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SOME PROBLEMS OF EDUCATION.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE object of this pamphlet is to present a short survey of public education for the use of members of local education committees and practical educationists. Under cover of national economy, the parties of reaction, inside and outside of Parliament, are preparing an attack on the people's education, which threatens, not merely to destroy the promise of the Education Act of 1918, but to undo to a great extent the achievement of the Act of 1902. Hence, lovers of education have to arm themselves for the children's defence on one side with a knowledge of facts, on the other side with a practical policy. There has been no attempt to cover all the ground, but rather to fix attention on certain central problems. The various matters connected with medical inspection and care of physical health have been purposely omitted from the reference, as these subjects are discussed in other Fabian publications. Nor does the writer pretend to originality of views, but the pamphlet is mainly composed of abstracts from official and Labour Party publications, or from various documents, a list of which is given in the bibliography. If, however, the pamphlet should succeed in strengthening the hands of educationists against forces of reaction in ever so small a measure, it would not have wholly failed in its purpose.

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Education - United Kingdom.

SOME PROBLEMS OF EDUCATION.

The Building of Schools.

PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.—According to the Annual Report of the Board of Education for the year 1919-1920 there are 20,971 public elementary schools in England and Wales, of which 8,705 are provided by local authorities and 12,266 by voluntary agencies. There is a total accommodation for about 7,000,000 pupils. There are in addition 478 "special schools" for physically infirm and mentally defective children, with places for about 35,000 scholars, and 53 "certified efficient schools." It is incumbent on a local education authority to provide school accommodation for every child of school age within its area, but a rising standard of efficiency, together with fluctuations of population, do not make this duty an altogether simple one. While in some districts there is an accommodation considerably in excess of present needs, elsewhere nearly every school has too many children. Similarly, in some large areas with a total excess of accommodation, there is a deficiency in certain parts of the area. Moreover, owing to the awkward arrangement and unwieldy size of class-rooms in the older schools, the nominal accommodation is often no real guide to the effective accommodation.

A general survey of school premises has not been published by the Board since the year 1908-1909. The Annual Report for that year states that information furnished to the Board indicated that in the case of about 2,000 schools, or 3,000 departments, in England and Wales, the school premises were more or less seriously unsatisfactory, and 660 schools were condemned unconditionally. These figures did not include cases in which the only objection to the premises was the fact that three or more classes were taught in a single undivided room; nor cases in which the only ground for objection was the absence or insufficiency of playground accommodation; nor cases of schools where the accommodation was merely insufficient for the number of scholars taught, and enlargement was the only improvement required. Moreover, the standard embodied in the Board's Building Regulations, which is applicable to new schools, was not employed in judging existing buildings. Such a procedure would have resulted, according to the Board, "in the condemnation of a large number of school buildings erected within the last twenty or thirty years, and could not in the present state of public opinion be carried to a successful issue."

Since the year 1908-1909 about 1,200 new schools in England and Wales have been opened, or have taken the place of old ones, making a net increase of 238 schools. The whole advance took place before 1915, for the building of new schools was almost entirely held up by the circumstances of the war. Between 1915 and 1919

there was actually a net decrease of 120 in the total number of schools. In the year 1919-1920 the Board of Education had "under consideration how best to meet not only arrears of building caused by the war, but also the new requirements of the Education Act, 1918, especially as regards the instruction of older children." The year saw the opening of 51 new schools, but the figure represents barely more than a quarter of the average output of schools in the five years before the war. Less than nothing has been done to make good the war-time arrears. The Board has embarked on a policy of so-called economy, and the prospects of building are about as bad as they can be.

It is common knowledge that, in areas where the population is increasing, there is serious congestion in the matter of school accommodation, accompanied by the usual tendency to deterioration. Under the Board's Building Regulations a new school should have "no undesirable surroundings"; a good playing-ground, with a portion covered for shelter in wet weather; a central hall for general assembly; a number of class-rooms such that there is never more than one teacher working in each; as a rule there should be not less than two class-rooms for every hundred scholars and not less than 10 square feet of floor space for each scholar in the class-room; class-rooms should be well lighted from the left of the pupils, well ventilated and warmed; there should be wide corridors and safe staircases and exits, adequate cloak-rooms where clothes can be dried, well-provided lavatories for necessary washing, and a good supply of drinking water. Schools erected, however, before 1900 fall far short of modern requirements. Even before the war the standard adopted by the Board in condemning schools was a very low one indeed compared with the modern ideas of school planning, and condemned premises have been allowed to continue in use for years because a new building has not been available. It is not unusual in old-fashioned schools to find cramped surroundings and no proper playground, no separate hall which is not used as a class-room, class-rooms made to accommodate 60 to 100 children, and sometimes one large room in which four or more classes are taught together. Even passages and exits are known to be used as class-rooms. The Education Act of 1918 requires that suitable provision should be made by local authorities for "practical instruction," but the lack of accommodation in backward areas makes this out of the question. Some local authorities, such as the London County Council, had arranged before the war to rebuild or remodel systematically a certain number of schools each year, but these schemes are now held up indefinitely. Local authorities are not merely permitted by the Board, but deliberately advised to make do with premises which do not comply in the least with the Board's building requirements. Even in the case of a new school, the Board has actually forbidden the provision of a practical room, although the provision of such a room is a statutory obligation. There is practically no new building except

in cases where the conditions are actually injurious to health, or the congestion is so great that children are walking the streets. The Board has recently arranged for the purchase by local authorities of disused army huts, and a large number of these are being used as temporary accommodation; but makeshift premises of this kind are necessarily unsatisfactory to run, and tend to cost more in the end than the building of efficient schools. It is true that owing to the decline of the birth-rate during the war, the number of children proceeding to school in the next few years will fall below the normal. There will be for a time a decrease rather than an increase in the demand for elementary school accommodation, but this is no reason why children should be taught in unsuitable premises. The Board of Education ought to carry out the survey of existing school buildings which was begun before the war, and should put pressure on local education authorities to make good deficiencies by giving notice that after a reasonable interval it will decline to pay grant on account of schools held on premises which are obviously unsuitable. At the same time, labour members of local education authorities should call for regular reports on the school accommodation of their area, and should press for the erection of new schools in place of those which are condemned. Educationists may reasonably claim that the rebuilding or remodelling of the schools in the coming year should be at least equivalent to the average achievement in the five years before the war.

NURSERY SCHOOLS.—The advent of nursery schools, provided for under the Education Act of 1918, seems as far off as ever. Under the new Act, local education authorities are expressly empowered to make arrangements for "supplying or assisting the supply of nursery schools (which expression shall include nursery classes) for children over two and under five years, or such later age as may be approved by the Board of Education, whose attendance at such schools is necessary or desirable for their healthy physical and mental development." The Board issued its regulations in respect of nursery schools in January, 1919, twenty-nine such schools being recognised up to March, 1920, but of these only three have been provided by local authorities. During the last twelve months the Education Committee of more than one town has been offered as gifts suitable and substantial buildings for use as nursery schools. Owing to the fact that the Board of Education would be required to contribute annually their proportion of the cost for carrying on the school, the Board has refused to approve the acceptance of buildings for nursery school purposes.

"GRANT-AIDED" SECONDARY SCHOOLS.—"The primary need of the moment," the President of the Board of Education has declared, "is the multiplication of secondary schools." The total number of grant-aided secondary schools in England and Wales is 1,140, with places for about 308,000 pupils, and 206 other schools are recognised by the Board "as efficient." The comparative prosperity among

certain classes of workers during the war resulted immediately in an increasing demand for secondary education, a fact which refutes the middle-class contention that working-class parents do not appreciate the value of education. Secondary schools became rapidly filled to overflowing, with the result that thousands of would-be scholars, among them intending teachers, have to be refused admission because there are no places for them. In 1910 the London County Council arranged to establish a number of "central" schools with the object of providing advanced instruction for children over 11. At the end of 1921, there were fifty-one such schools in being, with accommodation for 17,000 children, and the Council proposed to extend the scheme so as to bring up the total number to 100 schools, with 40,000 places, but the scheme is held up with every other reform. The Board has found it necessary to suspend its rule limiting the size of classes to thirty-five pupils, and it is admitted that "the enforced stoppage of building" has caused serious overcrowding in the great majority of secondary schools. The clamant need for a large increase in secondary school accommodation is discussed in a later chapter.

The standard of accommodation and equipment required by the Board's Building Regulations in "grant-aided" secondary schools is higher than in elementary schools, as regards both class-rooms and playing-fields, but "higher elementary schools" and schools of the type of the L.C.C. "central schools" are required to "be planned in accordance with the principle applicable to an ordinary public elementary school."

