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AN ENQUIRY

INTO THE PRESENT STATE OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

Thesis presented for the Degree of M.Ed. at the University of Durham by

E.L.CLARKE M.A.(Cantab.)

1935

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INTRODUCTION.

Both in scope and in method my treatment of the subject is perhaps unusual in a thesis of this kind. It is extensive rather than intensive, and synthetical rather than analytical. Much intensive work has been done recently in various branches of this subject: I have tried, using all the recent researches, to get a picture of the whole problem. That way my interests lay, and that way, it seemed, was the only way to assess the importance of certain fundamentals which are common to all or nearly all branches of the subject. I am enquiring, then, rather into the causes than into the amount of inequality of opportunity. In some parts, however, where reliable information seemed to be lacking, I have obtained figures for myself, and these figures have played a considerable part in determining my line of argument in the main theme, which is the relationship between the State, the family and the child in the matter of equality of opportunity in education.

This study is, therefore, essentially comparative. I have seldom concerned myself with the total opportunities available, but always with the distribution of the opportunities available between the children who might claim them.

But the size of the subject compelled further limitations. I have, first, confined myself chiefly in particular instances to boys, though much of what I say applies

equally to girls, and I have not made comparisons between boys' and girls' opportunities. Secondly, I am writing about the educational 'ladder' in the usual sense, the progress from elementary school to secondary school and university. I begin with the elementary school, and I leave untouched the whole subject of comparison of the opportunities offered by the secondary schools with those offered to the less clever children in other forms of education after eleven plus. ~~between those children who do and those who do not go to secondary schools.~~ At present more money is spent on the cleverer children. I recommend nothing which would make this less so, but I do not thus subscribe to the belief that this state of affairs is justifiable.

I do not think it possible completely to separate educational from social topics, since education is an aspect of society: while I have tried in general to confine myself to topics strictly educational, I have had occasionally to go outside this limit.

The historical part is long, but not more than is necessary for the main theme, and it is strictly subordinate to the main theme, in that its purpose is to show the existence of certain tendencies at the present time by tracing their operation in the past.

hen speaking of the 'State' in English education, I mean the State working through the Local Authorities as well as the central government. I use the term 'private schools' in the official sense to mean all schools not controlled or aided by the State; many of the Public Schools therefore come under this heading. In the few

cases where I have used the term in the narrower sense of schools managed for private profit or 'private adventure' schools, I have indicated the change of meaning.

By 'equality of opportunity' I mean, not that there are opportunities for all children to have the same kind of education, but a state of affairs in which such educational opportunities as there are are distributed according to the needs and deserts of the children without respect to wealth, birth, geography, or other extraneous considerations. In some cases, however, equalisation of opportunity may necessitate the provision of more opportunities than there are at present.

The suggestions which I make in Part III are not intended to form a consistent whole. Some of the immediate reforms in administration might be made unnecessary by larger reforms of policy.

PART I.

HISTORICAL.

L. THE PERIOD OF DOMINANT CHURCH INFLUENCE.

1. The Middle Ages.

Before the fifteenth century, when trade began to break up the mediaeval system, there were, apart from apprenticeship, which is not of importance here, two main streams of education in England. One, provided in the homes of the nobility, educated the sons and daughters of the nobles; the other, provided by the Church, aimed at the education of clerics. The former, preparing boys for a life of fighting and ruling, and girls for the duties of a noble's wife, treated book-learning as of secondary account, if it bothered with it at all; the latter concentrated on reading, writing and Latin as the tools of a churchman's occupation. Both, that is, were vocational; they prepared directly for occupation, and not, in the modern phrase, 'for life'. Yet, even in this, the resemblance does not go deep.

The nobles thought mainly of the raw material of education. For them the prime consideration was not whether a boy was likely to make a successful ruler, but whether he belonged to the ruling class. If he did, they would make the best of him; if not, they were not concerned with him. They were educating a class (1). The clergy also constituted a

(1) A SHORT HISTORY OF EDUCATION. J.W. Adamson. Cambridge, 1922. Page 52. "A castle in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries was amongst other things a place of education for boys and girls belonging to the socially prominent class...."

class, but because, in all cases officially and in most cases actually, the clergy were unmarried,(2) they were not a hereditary class. Each generation must be recruited afresh from outside. The clergy, therefore, thought mainly of the product of education. Education, to them, was not primarily a charity but a necessity. The Church's system of schools, attached to cathedrals, chantries, churches and monasteries all over the country, and including foundations like Winchester, existed, not to give education to the people, but to train a class of clerks, who were essential to the carrying on both of the Church itself and of government, as well as acting as lawyers and doctors (1). It seems that, for this purpose, hampered by no family ties, the Church took talent and willingness wherever it could find them, except perhaps from the serfs, whose legal position made it difficult for them to leave the land.

References in certain mediaeval school charters, notably that of Winchester, to the 'indigentes et pauperes' for whom the school was to make provision have led to a controversy as to who these poor scholars were. While it would be unsafe to take the extreme position that the very lowest classes

(1) Adamson, op. cit. page 12. "the ultimate purpose of the Church's educational scheme was the study of 'divine letters'". See also E.P.Cubberley, HISTORY OF EDUCATION, page 172, where he discusses the purpose of the outside departments of the Church schools. In general, the Church schools "were intended to meet the needs of an institution rather than of a people, and to prepare those who studied in them for service to that institution."

(2) This applies only to the period after the Norman Conquest, and imperfectly for some time even then.

of the community had good chances of education in the Church schools, it seems safe to say, with Dr.Norwood, that Wykeham "comtemplated a mixture of classes, and a career opendd to talent of whatever origin. (1) There is evidence that Winchester was no exception in this (2), and that "The schools of the period under review served an intellectual rather than a social class....That poor boys of ability were offered all the advantages which the schools could offer is matter of common knowledge. (3) The universities were recruited chiefly from the Church schools, and were themselves under Church control, and they were full of men, who, like Chaucer's Clerk of Oxenford, were poor but very keen on learning. Many examples could be given of men who, like Adrian IV, Wolsey and Cranmer, rose from humble origins to the highest positions in the state through the Church schools.

We may say, then, that the mediaeval Church, within the limited scope of its educational system, preserved a fair amount of equality of op ortunity, while the noble families restricted opportunity in their system to those of certain birth. In view of what came afterwards, it is worth noting that, first, the noble families did not want the kind

(1) THE ENGLISH TRADITION OF EDUCATION. 1929. John Murray. Page 11.
(2) Adamson, op.cit. Page 60. "But in its aims and methods and in the intentions of its founder, the school was not different from a number of much humbler foundations belonging to the mediaeval period."
(3) Ibid. Page 76.

of education which the Church provided, except in the comparatively few cases where those of noble family entered religion, and therefore they had little temptation to pervert that education to their own ends: secondly, the clergy, being unmarried, had no temptation to sacrifice equality to the claims of family. Both these statements could be qualified, in that many of the clergy had children, and in that those of noble birth may have found it easier to rise high in the Church than the poor; but they serve to indicate two reasons for the maintenance of such equality of opportunity as there was.

2. The Break-up of the Mediaeval System. The Reformation.

After the thirteenth century the question of motive in English education becomes very obscure. There seem to have been three main tendencies, all connected and often conflicting.

First, the demand by individuals for education increased rapidly, owing to the growth of trade, to the new humanism which made Latin of value apart from the Church, and to the democratisation of religion which was a result of the Reformation (1).

Secondly, the growing insufficiency of the old feudal education led the nobility to look for schools.

Thirdly, although the increased facilities for education which resulted from the increased demand made the provision

(1). I mean by this, not that high place in the Church became more open, but that since the responsibility in religion was thrown more on the individual, education became more necessary.

of skilled ecclesiastics a less pressing matter, the reformed Church depended more on an educated laity.

To meet these demands there arose, before 1500, large numbers of schools of various types attached to chantries (1), a number of 'private adventure' schools (2), and many of the so-called grammar schools, which were in part Church schools and in part provided by gilds or municipalities (3). After the plunder of the Reformation there was considerable re-foundation, partly by Edward VI (though these, according to Leach, were largely nominal), partly by wealthy and charitable individuals. "The wealthy merchants of London....rose to the occasion; and they form the most numerous group of such 'founders'... To restore the local grammar school became the fashion.... yeomen, gentlemen, and nobles vied with royalty and the Church in showing their zeal for learning."(4) As a result, in 1546, according to Leach's estimate, there was one grammar school for every 8,300 people.(5) Another estimate gives one for every 12,500 in 1600, as compared with one for every 23,750 in 1864 (6).

(1) Adamson, op.cit.,page 85. Also J.H.Brown, ELIZABETHAN SCHOOLDAYS, Blackwell, 1933, page 3.
(2) Adamson, op.cit.,page 77ff.
(3) ENGLISH SCHOOLS AT THE REFORMATION. A.F.Leach. Constable, 1896. Page 5, where he states that nearly 200 grammar schools can be shown to have existed before Edward VI.
(4) Brown, op.cit.,page 4-5
(5) Leach, op.cit.,page 99.
(6) Brown, op.cit.,page 7-8.

It is difficult to generalise as to the class for which the schools were intended. Many of the chantry schools provided elementary education available for the poor, but these seem to have been hard hit at the Reformation (1). Not all the grammar schools were free, and in those which were nominally free there were often entrance fees and extras such as books, candles, etc, which would make such education impossible for the very poor (2). Leach thinks that the grammar schools were intended for the 'relatively poor'. "it was the middle classes, whether country or town, the younger sons of the nobility and farmers, the lesser landholders, the prosperous tradesmen, who created a demand for education, and furnished the occupants of Grammar Schools."(3) There is also evidence of the existence of 'petty' schools, used sometimes as preparatory departments for grammar schools, but also as elementary schools for the poor (4). We may see in this the beginning of the idea of providing different types of school for different classes of the population, but it is only a beginning. In the sixteenth century, in the grammar schools at least, there seems to have been considerable mixing of classes, more perhaps than at any time since until the present century. Even if the very poor had little chance, the sons of the local tradesmen and of the minor nobility went to school together (5). Mr Brown says that

(1).Leach, op.cit.,page 96.
(2) Ibid, page 113-4. Also Brown, op.cit., pages 47-53, and Adamson, op.cit, page 120 (the St.Paul's arrangements).
(3) Op.cit.,page 109.
(4) Adamson, op.cit., page 152.
(5) Brown, op.cit., page 38.

"Such restrictions as existed were therefore concerned with age, scholarship, and locality rather than with the social position or economic standing of the parents."(1) When we consider that at many of the grammar and chantry schools tuition at least was free, it seems probable that the fifteenth and sixteenth century founders, in general, aimed rather at ensuring an educated class of people than at giving education to any particular class.(I discuss later the great nineteenth century foundations, where the opposite seems to be the case.)The mediaeval emphasis on the product of education seems to have lasted into the sixteenth century. Under the Canons of 1571 special encouragement was to be given to those "who by native ~~ability~~ genius and progress in letters promise to become fitted for the public service or the sacred ministry, that parents may be more freely induced by such promise to educate their children in letters."(2) It was still necessary to ensure a good supply of learned people by flinging the net wide; and the greatest need seems still to have been that of the Church. Education remained under episcopal control (3). After the Reformation religion was the most burning public question for a century and more. The intentions of school founders, even of schools so un-clerical as St Paul's, seem to have been predominantly religious(4). We may, then, I think,

(1) Brown, op.cit., page 39.
(2) Quoted in Adamson, op.cit., page 139.
(3)Ibid.
(4) Brown, op.cit., page 9-10.

connect the preservation of a considerable amount of equality in education through the Reformation period with the continued need, especially of the reformed Church, for learned men.

But there were at the same time forces working against equality. The Church of England, unlike the mediaeval Church, was not universal. In Elizabeth's time the Catholics began to go for their education overseas (1), and a century later the Clarendon Code forced the non-conformists to found separate schools (2). As the condition of social flux which was typical of the sixteenth century began to give way to a more settled state of society, class distinctions reflected themselves more in education. The process seems to have begun at the universtiies quite early. Adamson speaks of the "presence in the universities of young men of wealth and birth in increasing numbers and the concurrent falling-off in the number of senior residents and poor students, which marked the middle of the century," and says that the universities "tended more and more to become places of education rather than organisations for the advancement of professional instruction, such as they had been in their origin."(3) At some of the grammar schools the same tendency was apparent, notably at Eton, and at King's School Canterbury where in 1540 some of the electors proposed to

(1) Adamson, op.cit., page 150.
(2) Ibid, page 191-2.
(3) Ibid, page 148-9.

elect only sons or younger brothers of gentlemen (1). This proposal was defeated, but that the same thing was fairly frequent seems to be shown by a passage quoted by Mr Brown from Harrison's DESCRIPTION OF ENGLAND (c. 1577). "In some grammar schools...it is lamentable to see what bribery is used...that poor men's children are commonly shut out and the richer sort received, who in times past thought it dishonour to live as it were upon alms."(2)

The 'richer sort', apparently, having failed to form Academies of their own, resorted either to private tutors or to the schools and universities which had been intended for another purpose. The activity of grammar school life, and the number of new foundations (3) in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries seem to show that the tendency to arrange education on a basis of social class made only slow headway; but the forces which made for democracy were weakening. After 1660 the Church of England became more secure and more aristocratic; the classical education of the grammar schools became of less utilitarian value, and so the demand for it fell off. Their statutes forbade their adaptation to new needs; some began to develop into 'Public Schools', others became stagnant.

(1) Adamson, op.cit., page 141
(2) Brown, op.cit., page 41.
(3) See Appendix A. Page 132.

II. THE PERIOD OF DOMINANT FAMILY INFLUENCE.

1. The Eighteenth Century(1660 - 1789).

In contrast to the two dynamic centuries which preceded it, this period was static and can be treated, as far as education is concerned, as a whole. It is generally true of this period that government was in the hands of the great landed families who neither needed nor welcomed recruits; and that the Church was largely stocked from the same families, where it was not actually a hereditary profession, most of the clergy being married. The rising commercial and industrial classes, who provided the dynamic element in the period, relied more and more upon a class of wage-earners. Neither the Church nor society in general had to look widely for talent. There was no longer need of an educational 'ladder'. Under these circumstances family influence seems to have become predominant in education (1).

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the typical form of educational provision was the grammar school. In the eighteenth century foundations of grammar schools fell off rapidly.(2) At the same time there was a great increase

(1) I use the term 'family influence', here and hereafter, in a very wide sense, to mean everything, apart from inborn qualities, which result from a child's being born of some parents rather than of others. It includes, therefore, the influence of 'birth', of wealth, of inherited religion, and of the ideals and willingness to sacrifice of the parents. It does not mean merely unfair influence, or nepotism, though it includes these. It does not reflect upon the rich, though the rich, not because they were more selfish, but because they were rich, were able to provide better for their children than the poor.

(2) See Appendix A. Page 132.

in charity school foundations. Though the movement had perhaps begun under Elizabeth, it spread rapidly after 1660 (1), and by 1727 there were more than 1389 of such schools in England and Wales, teaching over 27,000 children (2). Now, though the chief aim of the founders was still religious, it was based, not on the needs of the Church, but on a religious attitude towards the poor. 'The purpose of the charity schools was 'the education of poor children in the knowledge and practice of the Christian religion as professed and taught in the Church of England' and 'teaching them such other things as are most suitable to their condition.'"(3) This is the negation of the 'ladder' in that the status of the children is determined by the status of the parents. It is, in the modern sense of the word, 'charity' schooling, a term which could not be used of the grammar schools, though they may have been free. The charity school movement declined after the middle of the century, but their tradition was carried on by the Sunday Schools, the Schools of Industry, and the voluntary schools of the early nineteenth century. Thus we can trace back the roots of our elementary school system to the charity schools of the eighteenth century.(4).

(1) Adamson, op.cit., page 197.
(2) Ibid, page 201.
(3) Ibid, page 198, where he quotes from an ACCOUNT OF CHARITY SCHOOLS of the year 1707.
(4) Ibid. 'The combination of private maintenance and public status resulted in that 'voluntary system' which carried on the work of public elementary instruction for the next one hundred and seventy years, while the studies of the charity school made the tradition that 'the three R's' are the typical curriculum of the elementary school and the essential basis of all education.

It was, no doubt, still possible in the eighteenth century for a poor boy of ability and grit to educate himself through the grammar schools, though some of those were becoming the preserve of the aristocracy, and others were decaying. But the universities, which had been the crown of the grammar school course, offered little opportunity to the poor. "In the Middle Ages the nobility had been the exception, middle class students abounded, and the children of the labourer were not unknown. In the course of the eighteenth century, the poor boy came to be regarded as a tolerated addition: he was often a 'servitor', and was bitterly conscious of being among his social superiors."(1)

It is not surprising that 'private adventure' schools increased in number. The non-conformists had to have their own schools, and the middle classes in general patronised private academies, the curriculum of which was more modern than that of the grammar schools (2). At the same time there were many private schools for the poor. Since my object in this Part is to discuss motive in educational provision, in so far as it affects opportunity, I shall not spend much time on these schools. Private schools (in the narrower sense of schools managed for private profit) must arrange themselves on a basis of wealth. They cannot cater for a 'ladder' or for equality of opportunity. Their growth during the eighteenth century shows how inadequate was public provision,

(1) SECONDARY EDUCATION IN THE XIX CENTURY. R.L.Archer, Cambridge, 1932, Page 7.
(2) Adamson, op.cit., pages 230 -232.

and emphasises the horizontal or class nature of general educational provision.

But of public provision it seems possible to generalise to this extent; as the needs of the Church grew less, and as family influence grew stronger, the educational 'ladder' broke down. Not only were the grammar schools, which were the chief supports of the 'ladder', allowed to decay, but such new provision as there was, though it may have spread elementary education more widely than before, was based upon the assumption that certain kinds of education are suitable for certain classes of the population. Thus educational opportunity, not only in fact but in the intentions of those who were concerned for public instruction, varied with the class into which a child was born. Though the total educational provision may have increased, there was less equality of opportunity inside the educational system than there had been earlier.

The distinction between total provision and equality of opportunity becomes more important in the next century, since historians of education have naturally concentrated their attention chiefly on the former.

2. The Period 1789 - 1870.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century appeared two doctrines which were destined to revolutionise education. On the one hand Rousseau and the theorists of the French Revolution proclaimed the equality of all men, which must be reflected in adequate education for all. On the other,

La Chalotais declared education to be a function of the State. It was realised on the continent that these two doctrines were complementary; equality in educati n could best, or could only, be secured through State education. La Chalotais' assertion that the State must teach its own doctrines was not a stumbling-block. In fact it appealed to the 'Benevolent Despots' of Prussia and Austria, and had theoretical support in the writings of the French Revolution and of the Hegelian school. (1)

But in England even the radicals who supported the idea of equality were alienated by the fear of State teaching. In an age of despotism and revolution abroad, this was considered too dangerous to risk. The adherents of educational equality, except for a few individuals like Roebuck, tried to achieve it by other means than the State. The position was further complicated by the Industrial and Agrarian Revolutions. For the wealthy a wage-earning proletariat became necessary, and at the same time dangerous because of its possible 'Jacobinical' tendencies (2). It must not therefore be educated too much. Many ambitious men amongst the poor found scope for their activities in building up businesses, a process which did not need a formal education at all. Since, in addition, the value of education to the technical side of industry was not yet realised, there was little demand for an educational 'ladder'. Again, the theory

(1) For this and the following paragraph in general see Adamson op.cit., pp 209 - 218, and COMPARATIVE EDUCATION, by I.L.Kandel, Harrap, 1933, pp 46 -53.
(2) G.M.Trevelyan, BRITISH HISTORY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, Longmans, 1930 page 162.

of 'laissez faire', erected into a principle of government, led many liberals to oppose any State action on doctrinaire grounds. Finally, the likelihood that a State system of education would be a Church of England system drove non-conformists and others to oppose it.

