the other hand, widening as larger numbers pass forward to the higher branches of education and particularly to the University. Whilst therefore the field of the unpaid administrator tends to narrow in extent and to include fewer men of great responsibility, the field of the paid administrator continuously widens in extent, and includes more persons of culture and special training. There need be, in actual practice, no regret that 'power is more and more falling into the hands of officials so long as care is taken to appoint the right man', and so on.

If this judgment on the personnel is true of Governing Bodies it serves to confirm what was said on page 75 'that the composition of an elected Town Council is not that desirable in an Education Committee', and that it is because of this that the appointment of a 'Director of Education' is necessary. But this article contributed to the 'official organ of the Association of Education Committees' with special reference to officials needed, according to the writer, for educational service might with very little alteration be applied to any municipal service: the writer says in a paragraph headed 'Technician or Administrator',- "So far as education is concerned, a Chief Officer without teaching experience would be so seriously hampered as to prevent him from giving completely satisfactory service. He cannot appreciate technical terms, atmosphere or possibilities, unless he has had a reasonable amount of service as a teacher. In Education a University Degree is probably more indispensable in the Chief Officer than in any other branch of the municipal service, but its indispensability is based rather upon a matter of academic standing than upon administrative advantage.

"Too much emphasis should not be placed upon many forms of specialised education and training. The tendency to specialise both in the secondary school and in the University

is not calculated to produce the all-round capacity and habit of dealing with men and affairs necessary in a Chief Officer. A man of personality, capacity and character can often be utilised equally successfully in different kinds of administrative posts. In other words the man is more important than the training."

The reasons given for scholastic experience of any sort are rather meagre, and damn with faint praise; the last sentence refers, apparently, to our old friend the super-man. But of any idea of the type of education outlined in earlier sections of this essay the writer is self-confessedly ignorant. If he is not, it may be that here we have one who recognises the proper field of an administrator, and that the real work of education must be left to the experts in the schools. Even then, the present members of the local education authorities who stand in need of guidance, will hardly have that need met by such an adviser, and to give the title 'Director' to such a man gives a wrong idea of his function and arouses a 'superiority complex' resented by those deemed inferior. Headmasters generally have as great a knowledge of educational matters over a wide field as anyone else, are as a rule 'men of all-round capacity', and in secondary schools are also qualified academically as highly as the Director.

The claim of the administrator is that by this method, i.e. of making the headmaster a subordinate to the director, 'educational efficiency is promoted and the director is anabled to perform his functions as the Chief Educational Officer of the Committee'. 'Educational efficiency' sounds well, but it is not always synonymous with ease of administration, for which, I suggest, it is a rationalisation. Ease of administration demands uniformity: we find that in the U. S. A. and Canada there is even uniformity of curriculum.

ø 'A second reason for uniformity of prescription (of curriculum) lies in ease of administration. Diverse forms of education and courses of study are a fearful bug-bear: one exception from the general rule causes more trouble than a thousand normal cases'.

The Chief Education Officer's functions are precisely what we are trying to define, but to organise an educational system that he may be able to perform them seems to be rather a tall order, even in these latter days.

ø Sandiford's Comparative Education. Page 366.

Section VI.

Suggestions for Alterations, which may tend toward the Attainment of a Better State of Affairs.

(1) The Governors.

The Governors of a Secondary School- and the same arguments will apply to Central Schools and places of higher education generally- must be men prepared to interest themselves in its welfare, and to make themselves conversant with its work, needs and development by intimate connections and actual contact, not by reports of intermediaries alone. A good deal of the lack of sympathy towards schools is due to ignorance and misunderstanding: ignorance of schools as they are, judging by memories, or supposed memories, of the past; and misunderstanding of the ideals and aims of education, taking a material view, not a spiritual one. A closer contact would remove a great deal of this, a fruitful source of friction.

If the governors are to be a help, it is desirable that they should be, not merely the responsible dispensers of local rates, watch-dogs, but men who are sufficiently highly educated and of sufficient experience to appreciate the position of a school in the educational system of the district and also in its relation to the life of the community.

x 'Municipal governing bodies do not, at the present time, attract men of such standing, responsibility, experience of large interests, practice in control and delegation' but in education there is precedent for co-option and even for an 'ad hoc' authority, so that there is no need to exclude such men as those who have carried on the work in the past.

ø 'The whole difficulty arises from the fact that the volume of business devolving upon the Education Committee is so heavy and continuous that everything possible has to be nicely prepared and peptonised, that unification of counsel is an absolute necessity, that committees have no time to consider and discriminate between divergent views, and, as far as possible, the business is necessarily rushed through.

'The whole position, in fact, brings us back to the ad hoc authority for London education which was warmly advocated by some of its greatest authorities on the subject when the London Bill of 1903 was on the stocks. Into all the arguments pro and con for constituting in London only a separate education authority I need not enter. A Whitley Council (or its equivalent) for London education would lessen the present anomaly)and bring the advantage of frequent

x See p. 97

ø English Education from Within. G.A.Christian. Page 208.

discussion between members and teachers, but it would increase rather than diminish the volume of business which constitutes the crux of the problem. Any divorce between spending power and financial responsibility would be bitterly opposed, and if four, six, or any number of distinct and subordinate educational councils were formed, the adjustments of powers and their regulation would create serious new difficulties. That the centralisation attaching to the present administration is excessive and inconvenient is, I believe, the opinion of most of those who really know it, and any kind of reform will involve difficult and complication problems.'