The Law as to School Attendance.

WHOLE-TIME SCHOOL ATTENDANCE.—It is estimated that in 1919 the total number of scholars on the books of public elementary schools in England and Wales was 5,419,137, with an average attendance of 5,123,526 per day. The age-limits of compulsory whole-time school attendances are fixed by law, but these may be varied by local authorities to some extent. Section 8 (1) of the Education Act (1918), which has not yet, however, been brought into operation, requires that "no exemption from attendance shall be granted to any child between the ages of 5 and 14 years." Under the same section labour certificates must not be granted to children under 14, but the local authority may, if it pleases, raise the higher age limit of school attendance to 15. Further, the Board of Education may, on the application of the local authority, "authorise the instruction of children in public elementary schools till the end of the school term in which they reach the age of 16, or (in special circumstances) such later age as appears to the Board desirable." Thus there is nothing in the terms of the Act to prevent school authorities from providing education for children up to 16. Children over 15, it is true, cannot be legally compelled to attend school, but parents may be persuaded to let them remain. Not

merely does whole-time school attendance up to 16 exempt young people between 16 and 18 from part-time attendance at continuation classes, but local authorities are empowered to provide allowances for maintenance in the case of children over 12, so that there need be no hardship to poor families from the loss of children's earnings. The payment of fees in public elementary schools, which was the practice until recently in some voluntary or "non-provided" schools, was finally abolished by the Education Act of 1918.

Unfortunately, however, the Education Act of 1918 is in a state of suspended animation. The Act comes into operation on a day appointed by the Board, different days being appointed for different purposes. For the purpose of raising school age it was laid down that "the appointed day shall not be earlier than the termination of the present war." Month after month the Board refused to take action, pleading in excuse the long delay over the Turkish settlement. Now, however, that the termination of the war has been officially proclaimed, the Board can no longer hide the fact of its ignominious surrender to the pressure of reactionary forces. The baby has been thrown to the wolves, and there seems no immediate prospect of a change of policy. Meanwhile, the earlier law remains in operation. Under previous Education Acts, local authorities are obliged to make bye-laws regulating school attendance for children between 5 and 14. In London, there is compulsory attendance up to 14, but local authorities can and do grant "labour certificates" to children over 12 who have reached a certain standard in school, or children over 11 in agricultural areas, exempting them from whole-time or part-time attendance. The consequence is that a number of promising young scholars who would benefit greatly from another year of schooling leave school at 13. It is significant of this tendency that the number of children between 13 and 14 on the books of public elementary schools is only about two-thirds of the number in the age-group from 12 to 13. Nor is the Board relieved from responsibility by the passing of the Employment of Women, Young Persons, and Children Act, 1920, which prohibits a child under 14 from employment in "an industrial undertaking." The term covers mines and quarries, factories and workshops, works of construction and transport, excepting transport by hand, but children over 12 may be employed in shops, domestic service, agriculture and in casual occupations, and the effect of the new industrial legislation may be merely to prohibit their employment in a regular trade. Pending action by the Board, local authorities would be well advised to make bye-laws enforcing whole-time school attendance on children between 5 and 14. This measure would be preparatory to raising the higher age-limit to 15, when the Education Act of 1918 comes eventually into operation.

SPECIAL REGULATIONS FOR INFANTS.—Children under 5 cannot be obliged to attend school, but under the Education Act of

1918 local authorities may provide education for children over 2 and under 5 in nursery schools or nursery classes. The number of children under 5, however, attending elementary schools in England and Wales does not amount in all to over 200,000, and all progress is effectually checked for the time being by the lack of school accommodation. In the case of children under six, the local authority may make a bye-law relieving parents from their obligation to cause the child to attend school, but regard must be had to "the adequacy of the provision of nursery schools for the area," and any ten parents of children attending public schools in the area may require the local authority to hold a public enquiry "for the purpose of determining whether the bye-law should be approved." It is usual for the infant class to break up in the afternoon half an hour or an hour before other departments, and there is some feeling among parents in comfortable home circumstances that children under seven should not be obliged to attend school in the afternoon. On the other hand, mothers with several young children and perhaps an infant in arms, would find it extremely inconvenient to have children under seven half the day on their hands, and would be thankful in most cases to send infants over two to a nursery school. Experience shows that children coming from poor and crowded homes may greatly benefit, not merely in training, but in health, from early attendance at school. In the case of children under seven, while local authorities should make proper provision, it seems desirable that a certain option should be allowed to parents in the matter of school attendance. The setting up of parents' committees—an experiment which has been made with success in Scarborough—deserves the attention of progressive school authorities.

PART-TIME ATTENDANCE AT CONTINUATION CLASSES.—Under the Education Act of 1918, it is obligatory on local authorities to organise a system of part-time education for young people between 14 and 16 (and after the lapse of seven years from the "appointed day" between 14 and 18) in their respective areas. The Act provides that young people of these ages shall attend continuation schools, at such times and on such days as the local authority may require, for 320 hours in the year, distributed as regards time and seasons as may best suit the circumstances of each locality. Within a period of seven years of the "appointed day" the number of hours can be reduced to 280, but only by a special resolution of the local authority. Further, attendance must take place between 8 a.m. and 7 p.m., and not on Sundays or on any customary holiday or half-holiday. In short, attendance must take place in working hours. A local authority may, if it pleases, recognise "works schools" as giving "suitable and efficient part-time instruction," but a young person cannot be compelled to attend a "works school" against his will. Nor is it a sound proposition that a school connected with a private commercial or industrial undertaking, and run

for business purposes, should be recognised by the local authority as a suitable place of education.

The Board intended originally to invite local authorities to draw up schemes of continued education, and to fix the "appointed day" for each area as the local authority was ready to carry out its duties. A few local authorities, including Manchester, began the organisation of a voluntary system of day continuation classes, while London set to work with a compulsory scheme, and the "appointed day" for the area was fixed as from January, 1921. At the end of a month 90 per cent. of the young people notified had enrolled under the scheme, but the experiment had hardly been tried when the Board decided to change its policy, and local authorities were advised to draw in their horns. In London, a one year's course has been substituted for a two years' course, the size of classes has been swollen beyond the limits, not merely of good teaching, but of ordinary discipline, and the scheme is not given a fair chance. Local authorities ought to act in advance of the Board, and invite young people between 14 and 16 to attend at continuation classes for at least 320 hours per annum, or else offer them the equivalent in some other and better form of secondary education.

The Scope of Elementary Education.

CHILDREN UNDER 7.—It is now generally recognised that in elementary education there are three distinct phases, the first covering the period of a child's life from admission to school to 7, the second the period between 7 and 11, and the third the period from 11 to 14, or so long as the child remains at school. The broad lines of the school curriculum are laid down in the Board of Education Code of Regulations, but these admit of considerable variety of interpretation, depending largely on the qualifications of the teaching staff and the nature of the school equipment. The tendency of recent years has been to abolish the system of examinations, and to give teachers as much freedom as possible in framing their curricula.

The period of school life up to 7 is spent in the infant school. According to the Code, the aim is to provide for the free development of mind and body, and for the formation of habits of obedience and attention. Physical exercises should take the form of games, or singing and breathing exercises rather than of set drill. Younger infants should be encouraged "to employ their eyes, hands, and fingers in suitable free occupations," to talk and to ask questions. The teacher should tell stories, leading the children to form ideas and to express them in simple language of their own. Older infants should be trained to listen carefully, to speak clearly, to cultivate their powers of observation, and to do simple things with their hands; they should begin to read and write, to count and to sing simple songs. In up-to-date schools an improvement has taken place in methods of teaching infants which amounts almost to a revolution in the last twenty years.

CHILDREN BETWEEN 7 AND 11.—At 7 the child usually passes into the main school. There are in towns separate departments for boys and girls, but departments are "mixed" in rural districts, and in some schools where all children are under 11. At 11 the normal child is supposed to be able to read and write fluently, and to be familiar with the simple rules of arithmetic. It is a matter of regret to some teachers that in this country, unlike in America, handwork, except in the form of drawing, receives too little attention during the four or five years between the infant classes and the upper standards, when the child is preparing to leave school for industry. There is, however, no question that the education provided in the junior departments of efficient elementary schools does reach a high level of excellence and produce admirable results. The quality of the instruction may be judged, not merely from the number of elementary school children who at the age of 11 win scholarships in first-rate secondary schools, and hold their own in competition with children who have far greater home advantages, but in the high standard of average intelligence. It is suggested in the Report of the Departmental Committee on Scholarships and Free Places that some 75 per cent. of elementary school children in junior departments are intellectually capable of profiting by further whole-time instruction up to 16 or beyond.