The total result was that, while continental countries were establishing State systems, in England family influence remained predominant until 1870, though it was assisted by the State after 1833. "Whereas the continental liberal regarded education as a legitimate public service, like that of military defence or the administration of justice, a service whose cost and advantages were shared by all citizens, the majority of responsible Englishmen down to 1870 thought of public education as a gift conferred by the well-to-do and by the country upon the labouring poor."(1)

As in the eighteenth century, the poor continued, in the first half of the nineteenth century, to provide to a certain extent for their own elementary education. It ~~was~~ is estimated, ~~that~~ that in 1835 about one third of the children receiving elementary education were in private schools(2). These schools taught little, and in the existing state of the grammar schools there was practically no outlet for good pupils. Between two-fifths and one half of the children of the working class ~~were~~ are estimated to ~~be~~ have been without schooling.(3)

(1) Adamson, op.cit., page 243.
(2) Ibid, page 286. Here, and in the following passage, I use the term to mean 'private adventure' school.
(3) Ibid, page 288.

The middle and upper classes, that is those who could afford a proper educational provision, continued to support private schools, since the Public Schools were few and of ill repute, and the grammar schools were out of touch with educational needs. Of the private schools, for reasons given above, I shall say nothing. The flow of money for educational provision took, between 1800 and 1870, two chief directions. New secondary schools were founded, and elementary schools were provided for the poor. The character of the latter is well known. Following the tradition of the charity schools, the 'voluntary schools' were religious in tone and charitable in intention, aiming at the education of the poor for a life of labour. To this conception of education the State gave its blessing and financial aid in 1833. In the first grant of that year (1), in the majority opinion of the Newcastle Commissioners (2), in the Code of 1860 (3), it is continually insisted that the State is helping a charity, and even as late as 1886 the Cross Commission was made uneasy by the fact that children of comparatively wealthy parents were attending the elementary schools (4). There is no idea of the 'ladder' here. The children are to be taken from a certain class and to be educated for that class. This was the intention of those who founded our elementary school system.

(1) Adamson, op.cit., page 265.
(2) Ibid, page 305.
(3) Ibid, page 307.
(4) Ibid, page 339.

'ven for the attainment of the objects which it set before itself, the charitable system was not enough. It was estimated in the 'sixties that there were over two million childre n who should have been at school and were not (1). In 1870 the State assumed the chief responsibility, and the Act of that year "completely undermined the belief that the education of the mass of the population was a function of semi-private charity..."(2).

In the case of the new secondary schools, as in that of the 'voluntary schools', it should be possible to discover the ideals of the founders in the type of school which they founded. With this end in view, I examined the foundation dates of the first 500 English and Welsh dated schools listed as secondary in the SCHOOLMASTERS' YEAR BOOK,(3) which includes boys' and mixed schools. This covered roughly half the list, and since the principle of selection was purely alphabetical the results can be relied upon to reveal the main tendencies, as far as the education of boys is concerned. The detailed results are given in Appendix A; from them the following conclusions are drawn. The charts are put in here to illustrate the main arguments.

(a). The rate of foundation of secondary schools (still existing) was greater in the nineteenth than in any preceding century, being more than one-and-a-half times as great as in the sixteenth, the century which most nearly approaches it. Taking into account the growth of population and

(1) Adamson, op.cit., page 309. (2) Ibid, page 312.
(3) THE SCHOOLMASTERS' YEAR BOOK. H.F.W. DEANE. 1930-31.

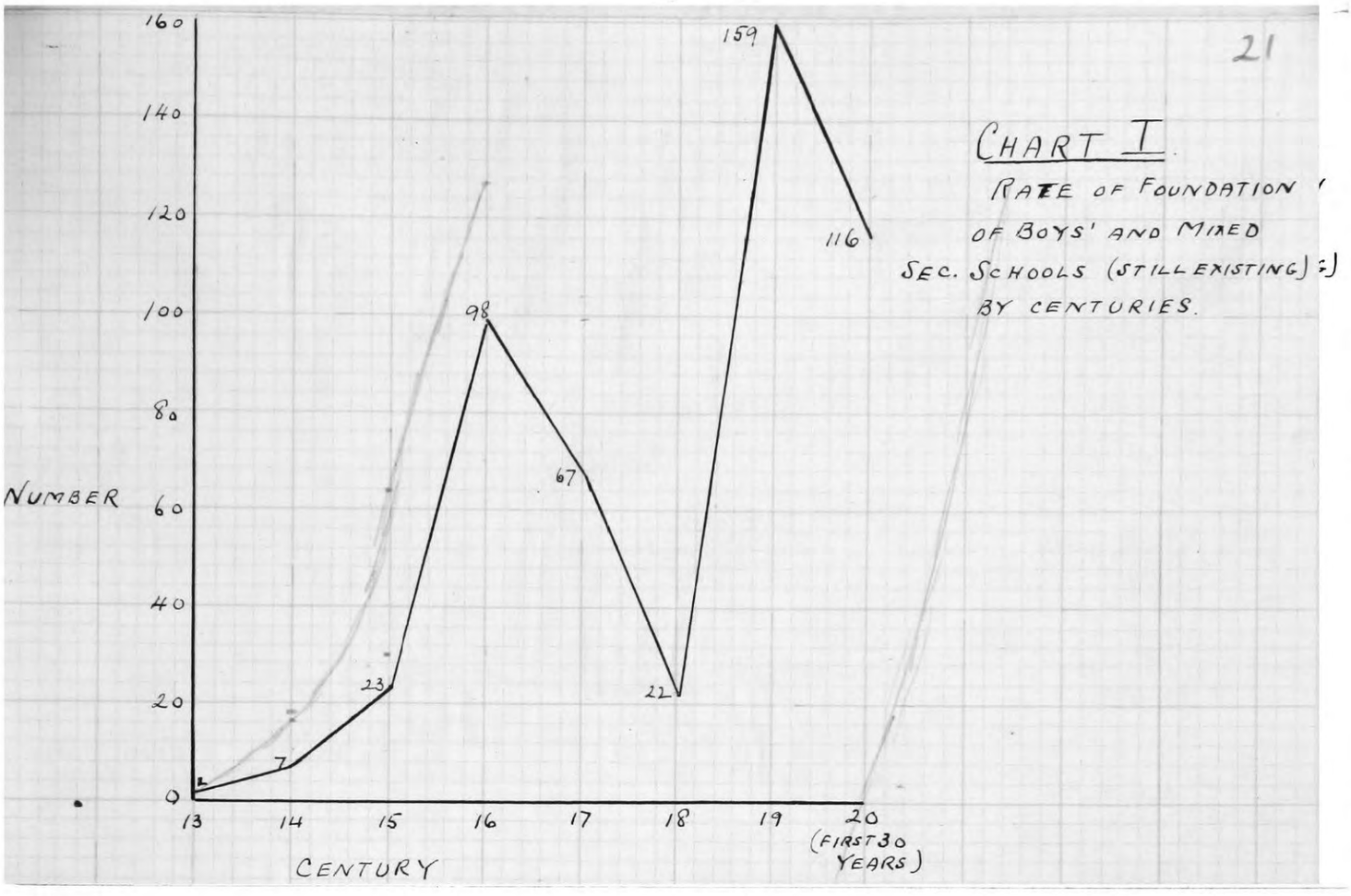


CHART I.

RATE OF FOUNDATION OF BOYS' AND MIXED SEC. SCHOOLS (STILL EXISTING) BY CENTURIES.

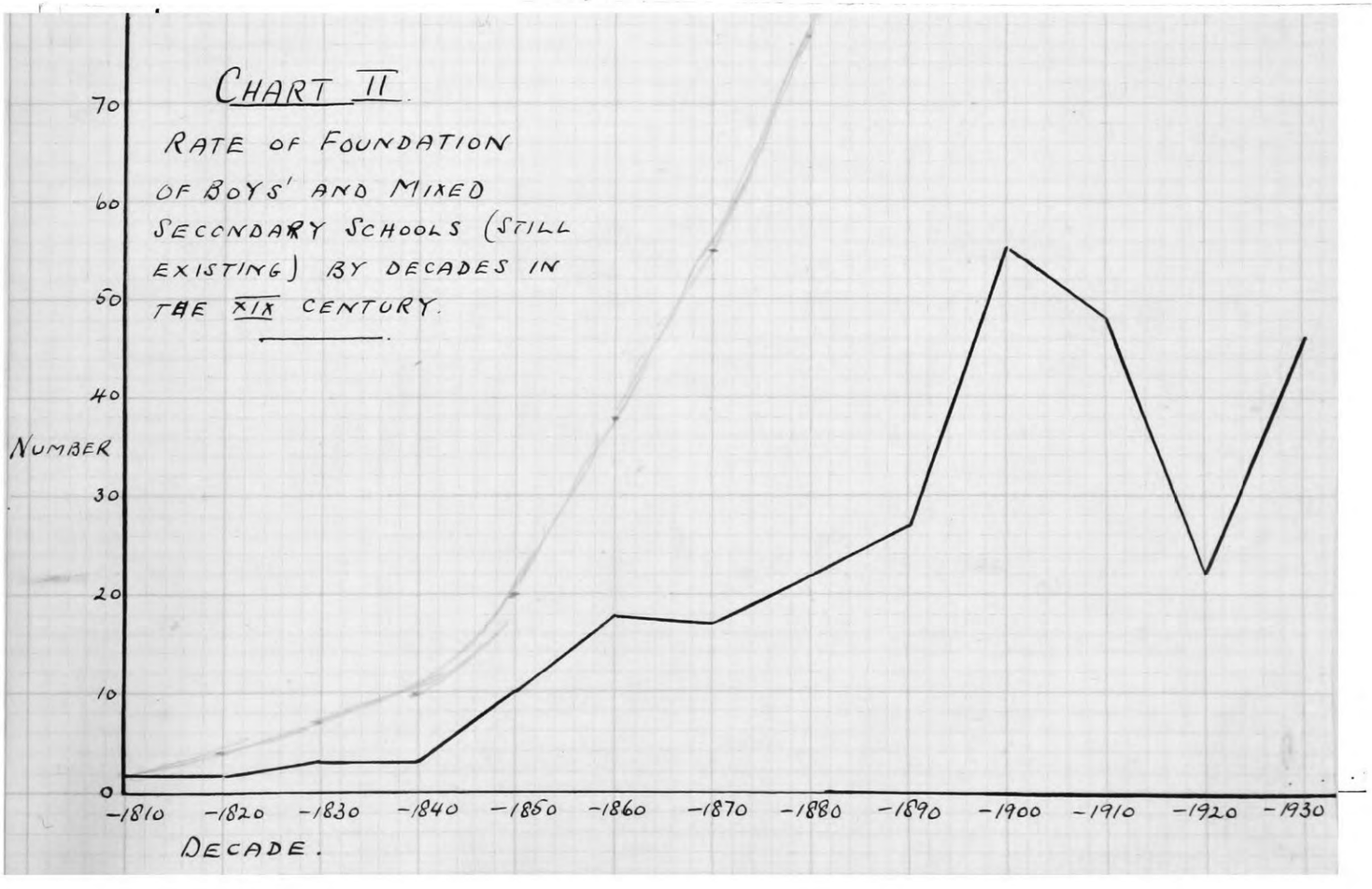


CHART II.

RATE OF FOUNDATION OF BOYS' AND MIXED SECONDARY SCHOOLS (STILL EXISTING) BY DECADES IN THE XIX CENTURY.

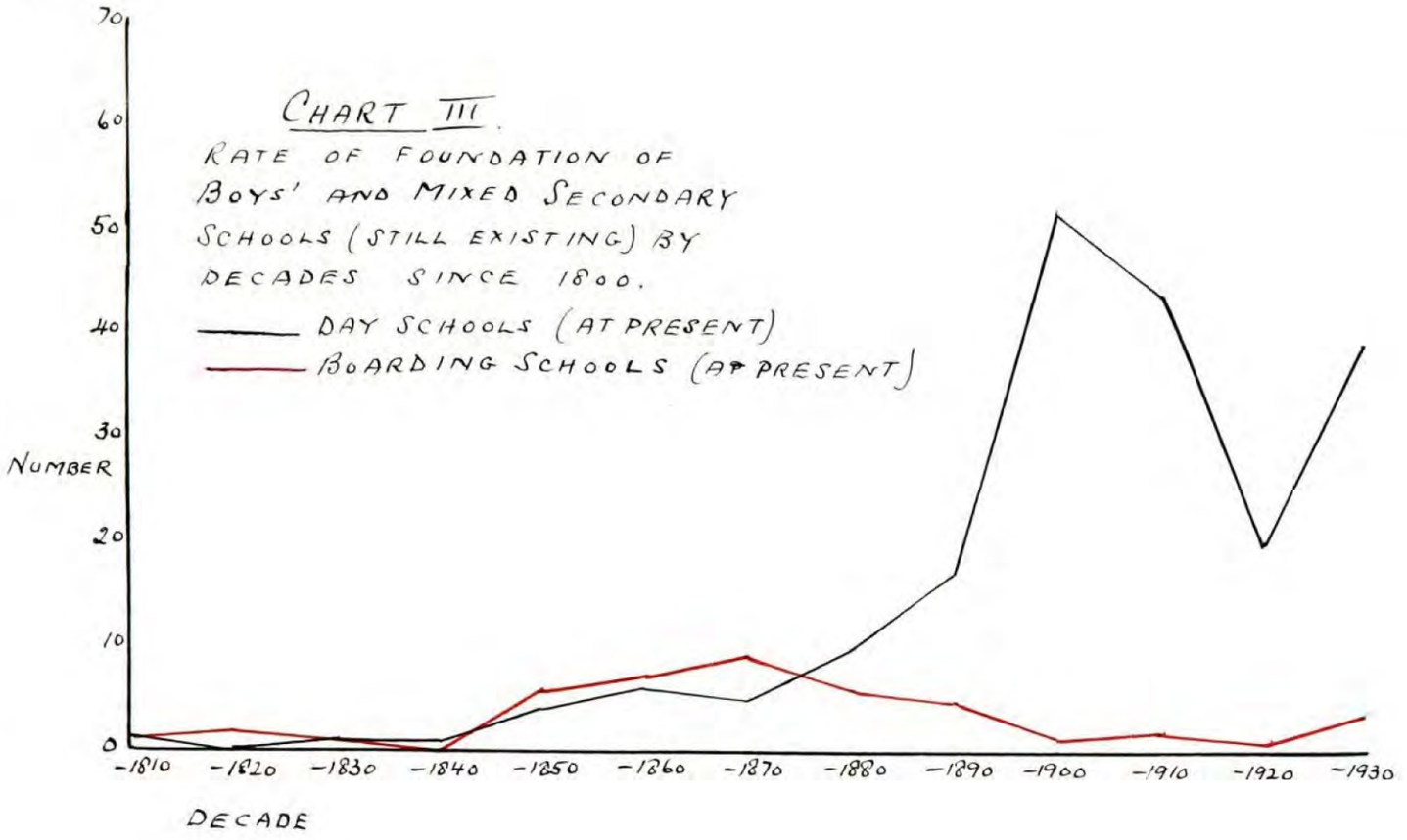


CHART III.
RATE OF FOUNDATION OF BOYS' AND MIXED SECONDARY SCHOOLS (STILL EXISTING) BY DECADES SINCE 1800.
DAY SCHOOLS (AT PRESENT)
BOARDING SCHOOLS (AT PRESENT)
NUMBER
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
-1810
-1820
-1830
-1840
-1850
-1860
-1870
-1880
-1890
-1900
-1910
-1920
-1930
DECADE

of the need for secondary education, this is no more than one would expect.

(b). But of the secondary schools in this list founded in the nineteenth century, more than one third were founded in the last decade, and more than one half during the last twenty years of the century. Since many of these foundations were made from public funds, either as Welsh Intermediate Schools, or as Higher Elementary Schools which became secondary schools after the Act of 1902, the activities of private benefactors must be looked for chiefly in the period 1800-1880, when the rate of foundation was no greater than in the sixteenth century.

(c). If we leave out private-profit schools, 60 of the original 500 schools were founded between 1800 and 1880. 32, or more than half of these, were boarding schools. Now a boarding school, apart from charity institutions and homes, is almost inevitably a school for the wealthy. Few, even of the most heavily endowed schools, can now reduce their total charges much below £100 a year, and in the nineteenth century, when fees were lower, incomes were lower too. The percentage of the population which can pay this amount for one child is extremely small. If therefore, seeendary opportunities in secondary education are to be widely spread, the provision of day schools must be many times as great as that of boarding schools. On this supposition, the rate of foundation of day schools between 1800 and 1880, is surprisingly low. But if secondary education is to be regarded as a social, not an educational category, the figures

CHART IV

RATE OF FOUNDATION OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS BY CENTURIES SINCE 1000.