The problem is a thorny one, but in the area of the ordinary L. E. A. nothing like so troublesome as in London, and from the School's point of view a solution on these lines is that desired. Such an authority, backed by a body composed of managers, governors and teachers, would at any rate not work in ignorance, and its secretary with his assistants could deal with all purely administrative matters. The individuals composing it would be representative of all the schools in the area, would appreciate their needs and relative positions, and the existence of such a body would raise the status of education in the country. It is, as Mr Christian says, probable that the volume of business

would be increased, and unless the individual governors and managers are large minded there is the inevitable temptation to interfere with the expert, but thinking, as we are, of education, in which the only real issue is the development of the individual child, all influences for good which emphasise the importance of that end are to be welcomed. Ease of administration is a secondary consideration.

(2) Administration.

The necessity of the L. E. A. for a guide would not arise with the type of authority described above, with an executive (including teachers' representatives) backed by a deliberating body composed of people in close touch with every school in the district. The title Director would no longer be needed, and the purely business side, needing a capable head, would still provide scope for a man whose abilities and tastes are so inclined, without leading him to suppose that he was to be regarded as the final arbiter on educational questions. Now that we have a national scale of salaries and a national pension scheme there is much to be said for the removal of their administration from the local to the national head-quarters. Here we are already completely in the hands of Whitehall once the Act of Parliament or Board of Education decree is passed, and the removal would take with it the

justification many put forward for refusing representation on local bodies to teachers.

In this large administrative matter we might copy Germany: 'the municipality in Germany builds all schools, the State pays all salaries'. Even in the building of ø schools, as we have been told in the same publication, the teachers can be of use, and if their salary were paid by a separate authority the prejudice against asking their advice might fade.

The other advantage is that, according to the official memorandum of the Association of Assistant Masters in Secondary Schools, 'it would tend to remove immobility', one of the disadvantages of the Burnham Scale, but one easily removable simply by this change in administrative methods. At present, after a few years' experience, a teacher is practically immovable; very few authorities weigh experience or teaching ability against inexperience and cheapness. When the method already mentioned was proposed to the administrators they turned it down on the grounds that it would not tend to simplification of administration; apparently this is the first necessity in the educational service.

ø Schools of Austria and Germany. Liverpool Education Committee. page 22.

(3) The Teaching Staff.

If teachers are to take a larger part in the management of educational affairs they must through their representatives take a larger share in the discussion on all questions concerning the profession. One organisation representing all teachers, probably the Royal Society of Teachers, is needed, with an executive which, by the calibre of the personalities composing it, will command recognition. It should determine the standards of entrance to the profession, and have the supervision and partial control of all measures adopted for training teachers.

Such proposals, though made some time ago on behalf of the Teachers' Registration Council, appear even now to be visionary; but, putting on one side for the moment domestic questions of grade and salary, there is now in the schools, especially in the secondary, a bigger proportion of men qualified by scholarship, training in teaching, and experience in all kinds of schools and technical institutions for higher education, than ever before, and to ignore their views in discussion on vital questions of policy is unreasonable; to refuse requests for representation, especially on bodies where educational affairs are to the fore, is, to say the least, unwise. The development and application of educational ideas

will fail without their free, spontaneous help, and the worst feature of the administrative methods now in force is that they cripple this growth, even where they do not altogether prevent it.

The State, whether from Whitehall or the local Education Office, will be loth to give up control, for 'the rule of abstinence is hard for the administrator to accept', but unless it does accept partnership, rather than suzerainty, the spread of educational ideals on the Continent will be balanced by our lapse into uniformity.

Books & Periodicals used.

The Board of Education	Selby Bigge
The Education Department	D. Skin
The New Education in Europe	Roman
Comparative Education	Sandiford
Education	Compagnac
The Foundations of Education	Findlay.
A City Council from within.	E. D. Simon
A Modern Philosophy of Education.	D. G. N. Thomson.
Arnold of Rugby	Findlay
Life of Edward Thring	G. R. Parkin.
Sanderson of Oundle. (Author's name not given — pub.ᵈ Chatto & Windus.)	
English Education from within	G. A. Christian
Debatable Claims	Graves
The Rising Tide	Legge
Germany	Gooch
Educational Advancement Abroad	(pub.ᵈ Harrap.)
Education at the Cross Roads.	Lord Eustace Percy.

Educ.ᵃˡ Year Books of Teachers College, Columbia Univ.ᵗʸ, U.S.A. 1925 to 1928.
Bulletin Officiel du Syndicat National des Professeurs de Lycée, La Quinzaine Universitaire, & similar pamphlets.
Schools of Austria & Germany: pub.ᵈ by Swinford Educ.ᵃˡ Com.ᵉᵉ.
Middle Class High School Regulations.
'Times Educ.ᵃˡ Supplement', 'The Schoolmaster', 'Education', 'The Journal of Education', 'Hibbert Journal', & similar publications. Papers read at Educational Conferences.