CHILDREN OVER 11.—The instruction of children over 11 gives rise to more difficult problems. The child is now qualified to study a growing variety of the subjects which equip him for "the work of life." The Code requires that the curriculum should be developed in the direction of history, geography, literature, elementary science and nature study, and further it is incumbent on local authorities to make adequate provision in their areas, as part of the ordinary provision of elementary education, for practical instruction appropriate to the needs of the pupils and the circumstances of the schools. Teaching in the past has been often dull and perfunctory, but teachers are now keenly alive to the fact that the main value of instruction lies in the interest evoked as much as in the actual knowledge acquired. "There has," the London Education Committee reports, "within recent years been a distinct movement towards strengthening the appeal of literature, art, music and drama by an imparting of the spirit rather than an insistence on the letter. Instead of parsing Shakespeare plays, as was the practice a quarter of a century ago, the children now go to see them acted. Instead of listening to a recital of dry facts about Dickens and his writings they read "David Copperfield" and "A Tale of Two Cities." In many London schools, teachers in the upper standards are specialists in their own subjects, and scholars in their final year, more especially pupil teachers, are encouraged to concentrate on studies for which they have particular aptitude, and to work individually or in small groups at intensive courses. The L.C.C. has opened ten "home workrooms" as an experiment, so

that children from poor homes may have the opportunity for private study, and so successful is the venture that it has been decided to open ten more in the immediate future.

The practical side of education is largely inspired with the same spirit. Practical subjects may include handicraft, cooking, laundry work, housewifery, dairy work, gardening, and "all such subjects as the Board may declare to be subjects of practical instruction." In London over 92 per cent. of the accommodation necessary for practical instruction of boys over 11 has already been provided. The majority of the centres are for woodwork lessons, but about 20 are for metal work, some of these being furnished with power machines. In other parts of the country there have been successful experiments in using such crafts as printing and bookbinding. Gardening is mostly practised in rural areas. "The work of a rural school," the Board advises, "should centre round such practical subjects as are suited to the occupations of the locality, mainly gardening, handicraft and domestic economy, and associated with these should be subjects teaching the principles underlying the practical instruction, such as arithmetic, drawing, and rural science." *Practical instruction* which aims at developing intelligence by the use of hand or eye should not be confused with *vocational training*, the primary object of which is to fit the child for his adult occupation.

Nevertheless, it has long been felt by teachers and inspectors that all is not well in the upper part of the elementary school. Teachers are faced with the impossible task of crowding into three short school years instruction in a range of subjects which should properly occupy at least a five years' course. Even such extension of school hours as may be afforded by part-time continuation classes would relieve the congestion to some extent. For example, it has been proposed by the London Education Committee to simplify the teaching of history and geography, as these subjects "must be taught in future as subjects preparatory for higher work in continuation schools," a consideration which "applies in a less degree to the whole of the elementary school curriculum." Moreover, the ordinary elementary teacher, who is required to take a class through all or the greater part of the time-table, does not, as a rule, possess the wide grasp of a subject which would enable him to inspire enthusiasm in his pupils. Nor is there always the proper equipment for specialised work. The lack of equipment for practical work in many areas has been a serious hindrance to undertaking it.

The London Education Committee has proposed to attack the problem in two ways. The first proposal is to develop the system of "central schools," namely, schools providing more or less advanced instruction for selected children over 11, a proposal which has been held up for the time being by the practical embargo on building. The second proposal is to simplify the curriculum in the upper standards for children who remain behind in the ordinary elementary schools, and to specialise in practical work to a greater extent than

hitherto. Teachers would be encouraged by means of "refresher courses" to take up practical subjects, and so far as possible a practical workshop would be attached to each school. "If all the pupils," the London Education Committee observes, "capable of profiting by the more advanced courses of instruction associated with secondary and central schools are removed from the ordinary elementary schools, the problem of dealing with the remainder is greatly simplified and an opportunity is presented for breaking with many old traditions." The weakness of the scheme lies partly in the fact that it does not go far enough. Witnesses before the Departmental Committee on Scholarships and Free Places estimated that 75 per cent. of elementary school children are "capable of profiting by the more advanced courses of instruction associated with secondary and central schools," and the scheme does not propose to provide for more than 20 per cent. at most. Thousands of children will be given mainly practical diet, whose intellectual capacities demand stronger meat. Another serious objection to the scheme is that "central schools" do not offer, as a rule, genuine secondary education, but are provided "with a view of giving suitable pupils a course of instruction with a bias to some kind of industrial and commercial work." Educationists are now commonly agreed that education in adolescence should be solely determined by a child's capacity to profit by it, and not by the needs of his adult occupation.

The Scope of Secondary Education.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION.—Public elementary education, we are told by the Education Advisory Committee of the Labour Party, was originally established by the governing classes for the children of "the independent poor." It was designed as a special kind of education, suited to "the conditions of workmen and servants." It had no connection with secondary education, which was the education of the well-to-do, and there is still organised opposition from employers' bodies, such as the Federation of British Industries, to education "which would unfit children for employment they will eventually enter." Old artificial barriers are, however, breaking down before the pressure of social changes and modern conceptions of education. It is not only school authorities who are aware that the later years at the elementary school are largely wasted, but parents complain that between the ages of 12 to 14 a child is mostly marking time, while the child himself is sick of schooling. The Advisory Committee points out the essential futility of an elementary course which is not related to the laws of a child's natural development. It proposes to throw over the old pernicious doctrine that elementary education is "a special kind of education designed for the children of a particular class," and to substitute a system under which it would form "the preparatory stage in a course extending through childhood and adolescence."

This modern view of education is recommended by the Committee for adoption by the Labour Party as an essential part of a progressive programme. "The Labour Party is convinced that the only policy which is at once educationally sound and suited to a democratic community is the one under which primary education and secondary education are organised in two stages in a single and continuous process; secondary education being the education of the adolescent and primary education being the education preparatory thereto. Its objective, therefore, is the development of public secondary education to such a point that all normal children, irrespective of the income, class or occupation of their parents, may be transferred at the age of 11 from the primary or preparatory to the secondary school and remain in the latter till 16." The Labour Party holds that all immediate reform should be carried out with that objective in view and in such a way as to contribute to its attainment. In particular it regards all "central schools," "junior technical schools and part-time continuation classes" as at best transitional arrangements, which must on no account be allowed to conflict with "the creation at the earliest possible date of a system of free and universal secondary education." The general lines of the Labour Party scheme for giving practical effect to these views may be briefly indicated under the following headings.

THE CONTINUATION SCHOOL.—From the educational point of view, part-time attendance at continuation classes forms a miserably inadequate substitute for full-time secondary education. From another standpoint, non-labour members of the L.C.C. have declared that "the continuation school stops employment and ends discipline without adequate result," and that it would be more satisfactory to keep the children full-time until a later age. Similarly, parents protest that the loss of children's earnings is not sufficiently compensated by a few hours a week of instruction, or mere physical drill or dancing in an overcrowded class-room. Half a loaf is, however, better than no bread. Local education committees are advised by the Labour Party to extract what good they can from the Education Act of 1918, and to press forward voluntary schemes of continuation classes, but to keep always in mind that the ultimate goal of any scheme is whole-time secondary education. Not merely there should be provision for at least 320 hours per annum, but schools should be staffed and equipped up to the standard of "grant-aided" secondary schools. The curriculum should be framed on broadly humanistic lines, and narrowly vocational subjects should not be taught to children under 16.

HIGHER ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.—By the mere practical necessities of the situation, local authorities have found themselves committed now for many years past to the organisation of some form of post-primary education, which they have tacked on to the elementary school under such names as "higher elementary schools," "higher

grade schools," "higher tops," "junior technical schools" or "central schools." The type of "central school" which in London is superseding the earlier forms of "higher elementary school" provides instruction of a comparatively advanced grade, the timetable including at least one foreign language. Nevertheless, in general academic standing, these schools fall definitely below the standard of a "grant-aided" secondary school, and are modelled on somewhat different principles. The general characteristic of the "central school" is inferiority to secondary schools in teachers' qualifications and salaries, in the ratio of staff to pupils, in school buildings and equipment, and in surroundings and playing-fields, while the curriculum is framed with a vocational bias and children do not generally remain at school after 15. "Central schools" are favoured by school authorities, partly because the vicious doctrine persists that a child's education should be determined by the needs of his adult occupation, but principally for the sake of cheapness.