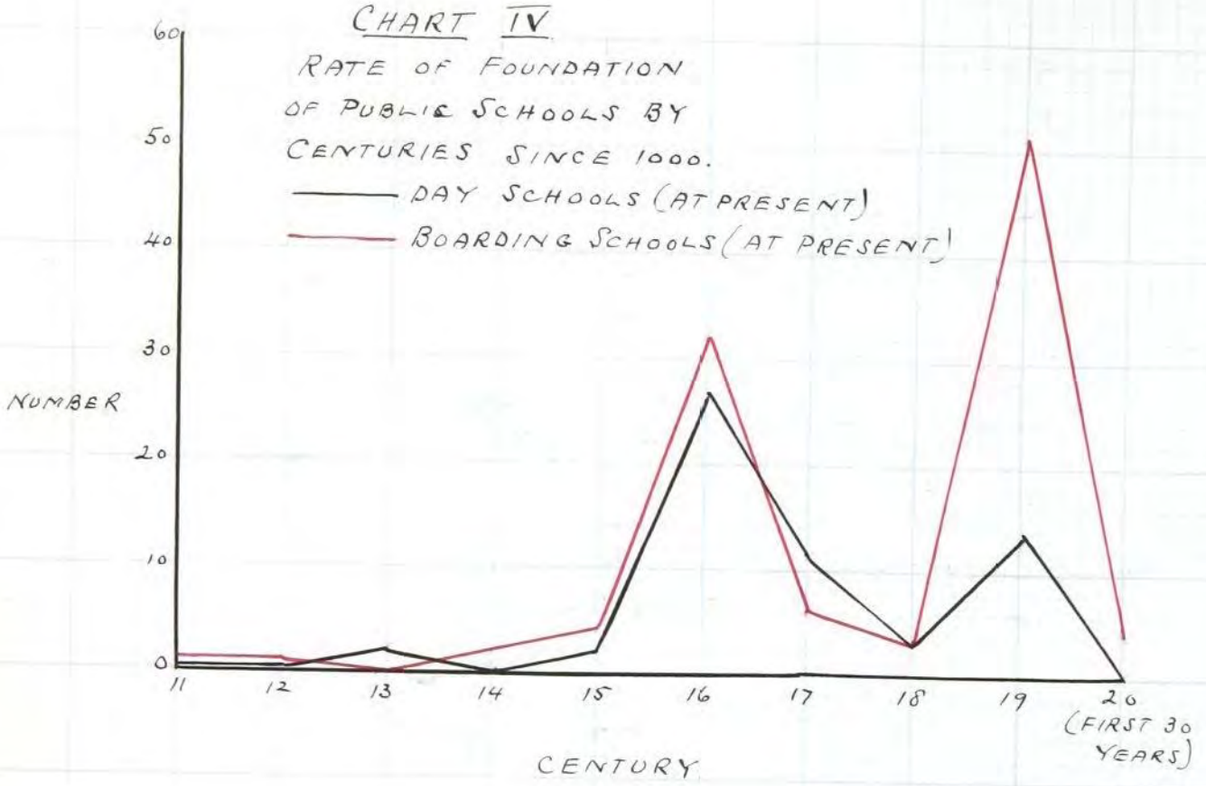
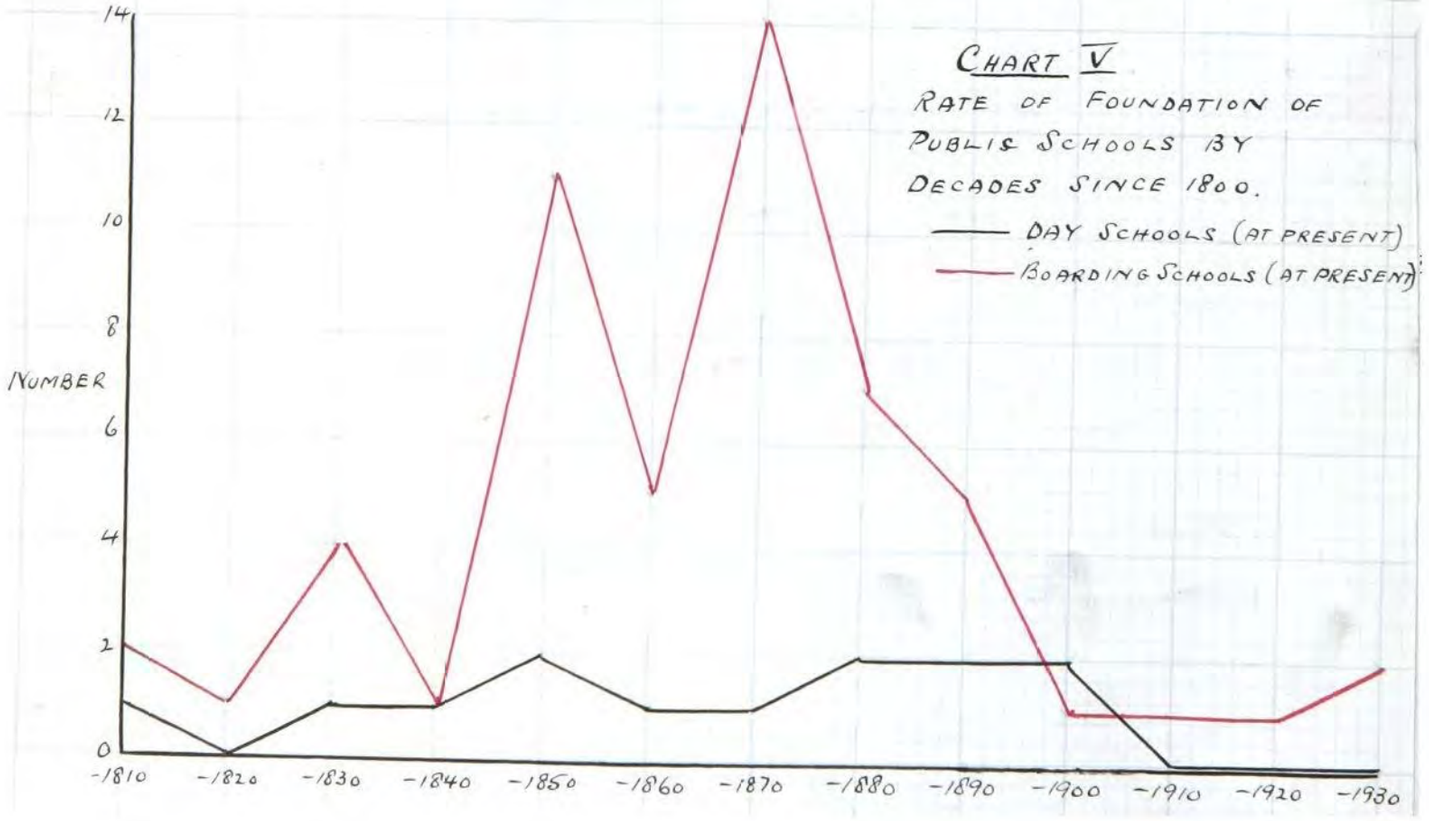


CHART V

RATE OF FOUNDATION OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS BY DECADES SINCE 1800.



become more understandable. We must take into account that benefactors in the nineteenth century were at the same time founding large numbers of schools for the working classes; this, taken with the figures just given, would seem to indicate a tendency to found elementary schools for the poor and secondary schools mainly for the wealthier classes, that is, those from which the benefactors were drawn.

I examined also the foundation dates of the Public Schools. In the PUBLIC SCHOOLS YEAR BOOK (1) is a list of what many people consider to be the best schools in the country. It is difficult to discover the principles which govern election to the Headmasters' Conference; and it is , therefore, not safe to treat this list of schools as anything but an arbitrary list. Arguments from my analysis are valid as far as the Public Schools themselves are concerned: they are useful as confirming or weakening the conclusions reached in the enquiry into secondary schools in general. I have put the details into Appendix B. As before, the charts are put in here. The following are the broad results.

(a). Out of 165 schools, 107 are boarding schools and 58 day schools.

(b). Of the 58 day schools only 13 have been founded since 1800, and only 9 between 1800 and 1880.

(c). Of the 107 boarding schools, 55 have been founded since 1800, and 37 were founded between 1840 and 1880.

(1) THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS YEAR BOOK. 1933.

(d). 58 out of the 165 schools were founded in the sixteenth century. 32 of these are now boarding schools. But the tendency of the sixteenth century was to found day schools, and it seems safe to say that many of the 32 were ~~were~~ founded as day schools and have become ~~boarding~~ boarding schools since. During the eighteenth century they may have taken more boarding than day pupils, but it was during the nineteenth, under the influence of Arnold and Thring, that they became boarding schools of size, and approached the standing of Public Schools. Cases in point are Repton, Oundle, Oakham, and Uppingham. Therefore, considering for the moment not the flow of money into school foundation but the tendency of the nineteenth century to found boarding schools, the figure of 55 founded since 1800 should be increased.

Further, if we take into account not numbers but character, we may trace back the Public School idea in the nineteenth century to the nine great schools existing in 1800, of which six were boarding schools. Our present schools are not modelled on these six as they were then. It needed Arnold to alter completely the character of a boarding school before the crop of new foundations and conversions appeared (note the sudden rise after 1840 in Chart V). Keate and his peers hold places of little honour among the Fathers of the Public Schools.

It seems then that the Public (boarding) School, as we know it to-day, and in anything like its present extent,

was created by the nineteenth century, which used in a very different context certain ideas which derive ultimately perhaps from William of Wykeham or King Alfred. (1)

Now as to motive. The 'boom' period of boarding school foundations begins in the 'forties, when Arnold's influence was spreading. Since 1840, 57 Public Schools(47 boarding and 10 day schools) have been founded. Of the ten day schools, three were founded with money bequeathed before the nineteenth century. Only seven day schools founded by private benefaction during the last 94 years have been admitted to the ranks of the great. Of the 47 boarding schools, 20 make reductions for sons of clergy, and one for sons of doctors; 9, including some of the 21, make reductions for sons of military or naval men: only one has substantial provision in the foundation for any considerable ~~provision~~ number of boys to be admitted by merit without distinction for birth (by 'substantial' I mean large enough to allow really poor boys to go to the school).

These nineteenth century Public (boarding) Schools are intended primarily for the comparatively rich, those who can pay the fees. In every case, except one, where substantial reductions are made for poorer people, the primary qualification

(1) When Mr.F.S.Marvin says of the Public Schools "their true foundation and the bulk of their estate date from the Renaissance", he speaks with a considerable body of opinion behind him. Nevertheless I do not think that facts justify his statement. (See THE NATION AT SCHOOL, O.U.P., 1933., page 65.)

for a reduction is that the boy shall be of certain family. The examination of the Public Schools, therefore, supports the opinion reached as a result of the examination of the 500 secondary schools, that secondary school provision during the period of private benefaction, 1800 - 1880, consisted to a surprisingly large extent of boarding schools, and was intended mainly for the fairly wealthy, or for people belonging to the fairly well-to-do classes.

But we could not go on to say that the creation of class distinctions in education was a main motive of those who founded the schools. Many reasons combined to make boarding schools popular. First, the great increase and spread of wealth following the Industrial Revolution created a big demand for a first-class education, in a social sense. It was perhaps due to this that there arose that flood of criticism of the Public Schools which preceded and necessitated Arnold's work. Secondly, Arnold's reforms themselves made the boarding schools popular and fashionable and led to the host of imitators. The new schools must have drawn a large proportion of their pupils from the newly rich: and in this light the rise of the new schools represents a breaking down of barriers in the upper strata of society. Thirdly, the railways made boarding schools in large numbers possible. Fourthly, some of the great headmasters, in their search for the best material, and in establishing the reputation of their schools, seem to have been an anti-democratic influence. Thring, for instance, wanted to turn Oakham, an

old-established grammar school , into a preparatory school for Uppingham, also an old-established grammar school, which he was turning into a Public School (1) All these were strong reasons for the growth of the boarding school system, yet taken together they did not make such a system necessary, nor make the founding of day schools less necessary. The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, impelled by the needs of Church and State, made a system of secondary schools which was meant to be,and which was, used by a mixture of classes, and to some extent by the poor. The nineteenth century, with much greater resources, but impelled by the needs or desires of individuals or families rather than by the needs of Church or State, founded secondary schools which could be used , in the main, only by the comparatively rich. If we reject conscious class bias, we may find the solution in the fact that, as Mr.Archer says, the "nineteenth century accepted class distinctions as axiomatic".(2)

But clearly other centuries than the nineteenth have accepted class distinctions as axiomatic. The education of the nobles shows it in the Middle Ages. The eighteenth century was a period of rigid class definition. It would probably be historically correct to say that periods of social flux are the exception rather than the rule, and that long periods of stability have always shown class distinctions.

(1) Archer, SECONDARY EDUCATION IN THE XIX CENTURY, page 217.
(2) Ibid, page 178.

May we not find the solution, not in the nineteenth century's acceptance of class distinctions, but in the lack of other strong educational motives which would counterbalance that acceptance ? We might then say, in general, that in periods when family influence is dominant in education class distinctions are bound to show themselves in education, since social classes are based upon the family; but that class distinctions tend to break down when other influences are stronger than the family. Such an influence is the State at the present day, which must stand for equality in education because it cannot discriminate on grounds of class between its citizens.

It is usual to regard the nineteenth century in education as the gradual building up of a national system, in which charity schools, private and Public Schools, and State schools all have their share. I think I have shown that before the State's activity became important at all, there existed a conception and part fulfilment of a complete system based on private action and class distinctions. I shall attempt to show in the next section that this system has continued to exist alongside, and partly outside, the State's system, and is in fact the chief force making for inequality at the present day.

III. THE PERIOD OF DOMINANT STATE INFLUENCE.

1. Before 1902.

It is not necessary for me to trace the development of the motives of the State in education, since my purpose in this Part is to illustrate motives which are active at the present day. The sentiments of the family towards its children do not, I think, change much from century to century. But the State which regarded elementary education as a charity, like the State which limited the franchise to the ten-pound householder, is dead, though the results of its actions are still with us. The educational motives of the present-day English State, as far as they concern equality of opportunity, are clear. It does not aim at equal (i.e. the same) education for all, but it bases its differentiation upon the needs and ability of the children. Within the limits of its provision, differences of class do not affect the type of education offered, though differences in the wealth of parents affect the willingness of the State to supply education free. It is the purpose of this section to trace the extension of the limits of State provision and supervision, in order, chiefly, to show what has happened outside those limits.

We must first take a brief glance backwards to the period of State supervision and assistance between 1833 and 1870. In this period the State, playing second fiddle to private enterprise, or not dissociating itself from it, assisted in the provision of a system of elementary education, the aims and motives of which have been described above. The State materially

hindered the progress of education by a bad administrative mistake, the Revised Code of 1862, which made the best friends of education shy of a State system for many years. And it followed public opinion in reforming the universities, the Public Schools, and the Endowed Schools. In this period also the Endowed Schools Commission "was the first official body to recognise the policy of the 'ladder'".(1) But the State refused to adopt the Commission's suggestion of some kind of State system of secondary education.(2) This field, therefore, was left open to private endeavour. Nevertheless, important precedents had been established. The State had interfered in every kind of education, to the manifest advantage of all of them, though its reputation as the administrator of a system was bad.

Between 1870 and 1902 further precedents were established. First, the State, after the Act of 1870, proved itself as an organiser in the sphere of elementary education. Secondly, by making elementary education free, it recognised it as a national necessity and as a right belonging to all its citizens. Thirdly, by making elementary education compulsory, it interfered with the rights of the parents in the education of their children and recognised their occasional ~~inexa~~ incapacity or unwillingness to do the best for their children. Fourthly, by passing the Welsh Intermediate Education Act, it g recognised secondary education as a proper field for State activity, if private endeavour were not sufficient.

The State-controlled reforms of Oxford and Cambridge in

(1) Archer, op.cit., page 171. (2) Ibid, page 175.

the 'fifties and 'seventies' seem to have removed many of the disabilities of the non-conformists without greatly affecting the chances of poor students. There was little reduction in the cost of living (1), and the throwing open of scholarships was of little value until the opportunities of the poor in secondary education were increased (2). The increase of numbers at both universities must be put down rather to the attraction of modern studies and the relaxation of the religious regulations than to any considerable influx of poor students. There were instances of a Senior Wrangler or an Indian Civil Service man who had begun at an elementary school (3), but these were noteworthy exceptions.

In secondary education, in the period 1870 - 1902, though no system was evolved, there was much public activity. The use of the South Kensington Grants and the 'Whiskey Money' for purposes which were in fact secondary, though the money was designed to help science and technical teaching, and the development by the School Boards of what were practically secondary schools under the elementary code, are important as showing an unsatisfied demand or need for secondary education. The Endowed Schools Commissioners and the Charity Commissioners failed to realise the aspiration of the Act of 1869 "to put a liberal education within the reach of all children of all classes".(4) In the making of their schemes

(1) Archer, op.cit., page 156 - 7.
(2) Ibid, page 155.
(3) G.R.Benson, writing in STUDIES IN SECONDARY EDUCATION, 1892, page 85 - 6.
(4) Ibid, page 78.

they were hampered by localism, and by opposition to the use for secondary education of charities expressly designed for the poor (1), an interesting example of the prevailing view of the class basis of education. A strong headmaster like Thring (2), could resist the making of a scheme, and others, after a scheme had been made, could go on to develop their schools on Public School lines (3). In the absence of State aid, the growth and good work of a school often depended on the attraction of wealthy pupils.(4) By 1895, when the Bryce Commission reported, the secondary school population was not more than 2.5 per thousand of the total population (4). In 1868 the Schools Enquiry Commission had considered 12 or 13 per thousand to be desirable.

Amidst these inadequate surroundings a narrow ladder had already been erected, partly out of State funds. In schools under schemes there were, in 1882, 2989 free places held, of which 1145 were restricted to ex-elementary school pupils, and there were 250 exhibitions to schools of higher grade or to universities(5). By 1889 the Science and Art Department alone was giving 221 scholarships to secondary schools from elementary schools(6). By 1895, £39,000 of the 'Whiskey

(1) G.R.Benson, op.cit., page 79.
(2) Archer, op.cit., page 217.
(3) Ibid, page 171. "Between thirty and forty of these schools are now first-grade schools represented on the Headmasters' Conference."
(4) Ibid, page 310, for both references.
(5) Benson, op.cit., page 83-4.
(6) Ibid, page 87.

Money' was being spent on scholarships (of all kinds)(1). By 1900, 5000 scholarships, provided from public funds, were held at secondary schools (2). The scale of this provision is best shown by comparing it with the figures for 1933, when there were 216,400 free places held at secondary schools in England and Wales (3).

We may now examine the work of private endeavour in the period 1870 - 1902 in the light of what the State was doing. Looking back from the present day we can see that the most pressing need of the time was for an adequate system of secondary education. It seems that the need was recognised ~~te~~ widely at the time. For years Matthew Arnold had been crying out for organised secondary education, and Huxley for the career open to talent (4). A more widespread recognition seems to be shown by the amount of State funds which were actually being used for secondary purposes. In Wales 95 Intermediate Schools were founded by 1902 (5), and so the popularity of secondary schools was demonstrated. Science could now provide a suitable curriculum for a modern school. At the same time, distrust of the State's insistence on results made it the more ~~neeessary-for~~ desirable for private endeavour to establish a system before the State inevitably stepped in.

(1) Archer, op.cit., page 308.
(2) See the Board of Education's MEMORANDUM ON EXAMINATIONS FOR SCHOLARSHIPS AND FREE PLACES IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS. H.M.S.O. 1928. Page 9, Note.
(3) EDUCATION IN 1933 (The Report of the Board of Education) H.M.S.O. 1934. Page 138.
(4) See Essay on 'A Liberal Education and Where to Find it.' in COLLECTED ESSAYS Vol. III. (5)Archer, op.cit., p.295.

Apart from the general need, secondary education was the weakest rung in the 'ladder'. From the 'eighties onwards elementary education was almost universal, and university provision was rapidly increasing, but the scholarship figures which I have given above show that only very exceptional children could rise from one to the other through the secondary schools in England. Advance in secondary education must be in the direction of a widespread increase of facilities, since the grammar schools were reformed and fighting their own battle, and the Public Schools already apparently existed in sufficient numbers, since the rate of foundation was falling off. Quality had been secured: quantity must be the next object.