"We have not yet gone so far," the Director of Education for Darlington has declared, "as to establish vocational schools for intending doctors, lawyers, and those who intend to take up the higher branches of engineering. A good general education is essential whatever calling a boy or girl proposes to follow." From a broad statesman-like point of view it is bad economy on the part of a local authority to provide schools of a type which offer merely a cheap substitute for secondary education, and would certainly have to be scrapped when the nation faces seriously the problem of education. As opportunity occurs, higher elementary schools should be remodelled on the lines of a true secondary school, and transferred to the proper authority, where separate local authorities are responsible for elementary and secondary education. The methods of staffing and equipment should be approximated so far as possible to the secondary school model, and the curriculum freed from a vocational bias. Pupils should be encouraged by means of maintenance grants to remain at school until 16.

THE SECONDARY SCHOOL.—The Education Act of 1902-1903, by placing responsibility for secondary as well as elementary education in the hands of county and borough councils, made it possible for a child to pass on from the elementary to the secondary school, and in some rare cases from thence on to the university. The L.C.C. awards annually 1,700 junior county scholarships to elementary school children, tenable for three or five years, and there are similar schemes in operation elsewhere. A ladder of this kind is, however, reserved to children of exceptional talent and ability. It is estimated that something under 9 per cent. of elementary school children between 11 and 12—the normal age of transfer—pass on to secondary schools, and the majority of these children leave school before they reach 15. Fresh powers and new duties were conferred by the Education Act of 1918, and local authorities are under the obligation of using their powers in such a way that "adequate pro-

vision shall be made to secure that children and young persons shall not be debarred from receiving the benefits of any form of education of which they are capable of profiting through inability to pay fees." For the first time the provision of secondary education has been made a statutory duty, and local authorities have to hold themselves responsible for the failure of suitable candidates to gain admission to secondary schools. The Departmental Committee on Scholarships and Free Places has revealed that in all probability as many as 75 per cent. of elementary school children are intellectually capable of profiting by full-time instruction up to 16 or beyond. It is significant that in 1919-1920 over 8,000 children were refused admission to secondary schools because there were no free places, and over 9,000 children because there were no means of accommodation at all. Nor do these figures represent by any means the full extent of the demand. In hosts of cases a child does not apply for admission to a secondary school, for the simple reason that there is no such school within reasonable access of his home. And these are not the worst difficulties. Apart from the payment of fees, few working-class parents can afford to maintain children over 14 at school without hardship to other members of the family, and the present provision of allowances for maintenance is quite inadequate to the need. The total number of children who receive maintenance grants may be roughly estimated at 30,000, the average grant being about £8 10s. per annum. Further, there is a tendency for a higher standard of intellectual acquirements to be required from children of poor parents than from children of the well-to-do. The London Education Committee has made the amazing proposal that, "in the interests of the community," the children of fee-paying parents should be admitted to public secondary schools on easier intellectual terms than children who apply for free places, while a still higher standard should be required from children whose parents are so poor as to claim an allowance for maintenance.

For practical reasons it would be idle to suggest that the present shortage of secondary schools should be made good all at once. The Advisory Committee of the Labour Party has therefore put forward the very moderate proposal that local authorities should provide places for at least twenty children between 11 and 16 for every 1,000 of the general population in their areas. This is the standard laid down by the Departmental Committee on Scholarships and Free Places "as the basis of a reasonable development," and one which has been recommended for adoption in the scheme of the York Education Committee. From this basis the number of places could be increased each year until it covered all children capable of profiting by secondary education. The proportion among elementary school children has been variously estimated by educational experts as from 75 to 90 per cent. So as to make the most of existing accommodation, it is proposed that the preparatory departments of "grant-aided" secondary schools

should be abolished. These departments now provide about 10,000 places for fee-paying children under 10, and could be turned to the better use of providing for children over 11. The remodelling of higher elementary schools would be another means of providing further secondary school accommodation. In sparsely populated areas, where secondary schools are few and far between, a motor service could be organised for the conveyance of pupils to and from school. The normal age of transfer from the elementary to the secondary school would be 11, and children would normally remain at school until 16, but provision should be available for late developers up to the age of 14.

Students' fees in grant-aided secondary schools, under the Labour Party proposal, would be abolished straight away. Bradford has already taken this step, while Durham has prepared a scheme under which the number of free places would be systematically increased each year until all places would be free at a given date. There should be a generous system of allowances for maintenance. Children in need of this assistance should receive it as a matter of course, and the grants should be adequate in amount, the scale rising automatically with the child's age and growing expenses. Under the Education Act of 1918, local authorities have power to make grants for maintenance in respect of children over 12. Finally, there should be one uniform test of admission to "grant-aided" secondary schools, and children of poor parents should not be required to exhibit exceptional intellectual attainments. The central purpose of the Labour Party scheme is that secondary education, from being the privilege of a few specially intelligent or fortunate children, should become the right of every child of normal intelligence.

UNIVERSITY SCHOLARSHIPS.—It would be premature to consider a general scheme for the development of public university education. Apart from special arrangements for ex-service students, the Board established in 1920 a scheme offering 200 university scholarships to students in grant-aided secondary schools in England and Wales, but this scheme is now suspended. Present holders of scholarships only are allowed to complete their course. There are other scholarships provided by local authorities for poor students at the universities and various places of higher learning, but the total provision is too small to affect seriously the problem of education for the general mass of young people.

Miscellaneous Provisions.

SIZE OF CLASSES.—The excellent work of teachers in elementary schools is too often handicapped by the unduly large number of pupils in a class. The following table shows the number of adult teachers of various grades for every thousand scholars in average attendance for the year 1919-1920:—

	Head Teachers.	"Certificated" Assistants.	"Uncertificated" Assistants.	Other Adult Teachers.	Total.
London	3·7	24·3	·3	·3	28·5
County Boroughs...	4·0	19·0	4·6	·5	28·0
Boroughs	5·3	15·5	8·4	1·2	30·4
Urban Districts ...	3·8	19·4	4·8	·5	28·7
Counties	9·2	9·3	9·9	5·4	33·7
Total	6·0	15·8	6·3	2·3	30·4

These figures indicate that the average size of a class does not greatly exceed 30 pupils, but head teachers are not supposed to take a class in any but very small schools, so that the average size of classes is larger than the figures would suggest. Nor do the figures refer to the number of children on the register, but to the number in average attendance, and the attendance on full days would be considerably above the average. Further, the average is reduced by the inclusion of small rural schools. In urban areas the size of classes is considerably above the average. On the other hand, the proportion of "uncertificated" or supplementary teachers in village schools is nearly twice as large as for the country as a whole.

The Board's Code of Regulations requires that the number of scholars on the register of any class, or group of classes, under the instruction of one teacher should not exceed 60; while "in no case will a staff be considered sufficient if, in the aggregate, it is not at least equivalent for the average attendance of the school or department, measured by the following scale" :—

Head teacher	... ..	... ..	... ..	35 children
Each certificated assistant teacher	... ..	... ..	... ..	60 "
Each uncertificated assistant teacher	... ..	... ..	... ..	35 "
Each student teacher	... ..	... ..	... ..	20 "
Each supplementary teacher	... ..	... ..	... ..	20 "

In the old-fashioned type of school, however, where class-rooms are built to seat as many as 80 or 100 pupils, local authorities are hampered in carrying out even the minimum prescriptions of the Code. The L.C.C. adopted a scheme in 1912 under which the size of classes in existing schools would be reduced at the end of fifteen years to the limits prescribed by the Council in new schools, namely, 40 children in senior departments, and 48 children in infant departments, and in the last ten years the number of classes with from 50 to 60 pupils has been reduced by about 200. Nevertheless, there were in London no fewer than 4,800 classes of this size in 1920. Meanwhile, the recent restrictions on building have caused a general suspension of new schemes, and there is already a noticeable tendency to discharge teachers and increase the size of classes. For example, Sheffield has proposed to economise by a general inflation of classes to a 50-60 standard, and also to relax the rule by which the head teacher is relieved from the ordinary duties of teaching.

In the spring of 1922 it was stated in the House of Commons that, out of 150,000 classes in elementary schools in England and Wales, 39,000 classes had between 40 and 50 pupils, 31,000 classes between 50 and 60 pupils, and nearly 7,000 classes over 60 pupils.

Classes in "grant-aided" secondary schools are subject to special rules. The Board prescribes a limit of 30 pupils, but, owing to the present lack of accommodation, it has recently been decided to raise this limit to 35. There are no special rules as regards higher elementary schools, but, broadly speaking, the ratio of pupils to teachers is greater than in secondary schools, but not as great as in an ordinary elementary school. By swelling the size of classes beyond their proper proportions, so that teachers and pupils alike find that their best efforts are discouraged, local authorities do not achieve economy, but merely a waste of public time and money. Moreover, teachers in elementary schools should not be required to teach under conditions which would not be tolerated in other schools. Local education authorities would be well-advised to reduce the size of classes in elementary schools to at least the standard of a "grant-aided" secondary school.