It is easy to trace three motives in the flow of private money into education during this period. Humanitarianism shows itself in the Y.M.C.A. and the Settlements. The need for more science teaching, and for technology in industry, caused the foundation of the Regent Street Polytechnic, the City and Guilds Institute and similar institutions. Perhaps the new universities can be attributed to this also, though there were wider educational ideals behind them, and they derived some of their strength from the third motive, the desire for women's equality. I shall say nothing more about this, because the principle had been conceded by the State both in elementary and secondary education(1), and the feminists do not seem to have thrown their net any wider than their comtemporaries in boys' education. But, connected with

(1) Archer. op.cit., page 170, for the Endowed Schools Act.

the other two motives was undoubtedly a desire to increase the educational opportunities of the poor. as there also a desire to equalise their opportunities with those of the rich? In the humanitarian activities this was clearly not so. Nor, I think, does the extension of scientific education consisting as it did of show it, ~~since it consisted of~~ the provision of new kinds of institutions rather than the opening up of old ones. In the first half of the century scientific education had been considered by the well-educated classes as suitable for workmen, as witness the working-men's institutes of the 'twenties(1). In the equalising, as contrasted with the extension, of educational opportunity, the secondary school held the key position after 1870.

There was a movement in some towns by private endeavour to establish free places at secondary schools. In London, by 1885, 140 such scholarships (of £16.10 - £30 each) were established, (2) and in Liverpool 12 in 1890(3), while in Birmingham the King Edward's Foundation, which provided for something over 70 free entrants in a year, was considered adequate (though here also Higher Elementary Schools were developing)(4). The scale of this provision is very small - in London it would provide for less than 40 entrants in a year - and it seems just to say that at the time of the Bryce

(1) "It was after all perhaps fortunate that the educated classes of those days....did not generally recognise experimental science as a branch of liberal education, otherwise they might have annexed it." Archer, op.cit., page 100.
(2) STUDIES IN SECONDARY EDUCATION, page 87.
(3) Ibid, chapter on schools in Liverpool.
(4) Ibid, chapter on schools in Birmingham.

Commission "secondary school accommodation was then very inadequate, and the provision of scholarships for the children in elementary schools had hardly begun."(1)

As to the provision of secondary schools, I have not been able to distinguish those founded by private benefaction amongst the mass of schools founded after 1880. There is some evidence that money was bequeathed of given to secondary schools when new schemes were made for them (2), but the inadequacy of private benefaction was revealed by the Report of the Bryce Commission in 1895. Archer says "The essential fact was that there was a huge gap which private endeavour in the years between 1868....and 1894....entirely failed to fill."(3) Bryce himself, writing in 1892, said "The experience of these twenty-four years"(1868 - 1892) "has proved that endowed foundations will not reform themselves ....that neither local public spirit nor ordinary commercial enterprise can be trusted to fill the blanks left by the absence of endowments, or the want of a local authority; and, in fine, that in secondary education, as to a large extent in all education, the supply must create the demand rather than the demand the supply."(4).

The need of secondary education was apparent, The provision of adequate secondary education would have gone far to equalise educational opportunities. Yet in spite of a large flow of

(1) Frank Smith, HISTORY OF ENGLISH ELEMENTARY EDUCATION, London, 1931, page 345.
(2) "The reformation of an endowed school by scheme has sometimes been the occasion of new and large gifts being made to it." Benson, op.cit., page 80.
(3) Op.cit., page 221.
(4) STUDIES IN SECONDARY EDUCATION, Introduction page XVIII.

money into education this vital need was left unsatisfied.

Taking into account the conclusions reached at the end of the last section, these facts seem to justify the assertion that private endeavour and private benefaction are not favourable to equality of opportunity in education for its own sake, though they may aim at it as a means to other ends, for instance the needs of the Church. Equality of educational opportunity must almost inevitably carry with it the social implication that the most suitable people are chosen for the best posts; it must lead to the career open to talent. Now the benefactors of education must be mainly the wealthy and fortunate. To the majority of charities they can give and yet themselves and their children remain wealthy and fortunate, but if they give towards educational ~~eppr~~ equality they are helping to create a state of social flux in which their children may sink to the bottom of the scale. The sentiments of the family will not allow this. The intellectual conviction of the desirability of equality will almost always give way to the more deeply rooted desire to do the best for one's ~~children~~ own children. So long as social standing and financial comfort depend even partly on the educational record, parents will try to get for their children, not merely a good education, but a better education than the children of others are getting. On general grounds, therefore, we should expect family influence in education, not merely not to assist the realisation of educational equality, but to be actively inimical to it. It follows from this that if the State or any other institution sets up a system of

education which aims at equality of opportunity, however good that system may be, family influence will tend to set up outside it a system of its own which if possible is better educationally, but which must at all costs be more successful socially. We have seen this tendency in operation all through our educational history, with the possible exception of a short period in the sixteenth century. That it is still in operation at the present day I hope to show in the next section and in Part II.

2. Since 1902.

Many of the events of this period, including the Acts of 1918 and 1921, belong to the present rather than to history, but in two cases the historical development is important. These are the growth of a State system of secondary schools and the parallel growth of the Public Schools.

Between 1902 and 1933 secondary schools on the grant list increased in number from under 300 to 1378. In the same period the pupils in them increased from under 32,000 to 441,883 (that is, 11 per thousand of the population, so that we are at last approaching the figure regarded as desirable by the Schools Enquiry Commission in 1868). Even more startling is the growth of the scholarship system. In 1900 there were about 5,000 children attending secondary schools with the aid of public funds. In 1907 came the regulations enforcing twenty-five per cent of free placers. Just before the regulations there were 23,500 free scholars; four years later there were over 49,000; and in 1933 216,400, nearly

half the total number of pupils (1).

At the same time girls at last received their fair share of opportunities in secondary education. Up to 1912 two-fifths of the secondary schools founded by Local Authorities were girls' schools and a further two-fifths were mixed (2). In 1933 207,023 girls, of whom 100,694 held free places, were at secondary schools receiving grant, as compared with 234,860 boys, 115,706 of whom held free places. (3).

Here at last is a fully national system of education, in which each type of school takes its proper place, and in which promotion depends principally on ability. It is crowned by a university system which offers a large number of opportunities to pupils of all kinds and of all degrees of wealth. For financial reasons, if for no other, one would expect this tremendous increase in State provision to be followed by a decline in the Public Schools, since parents would no longer wish to pay heavily for a secondary education which they could get for nothing. The opposite, however, was the case:"the Liberal Party, when they opened the schools to the people, and enforced the system of free places, did very effectively something which they never had in mind: they created a 'boom' in the public schools."(4)

(1) For the figures in this paragraph see the MEMORANDUM ON SCHOLARSHIPS AND FREE PLACES cited above*, EDUCATION IN 1933, pages 130 and 138 and 131, and the Presidential Address of Mr.J.L.Holland to the Educational Section of the British Association in 1933 (SECTIONAL ADDRESSES, page 229)
(2)Archer, op.cit., page 322.
(3)EDUCATION IN 1933, page 138.
(4)Norwood, THE ENGLISH TRADITION OF EDUCATION, page 151.

* Page 9, Note.

Mr.Stephen Foot has shown (1) that the numbers at 55 of the greater Public (boarding) Schools increased between 1912 and 1928 by 30 per cent, from 17.089 to 22,373. At only two of these schools did the numbers decrease during this period. Further, at 13 of the great schools (on what principle he has selected them he does not say), between 1866 and 1930 numbers increased by 150 per cent, from 2349 to 6197. He sums up the years immediately preceding the present industrial depression as follows: "The years 1919 to 1929 have seen most of the older foundations crammed beyond bursting point; newer foundations, after many years of struggling existence, at last firmly established with the magic number of 300 boys, laid down by Thring as the ideal size of a public school; while to meet the growing demand for accommodation several new schools have been founded."(2)

Mr.Foot deduces from these figures the vitality of the Public School system at the present day. Dr.Norwood, who is no detractor of the Public Schools, gives other reasons as well. He ascribes the 'boom' partly to the virtues of the Public Schools. The nation, he says, "has judged that, for those who can afford it, this is the most desirable form of education that is to be got."(3) But also, these schools "confer a social badge, and they give easy rights of entry to circles which people do as a matter of fact very much desire to enter."(4) A third reason applies more particularly

(1) THE FUTURE OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS, in THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, January 1930.
(2) Ibid, page 19.
(3) Op.cit., page 130.
(4) Ibid, page 131.

to the period following the establishment of free places. The parents " were quite determined that their own children should not 'pick up an accent'. This is one of the plain governing facts of our social system to-day...." (1)

It is not possible to determine accurately where the increased numbers at the Public Schools came from, but although the redistribution of wealth which accompanied the war and its aftermath must be responsible for some of them, it seems clear from the above that the establishment of the free place system caused a considerable number of withdrawals from the secondary day schools, from which the Public Schools profited.

Mr.J.L.Holland, in the Address quoted above said:

> At that time (about 1911) one out of every twenty-two elementary school leavers in England went to a secondary school, and one out of every forty-six received free education there. This process of social interfusion has gone on without a check during the twenty years which have since elapsed, until last year the ex-elementary school child constituted 71 per cent. of the English secondary school population and one in eight of elementary school leavers made his or her way to the secondary school, every other one with a free place. Such figures speak for themselves. (2)

There has undoubtedly been much social interfusion, but this statement leaves out the fact that many children have not gone to the State secondary schools precisely because social interfusion was not desired. That is to say that one of the attractions of the Public Schools and private schools is that they are exclusive.

(1) Op.cit., page 131.
(2) Op.cit., page 229 - 230.

IV. CONCLUSIONS OF HISTORICAL SECTION.

1. The dominant influence on English education has been at different times the Church, the family, and the State. But the family has, more than the other two, been a strong influence all through educational history.

2. The Church, and private benefactors under Church influence, created considerable equality of opportunity in the Middle Ages and later.

3. The State has made its own provision and has come to stand for complete equality of opportunity within the limits of that provision.

4. The family, and private benefactors acting under the influence of the family, though favourable sometimes to the extension of education, sometimes to improvement of quality, have acted, and still act where possible, against equality of opportunity, because the family must put its own children first.

5. It is wrong, therefore, to suppose that we are inevitably going forward towards the equalisation of opportunity. The State is moving in this direction; the family is moving away from it. It is questionable, therefore, whether complete equality of opportunity can be secured unless the State further curtails the field of family influence.

6. There are two chief causes of inequalities at the present day. First, imperfections in the machinery of the State system prevent the complete realisation of its aims. Secondly, family influence preserves inequalities outside, and some-

times inside, the State's system. This division runs through the rest of the thesis, though I have been forced to make other divisions for the sake of convenience and clearness of presentation.

PART II

THE PRESENT STATE OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

The vastness of this subject compels some limitation. The Reports of Sir George Newman, and of local officers of health, show that many children suffer from preventable ill-health before they reach the elementary school. In this way the careers of many children who might have taken full advantage of educational opportunities are ruined at the start. But adequate discussion of this would require much more space than I am able to give to it in this thesis, and rather different treatment. I shall therefore begin my survey with the children already in the elementary schools.

State and private education are so closely interwoven at many stages that I shall not attempt completely to separate them. In this part I shall take first the broad stream of State education, with its own imperfections and those due to forces outside itself; secondly, private education in so far as it is completely distinct from the State's system; and lastly, in a summing up, the causes of inequality, on the lines laid down at the end of the previous section.

I. The State System: Entry to the Secondary Schools.

1. General Figures.

In the age-group 10-11 in the elementary schools on March 31,1933, there were 670,592 children (1).

In 1932-3 there entered the grant-aided secondary schools 72,698 ex-elementary school children of all ages, 108.4 per 1000 of the above age-group (1).

(1) STATISTICS OF PUBLIC EDUCATION in EDUCATION IN 1933. Page 130
(This publication for 1933 is referred to hereafter as S.P.E.)

Of these entrants, 43,638 (one child in 15 of the age-group) were admitted free. 23,107 were boys and 20,531 girls (1).

At the same time 19,954 other children entered the grant-aided secondary schools. 227 of them were admitted free (1).

The total of entrants was thus 92,652, and of those admitted free 43,865 (1). There is almost everywhere great competition to get into secondary schools, and the competition for free places is especially severe. How were these fortunate ones chosen ?

For those who were admitted free and for 2060 of the others who had partial remission of fees under the new regulations, there were two chief conditions of entrance: first, the ability to succeed in an examination which in most areas is highly competitive, and secondly, the acceptance of a secondary school place (including an obligation to keep the child at school till 16) by the parents.

2. The Examination for Special Places.

This examination has the difficult task of detecting, by judging performance in two or three papers, the most promising candidates in a group whose home and school conditions may be widely different. Professor Valentine, who has recently published the results of an enquiry into the examination (2), [redacted] considers that it fails sufficiently to detect suitability for the secondary school curriculum,(3) since the correlation between placings in the entrance

(1) S.P.E. Page 136.
(2) THE RELIABILITY OF EXAMINATIONS: AN ENQUIRY. C.W.Valentine and W.G.Emmett. University of London Press. 1932.
(3) Ibid. Pages 163-6. Summary of Conclusion.

examination and in School Certificate is very low, while the School Certificate order correlates much more closely with the order of the entrants at the end of their first year. Further, since the candidates usually 'bunch'thickly round the pass line, there are many children just below the pass line who would probably do better than many of those admitted.

But, since each Authority has its own method of conducting the examination, it is not possible to make generalisations which will be true all over the country. Mr.W.A.Brockington, dealing with one area only(1), considers that there is "reasonably conclusive evidence that the Test had proved effective in selecting from the primary schools of the area those pupils who respond satisfactorily to a course of secondary ~~school~~ education of the grammar-school type."(2) In this enquiry, conducted over five years, 77 % of those successful in the entrance examination, who completed the course, passed School Certificate.(4) ~~(though only 47.8 % of those who had been placed completed the course)~~.

This area is noteworthy in that several of the reforms advocated by Professor Valentine have already been made. To offset the advantage gained by those who, while within the age-group, are nearly a year older than the youngest, age allowances(5) are made. The percentage of successes amongst the oldest group has thus been reduced from 28.7 in 1927 to 17.1 in 1933 (3).

Again, the number of honours gained in School Certificate by those fairly low in the entrance placing, many of whom were from small country schools,(6) has led to attempts to correct the bias against such schools by an interview. It was revealed in 1926

(1) A SECONDARY SCHOOL ENTRANCE TEST. W.A.Brockington. O.U.P. 1934
(2) Ibid. Page 36. (3) Ibid. Page 30.
(4) Ibid. Page 37 (5). Cf. Valentine. Op. Cit. Page 182. (6) Ibid. Page 32

by Mr.K.Lindsay how greatly the type of school attended affected the chances of winning free places: "it has been conclusively proved" he says, "that success in winning scholarships varies with almost monotonous regularity according to the quality of the social and economic environment."(1) In Oxfordshire in 1924 only 40 out of 212 schools won free places; the remainder were mostly poor and remote schools. The same difficulty applies to towns. Seven poor London boroughs had an average of 1.3 scholars per 1000; while seven better-placed ones had an average of 5.3 (2).

Thirdly, the Test which is the subject of Mr. Brockington's enquiry is compulsory. Information published by the Board of Education in 1928 (3) showed that in only 45 out of the 75 areas investigated was the examination compulsory: in the rest usually less than 20% of the age group were entered. The Memorandum states that the widening of the field in a compulsory examination "results in the actual offer of free secondary education to many fit candidates who would not voluntarily have competed."(4) There are still many areas in which the examination is ~~compulsory~~ voluntary.

Finally, the Authority of which Mr. Brockington speaks has taken great pains to standardise the Interview and the Intelligence test which is part of its examination, and these have been of great service in deciding border-line cases.(5)

(1) SOCIAL PROGRESS AND EDUCATIONAL WASTE. Routledge. 1926. Page 8.
(2) Ibid. Page 8.
(3) Memorandum on EXAMINATIONS FOR SCHOLARSHIPS AND FREE PLACES IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS. H.M.S.O. 1928. Page 12-13.
(4) Ibid. Page 22.
(5) C.f. Valentine. Op. cit. Pages 97-9. In 1929, 22 County Boroughs and 23 Counties included mental tests in the examination.

There are thus many reforms, already partially applied, which, if they were applied throughout the country, would appreciably improve the results of the examination. In a machine such as this examination is, we cannot speak complacently of even a small percentage of waste, since each unit of waste may be a child's career. The admitted fallibility of the examination itself and of the regulations attached to it must result at present in the denial of opportunity of a secondary education to many fit candidates. This should be, and is in part, corrected by transfer from elementary and Modern schools to secondary schools of pupils who develop late or whom the examination misses. While some Authorities have such facilities, they do not seem to be general or wide enough (1). In the year 1932-3 only 1520 ex-elementary school children of 13 and over were given free places at secondary schools, over 300 less than in the previous year (2). 1520 is about 3.5 % of the total free entries, and this must indicate either greater efficiency in the examination than it probably has, or lack of adequate transfer facilities.

(1) Vide Brockington, op. cit., page 2. Also the Report on THE SELECTIVE CENTRAL SCHOOL, by The National Association of Teachers in Selective Central Schools. University of London Press. 1934. Page 37.
On application to the Board of Education, I found that there are no national statistics illustrating the extent of these transfers. I was referred to four Authorities which make special provision. Their practice is as follows:- East Ham makes transfers on the recommendation of Heads of schools. There is also a supplementary exam. for pupils of 13 who are regarded as having developed exceptionally. In 1934 12 passed out of 48 entries. Blackburn gives 6 Special Places a year on recommendation, for pupils in central schools. The West Riding gives a limited number of transfers on the recommendation of Heads of schools and exam. at the secondary schools to which the pupils go. The L.C.C. in 1933 gave 521 Supplementary County Scholarships at the age of 13, but these can be won from secondary as well as central and elementary schools.
(2) S.P.E. Page 136.

3. Variation in the Number of Awards.

Another cause of inequalities is the wide difference between areas in the percentage of awards given. The Memorandum quoted above showed that in 1928 in single-stage examinations the awards varied from 3 to 17 per cent of candidates where the examination was compulsory, and from 6 to 33 per cent where it was voluntary.(2) The chances of secondary education thus vary considerably from place to place (1).

4. The Influence of Parents and of Home Circumstances

The acceptance of a free place involves keeping the child at school for at least four years, and the payment, often, of small extras for books, games etc. More important, it involves the loss of the child's possible earnings for about two years. The institution of maintenance grants was intended to compensate for this, but they have, as yet, been only partially successful. The Factory Legislation of last century showed how the child could be sacrificed to parental selfishness or lack of interest or to economic necessity. The same is true to a lesser extent in education to-day. It is impossible to separate the causes without further knowledge than is available at present. What is important and incontrovertible is that the determining factor is not the child's suitability, but something external to it.

For a voluntary examination, many parents do not enter their children. I have quoted above the Board's figures of about 20 % of entries in 1928; hence its recommendation of compulsory examinations, which eliminate the cases due to parental indifference and show where help, in the form of maintenance grants, is needed.

(1) Further evidence of the element of luck is given in THE SELECTIVE CENTRAL SCHOOL, page 22. The minimum I.Q. of scholarship winners is given as 130 in London, and 115 in some other districts.

(2) Page 83 in the Memorandum.

After a compulsory examination, many offers of free places are refused. According to Mr.Lindsay's figures, the refusals in Bradford exceeded the acceptances up to 1926, and included 50 % of the first 200 on the list (1); while in London there were about 60 refusals due to poverty in each of the three years before 1926(2). As to the position at the present day, I have obtained figures from six Authorities, which give some indication, but which are, of course, only samples. I give each separately since, owing to different methods of conducting the examination, it is impossible to tabulate them.