SPECIAL CLASSES FOR BACKWARD CHILDREN.—In a report by Mr. Cyril Burt to the London Education Committee, it is estimated that about 10 per cent. of elementary school children, though not mentally defective, may be classed as backward. For children of this type it is necessary to provide either special classes, or special schools. Mr. Burt is in favour of special classes, on the ground that there is no hard and fast line in the case of backward children, who ought not to be completely segregated from their normal school-fellows. Backwardness in many cases may be traced to underfeeding, illness or similar physical cause, or merely to perpetual "migration" from one school to another, so that there is no continuous education. Many backward children develop later so as to reach the full normal standard. Mr. Burt advises that classes for backward children should be limited to 30, and that the curriculum should be predominantly manual in character, and for older children adapted to their probable future employment. For children of limited intelligence there seems an actual advantage in early vocational training. It is observed that backward children are by no means deficient in æsthetic appreciation, and may be keenly susceptible to music and drama.

PHYSICAL TRAINING.—The Code of Regulations requires that children should be afforded every opportunity for the healthy development of their bodies, not merely by training them in appropriate physical exercises, but by encouraging them in organised games. Instruction and practice in swimming may be included in the time-table. For the proper encouragement of organised games the London Education Committee advises that additional playing-fields inside and outside the county are badly needed, and it is most desirable that more use should be made of the royal parks and the

parks belonging to the L.C.C. and the Borough Councils. The Committee has in view proposals for the provision of additional school swimming baths, these classes being most popular among the pupils, but the Board's present policy of economy has thrown back every development in this direction. In some areas organised games have been restricted to one hour instead of four hours a week, so that all the time is taken up in going to and from the playing-fields, and organised games are practically cut off altogether. It is not necessary to believe that "Waterloo was won on the playing-fields of Eton" in order to realise the importance of physical exercises and games for growing boys and girls.

THE "PREFECT" SYSTEM.—"It is incumbent on the school," the London Education Committee states in a memorandum on the "prefect system," not only to see that the child has every opportunity for full development as a child, but to see also that the training shall be a real preparation for future duties and responsibilities, social, utilitarian and cultural. Perhaps one of the greatest needs of the time is the development of a social conscience and a keen sense of corporate life in the schools. "With these ends in view older pupils are invited by enterprising school authorities to take an active part in the good government of the school. Prefects are appointed by the head teacher in some cases, but in schools where the tone and discipline are of a higher order it is preferred that prefects should be selected by the scholars within certain limits on a democratic basis. Each school has to work out its own scheme, but there seems unanimity of opinion as to the educational value. "One head teacher after another," the Director of Education for Warwickshire has stated, "tell of its marvellous results: how it has made manly boys and womanly girls of children who, at the best, had kept their good to themselves, how the whole school has easily responded; how swearing and foul talk and smoking have disappeared, or nearly so; how manners in the street and road have been metamorphosed by the new code of honour which has appeared; how the parents have risen up and blessed it; how corporal punishment has nearly gone; how new activities of school life have appeared spontaneously; how the whole relationship of teachers and children has been changed."

SCHOOL LIBRARIES AND PICTURES.—"There is," the London Education Committee reports, "great need for the establishment of a really good library in each school, for nothing is likely to have a real influence on the older children than to place at their disposal a wide range of stimulating literature." Something has already been done by the Committee in developing a system of circulating libraries. Sets of carefully chosen books are circulated among the schools, the sets being so arranged that each child in each class has three or four books every term, and there are now about two million volumes in circulation under the scheme. In Sheffield and in some other boroughs and districts there is useful co-operation

between the school libraries and public libraries, and teachers act as vouchers and advisers to boy and girl readers. There seems room for further development in this direction.

Teachers interested in stimulating a child's natural love of beautiful things attach a great importance to the educational influence of school decoration. Reproductions of famous pictures and statues may be purchased at a comparatively low cost. In Buckinghamshire the local authority has recognised a voluntary organisation, which will lend pictures to a school in return for a small annual subscription. The pictures are changed each year, so that a child may become familiar with a wide variety of styles during his school life.

SCHOOL JOURNEYS.—According to the Code, "time occupied by visits paid during school hours to places of educational value and interest, or by field work or by rambles" may be reckoned as school attendance, and academic teaching in art and science may be supplemented by this means from living experience. The London Education Committee puts aside habitually a certain sum each year for expenses of this sort. Children have been taken in school term for journeys in the country, extending in some cases for a fortnight, so that they may have experience of camp life. They have visited museums and picture galleries and been taken to the theatre. Elementary school children have formed some of the most enthusiastic audiences of the classic performances at the "Old Vic," and the Committee assisted recently in organising in various parts of London special performances of Shakespeare plays. The latter expense, however, was subsequently disallowed by the District auditor. The matter was referred to the Courts, which upheld the auditors' decision, and the judge further questioned how far a child's attendance at the performance of a play in a theatre could be brought within fair interpretation of the term "visits to places of educational value and interest." Children may derive from good drama, not merely exquisite delight, but keen stimulus to imagination and intellectual activity; and this unfortunate judgment, together with the policy of stringent economy preached by the Board, has resulted in a real deprivation to London children. The L.C.C. has decided to cease its expenditure on school journeys for the coming year, thereby saving a round sum of £13,500. It is left to the enthusiasm of the teachers to raise a voluntary fund and to keep the system going.

The Supply of Teachers.

THE SHORTAGE OF TEACHERS.—On the supply of teachers depends the future of education. There are in England and Wales something over 166,000 adult teachers of all sorts in elementary schools. The supply of qualified teachers is already insufficient for present needs, and the general shortage would be immediately apparent under conditions of normal development. In the event of the Education Act of 1918 being brought fully into operation,

it is estimated that there would be a deficiency of at least 20,000 teachers. Even before the war teaching was, in fact, a "decaying trade," the number of entrants each year being too few to replace the normal wastage caused by death and retirement. It is significant of the present tendency that the number of persons recognised by the Board of Education for the first time as intending teachers was 9,614 in 1908, but had declined to 6,088 in 1918. The falling-off in numbers since 1914 can no doubt be partly attributed to war circumstances. At all events, there was a certain recovery after the Armistice, so that the figure was raised to 6,604 in 1919, but this reversal of the general tendency may have merely a passing significance. Meanwhile, the shortage of teachers has had disastrous effects, not merely in hindering natural development, but in giving countenance to the employment of unqualified persons, and dragging down the standard of the service. At the present moment nearly one-third of the total adult staff in elementary schools are "uncertificated" or supplementary teachers. In London the proportion is only about 2 per cent., but the figure rises to nearly one-half in rural areas. Under healthy conditions, it should be as impossible to employ an "uncertificated" teacher as an unqualified medical practitioner.

In secondary schools there is not quite the same acute problem. The superior conditions of service attract, not merely a good proportion of university graduates, but the cream of students from State-aided training colleges—further depleting the supply of elementary teachers. It is, however, obvious that a multiplication of secondary schools would depend on the multiplication of secondary school teachers, and the present supply would have to be largely increased so as to meet the needs of a reasonable rate of progress. The causes of the present decline in the supply of elementary teachers may be grouped under two heads according to whether they relate to difficulties experienced by candidates during the stage of preparation, or to the ultimate prospects of the profession.

TRAINING OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS.—The system of training elementary school teachers, as it stands to-day, cannot be said to exhibit any definite unity of plan. Rather less than one-half of the teachers in elementary schools have undergone a course of instruction in a training college beginning at the age of 18 or over, while about one-third have received the Board's certificate without going through a training college. The remainder are composed of persons who have only passed an examination of inferior grade, and are known as "uncertificated" teachers, or they belong to the anomalous unqualified class which goes by the name of "supplementary" teachers.

There are, broadly speaking, three types of training college, namely, residential colleges provided by private initiative and having mostly a religious and denominational character; day colleges

attached to a university ; and residential or day colleges provided by local authorities, either as independent institutions or in connection with a university or other place of higher learning. The students' fees amount to about £ 30 per head per annum, impecunious students being usually assisted by their local authority in this respect. These fees are supplemented by grants from the Treasury, and colleges have to conform to certain requirements laid down by the Board. For example, half the places in a denominational college must be open to students not belonging to the denomination of the college. At the head of each college there must be a responsible principal of university standing, and at least two-thirds of the teaching staff must consist of persons holding academic qualifications approved by the Board. The principal of a woman's college should be a woman, and a woman vice-principal should be appointed where there is a woman's department. Students are still partly recruited from pupil teachers who have had considerable practice in teaching, but whose general education has been, as a rule, incomplete and unsatisfactory. The majority, however, have now received a substantial period of secondary education. Thus, the training college has to perform a double function. It has to continue the general education of students as well as to train them in the principles and practice of teaching. There is normally a two years' course, but a limited number of students reading for university degrees remain for a third or fourth year ; or an extra year may be allowed for a special course at a school of art or science, or for foreign travel. Further, a small number of "certificated" teachers or university graduates take a one year's course of professional training. The Board's final examination is normally taken at the end of a two years' course, and students who pass are recognised as "certificated" teachers, but university degrees and various university examinations not necessarily leading up to degrees are accepted by the Board as equivalent to the "certificate" examination. Men students receiving grants from the Board are required to pledge themselves to serve for seven years as teachers in a "grant-aided" school within a period of ten years following training, and women for a term of five years within a period of eight years.

The system of training for elementary teachers has undergone important changes in recent years, and facilities have been largely increased since the Education Act of 1902. There are, however, wide gaps which still remain to be filled. Most serious of all is the lack of secondary school accommodation. Though the majority of free places in "grant-aided" schools are occupied by prospective teachers, there are not nearly enough places to go round. The Board has made certain proposals for the attendance of rejected candidates at pupil teacher centres or at higher elementary schools, but cheap makeshifts of this sort do not take the place of true secondary education. It is clearly undesirable that intending teachers should be confined through childhood and adolescence

within the close atmosphere of the elementary school, where they expect to remain as adults, and the whole system of boy and girl pupil teachers should be completely abolished. A generous provision of secondary school accommodation is the preliminary step in a sound system of training, and incidentally would act so as largely to increase the supply of potential teachers.

Other defects of the present system are due to the limitations of the training college, which has to perform the double function of providing both higher education and professional training within the limited space of two years. The curriculum has been lately remodelled, so as to give opportunity for a more liberal course of study to two-year students than had previously been allowed, but the mere fact of so short a course practically prohibits the average student from undertaking advanced studies in special subjects. The number who do so falls admittedly below the needs of the schools. So far back as 1846 it was the intention of the Education Department to provide a normal course of three years, but this ideal has never been realised for any but a small minority of students. The time seems already overdue for establishing a minimum three-years' course, and encouraging the rank and file of students to read for university degrees. Students who are intellectually not up to the university standard should not, as a rule, be admitted to the teaching profession. Further, there are defects of training due to the isolated circumstances of intending teachers. It has been recognised by the Board for many years past, in principle if not in practice, that a system which segregates students for two years in a residential training college tends to develop an unduly narrow and professional outlook. It was, in fact, realisation of this defect which led to the movement for establishing day training colleges attached to a university. For the first time students were privileged to take part in the general social and academic life of a university, where they were brought into touch with teachers who were men of eminence in their subjects, and capable of kindling intellectual enthusiasm, as well as able to secure passes at examinations. Day training colleges have, however, been found wanting in other respects. Apart from the difficulties of students who live at a distance from the college, young people living at home, or in cheap lodgings, do not enjoy the privacy and facilities for uninterrupted study which are afforded in a residential college. Another serious danger which threatens municipal training schemes is the danger of excessive provincialism. It is not good that teachers should have been brought up, educated and trained within a single county or borough, and for this reason some local authorities arrange to draw part of their school staff from outside areas. There is, indeed, no royal road to training so long as higher education is closed to students capable of profiting by it, and the immediate need is for a generous provision of university scholarships. Under an efficient system young people would not be called upon to decide

on a profession, but would pass on as a matter of course from the preparatory school to the secondary school, and from thence on to the university, intending teachers mixing freely at every stage with students of all types. The training college would be reserved to graduates who required a period of professional training at the end of the academic course. It is the survival of the old pernicious doctrine that elementary education is a special kind of education designed for the children of a particular class which is the root of all trouble. The training of elementary school teachers should, in fact, not differ substantially from that of secondary school teachers, who are already largely drawn from the universities. It is a condition of progress that the student of to-day shall be trained so as to teach in the school of to-morrow.

TEACHERS' SALARIES.—In comparing the various hindrances to a proper supply of teachers, the Board has expressed its opinion that by far the most important and fundamental of these have arisen from insufficient ultimate prospects. The slight increase in the number of candidates since 1919 is principally attributed to the fact that "substantial progress has been made in the direction of improving these prospects by the provision of more adequate salaries, and better pensions and disablement allowances." A Standing Joint Committee, composed of representatives of the various associations of local education committees on one side and of the National Union of Teachers on the other side, was appointed in 1919 under the chairmanship of Lord Burnham. A national agreement was drawn up, prescribing scales of salaries for elementary school teachers, which was unanimously adopted by the Committee and approved by the Board. These scales are as follows:—

Scales for Certificated Assistant Teachers (Two Years College Trained) in Elementary Schools:—

Scales.	MEN,			WOMEN,		
	Minimum.	Annual Increment.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Annual Increment.	Maximum.
	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.
Standard Scale I. ...	172 10	12 10	325 0	160 0	12 10	260 0
Standard Scale II. ...	172 10	12 10	340 0	160 0	12 10	272 0
Standard Scale III.	182 10	12 10	380 0	170 0	12 10	304 0
Standard Scale IV.	200 0	12 10	425 0	187 10	12 10	340 0

Scales for Uncertificated Assistant Teachers in Elementary Schools:—

Scales.	MEN.				WOMEN.			
	Minimum.	Annual Increment.	Maximum.		Minimum.	Annual Increment.	Maximum.	
			Ap- pointed on or after 1st April, 1914.	Ap- pointed before 1st April, 1914.			Ap- pointed on or after 1st April, 1914.	Ap- pointed before 1st April, 1914.
	£ s.	£ s.	£	£	£	£ s.	£	£
Standard Scales I. & II.	103 10	7 10	160	204	96	7 10	150	164
Standard Scale III. ...	109 10	7 10	180	228	102	7 10	160	182
Standard Scale IV. ...	120 0	7 10	200	255	112	7 10	170	204

The scales vary according to the district, Scale I. relating to rural areas, and Scale IV. to London and the extra metropolitan areas. Certificated teachers who have completed a three-years' course of training, or are university graduates, receive one increment in addition, or two increments in the case of four-year students. An assistant teacher who is appointed as head teacher, or a head teacher who is promoted to a higher grade school, retains his or her existing salary, and receives in addition a "promotion increment" of £20-£25 for men and £15-£20 for women. The maxima for head teachers vary again with the size of the school, Grade I. including schools with not over 100 pupils, and Grade V. schools with over 500 pupils.

Maxima for Head Teachers in Elementary Schools:—

Scales.	GRADE I.		GRADE II.		GRADE III.		GRADE IV.		GRADE V.	
	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Standard Scale II....	374	300	408	328	442	356	476	384	510	412
Standard Scale III.	418	335	456	366	494	397	532	428	570	459
Standard Scale IV.	467½	374	510	408	552½	442	595	476	637½	510

Corresponding scales were drawn up by a second Standing Joint Committee for teachers in "grant-aided" secondary schools, viz. :—

Scales for Assistant Teachers in Secondary Schools:—

	<i>Men.</i>	<i>Women.</i>
Graduate assistant teachers	£240—£500	£225—£400
Non-graduate assistant teachers	£190—£400	£177 10s.—£320

In the case of secondary school teachers, there is an addition of £50 for men, and about £40 for women, who are employed in and about the London area, and certain other additions for teachers with special qualifications. Owing to the variety in the type of school and differing local conditions, there is no fixed scale of salaries for head teachers in secondary schools, but it was agreed by the Committee that the minimum commencing salary should be £600 for a head master and £500 for a head mistress.

Teachers were notoriously underpaid before the war, and the new scales when agreed did little more than compensate the rise in the cost of living. The scales were, in fact, only accepted by the teachers' side of the Standing Joint Committee in the expectation of an immediate fall in prices, and it was agreed by the Committee, with the approval of the Board, that salaries should not be revised until September, 1925. It would be in the highest degree unfortunate should the new economies to be effected by the Board now hinder in any way local authorities from observing their part of the agreement. Not merely a grave injustice would be done to the present generation of teachers, but so gross a breach of faith would have disastrous and far-reaching effects on recruiting.