In Bradford (County Borough) the position seems little changed since 1926. The examination is compulsory and is taken by all children between 10 and 12 who have reached Standard IV. In 1934 there were 4874 candidates, 3078 Special Places at secondary schools were offered, and 2030 were refused. In judging these extraordinary figures it must be remembered that the facilities for secondary education in Bradford are very large, and therefore one would expect more refusals than in most districts. Again many children take the examination twice, and may accept at the second time. Nevertheless, in giving me the information, the Authority stated that many children refuse twice.

In London (County Council) there are two examinations for Junior County Scholarships. The preliminary examination is compulsory for all in the age-group, and all who pass take the final examination. For the last 13 years between 91 and 92 per cent of awards have been taken up each year, and the majority of those not taken

(1) SOCIAL PROGRESS AND EDUCATIONAL WASTE. Page 11.
(2) Ibid.Page 39.

up are stated to be due to the parents' being ineligible under the income limits. The figures of refusals in 1933 are as follow:-

Junior County Scholarships awarded...1937 Refused...26(1.3%)

Supplementary " " 521 Refused...13(2.5%)

These figures do not take into account the many scholarships offered by secondary schools and from other sources, and are not comparable with the Bradford figures.

In Blackburn (County Borough) the examination is compulsory. In 1933 there were 113 Special Places offered and 5 refusals, (4.4 %).

In East Ham (County Borough) the examination is voluntary. About 900 out of an age-group of 2300 sit. 270 Special Places are offered and there are generally no refusals.

In Scarborough (Borough), after the examination for the one secondary school, 50 Special Places were offered in 1934, and 4 refused.

In the West Riding (County Council) there is a preliminary examination in the elementary schools. Heads of schools then recommend candidates for the examination proper. In 1933 87.6 % of the age-group 10-12 took the preliminary test; 33.6 % of these were recommended for the examination; and 8.6 % of these did not enter for it (in 1934 the figure was 10.1 %). The Education Committee, on page 3 of its Report on the examination in 1933 says "It is unsatisfactory that so many recommended children were not allowed to take their chance of obtaining an award." But the position is made worse by refusals of awards after the examination, which have amounted to between 5 and 7½ per cent of offers over the last few years. In 1933 out of

2179 Special Places offered, 139 were refused (6.4 %).

The areas from which I have got figures are chiefly industrial, where poverty might cause most refusals. On the other hand these are usually the districts where educational opportunities are most widespread and appreciated. If, as the figures seem to show, there is a large number of children throughout the country who are debarred from secondary education by their parents' decision, at an age when they are incapable of making such a decision for themselves, there is a good case for the collection of statistics on the subject by the Board of Education (which is not done at present) so that the problem may be attacked nationally. And if, in the words of the Act of 1921, inability to pay fees is not to debar a child from the benefits of secondary education, surely the more extreme poverty which makes the parents unable to do without the earnings of their children between the ages of 14 and 16 should not be a bar either. One thing at least which statistics might make clear is the extent to which poverty is the reason for refusals of Special Places.

Some light is thrown on the same problem by an examination of the social class from which the pupils are drawn. In 1927 Messrs Carr-Saunders and Jones quoted tentative statistics in which the percentage of the occupied male adult population engaged in unskilled labour, coarse manual work and casual labour was given as 26.0 (1). This figure was based on the Census of 1921. In 1921

(1) A SURVEY OF T HE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF ENGLAND AND WALES. A.M.Carr-Saunders and Caradog Jones. Oxford. 1927. Page 58.

the percentage of children of unskilled workmen (which term would include apparently the whole category given above) in secondary schools was 2.8 of all boys and 3.2 of all girls (1). By 1926 the percentage had risen to 4.0 for ~~all pupils~~ boys (2). But at the same time in Bradford, where free secondary education had been established, with a single qualifying examination for all entrants, the percentage was 10.0.(3) It would be dangerous to draw from these figures inferences as to the denial of opportunities to the children of the poorer classes, unless it could be shown that there is enough inherited ability among these classes to justify an increase of provision. I shall return to this point later. However, some significance attaches to the difference of 6 per cent between an area where entrance to the schools is standardised and based on merit, and the rest of the country, where money counts for more and examinational standards vary.

5. Wastage during the Secondary School Course.

Related to the question of the refusal of free places is that of the withdrawal of pupils before the completion of their course at a secondary school. The following figures, taken from Mr.Brockington (4), show the percentage of those entering secondary schools sitting for School Certificate five years later. I do not suggest that some withdrawals are not desirable in the interests of the pupils themselves, but the discrepancy shown by these figures is too large to be

(1) Lindsay, op.cit., page 15.
(2) J.G.Legge, THE RISING TIDE. Blackwell, 1929, page 47.
(3) Lindsay, op.cit., page 18.
(4) Op.cit.,pages 34 -35.

accounted for by withdrawals due to unsuitability. The first set of figures refers to the whole country, fee payers and free placers, the second only to free placers in the area Mr.Brockington is investigating. (1)

YEAR.	1	2	
1929	56.0	47.6	per cent. of the entries of five years previously sitting for the School Certificate.
1930	58.2	45.1	
1931	60.6	56.8	
1932	63.7	61.1	
1933		56.6	

The tendency to increase is satisfactory, but the large amount of wastage is not, especially in the second set of figures, since free placers ought all to be fit for the full course. Mr. Brockington ascribes the lower percentages in the second set of figures to "the character of the parents' obligation in this area" and says "The general raising of the leaving-age would make the grammar school a more eclectic type of secondary education than it is at present."(2)

6. Fee-Paying Pupils.

Of the total of 92,652 entrants to grant-aided secondary schools in 1932-3. 46,727 were full-fee payers, 27,219 of whom were from elementary schools.(3)

In 1929 Mr.J.G.Legge, doubting whether existing accommodation was used to the best advantage as to the proportion of places held by free placers, posed three questions:-

(1) Is the entrance test as severe for fee-paying as for free place pupils ?

(1) The two sets of figures are not comparable with one another owing to the variation in the parent's obligation from area to area.
(2) Op.cit , page 35.
(3) S.P.F. page 138.

(N.B. There is no page 57. Mistake in numbering) 58

(ii) Is there sufficient justification for allowing pupils under eleven to occupy space in what may be termed preparatory classes, and to go on occupying room in senior classes, to the possible exclusion of cleverer and better prepared children from elementary schools ?
(iii) Ought there not to be one entrance test at eleven plus for <u>all</u> children whether fee-paying or free ? (1)

Now under the present regulations the number of 'special places' awarded at grant-aided secondary schools in any one year depends on the total number of admissions in the previous year. The size of a school is thus regulated by the number of fee payers entering, and to raise the standard for fee payers will almost inevitably reduce the total numbers in the school and so reduce the chances for free placers. In this way the pressure of parents to get their children into the schools, the desire of headmasters to increase the numbers in the schools, and the widespread desire to give as many chances of free education as possible all tend to lower the standard of entrance for the fee payers.

The figures published by the Board of Education in 1928 (2) throw some light on this, though they cannot be taken as showing the position at the present day. At that time, out of 75 Areas, 34 used the free place examination to test all entrants from elementary schools (much depends, of course, on what standard was required for entrance), but only 9 used it compulsorily for candidates from the preparatory departments of secondary schools, and only 5 for candidates from private schools.

(1) Legge, op.cit., page 31.
(2) Memorandum on EXAMINATIONS FOR SCHOLARSHIPS AND FREE PLACES IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS. Page 12

The use of one qualifying examination for all candidates for the secondary schools in an area presents considerable difficulties, which have, nevertheless, been overcome by some Authorities (Bradford, for instance). I shall discuss this question in Part III. The immediate question is the comparative stringency of the examinations used at present. Evidence of various kinds seems to show that the free placers are on the whole making better use of their secondary school chances than the fee payers. In the year before the publication of the Memorandum from which I have just quoted - that is, while the evidence on which it is based was being collected - 48.1 per cent. of free placers who left had gained School Certificate, while only 19.8 per cent. of fee payers had done so. (1)

The length of school life offers further comparisons. Of those who left the secondary schools in 1932 - 3 before reaching the age of 14, 5156 were full- fee payers and 1078 free placers.(2) The following Table compares free placers with full-fee payers as to the length of school life (omitting that below the age of 11) of those pupils who left the grant-aided secondary schools in 1932 - 3.(2)

	PERCENTAGE OF LEAVERS (3) WHOSE SCHOOL LIFE WAS:-					
Boys,	Not over 3 years.	3-4 years	4-5 years	5-6 years	6-7 years	Over 7 years
Full fees.	10.4	15.0	23.9	27.7	15.0	8.0
No fees.	6.2	9.6	23.7	30.5	15.2	14.8
Girls,						
Full fees.	12.5	16.5	23.5	24.9	13.9	8.7
No fees.	6.7	11.7	22.8	29.2	15.1	14.5

The superiority of the free placers as to length of school life

(1)Legge, op.cit., page 38 -9. (2) S.P.E. page 140 - 141.
(3). Those who left after the age of 14.

is clear at both ends of the scale.

A third basis of comparison is provided by the figures of those going from the grant-aided schools to the universities. For those paying no fees the figure in 1932 - 3 was 2698 (2325 of whom were ex-elementary school pupils), and for those paying full fees 1589.(1) It must be noted, however, that many pupils gain remission of fees after some years at a secondary school, and therefore these figures do not exactly reflect the difference between those admitted free and those who began as fee payers.

If, then, the free placers are making better use of their chances than the fee payers, as these figures seem to show, it seems probable that easier standards of entry are one of the causes for the less success of the fee payers. I have shown above that there is a considerable number of pupils worthy of a free place who do not enter the schools at all, chiefly for financial and administrative reasons. It is of the greatest importance to decide whether these, or some of them, are being debarred from a secondary school course by the admission of less worthy fee payers.

If we accept the present regulations this is clearly not the case; the more fee payers there are, the more free pupils there will be in the following year. But these regulations obscure the issue. The fee payers themselves absorb a large amount of public funds. The latest published estimate of the cost per pupil of secondary education is £27.10 in 1927-8.(2)

(1) S.P.E. page 146.
(2) Board of Education List 65, COST PER PUPIL, SECONDARY EDUCATION. H.M.S.O. 1930. Page 5.

In 1933, in only 44 of the grant-aided schools did the fees cover this amount; 1366 schools charged not more than 25 guineas a year, 1167 not more than 15 guineas, and 912 not more than 12 guineas.(1) In almost two-thirds of the grant-aided schools, therefore, the fees charged covered less than half the cost. If, as seems probable, the percentage of unsuitable pupils in the schools is higher among fee payers than among free placers, it is arguable that a tightening of the entrance tests for fee payers would release considerable public funds which might be spent on maintenance grants or on the admission of more free placers. This would involve a change in the regulations. Money, of course, would have to be spent on keeping more children at the elementary schools, but the expenditure at elementary schools is much less than at secondary schools (£12.10.5 net expenditure per pupil in 1928-9 (2)) and therefore some surplus would be available.

(1) S.P.E. page 19.
(2) Board of Education List 43, COST PER CHILD, ELEMENTARY EDUCATION. H.M.S.O. 1931. Page 5.

II. The State System: Entry to the Universities.

A. The Facilities Available.

The great variety and complexity of the scholarship and grant system make ~~it~~ it impossible adequately to summarise the opportunities available. Miss Doreen Whitely, in her recent book, THE POOR STUDENT AND THE UNIVERSITY (1), has collected all the information available at present, but she was not able to get returns from all the Local Authorities, and therefore the picture, though clear in its main outlines, is not complete. In thissection I shall first summarise shortly the most striking facts from her book, and then go on to other considerations.

1. The Cost of University Education.

Miss Whitely's estimates are as follows:- (2)

	Minimum Annual Income Necessary (Term only). Men.	Women.
Oxford.....	£200-220	£240
Oxford (Non-Collegiate)	£180	
Cambridge.....	£225-250	£180-200
Provincial Universities....	£130-	£130-

2. Aid Available.

At Oxford and Cambridge in 1932-3 589 scholarships and exhibitions were awarded to pupils from secondary schools in England and Wales. 335 of these were won by pupils in the grant-earning secondary schools. (3) These awards by the

(1) THE POOR STUDENT AND THE UNIVERSITY. L.Doreen Whitely. Allen and Unwin. 1933.
(2) Ibid, pages 59-61. (3) S.P.E. page 22.

Colleges vary in amount from about £20 to about £100, and under a new system may be increased in necessitous cases, but in no case do they approach the total cost of a course. For the poor further aid is necessary.

Secondly, the State awarded 300 scholarships (186 to men and 114 to women) in 1933. There were 5777 applicants, and the standard was therefore high. (1) In most cases two distinctions in Higher Certificate are necessary to secure a State scholarship. These scholarships vary in amount according to the result of a means test, but never exceed a 'free place'and £80 for maintenance.(2) Again, alone, such a scholarship is inadequate to keep a student at Oxford or Cambridge. (3) A State scholarship is often held concurrently with an open scholarship, and the number of aided students is thus reduced. The State awards, in addition, a small number of Royal Science Scholarships and Whit-w- Whitworth Scholarships.

No precise facts seem to be available as to the scholarships awarded by the Provincial Universities, but Miss Whiteley gives £375,000 as the total value of scholarships awarded annually by all the universities, and £250,000 of this as given by Oxford and Cambridge (4), which leaves only £125,000 for London and the provinces. The Provincial Universities, whose funds are not large, rely much more upon

(1) S.P.E. page 176.
(2) Whiteley, op.cit., page 35.
(3) Ibid, page 57.
(4) Ibid, page 32.

the awards of Local Authorities.

It is here that the system, if it can be called a system, is most complex. The awards of Local Authorities vary, in total-amount, expenditure, from 9.45 to 0.39 pence per head of population (1): in amount, from a flat rate of £15 or £20 to a maximum of £150, or in other cases of £70 and a 'free place'. (2) Only 18 of the Authorities making returns gave awards which approached in amount the State scholarships.(3) Some of the Authorities set aside a fixed sum, and their scholarships are competitive, while some give awards to all reaching a certain standard (4), and a few give awards supplementing Open scholarships, varying in amount from £50 to a sum sufficient to bring the total income to £200. (5) Most of the Authorities use means tests in connection with the awards, but the income which will qualify for the maximum award may be as high as £600 or as low as £150. (6) This bewildering list of differences could be continued, but I think what I have quoted is sufficient to show the element of luck in the district in which the student happens to live, and also the general inadequacy of the awards, at least for a course at Oxford or Cambridge. As Miss Whiteley says, "An assured and adequate income will be the only means of making -- 'la carrière ouverte aux talents'".(7)

(1) Whiteley, op.cit., pages 42-46.
(2) Ibid, pages 53-56.
(3) Ibid, page 57.
(4) Ibid, page 52.
(5) Ibid, page 63-4.
(6) Ibid, pages 49-51.
(7) Ibid, page 64.

Out of the inadequacy of awards has grown the system of loans to supplement scholarships. This practice is increasing, and though perhaps justifiable as a temporary expedient, and as a recognition of need, its results seem to be, as Miss Whiteley says, that "The extent to which the student burdens his future career is directly related to his poverty."(1) In a somewhat similar category are the ~~loans~~ awards to intending teachers. These combine with the inadequacy of other grants to force into the teaching profession people whose main object is not teaching but a university course. This is especially the case with women, since fewer awards are available to them than to men.(2)

3. The Effect of the Aid Available upon the Student Population.

The present position is shown more clearly by an analysis of the students than of the aid available to them. The ~~num~~effect of the variation in the awards of Local Authorities appears in the following figures. The number of assisted students from secondary schools at universities in 1930-31 varied in counties from 1 in 1078 of the total population to 1 in 37,189, and in towns from 1 in 1184 to 1 in 29,589.(3) The next figures refer to the universities themselves, and compare the percentage of assisted undergraduate students with the percentage of ex-elementary school students in residence. (4)

(1) Whiteley, op.cit., page 76.
(2) Ibid, page 74.
(3) Ibid, pages 88-90.
(4) Ibid, pages 32, 38, 39.

	Assisted Students. 1928-9.	Ex-elementary. 1929-30.
All English Universities	40.6 %	18.4 %.
Welsh Universities	67.3	54.7.
Oxford and Cambridge	38.0	10.8 (1).
London	34.0	15.6 (1).
Provincial Universities	54.0	36.1 (1).
London Medical Schools	14.0	?

At the Census of 1921, about 90% of the population was passing through the elementary schools (2); so it is clear at the start that the elementary schools are very inadequately represented at the universities, if we consider numbers alone. Secondly, the wide discrepancy at the English universities, and especially at Oxford, Cambridge and London, between the percentages of assisted and ex-elementary school students reveals what a large proportion of the funds available for assistance is going to a small proportion of the population.

"The wealthy endowments possessed by public schools in England, and also the activities of charitable trusts, whose awards are not limited to ~~any-type-of-school~~ scholars from any type of school, influence the situation in England.

Distribution of ex-Elementary school pupils proves that the cost of courses at Oxford and Cambridge, and to some extent also at London, debar the poor student from taking up his award at these Universities."(3)

In Medicine, one of the most costly of all forms of education, the situation seems to be worse, with only 14 per cent. assisted at all in the London Schools.

The latest figures for entries into the universities seem to show a slight improvement as far as Oxford and Cambridge are concerned. The following figures refer to entries

(1) These figures are percentages of entries, not of students at the university.
(2) THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF ENGLAND AND WALES, page 119.
(3) Whiteley, op.cit., page 38-9.

into Oxford and Cambridge and London in 1932-3, and compare (a) the total entries from grant-aided secondary schools with (b) the entries of ex-elementary school pupils and (c) the entries of pupils paying no fees at the schools they were leaving. All the pupils given under (b) and (c) are also included in (a), and (b) and (c) overlap considerably. (1)

	Oxford and Cambridge.	London.
Total Entries.....	3530	3998.
(a) Entries from grant-aided Secondary schools.....	828	1089.
Percentage of Total.....	23.5	27.2.
(b) Entries of ex-elementary school pupils.....	424	620.
Percentage of Total.....	12.0	15.5.
(c) Entries of pupils paying no fees at school.....	476	605.
Percentage of Total.....	13.5	15.1.

I shall refer later, when discussing the private schools, to the distribution of opportunities between the grant-aided schools and others. The above figures show something of the state of affairs within the grant-aided schools themselves. In 1932-3 ex-elementary school pupils were 74 per cent. of the pupils in grant-aided secondary schools (2): yet at the three universities for which figures are given the ex-elementary entries were little more than half the total from the grant-aided schools, although the pupils holding 'special places' are almost all from the elementary schools. The

(1) The materials for these figures are in S.P.E. page 146. It is noted there that owing to some pupils going to universities after an interval the numbers from grant-aided schools are not strictly comparable with the total. I think, however, that comparison of the numbers within the grant-aided schools is justifiable. (2) S.P.E. page 130.

figures for non-paying pupils are more encouraging. In 1932-3 49 per cent. of pupils at grant-aided secondary schools were paying no fees.(1) One would expect that among these would be many of the best pupils, and also that some of those destined for a university career would earn remission of fees later in their school careers even if they were not admitted as free placers. And in fact non-paying pupils were 57 per cent. of the entries from grant-aided secondary schools at Oxford and Cambridge and 56 per cent. at London.

While the high percentage of non-paying pupils going to the universities justifies the educational 'ladder', the fact that the elementary schools supply less than their proper quota of entrants indicates that the provision for the poor student is inadequate, especially at the three most expensive universities.

(1) S.P.E. page 138.

The State System: Entrance to the Universities.

B. Means of Making Use of the Available Facilities.

I turn next to a comparative study of the chances of different students in different parts of the country of making use of the facilities which I have sketched above.

Two of the most striking differences are those between England and Wales and between men and women. The total of university students in 1930-31 was in England 33,669 (1 in 1306 of the population), and in Wales 2868 (1 in 189 of the population). (1) A discussion of this, however, would raise the question of the total university provision necessary and in a comparative study such as this I do not proposeto undertake it. Similarly with the question of the relative position of men and women students. The fall in the percentage of women students at universities from 30.7 in 1924-5 to 27.2 in 1930-31 (2) is surprising and raises important social issues, but it would need a separate essay rather than a section for discussion.

1. Examinations for Scholarships.

Professor Valentine has shown weaknesses in the examinations for scholarships to the universities similar to those in the entrance examinations for secondary schools. He takes a Class I or II in the final as the standard which justifies the award of a scholarship.(3) On this standard, one tenth

(1) Whiteley, op.cit., page 23.
(2) Ibid, page 24.
(3) This standard seems to be correct at the present time, but it throws an interesting light on the selection of university students in general, since ideally a scholarship

of State scholars fail to justify their scholarships.(1) (The figures for 1933 were: out of 255 State scholars taking degrees, 18 did not reach Class II (2))

The open scholarships awarded at Oxford and Cambridge show a similar proportion, one tenth, of failures. At Oxford, during the period which Professor Valentine studied, one fifth of scholarships and exhibitions were misplaced (i.e. their holders were beaten by Commoners who gained Class I) (3).

Taking into account the three year interval between scholarship and degree, the possibilities of ill-health, and the differences in rate of development which are important even at this age, these results seem satisfactory. The same cannot b said of the position at the provincial universities. Here Professor Valentine found that nearly two fifths of all scholarships are unjustified, and one third of the Commoners beat two fifths of the scholars. But of scholarships awarded by the universities themselves only one fifth are unjustified, while half are unjustified of those awarded from outside. (4) Among the latter are the majority of the awards of Local Authorities. If we take together Miss Whiteley's figures showing the variability and frequent inadequacy of these awards with Professor Valentine's showing how often they are misplaced, it becomes

should be given to those deserving a university career, and to say that a Class III or IV man has not justified his scholarship seems to indicate that Class III or IV men in general are not suitable for such a career.
(1) Valentine, RELIABILITY OF EXAMINATIONS, page 169 for statement of conclusions. (3)&(4) Ibid, pages 170, 167. (2)S.P.E.p 177.

evident that there is considerable waste as well as inequality of distribution, and that a reform of the methods of giving these awards would result in the offer of scholarships to many worthy students who are now being missed out. Another source of waste are the close scholarships, reserved either to particular schools or to localities; here are large sums of money, tied up in such a way that they are often spent on pupils who deserve them much less than others. Under a nation-wide system of education, which seeks to equalise opportunities, there seems to be a good case for an enquiry into all such endowments and a redistribution of the funds where they are needed most.

2. The Distribution of Scholarship-winners among Schools.

I have already shown how unevenly the money given in grants and scholarships by the Local Authorities is distributed throughout the country. Another question is how the scholarships which are centrally administered are shared by the schools. As to open scholarships at Oxford and Cambridge, the Statistics of Public Education show the broad distinction between aided and private schools. In order to differentiate more closely between various types of school, I analysed the scholarship figures at Cambridge for the last five years, 1929-33.

I used the figures published annually by the 'Cambridge Review'(1). These include the names of all schools winning scholarships and exhibitions, but some confusion is caused

(1) THE CAMBRIDGE REVIEW for Jan. 17, 1930, Jan. 16, 1931, Jan. 15, 1932, Jan. 20, 1933, and Jan. 19, 1934.

through the names not being given in full: it is not always clear which school is meant. In the figures given below I have indicated the doubtful cases. The totals, again, do not always agree with the lists given. Using the lists, I found a total in the five years of 1281 scholarships and exhibitions (I shall henceforward refer to them all as scholarships). Of these 55 were won from schools ~~and un~~ outside England and from universities. The remainder were won from schools in England, 638 from grant-aided schools and 588 from private schools. The numbers of schools by which the scholarships were won were respectively 193 and 79.

Of the 638 scholarships won from grant-aided schools, 490 were won from schools with advanced courses recognised for grant, and 128 from schools without such advanced courses. Now there are on the grant list 777 boys' and mixed schools, containing 211,739 boys. Dividing the 638 scholarships among these we get one scholarship for every 332 boys. But only 208 of the schools have recognised advanced courses, and these schools contain 87,862 boys.(1) The 490 scholarships divided among these give one scholarship for every 179 boys. The remainder of the schools, 569, contain 123,877 boys, and they gained 128 scholarships, that is, one scholarship for every 968 boys. These figures are given in a Table below, with an estimate for the private schools.

(1) These figures refer only to England, since the scholarships do so, and they are taken from S.P.E. page 134, and from the Board of Education's List 60, SECONDARY SCHOOLS AND PREPARATORY SCHOOLS, 1934-35. I could not find a total for the boys in advanced course schools. I made the total from the figures for each school.

* N.B. This is not the number of schools from which scholarships were won, but the total number of schools from which they might have been won.

	* Number (Boys' and Mixed).	Pupils (boys).	Scholarships.	Boys in the Schools per Scholarship.
Schools on Grant List.	777	211,739	638	331.8
" with Adv. Courses.	208	87,862	490 (1)	179.3
without Adv. Courses.	569	123,877	128 (1)	967.7
Schools not on Grant List (Private Schools)	?	83,333 (2)	588	141.7

I found when going through the list of Schools on the Grant List that the number of good schools which had not recognised advanced courses was so large that the great discrepancy which these figures show between the advanced course schools and the others was very surprising. There are several ways in which this discrepancy can be explained. A few large schools which consistently gain many scholarships undoubtedly influence the figures. Again, some of these successful schools are accustomed to take the cream of the talent in their district, though this can only happen in the most populous areas, such as Manchester. But it seems reasonable to believe that, on the whole, the best schools win most scholarships, and that there are a large number of not very good schools (from the point of view of scholarship-winning) at which only exceptional pupils have much chance of success. Further analysis supports this view. Out of the 193 grant-aided schools which won scholarships, 105 had advanced courses, 81 had not, and 7 were doubtful. That is to say,

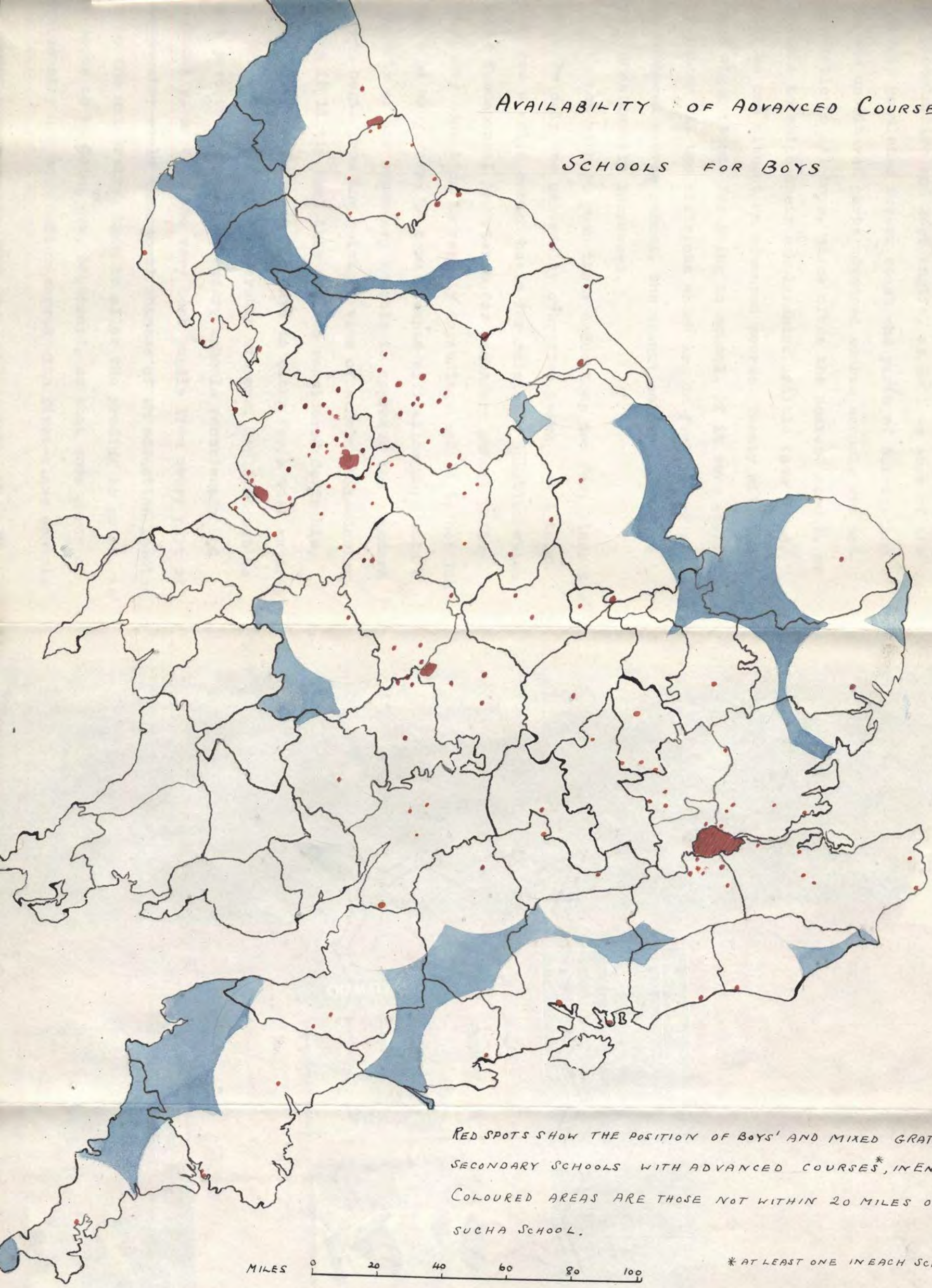
(1) See Appendix C., where detailed figures are given. 7 Schools (20 scholarships) could not be exactly identified.

(2) See Below, page 83-4.

out of 208 advanced course schools, 105, more than half, won scholarships: while out of 569 schools without advanced courses, 84, less than one-seventh, won scholarships.

It is not my purpose to compare, on the basis of the figures I have given, the efficiency of school with school. To make a fair comparison of this kind one would have to compare the scholarships won with the number of candidates from each school. The figures do show, however, that the chances of scholarship-winning for the boys in a school vary considerably with the type of school in which they happen to be. Such things as a generally early leaving-age in a school, the lack of a good advanced course, the lack of a library, or a commercial bias in the school may affect the chances of the potential scholars. The essential fact is that some schools are much more successful in winning scholarships than others, and that the chances of a clever boy's going to the former or the latter are determined largely by geography. Very seldom may a boy choose his secondary school. Distance, or the award of a 'special place' usually limits his choice to one. I have plotted on the accompanying map all the boy's and mixed grant-aided schools with advanced courses in England, and coloured the districts which are not within 20 miles of such a school. It will be seen that the coloured parts include considerable parts

Availability of Advanced Course Schools for Boys



Red spots show the position of Boys' and Mixed Grant-aided Secondary Schools with advanced courses*, in England. Coloured areas are those not within 20 miles of such a school.

* At least one in each School

of Lincolnshire and East Anglia, as well as some of the thickly populated Sussex coast and parts of Surrey. And in the uncoloured parts advanced course schools are not available to all boys, since often the nearest school, or the one to which their scholarships entitle them to go, will be one without an advanced course. Twenty miles is a very big distance for going to school. If it were possible to colour all the districts which are in fact out of reach of an advanced course school, the amount coloured would be very considerably increased.

I do not wish to push these deductions too far, since they refer to only one university over five years, yet I think they are a solid enough basis for raising a question which is of fundamental importance for secondary school policy. Secondary education is rapidly expanding, and it is not likely that for many years to come finance will allow more than a minority of the secondary schools to approach the standard of the best, from the point of view of scholarship-winning. Nor is it likely that this will be considered desirable, since the secondary schools have to cater for a vast majority who are not potential scholarship winners. Would it not be more just to grade our secondary schools consciously and nationally, so that the very best pupils from every part of the country would have equal chances of an education leading up to the university, than to allow the grading to go on, as it seems to be going on now, haphazard, so that some parts of the country are much better served with first-class schools

than others ? A solution of this problem would almost certainly involve the provision of free places at boarding schools for pupils living in scantily populated districts. It might also involve some process of re-selection of pupils at an age much above eleven plus.

III. The Private Schools.(1)

1. The two Streams of Education.

> "...no one can study any of these branches of teaching or consider the young recipients without being acutely conscious of the fact that the system of British Education is cut into two separate parts which meet only at the University stage. The distinction is between children who begin in elementary schools and may go on through secondary schools to the University, and those who are destined for the great Public Schools, still constituting a class apart. Oxford and Cambridge are now open to many students who started at the elementary school; Eton and Harrow, in effect, are not."
> (Article in THE SPECTATOR, Jan. 5, 1934.)

Before discussing the nature of the private schools, something must be said about the effect on the pupils of the division of our educational system into two compartments, not completely distinct, but nearly so. The social implications of this are very great, but this is not the place to discuss them. In a purely educational sense the division is harmful. 'Preparation for life' is a phrase commonly used to describe one of the objects of modern education. It must include preparation for life in the State of which all people are members. Within the State's educational system there is opportunity for the sharing of impressions by children of widely different social classes, with a consequent benefit to the breadth of outlook of the children and the solidarity of the State itself. Between the State and private systems of education this is not the case. By the continuance of this duality, two sets of children are growing up largely

(1) This term includes the Public Schools in so far as they are not grant-aided. I have defined the term in the Introduction.

ignorant of one another's point of view, and therefore narrower in social sympathy than they need be. At the University this difficulty is frequently overcome, but at Oxford and Cambridge some prejudice still attaches to the school from which the student comes, certain types of students tend to congregate in certain Colleges, and so on. While this may not be of much importance in itself, it reveals the gulf which still remains between those who do not have the chance of mixing at the universities. It is only if we conceive of education in a very narrow sense that we can deny that the education of both sets of pupils is lessened in value by lack of contact with one another.

2. The Extent of the Private System.

On March 31, 1933, the State schools (elementary, grant-aided secondary, and junior technical) contained 6,164,761 pupils in 23,181 schools.(1) At the same time there were about 400,000 pupils in about 10,000 private schools.(2) But the importance of the private schools is out of all proportion to the numbers of their pupils.

There is very little detailed information available about the majority of the private schools, but after the publication of the recent Report (3) one may safely generalise to the extent of saying that some are less efficient than the corresponding State schools, some are of equal efficiency,

(1) S.P.E. pages 97,99,129,149.
(2) PRIVATE SCHOOLS. REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE. H.M.S.O. 1932. Page 15.
(3) Ibid.

and some in public estimation better. Of the second sort nothing need be said beyond what I have said above, which applies to all private schools; as far as this particular group of the private schools is concerned, educational opportunities within the schools cannot differ much from those in the State system. I propose to examine the other two classes in turn.

3. Private Schools which lessen Opportunity.

> "Owing to some strange perversion of our nature there are still parents who prefer to have their children badly taught by unqualified persons for a price than well taught by trained and efficient teachers for nothing. Sooner or later such snobbery must cease to set the children's teeth on edge."
> Leading Article in THE TIMES, January 5, 1934.

The evidence published in the Report on the private schools abundantly justifies such language. Representatives of the Association of Education Committees, of the Municipal Corporations, of the National Union of Teachers, and of the Association of Head Mistresses all gave evidence of retardation, sometimes amounting to two years at eleven plus, of pupils seeking entrance to secondary schools from inefficient private schools.(1) In some cases pupils were unable to enter secondary schools at all. In more general terms, the Association of Directors and Secretaries for Education said

> "We are convinced, however, that, from the point of view both of national needs and of justice to individual children, some method should be devised for securing a reasonable standard without interfering with the individuality of the better schools."(2)

(1) PRIVATE SCHOOLS, pages 24,33,34,36.
(2) Ibid, page 26.

The Report itself, in commenting on the evidence, states

> "Some allowance must be made for the natural tendency of teachers and administrators to adopt a high standard of criticism; but after hearing and testing the evidence we are convinced that there are many schools which do not give 'an adequate education under suitable conditions' judged by any reasonable standard."(1)

I have shown above how the chances of many children of getting secondary education are destroyed by the parents' decision, even when the education is offered free; but also that economic conditions may largely account for these decisions. In the case of the private schools, especially those of an elementary type with which most of the evidence I have quoted above is concerned, economic considerations are unimportant, since elementary education of an adequate standard is always available free in the State schools. Yet the parents choose the worse schools and pay for them. After making allowance for the parents who send their children to small private schools because of ill-health, or because they consider them in some other way unfitted for the rough and tumble of the State schools, we must admit that there are many who patronise the private schools out of ignorance or from motives of snobbery. In either of the latter cases the result may be educationally detrimental to the children if the school is not well chosen, and the parents must be held responsible. There is a good deal of evidence in the Report as to the ignorance of parents about what is happening to

(1) PRIVATE SCHOOLS, page 23.

their children. The Froebel Society "said that in the case of young children it was often impossible for parents to discover what was happening until much physical and mental harm had been done." (1) In boarding schools deliberate secrecy is sometimes practised.(2) And again, the parents "usually enter the educational market as inexpert and often rather bewildered buyers, guided by vague recollections of their own schooling."(3)

I showed in Part I how family influence in education tends to work for its own children at the expense of others. It seems that, when misguided or indifferent, it may ruin the chances of its own children. I do not mean to imply, by contrast, that nothing is ever wrong with the State system. But just as the family ought to and often does act as a constant critic of the State system, so it seems, and the Report recommends,that the State should have some supervisory functions in the private schools.

The Parents' Association, in its evidence before the Committee, emphasised "their belief in the parents' right of unfettered choice in the matter of the type of school and the kind of education they thought best for their children."(4) That the parents' choice is often detrimental to their children cannot be denied; but the issue is here raised to one of principle, upon which there is considerable disagreement.

(1) PRIVATE SCHOOLS, page 32.
(2) Ibid, page 38.
(3) Ibid, page 39.
(4) Ibid, page 31.