The Departmental Committee on Teachers' Salaries which considered the question of "equal pay" for men and women teachers rejected the proposal as impracticable. The Committee took the view that a salary which would attract a woman would not necessarily attract a man with similar qualifications, owing largely to the fact that, under existing social and fiscal conditions, financial liabilities fall on a man in connection with his family which do not fall on a woman to the same extent, and that a difference between the scales of men's and women's salaries is inevitable. The War Cabinet Committee on Women in Industry, after considering this report, advised that, "in order to maintain the principle of 'equal pay for equal work' where it is essential to employ men and women of the same grade and capacity, but where equal pay will not attract the same grade, it may be necessary for the State to counteract the difference of attractiveness by a payment for the services rendered to the State in connection with the continuance of the race, or, in other words, by the payment of children's allowances to married men." It seems worth while to give the proposal a trial, provided that women's salaries are levelled up to the men's standard, and not men's salaries levelled down to the women's standard. It is, however, important that local authorities should be under no temptation to prefer unmarried teachers. For this reason the whole of the additional cost of the children's allowances should be borne by the Treasury. The practice of discharging women teachers on marriage, though admittedly fit for their work, has been universally condemned by women teachers and all women's organisations as socially unjust and economically unsound. It cannot be urged too strongly that this practice should be discontinued, and women teachers receive the same allowances as men for dependent children.

The Regulation of Children's Employment.

RESTRICTIONS ON EMPLOYMENT.—Children's employment is regulated under the Factory Acts, and by various special legislation. Under the Women, Young Persons and Children's Act (1920), a child under 14 may not be employed in "an industrial undertaking." The latter term covers mines and quarries, factories and workshops, works of construction and transport, excepting transport by hand. Further, children's employment is restricted by the law of school attendance, and local education authorities have wide powers of regulating conditions for children of school age not coming under special industrial legislation. Under the Employment of Children Act (1903), the local authority may prescribe for children employed in any occupation the age below which employment is illegal, the hours between which employment is illegal, the maximum number of hours to be worked per day or per week, or may prohibit employment in a specified occupation. There are certain statutory requirements. A child under 12 may not be employed for longer than two hours on Sunday, or for longer than one hour before and one hour after school on any day when he is required to attend school. Also, a child under 14 must not be employed between the hours of 8 a.m. and 6 p.m., or in street trading, or in public performances without a licence from the local authority. It is these statutory requirements which form the basis of local bye-laws, but local authorities may exercise a wide discretion over and above the statutory minimum. In London and in most large towns, local authorities have used their powers to prohibit children's employment in the sale or delivery of intoxicants, in lathering or similar processes in barbers' shops, and have taken advantage of their option to prohibit street trading for girls up to 16. Children's employment is prohibited in different localities, in such various occupations as billiards or bagatelle marking, the sale of programmes or shifting of machinery in theatres and cinemas, working in hotel and restaurant kitchens, acting as messenger, tout, or agent to bookmakers, soliciting for the letting of apartments, sorting rags or refuse, and cleaning door-steps.

The weakness of the Employment of Children's Act lies in its mainly permissive character. Backward local authorities, not only neglect to make suitable bye-laws, but seem unable to enforce such legal restrictions as exist. Moreover, the reports of school medical officers reveal that any employment out of school hours, beyond the lightest errand work, tends to impair the child's physical development. The obvious remedy would be that a child under 14 should be unconditionally prohibited by law from employment for wages. The simplicity of such an enactment would give it the further advantage of being comparatively easy to enforce. During a recent revision of local bye-laws by the L.C.C., some members interested in education brought forward a proposal to the effect that "a child shall not be employed on any day when the school is open," but the motion was defeated by the reactionary parties. It has not been

clearly established in the courts that local authorities have power to make a general order prohibiting children's employment, but they may achieve practically the same result by prescribing the strictest limits to employment, and by a rigid enforcement of bye-laws.

The need for raising the age of school attendance, and for abolishing labour certificates in the case of children under 14, have been discussed in a previous chapter.

CHOICE OF EMPLOYMENT.—Under the Choice of Employment Act, 1910, local education authorities have power "to make arrangements, subject to the approval of the Board of Education, for giving boys and girls under 18 years of age assistance with respect to the choice of suitable employment, by means of the collecting and communicating of information and the furnishing of advice." About 600,000 boys and girls leave the public elementary schools each year, and of these a large and increasing number seek help, either from local employment committees acting as sub-committees of the local education authority, or from juvenile advisory committees appointed by the Ministry of Labour. Unfortunately, however, the existence of this dual authority has led to conflicts between the Ministry of Labour and local authorities, which have seriously jeopardised the success of the service. Young people between 14 and 18 are in a period midway between the educational life of the child and the industrial life of the adult. It is necessary to consider their interests from both points of view, and the alternative is, either a system of local administration by local education committees, reinforced by assistance from the Ministry of Labour, or a centralised system where the Ministry of Labour is the supreme authority, acting in co-operation with local education committees. Following the Chelmsford Report, the most recent proposal is that local education authorities should within a specified period declare, whether or not, they will undertake in their areas the duties under the Choice of Employment Act. If a local authority decides not to act, then the Minister of Labour can, and presumably will, take action instead. The policy is that there should be an organisation of some kind in each area, but it has always been recognised by the authorities on both sides that "the employment of juveniles should be primarily considered from the point of view of their educational interests and permanent careers rather than from that of their immediate earning capacities." Local education authorities neglect a great opportunity who do not make efficient use of their powers under the Choice of Employment Act.

UNEMPLOYMENT.—"When there is unemployment among adults," the Labour Party has laid it down as a general principle, "the entry of juvenile workers into industry should, as far as possible be arrested, provision being made by means of adequate system of maintenance allowances to prevent the family suffering from loss of earnings." The opposite effect has, however, been achieved by the policy of the present Government in holding up the Education Act

of 1918 regardless of the growing volume of unemployment. It is a common practice among employers in some industries deliberately to discharge adult men or women in preference to young people who are content with low wages. The Labour Party proposes that powers of emergency should be conferred on local authorities to raise whole-time school age from 14 to 15 (this being the highest age-limit under the Education Act of 1918), at times of acute unemployment in their areas. Further, local authorities should open special training centres, and provide suitable instruction and maintenance for unemployed young people.

The Cost of Education.

Precise figures as to the actual expenditure on education from central and local funds are not available for any recent year. The following summary figures are computed from the published estimates of the Board of Education and the local education authorities as to their expenditure in the year ending March, 1922. They are, of course, approximate only.

ESTIMATED PUBLIC EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES IN THE FINANCIAL YEAR ENDING MARCH 31ST, 1922.

A.—Elementary Education.

1. Net Expenditure of Local Education Authorities :

(a) Salaries of teachers	...	...	£43,795,000
(b) Other expenditure	...	...	£19,853,000
Total	...	...	£63,648,000
2. Grants from the Board to Local Education Authorities :
£36,900,000
3. Grants from the Board to other Bodies : £98,000

B.—Higher Education.

(Including Secondary Schools, Technical Schools, Training Colleges, etc., but not Universities).

1. Net Expenditure of Local Education Authorities £13,469,000
2. Grants from the Board to Local Education Authorities £6,647,000
3. Grants from the Board to other Bodies ... £2,130,500

C.—Total of A and B.

1. Total Net Expenditure of Local Education Authorities £77,117,000
2. Grants from the Board to Local Education Authorities £43,547,000
3. Other Grants to Local Education Authorities (Local Taxation Grants, etc.) £950,000
4. Difference to be met by Local Education Authorities from rates £32,620,000

D.—*Other National Expenditure on Education.*

1. Pensions to Teachers	£1,575,000
2. Grants to Students—ex-Service Students ...	£2,248,000
Other Students	£192,000
3. Expenditure on Universities	£1,500,000
4. Other Expenditure by the Board (Museums, Administration, etc.)... ..	£722,000

E.—*Total Public Expenditure on Education.*

	1913-14.	1921-22.
1. Grants from the National Ex- chequer	£15,320,000	£53,400,000
2. Local Rates	£16,190,000	£32,600,000
Total Local and National Ex- penditure	£31,510,000*	£86,000,000

* Actual expenditure.

Between the years 1913-14 and 1921-1922 there was an increase of 168 per cent. in the total sum of public expenditure on education. The rise is most acutely marked in the amount of national grants, the national exchequer bearing at present a substantially greater proportion of the total expenditure than before the war, but the figures taken as a whole do not represent an excessive rate of advance. They err rather on the side of moderation. Apart from special items of expenditure in the estimates for 1921-1922, such as provision for ex-service students, and a fall of at least 100 per cent. in the value of money, there has to be taken into account the necessities of growth in an undeveloped but vital public service. Broadly speaking, it is true to say that the progress of a nation in civilisation may be measured by the sum of its expenditure on education.

The primary need of the moment, Mr. Fisher has told us, is the multiplication of secondary schools. The Labour Party scheme, put forward as "a basis of reasonable development," would involve a net additional expenditure of about £15,000,000 per annum. This estimate, which takes into account the corresponding saving on elementary schools, would cover the abolition of fees in grant-aided secondary schools, places for at least 20 children between 11 and 16 for every thousand of the general population, and maintenance grants for children over 14. The immediate cost would be a comparatively small one, and there is no better time than to-day to undertake this and other schemes entailing the building or rebuilding of schools. There are at the time of writing as many as 150,000 building operatives out of work, and at least a part of the outlay on building would be compensated by a corresponding saving of public money on unemployment benefit and poor law relief. For this reason building schemes undertaken immediately

should be generously financed by the Treasury. Nor is it desirable on other grounds that fresh burdens should be thrown on local rates, which are so high in some poor localities that local authorities find their best activities paralysed. Not merely "the poor pay for the poor" in working class areas, but rents have been forced up to a point which practically prohibits the provision of decent working-class dwellings. Under the present rating system, local rates amount virtually to a single tax on housing, which presses necessarily more heavily on the poor man than on the rich man, and with the utmost severity on large families. A further rise in local rates would be the cause of grave injustice and hardship to hundreds of thousands of poor tenants. There is an overwhelming case that further expenditure on education should be met by increased grants from the national exchequer. The London Labour Party has proposed that at least 75 per cent. of the cost of education should be borne by the Treasury, and the proportion seems a fair one. In respect of measures directly undertaken for the relief of unemployment, the proportion of national expenditure should not be less than 90 per cent.

For the time being, however, forces of reaction are paramount in Parliament. "Education," Lord Inchcape has told us, "is an excellent thing in its way, but there is a limit to its economic usefulness." Hence, the Geddes Economy Committee, of which Lord Inchcape is a member, advises the Government to cut down the education estimates for the coming year by no less a sum than £16,000,000, or nearly one-third of the total national expenditure on education. The Committee makes no attempt to discriminate between one public service and another, and would cut down the education estimates by about the same proportionate amount as the swollen army estimates. Its members view apparently with complacency the total exclusion from school of children under 6 regardless of home convenience, enlarging the average size of classes in elementary schools to 50 or 60 pupils, a drastic curtailment of the school health services, a breakdown of the scholarship system, so that the number of children who now pass from the elementary school to the secondary school or to the university would be still further diminished, together with the wholesale discharge of teachers and a general reduction of salaries contrary to the "Burnham" agreements. And this saving of money on public education the Committee proposes to devote to the purpose of relieving taxation on private incomes. In short, the business man's idea of national economy is to shift the burden of paying for the war from off his own broad back on to the shoulders of the poor man's child!

The signs of unexpected public indignation at the ruthless attack on the people's education, together with the prospect of a general election, seem to have had their influence on the Government, which has rejected the more sensational of the Geddes proposals. The reductions foreshadowed in the education estimates for

1922-1923 do not exceed £6,000,000. The outlook is nevertheless a sufficiently grave one. Working-class opinion has so far been conciliated that children between 5 and 6 are not to be excluded from school without their parents' consent, but there are to be economies where staffing is on a lavish scale, and a number of teachers are to be discharged. This method of economy is preferred by the Government to a reduction of teachers' salaries. Pensions are to be placed on a new contributory basis, but the Burnham scales are to be maintained intact. In spite of unemployment, school feeding must be kept within normal limits, and necessitous children referred to the Poor Law. Similarly, the quality of entrants into secondary schools is to be narrowly watched, and there is practically an end to progress. The general policy of the Board is, however, not to make specific proposals for cutting down of this or that branch of the educational services, but to ration local authorities up to a fixed maximum grant in aid of local expenditure. The policy of percentage grants which was condemned by the Geddes Committee as a "money-spending" device, has been referred by the Government to a separate committee for further consideration, but seems in effect to have been already abandoned. Local authorities will be obliged either to cut down their expenditure or else to raise local rates, and so spare the taxpayer at the expense of the rate-payer.

There is, of course, a limit to "economic usefulness," in education as in everything else. It is a question of degree, and the first step towards a sound system of economy is a proper sense of economic values. The product of education is "brains," which from the most commercial point of view are the nation's most valuable asset. To save on education, while vast sums are spent on less "excellent" things, such as tobacco, drink, or armaments, which are not conspicuous for "economic usefulness," or money is lavished on mere wanton luxury, this is not economy but waste.

The business man has, however, his own axe to grind, and he is not such a fool as he seems. The manner of his attack on the workers' education and his desperate anxiety to thrust it back within the old limitations "suited to the conditions of workmen and servants," suggests, indeed, that he appreciates its significance for himself, not too little, but too well. Education is a double-edged tool. It makes good servants but bad slaves, and capital is afraid of losing its hold over labour. It is possible that a reactionary Government may succeed in cutting down the people's education so that the effects would be felt for a generation or longer, but this is not the political broom which will sweep back the rising tide of democracy. For men do not wait to seize power merely because they may not be "fit to govern." The danger which threatens democracy is that radical social and economic changes may take place unaccompanied by a forward movement in the schools.

SUMMARY OF PROPOSALS.

I. School Premises.—Local authorities should proceed at once with their schemes for the building or rebuilding of schools in accordance with the Board's Building Regulations and the requirements of the Education Act of 1918. These schemes should make provision for a proper number of nursery schools and for increasing the number of secondary schools. The provision for building in the coming year should be at least equivalent to the average achievement in the five years before the war.

II. School Attendance.—Pending the operation of the Education Act of 1918, local education committees should enforce whole-time school attendance for children between 5 and 14, and the higher age-limit should be raised to 15 as soon as the new Act comes into force. Nursery schools, or nursery classes, should be available for children between 2 and 5, but a certain option should be allowed to parents as regards the attendance of children under 7. Local authorities should forestall action on the part of the Board of Education and invite young people between 14 and 16 to attend continuation classes for at least 320 hours per year, or offer them an equivalent in some other and better form of secondary education.

III. The Scope of Elementary Education.—As regards children under 11 the curriculum should be framed in accordance with the Board's Code of Regulations. For children over 11, there should be provided advanced courses of instruction of the type generally associated with secondary education. It should be the ultimate goal of local education committees that all children of normal intelligence should pass as a matter of course from the elementary school to one type or other of secondary school about the age of 11. Provision should, however, be available for late developers up to the age of 14.

IV. The Scope of Secondary Education.—Local authorities should immediately provide secondary school accommodation for at least 20 children between 11 and 16 for every thousand of the general population in their areas, the number of places being increased each year until all children of normal intelligence are provided for. Meanwhile, continuation classes and higher elementary schools should be developed so far as possible on the lines of true secondary education, and vocational subjects should not be taught to children under 16. Students' fees in grant-aided secondary schools should be abolished, and adequate maintenance grants provided for children over 14.

V. Miscellaneous Provisions.—(1) The size of classes in elementary schools should approximate so far as possible to the standard of secondary schools and be limited to 30 pupils. (2) Special classes

should be arranged for backward children, and instruction in their case given a practical bias. (3) Playing-fields should be enlarged and public parks opened so as to encourage children in physical exercises and organised games. (4) Increased attention should be paid to school libraries and pictures. (5) The prefect system should be encouraged in senior departments. (6) Increased facilities should be given for school journeys and visits to places of educational value and interest.

VI. The Supply of Teachers.—The supply of teachers may be encouraged (*a*) by increasing the facilities for training, and (*b*) by improving the ultimate prospects of the profession. Training schemes should provide for full-time secondary education up to 18 and a three years' course in a training college, or preferably at a university, to be followed by a period of professional training. Teachers should be assured against any breach of the agreements of the Standing Joint Committee in respect of salaries, and the present scales should be gradually raised so as to compare not unfavourably with earnings in other learned professions. The Standing Joint Committee should consider a proposal for "equal pay" to men and women teachers, to be supplemented by children's allowances.

VII. The Regulation of Children's Employment.—Pending an amendment of the law so as to prohibit children under 14 from employment for wages, local education authorities should make bye-laws restricting children's employment within the narrowest limits, and in every area should make efficient use of their powers under the Choice of Employment Act. At times of acute unemployment local authorities should be given power to raise school age from 14 to 15, while suitable training with maintenance should be provided for unemployed young people.

VIII. The Cost of Education.—The burden of fresh expenditure in order to meet the growing needs of education should not be thrown on local rates, but met by additional grants from the national exchequer. At least 75 per cent. of the total public expenditure on education should be borne by the Treasury, the proportion being raised to 90 per cent. in respect of measures undertaken for the relief of unemployment.

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