On a point bearing upon this the Committee found itself divided: whether the legal obligation on the proprietor of a school to provide efficient instruction should relieve the parent of a similar responsibility or not.(1) But the members were agreed on the placing of an obligation on the proprietor, and regarded this as "a fundamental point in our recommendations."(2) This would involve inspection of private schools and would go far to remove schools where the standards are less than adequate. I shall return to the point of principle in Part III, when discussing the private schools in general.

4. Private Schools which increase Opportunity: The Effect of Wealth.

I do not propose to discuss whether the Public Schools are as good as, or better than, the State schools, because I do not think it possible to come to any useful conclusions in so generalised a discussion. Each type of school has its merits, which cannot always be weighed one against another, especially when comparing and day schools. But comparison of certain definite qualities, to be found both in the State schools and in the better private schools, is both possible and useful.

A frequent line of argument, in comparisons of this kind, seems to be that while the more expensive private schools,

(1) PRIVATE SCHOOLS, page 58-9.
(2) Ibid, page 54.

especially the boarding schools, have the advantage in facilities for games, in the richness of their corporate life, and perhaps in the training of character as compared with intellect, the State schools (in which I include, as always, the grant-aided schools) equal or surpass them in the more formal processes of education concerned with the acquiring of knowledge and the cultivation of the intellect. Certainly in the matter of passing examinations, few people, I think, would hold that the private schools are superior. The supporters of State education can point with pride to the increasing number of scholarships won by pupils from the State secondary schools at Oxford and Cambridge.

I have given above (page 73) figures comparing the number of scholarships won at Cambridge in the last five years by various types of school. While in the grant-aided schools as a whole there was one scholarship for every 332 boys in the schools, and in the grant-aided schools with advanced courses one for every 179 boys, in the private schools there was one for every 142 boys. This last figure was based on a total number of boys of secondary school age in the private ~~secondary~~ schools of 83,333. This is only an approximation and was obtained in the following way. The REPORT ON THE PRIVATE SCHOOLS gives 400,000 as the probable approximate total of children in such schools, 350,000 of whom are between 5 and 14. (1) Assuming one third of these latter (116,666) to be between

(1) Page 15, in the REPORT.

(2) It must be noted that the grant-aided schools, as a whole, take pupils much younger than the boarding schools, on the other hand, the latter have more pupils above the age of 16.

11 and 14, and adding the remaining 50,000, we get 166,666 children of secondary school age, of whom I assumed 83,333 to be boys. This, I think, is a maximum, since ~~the number of those under 11 in secondary schools can be more than balanced by the number of those between 11 and 14 in schools of elementary type, and~~ it is doubtful whether there are as many boys as girls in private schools. We can say, therefore, that the private secondary schools, of every type, gained one scholarship for every 142(or less)boys, while the State schools, of the most successful type, gained one for every 179.

This again, as in the figures for different types of grant-aided schools, cannot be taken as a comparison between the schools in their efficiency only. There are many other considerations which affect the issue. Home circumstances undoubtedly do so; social position makes the idea of going to the university more present in the minds of the wealthier children than of the poorer; the wealthier classes may be more intelligent, though we cannot assume this to be the case (see below, page 130). On the other hand the intellectual standards of entrance are probably nowhere higher than at the greatest of the grant-aided schools; although probably more of the best pupils leave early from the grant-aided than from the private schools. On the whole it seems true to say that while the figures need to be supplemented by others before they can be taken to prove anything, they give no reason for complacency as to the number of scholarships won

† Note

from the State schools, and they leave it as a possibility that a boy in any of the State schools might improve his chances of the highest intellectual achievement by going to one of the private schools.

I have compared the chances of boys in the State and private secondary schools. A comparison of the State and private systems as a whole has more disquieting results. The State secondary schools, with their system of 'special places,' are much more highly selective than the private schools, if we omit for the moment the selective function of fees. Therefore, in comparing the State and private systems, we must take into account the elementary schools. In 1932-3 at Oxford and Cambridge 335 scholarships were won from grant-aided secondary schools, and 254 from private schools.(1) In order to compare these figures with the total numbers of pupils who used the State and private systems respectively as avenues, or 'ladders', to scholarship winning, I took the figures for the age-group 12-13 in 1926-7, which should contain most of those who won the above scholarships. At the age of 12 plus most of the movement from private to State schools, and vice versa, has finished, and the little that goes on after that age will not seriously affect the figures. I assumed that all those in the State schools at that age would continue in them, and similarly with the private schools. In 1926-7, out of an estimated age-group of 695,722, the State system

(1) S.P.E. page 22.

accounted for 673,007 (609,800 in elementary schools, 61,324 in secondary schools, 1861 in junior technical schools etc., and 22 pupil teachers) (1). That leaves 22,715 for the private schools.

Now since the great majority of the pupils in the State system leave the elementary schools at the age of 14 and have no further education, it might seem that I am comparing private secondary schools with State elementary schools. That is not the case. I am not comparing schools at all in this instance, but the chances of children at the age of 12, and the inadequacy or otherwise of secondary school provision is one of the limiting factors upon a child's chances.

In 1926-7 there were 673,007 children of 12-13 in the State schools. Six years later the State schools won 335 scholarships at Oxford and Cambridge, that is, one scholarship for every 2009 pupils of the age-group.(2) The private schools, with an age-group of 22,715 in 1926-7, won 254 scholarships, one for every 89 pupils of the age-group. On these figures, then, the chances of winning a scholarship are more than 22 times as great for pupils using the private system as for those using the State system. The satisfaction which is expressed at the increasing number of scholarships won from the State schools should be tempered by the realisation that if ability only is taken into account, and if

(1) S.P.E. 1926-7, Page 117.
(2) The inclusion of girls as well as boys does not affect the comparison. If we left out girls and divided the figures by half the comparative figures would not be affected.

ability is evenly distributed through the community, the State schools, to give equal opportunity, would have to provide about thirty times as many scholarship winners as the private schools.

I have said enough to show that, even in purely intellectual matters, those who use the better private schools constitute a ~~highly~~ class highly privileged educationally. One may add to this all the other advantages, physical and moral, which many of them, especially the boarding schools, can offer, and one particular advantage, of great practical importance, though not perhaps strictly educational - that is,the conferring of a 'social badge' of which Dr.Norwood speaks.(1) This is of benefit socially, but, more important, it facilitates entry into many employments. The educational 'ladder' may lead to higher education for its own sake, but if it is to fulfill its proper purpose it must lead also to position in life. For all these reasons I think it may be said that the private schools constitute the greatest limitation upon ~~educational~~ equality of educational opportunity, in the sense in which I am discussing it, at the present day. Moreover, for the reasons which I have given in Part I, I believe it to be true that one of the objects, explicit or implicit, of the private school system, is to limit equality of opportunity.

(1) See above, page 42.

IV. SUMMARY.

A. Inequalities of Opportunity due to Weaknesses in the State's System.

1. The examination for Special Places is still only in an experimental stage, and while in some areas it may be truly selective, much improvement is possible in the country as a whole. The ages of candidates, and the schools from which they are drawn, cause the examination to be more difficult for some than for others. As a corrective to the failings of the examination, transfer to secondary schools of over-age candidates does not seem to be sufficiently practised(pages 47-50).

2. The Special Place accommodation and the standard required for a Special Place vary greatly from district to district (page 51).

3. Similarly with scholarships to the Universities: there are only 300 centrally administered State scholarships to the Universities. The majority of awards are made by the Local Authorities, and vary greatly in numbers, conditions and amount from district to district (pages 62-68).

4. The methods of making the awards of the Local Authorities seem in general to be unsatisfactory, judged by the numbers of failures at the provincial universities(pages 69-71).

5. The amount of either a State or a Local award, held alone, is inadequate for a course at Oxford or Cambridge, and often for London or the provincial universities. This has led to a system of loans to supplement scholarships (pages 62-68).

6. The general inadequacy of State provision is shown by the very low percentage of ex-elementary students at English universities, and especially at Oxford and Cambridge and London(pages 66-67)

7, Judged by the scholarship results for boys at Cambridge in the last five years, the State secondary school system does not seem to be well adapted for selecting the best scholars over the whole country, and is likely to become less so. Too much depends on the locality in which the boy lives and the school to which he happens to go(pages 71-76)

B. Cases where the State's System Combines with Private Action to Produce Inequalities.

8. Where the examination for Special Places is voluntary, many able children are not entered for it. Many offers of Special Places are refused by parents on behalf of their children. These refusals amounted to over 2000 in one year at Bradford, and in other areas are as many as from 5 to 8 per cent of offers. The reasons for these refusals have not been sufficiently investigated on a national scale(pages 51-55)

9. There are many withdrawals of children from secondary schools before the completion of the course for School Certificate. The majority of these must be due to parental influence, since most children are not mature enough to take such decisions for themselves before the age of 16(pages 65-6).

10.The standard of admission of fee-paying pupils to the State secondary schools is in general different from, and in many areas probably lower than the standard for free pupils. There is evidence that the free pupils make better use of their course. Since the great majority of fee-paying pupils are a een source of considerable expense to the State, it seems likely that a tightening up of the standards for their entrance might enable more money

to be spent upon deserving but poor pupils (pages 56-61).

~~11.-The-eff~~

C. Inequalities due to Private Action.

11. The effect of the existence of a private system side by side with the State system is artificially to divide the nation and to restrict the sympathies and interchange of ideas between the classes using the two systems (pages 77-8).

12. There are many private schools which are less efficient than State schools of comparable standing. The effect on the pupils is often bad educationally and physically and sometimes amounts to considerable retardation (pages 79-82).

13. The better private schools, including many of the Public Schools, not only offer social, physical and other advantages to those who can pay for them, but in a narrower sense are more successful educationally, winning scholarships at the universities out of all proportion to the percentage of the population from which they are drawn, and comparing favourably in this even with the best of the State-aided schools(pages 82-87).

14. There are large sums of money tied up in scholarships reserved to particular schools or in other close scholarships. The private schools are righer in these than the State schools, (pages 66,).

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PART III.

ARGUMENT AND CONCLUSIONS.

I. The Present Position of the State in England.

Under the codifying Act of 1921, the educational activities of the State in England may be looked at in two ways.

First, the State provides education. It provides education of a truly elementary character for all children who need it between the ages of three and eleven; a sort of super-elementary education for all who need it from eleven to fourteen and for many above that age; secondary schools where they are needed and secondary education for those capable of profiting by it and unable to pay fees; and a considerable amount of assistance to enable deserving poor students to go to the universities; not to speak of technical, adult, and continuation education and grants to universities and other bodies. In all these ways the State is a provider, but a provider of a particular kind. Specially in the main lines of elementary, secondary, and university education the State is a filler-up of gaps.(1) It is not concerned, as it is in the case of law, that everyone shall have the same education, but merely that the elements of education shall be within reach of everyone, and higher education within the reach of those who can profit by it.(2) Historically, the State has made good the deficiencies of the private system of education. Actually, now, though the State dominates education owing to the vastness of its provision, the remains of the private system still cling to their independence.

(1. Education Act, 1921. Section 14(3), 17(1) and 70(1).
(2. Ibid. Section 14(4).

Secondly, the State enforces education. Every child between five and fourteen must receive 'efficient elementary instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic.'(1). The obligation is not on the child to get the instruction, but on the parent to see that the child gets it. In this matter, as in others, the right of the family to bring up its children as it likes is overridden by the laws of the State designed to secure certain qualities in its future citizens. The upper age-limit of fourteen has been adopted for various political reasons, amongst which the most important is finance. There is no fundamental or philosophical reason why fifteen, sixteen, or seventeen should not be taken as the limit. Nor does there seem to be any fundamental reason why the State should not make education other than elementary compulsory. The important point of principle, which has been already conceded, is the interference of the State with the control of the family over its children.

In Part II I have showed certain deficiencies in educational provision, and raised certain problems. In this Part I shall discuss these chiefly from the point of view of the State, and for this purpose I shall divide what I have to say into three main sections, dealing respectively with, first, matters which require only administrative action, secondly, those which raise questions of policy, and thirdly, those which raise questions of principle as well as of policy.

(1) Education Act, 1921. Section 42.

II. Weaknesses Requiring Administrative Action only.

It is the object of the examination for Special Places in secondary schools to select the pupils who are most likely to benefit from a course at a secondary school, that is, in general terms, to choose the best intellects among the children who wish to use the State schools. I have quoted (1) the opinion of the most recent general investigator into these tests, Professor Valentine, that they are not sufficiently selective, but that there are several reforms, such as the use of Intelligence Tests, Age Allowances, Standardisation of Marking, and the Interview as a corrective of differences between schools, which improve the selectiveness of the tests, but which are not employed by all Authorities. It is Mr. Brockington's opinion (2) that in his area these reforms have proved useful. Since the technique of intelligence-testing is comparatively new, and the examination itself is still in the experimental stage, it is necessary that all Authorities, and not only the most active, should be continually trying to effect improvements. It is perhaps time that the Board of Education, in order to extend to the whole country benefits which are now confined to certain parts, undertook another survey such as the one the results of which were published in 1928. (3)

It is especially desirable that the test at 11 plus should be made compulsory for all children of the appropriate age inthe elementary schools, not only because in this way many fit candidates may be offered, and some no doubt accept, a free secondary

(1) Above, p. 47-8. (2) Above, p. 48. (3) Above, p. 49 note.

education which they might otherwise miss, but also in order that in the decision of future policy with regard to secondary education it shall be known how many fit pupils there are, and how many are refusing secondary educat on when it is offered to them.

It seems desirable also that more knowledge should be available, and more adequate arrangements made, with regard to transfer of pupils, over the examination age, to secondary schools from schools under the elementary code, and vice versa. Until the examination approaches infallibility some regular method of correcting its mistakes is necessary, in the interests alike of those deserving secondary education, and those who are wrongly placed in secondary schools and would be more happy with a more practical curriculum. As the 'Hadow' scheme comes further into operation and the Modern schools stand side by side with the Grammar schools, transfers will become more necessary.

The problem of the unequal distribution of secondary school opportunities amongst the various Authorities (1) could be solved under the present regulations by the provision of more secondary schools in the less well-served areas. This, however, would place a heavy financial burden on many poor areas, and I doubt also whether it would be the best solution. I shall discuss it later in connection with secondary school policy in general.

The most pressing of the administrative problems seems to be that of the scholarships at universities and grants given by

(1) Above, p. 51.

Local Authorities to students at the universities.(1) Here are great sums of public money, set aside for a vital purpose, yet capriciously divided between the various counties and towns, and though on the whole inadequate for their purpose, as the small percentage of ex-elementary students shews at the universities shows, yet applied so unsuccessfully that, at the provincial universities, at least, something like half of them are misplaced. Now, although all parts of the country support secondary education, comparatively few have universities; therefore there seems to be a case for the national administration of all scholarships to the universities. On the other hand, the Local Authorities maintain very different standards of secondary education, some having no advanced-course schools at all (2), and they are able at present to adjust their scholarship standards to the secondary school provision in their areas. One would expect national scholarships to reflect the figures for Cambridge (3), where the better-equipped schools obtain what seems to be more than their share of the scholarships. We are thus brought back again to the fundamental question of secondary school policy. But some immediate reform is necessary, and the most hopeful line seems to be Professor Valentine's suggestion

> "(a)That fewer entrance scholarships should be given, and that more internal scholarships should be awarded after one or more years in the university.
> (b)That the bodies (other than the universities) who award scholarships should model their procedure (in selecting) more on that of the universities, or should hand over the selection to the universities themselves."(4)

(1) Above, p. 62-71 (2) See map, p. 75 (3) Above, p. 73
(4) THE RELIABILITY OF EXAMINATIONS. Page 168.

One may object, to the second part of this suggestion, that the State scholarships, which are awarded on the results of H Higher Certificate, are comparatively successful. But the State scholars, being the cream of those most successful in Higher Certificate, would probably be win scholarships however they were examinaed. A more serious objection is that awards by the universities would discriminate against candidates from the areas weak in secondary school provision. But it seems probable that the Local Authorities could much improve their results by closer co-operation with the universities, since a successful secondary school course does not always mean a successful university career, just as success in the Special Place examination is not always a good guide to success in the secondary school. It could be arranged that all candidates for scholarships should be examinad by the university to which they propose to go, and that Local Authorities should take the opinion of the university into account when making awards.

The first part of Professor Valentine's suggestion seems entirely good from the point of view of the selection of scholars. Financially, however, it does not provide for the first year at the university. His recommendation (1) that internal scholarships might be made of greater value to compensate for this would not get rid of the necessity, for many students, of borrowing. But, taking into account also Miss Whitely's suggestion (2) that loan grants might be used to supplement loans rather than vice versa,

(1) THE RELIABILITY OF EXAMINATIONS. Page 118.
(2) THE POOR STUDENT AND THE UNIVERSITY. Page 106. Miss Whitely makes the suggestion with respect to intending teachers, but I think the idea might be extended to other students.

the best arrangement might be one by which awards are made conditionally for one year, to be made absolute and continued after the first year at the university. Even so, there would be considerable waste, in that some students would spend one year at the university and then go down, and I wish to repeat that in my opinion a solution will not be reached until the universities are brought into closer touch with their prospective students through a reform of secondary school policy.

III. Weaknesses which Make Changes of Policy Necessary.

I have said above (page 66) that the small percentage of ex-elementary students at the universities (about 55 in Wales and under 20 in England) compared with the fact that about 90 per cent of the population pass through elementary schools, seems to show inadequacy of provision for poor students at the university end of the 'ladder'. While it may be true that the distribution of intelligence in the community justifies these small percentages, it is exceedingly unlikely, and in the present state of our knowledge we certainly cannot assume it to be true (1). Again, it may be true that the present provision for ex-elementary students is sufficient; in which case the total university provision is too great and many of the non-elementary students are wasting their money. I think the bulk of opinion is against this view. It seems then that opportunities at the universities, and especially at Oxford, Cambridge and London, are very much greater for the rich than for the poor. It may be said that the

(1) See below, p. 130 and Note

question is a social one, that if the rich like to spend their money at the more expensive universities, the poor should be content with the provincial ones where they can get as good a training. Even if the actual degree course is as good at the newer universities as at Oxford or Cambridge, the matter does not end here. There are few students who would notchoose to go to Oxford or Cambridge rather than to one of the newer universities. Rightly or wrongly, the former are still regarded as the culmination of an educational career; and, rightly or wrongly, they are still regarded as the surest and easiest ways to high position in life, in Teaching, the Civil Service and other careers. They give something which cannot be got elsewhere. It would, in my opinion, be good policy for the State to increase its provision for poor students to go to Oxford and Cambridge, so that the best intellects might get into the highest positions in the State. It would also, I think, be an act of justice. If the highest rung of the 'ladder' is too difficult to reach, the lower ones lose their meaning. The most necessary reform seems to be in the amounts of the awards of Local Authorities, since the State scholars seem to well enough provided for (in 1932-3 751 out of 907 State scholars held their awards at Oxford, Cambridge, or London (1). But the conditions of award must first be reformed, so that there shall be less mistakes. Alternatively, the number of State scholarships might be increased.

(1) S.P.E. Page 177.

In Medical education, if we may take the London Medical schools as representative (1), the position is worse. The percentage of assisted students is extremely small, though the course is very long (five or six years after leaving school) and very expensive. I have not enough data to discuss this, but there seems to be a good case for enquiry into it, since the medical profession seems to be one in which the qualities required are purely personal and, unlike some of the higher diplomatic and governmental posts, no case can be advanced for the advantages of birth or wealth.

I turn next to the secondary schools.

The State spends money on the great majority of fee-paying pupils in the grant-aided schools (2). There is reason for believing that the free pupils are making better use of their secondary school courses than the fee-payers (3); i.e. that while some free pupils are ~~not~~ making less than full use of the courses, either through failure in their work or through early leaving, more fee-payers are doing so. I do not intend to raise the question whether these pupils are justifying their opportunities or not. But I question whether the money which the State is spending is being used according to the deserts of the various claimants to it; in this way. The presumption is that public money is being spent on children in secondary schools who would not be there unless they could pay part of the cost of their education; while

(1) Above, p. 66 (2) Above, p. 60-61 (3) Above, p. 59-60.

there remain in the elementary schools children of greater capacity - perhaps border-line candidates in the Special Place examination - who would be in secondary schools if they could pay fees. Even if it could be shown, as it could in some cases, that the State was spending no more money in aiding the secondary school child than in educating the other in a central school, there still remains the fact that the poorer child is more worthy of a secondary school place than the other. It must frequently be the case after a Special Place examination, that some children near the top of the list refuse places through poverty, that some just below the scholarship line cannot come in through inability to pay fees, while some lower still enter as fee-payers. Let us call the first children A, the second B, and the third C. The often quoted words of the 1921 Act, which are applicable here are as follows, "In schemes under this Part of this Act, adequate provision shall be made in order to secure that children and young persons shall not be debarred from receiving the benefits of any form of education by which they are capable of profiting ~~by~~ through inability to pay fees." (1)

The case of the A children is doubtful, since they have been offered free places, yet poverty still forbids. The words of the Act here do not cover them. But as to B and C we must either say that the B children are debarred by inability to pay fees or that the C children are incapable of profiting by secondary education. ~~Or that the Act has not~~ This dilemma will only be resolved when the qualifying standard for entrance is the same as the scholarship standard.

(1). EDUCATION ACT 1921. Section 14 (4).

To make all candidates for entrance to secondary schools take the Special Place examination as a qualifying test would be unfair in some cases on candidates from private schools and the preparatory departments of secondary schools, since the examination is designed for the elementary schools, which concentrate more on the subjects of the examination. But with the use of Intelligence Tests the difficulty does not seem insuperable. The equalisation of the qualifying and scholarship standards is probably a matter for the future, but the organisation of one qualifying examination in each area could be done at once, and seems to me a necessary reform, since it would put to rest all suspicions that ~~less capable~~ unsuitable fee-paying candidates were being accepted while more capable poor candidates were being left out. Such an examination might be made a condition of grant to the aided, as distinct from the maintained, secondary schools.

The next question goes deeper. The figures of scholarship-winning schools at Cambridge (1) by themselves prove nothing. But they seem to point to a state of affairs in which the numbers at the grant-aided secondary schools are already so large ~~that it is impe~~- and the schools themselves so numerous, that it is impossible for all the schools to aim at and achieve the same ends. To put it in a way which brings it nearer to my subject: there would seem to be some schools which can cultivate a brilliant sixth form and win many scholarships, while there are others which must concentrate on the younger boys, and where the scholar will be an exception, depending largely on his own

(1). Above, p. 73.

exertions. It seems to me that, in this connection, there are two types of scholar: one, a lone thinker, whose environment makes little difference to him - he will probably be successful in any type of school. The other depends much more on the clash of his mind with others - for his success there must be some sort of intellectual ferment around him, and therefore his chances are much better in a scholarship-winning school. Again, in remote or unambitious schools a potential scholar may never have the idea of a scholarship put before him and thus drift into employment which is beneath his mental powers(1). These considerations go some way to explain what my figures indicate, that scholarship-winning depends considerably on the school as well as the scholar. This, I think, is inevitable: and differentiation amongst the secondary schools will increase as their numbers increase. My point is that at present the differentiation is geographically arranged, so that a potential scholar's chances depend too much on the type of secondary school which happens to be within reach.

The 'Hadow' Report favours a large increase of secondary school provision, as it is understood at present,(2) and is careful to state that the new modern schools are not to compete in any way with the secondary schools (3). It seems to me, however, that there is greater risk of the secondary schools doing duties

(1)C.f.Valentine, op,cit.,page 128. "No doubt sometimes the schools err and, as a Cambridge tutor suggested to me, fail to advise a boy to try for a scholarship who subsequently proves himself well worthy of one."
(2)THE EDUCATION OF THE ADOLESCENT. Report of the Consultative Committee. H.M.S.O. 1926. Page 77.
(3)Ibid. Page 82.

more properly done by the Modern schools. Secondary education is still to some extent regarded as a social and not as a purely educational category, and there is therefore a risk of the secondary schools being filled with children not fitted for them. The Report itself says " There are diversities of gifts, and for that reason there must be diversity of educational provision. Equality, in short, is not identity..."(1) This is applied to the whole field of post-primary education, but it could be applied to the smaller field of secondary education. The Report quotes a recommendation from the Report of the Departmental Committee on Scholarships and Free Places (1920), "That variation in the type of secondary schools with a minimum leaving age of 16 should be encouraged..."(2). One of the most prevalent criticisms of State education is that it tends to produce a dead level of mediocrity. There may be some danger of this in a wide extension of an undifferentiated secondary school system. If, and When, the 'Hadow' scheme comes into full operation, ther may be a case for the approximation of some of the secondary schools to Modern school status, but there certainly seems to be a case for an arrangement by which the best intellects go, not just to 'a secondary school', but to a secondary school where there is that intellectual ferment which I have previously mentioned.

(1) THE EDUCATION OF THE ADOLESCENT. Page 78-9.
(2) Ibid. Page 79 note.

Lord Russell, speaking of schools for the clever, says "Nothing can be urged against such schools except administrative difficulties and that form of democratic sentiment which has its source in envy."(1) He, perhaps, over-emphasises the importance of the intellect in education. It is not certain that the withdrawal of the best brains would not damage the schools they left, although the fears expressed about the removal of the best scholars of the elementary schools to secondary or central schools do not seem to have been realised. It is not certain that the segregation of the best brains in special schools would not damage them, encouraging pure intellect at the expense of sympathy and knowledge, as the private school system limits sympathy now. But the pupils would be drawn from very varied homes, which would act as a corrective; and it may be argued that youth brought up to great things has often produced great leaders, who are great, not through their sympathy with ordinary mankind, but because of their superiority to it. The question here approaches that of the Public Schools, which I shall discuss later. To sum up: there seems to be a good case for the grading of secondary schools by the ability and therefore the aims of their pupils, so that opportunity of scholarship winning might be equalised. It would also, by bringing certain secondary schools into closer touch with the universities, make the giving of scholarships and grants, especially by the Local Authorities, much less hazardous than it is at present, since choice of students would be easier. Certain schools have, by a natural process, graded them-

(1)EDUCATION AND THE SOCIAL ORDER. Bertrand Russell. Allen and Unwin. 1932. Page 172.

selves, and thus, as far as grant-aided schools are concerned, opportunity for winning scholarships seems to be to some extent localised. The establishment of such schools nationally would tend to equalise opportunity(1). There does not seem to be proof that such grading would be more dangerous educationally than other grading of schools which has already been successfully carried out.

We may now take Lord Russell's difficulties in more detail. As to the objection on the score of democracy, according to Mr. I.L.Kandel American opinion would regard the English system as already insufficiently democratic, the differentiation at 11 plus tending to set up social classes (2). I do not think English opinion would follow American here. There does not seem to be any reason for disagreeing with Mr.F.S.Marvin when he says of the inequalities which the Public School system involves "But it cannot be said that on the whole the moral sense of the nation is revolted by this."(3) And a moral sense which can swallow these inequalities would not, I think, be distressed by graded State secondary schools. For an official opinion, it may suffice to re-quote the words of the 'Hadow' Report; "Equality, in short, is not identity." Finally, Mr.R.H.Tawney, in a book written for the purpose of advocating equality, says " The more anxiously, indeed, a society endeavours to secure equality of consideration for all its members, the greater will be the differentiation of

(1) Such a scheme would add very seriously to the possibilities of injustice already inherent in the system of grading schools. It would have to carry with it a comprehensive scheme of transfer
(2) In COMPARATIVE EDUCATION. Harrap.1934.Page 112.
(3) In THE NATION AT SCHOOL. O.U.P. 1933. Page 74.

treatment which, when once their common human needs have been met, it accords to the special needs of different groups and individuals amongst them." (1) I think we may take it, therefore, that in England the establishment of graded secondary schools would not be obnoxious to democratic sentiment, especially since such grading would regularise and make fairer some natural grading which, in my opinion, is already established.

The administrative difficulties can be, and in some cases have been, solved in areas of large population, in some of which it is already the custom for one school to have first choice of the Special Place scholars, or even to take pupils for its sixth form from other secondary schools in the district. In country districts it will be impossible to place such high-grade schools within the reach of all. The remedy seems to be the boarding school. I cannot conceive the possibility of State boarding schools with free places. There are, however, boarding schools, of very high intellectual standard, but not available for the poor. If these could be made available this problem might be solved. But here we reach a matter of fundamental principle.

(1) Equality. R.H.Tawney. Allen and Unwin. 1931. Page 52

IV. Weaknesses which Raise Questions of Principle as well as of Policy.

1. Problems still Requiring Solution.

We are left with the following problems:-

(a) The refusal of Special Places by parents on behalf of children. With this goes the withdrawal of children from secondary schools before they have completed their course. In neither case can the State compel the attendance of the child at the school.

(b) The bad educational effect of the existence of two systems of education which meet only at the university stage.

(c) The harm done to children by bad private schools. Legal changes are necessary before these schools can be controlled, or the parents interfered with in their choice of school.

(d) The advantages gained by children of wealthy parents at the better private schools. With this goes the question of entry into these schools of poor children, and the whole matter of endowments.

Before any of these problems can be solved, two fundamental issues must be decided. First, what is to be the scope of the State's activities in education ? Is it to cease to be the filler-up of gaps and become the controller of a complete system of education ? Secondly, is the State to deprive the family of the freedom of choice in the matter of education which it has always held in law, if not in fact ?

But before discussing either of these, I shall say something about one party to the business of education who is not always

sufficiently taken into account in discussions of this kind; that is the child.

2. The Responsibility of the Individual.

Mr.F.S.Marvin has recently written:

"But it is essential at starting to distinguish clearly between what public bodies may do, and the point of view which they must take, and the primary personal duty of self-education." (1)

And later:

"This ideal of an equal education for all, provided, or at least guaranteed, by the State, has a true, even a noble, element in it.....One will only differ as to the means by which it should be brought about. The complete theoretical socialist, for he is the defender of the policy in question, goes straight from the admission that a certain state of things would be good for society, to the claim that, if so, it is for society as a whole to take steps to secure it. Now in education the duty lies obviously on the individual, for he only can know fully his capacity and inclinations. Others may help him, including the State, but it must be for him to do the work..." (2)

A little later he cites Faraday and Stephenson as examples of men who have done great things by fending for themselves, though having little formal education.

Now this line of argument has so much truth in it that its essential falseness is likely to be concealed. One might say

(1) THE NATION AT SCHOOL. F.S.Marvin. O.U.P. 1933. Page 5.

(2) Ibid. Page 52.

that the winning of a race depends on the speed and stamina of the runners. It is true, but it leaves out the handicaps; and there are handicaps in education.

Who is this individual upon whom the primary duty lies? Is it the girl of five who is crippled with preventable tuberculosis? Is it the boy of fourteen who is selling papers because his father drinks and there is not enough money to let him stay at a secondary school? Is it the boy of fourteen who with a first-class brain who wants to become a postman or a tram-conductor or some such pleasantly uniformed functionery, thereby indulging his capacity and inclinations which "he only can know fully"?

Nor is the argument from Faraday and Stephenson a good one. Stephenson could become a great engineer because engineering was a profession in which the aristocracy was not interested. He could not have become Prime Minister. The same is true of Faraday and science. Again, to say that someone has triumphed over obstacles is not an argument for the obstacles.

I regard this matter as of the greatest importance because the argument as Mr. Marvin puts it can be used, though he does not so use it, to defend educational privilege. It can also be used, and in this way I think he does use it, to stultify argument as to the respective duties of the State and the family in education by referring the primary duty to the individual.

Now there can be no doubt that success in education depends chiefly on the child. But there can be no doubt either that a child's success can be vetoed by human forces outside itself.(1)

(1) Galton's view as to the possibilities of overcoming obstacles is given in HEREDITARY GENIUS, page 43. "To conclude: I feel convinced that no man can achieve a very high reputation without being gifted with very high abilities; and I trust that

Success in education is thus the result of co-operation between the child and forces outside itself - perhaps the family or the State, but certainly the school. It is therefore difficult to speak of a primary duty. The duty of the family or the State to the child is obvious, though difficult to define; but to whom is the child's duty owed? It must either be a duty to itself or a reciprocal duty to the family or the State. The word 'education' gives some help here, since it implies two parties, one who draws or leads out and one who is drawn or led. The word 'self-education' has no meaning unless the same person is performing both functions, and this, if school is of any value, is impossible for almost all children.

The fallacy lies, I think, in speaking of the child as an individual, and investing him with the properties of a complete person. Now neither legally nor educationally is the child a complete person. Legally he is not fully responsible for his actions in some respects until he is sixteen, in some respects until he is twenty-one. Educationally we cannot, in my opinion, put a primary duty on the child, precisely because he cannot "know fully his capacity and inclinations."

Granted, then, that success in education depends primarily on the child, and that the child may have duties to society in connection with this, I think we are justified in treating separately the duties and rights of certain parts of society with regard to the child, as a child or future citizen, though not

reason has been given for the belief, that few who possess these very high abilities can fail in achieving eminence."
It must be remembered that Galton was discussing a limited number of men, and these mostly men of genius. Genius, we may admit may be successful anywhere, but genius is very exceptional.

as a complete person or citizen. In short, whatever the child's educational rights and duties may be, they do not ~~they do not~~ absolve society from rights and duties towards the child.

Now, in the struggle between various parts of society for the rights and duties of educating, I regard the school itself, or the teaching profession, as secondary or minor participants, in spite of recent claims to autonomy (1), since the educational system cannot support itself, but must be the creature of bigger social forces. The three chief contestants have been, and are, the family, the Church, and the State (2).

I do not venture upon this discussion of fundamentals for its own sake. We are confronted with certain practical problems in England at the present time, and although the ~~decision of~~ solution of these involves decisions upon fundamentals, it does not necessitate a decision upon the whole philosophical question. In England the Church has compromised with both the State and the family, in that schools of many denominations are part both of the State and of the private systems of education. There are schools which are managed independently by certain churches for religious purposes, but it is possible that the spirit of compromise might be extended to include these, since neither the State nor the family in England is likely in the near future, with which I am concerned, to try to oust religion from the schools. [illegible] As far as educational opportunity is concerned the fundamental issue is between the State and the Family.

(1)&(2) COMPARATIVE EDUCATION. I.L.Kandel. Harrap. 1933.Page 45 and note.

3. The State and the Family.

I wish to distinguish at the outset between what the State may do and what it ought to do. Much of the opposition in England to a State system of education has come, not from a disbelief in the State's right to educate, but from fear of the dullness and biassed teaching which might result from a general State system (1). Thus J.S.Mill and other eighteenth and nineteenth century liberals preferred the system of educational privilege under which they lived to the dubious benefits of a State system. Since then, discussion of the State's rights in education has been prejudiced by arguments about the teaching of certain doctrines, the dullness of bureaucracy, and other matters which affect the desirability of State education, but not its rights. At the risk of confusion of another kind, I am going to discuss the rights of the State actions which I think necessary before explaining those actions in detail. I will therefore anticipate the next section by saying that the two principal measures which I think necessary are a general or partial raising of the leaving age, and State control of a not very pervasive kind over every school in the country.

"The family and the State have been opposing forces ever since the State first existed:"(2) and I suppose that , since the family existed before the State, if we were speaking of Natural Rights we should have to admit that the family had the prior and the better claim to the control of its children. But the question of Natural Rights is a matter of ethical and political theory. To reach a decision upon it we should have to

(1) COMPARATIVE EDUCATION. Pages 50-52.
(2) EDUCATION AND THE SOCIAL ORDER. Page 76.

sit in judgement upon most of the philosophers from Plato onwards, and the decision which we ultimately reached, while it might have value as the attainment of ultimate truth, would have little importance in the practical problems before us. For whatever may be the truth in Natural Right, the claims of the family and the State upon the child are now settled quite definitely on a basis of legal right, and it will be sufficient to discuss this much smaller problem.

The State has, in England within the last two centuries, more and more invaded the province of the family in the bringing up of its children. The parents must register births; they have not a free hand with regard to infectious diseases or employment. If the State considers that they are cruel they may be punished, or the child removed from them. And in education they are compelled not only to have the child educated between certain ages, but to see that the education is of a particular kind. If a parent favoured the old Persian education in horsemanship and the use of the bow, he could be prosecuted for not causing the child to have 'efficient elementary instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic.' Now all these interferences can be represented as being in the interests of the child itself, or of other members of society, and therefore an increase of state interference in the interests of the child can be regarded as a difference in the degree of interference but not in the kind, unless some other element were introduced. Though some of the interferences may have redounded to the interests of the State as a whole, I think it would be difficult to justify further

interference on the ground that it benefited the State, in the Hegelian sense of the term. In this way we could not lightly recommend that all children should be subjected to military training in the schools, on the ground that it was a necessity of State, nor that children of any particular racial origin should be excluded from full educational rights.

As to my particular problem of the denial of secondary education, for whatever reason, to children by their parents, I believe that to compel certain picked children to attend secondary school to an age of, say, sixteen, while leaving the general leaving age at fourteen or fifteen, would be rightly condemned as unfair to those children. But to solve the problem by a general raising of the leaving age to fifteen or, better, sixteen, would be merely an extension of a practice already well-established, since there seems to be no fundamental principle which makes fourteen a necessary stopping-place, or which prevents the State, having made education of a certain kind compulsory in the interests of the child, from going on to make other kinds compulsory for the same reason. Though in principle this would seem to be true, the practical application of it would raise a difficulty. Lord Eustace Percy says, "But compulsion is utterly alien to the whole conception of higher education, and no sound system of higher education can ever be based upon the expedient of statutory compulsion."(1) While I do not agree with this sweeping assertion.

(1) DEMOCRACY ON TRIAL. The Bodley Head. 1931. Page 128

as a whole, because of the vagueness of the term 'higher education', I do agree to this extent. If the leaving age were raised to fifteen or sixteen with a fully differentiated series of schools for those above 11 plus, though it would be right to compel a child to go to the secondary school against his parents' wishes,(1) it would be wrong to do so against his own wishes; because compulsion must be regarded(apart from its usefulness to the State) primarily as a safeguard for the children. And though, as I have said above (page 109-110) most children are incapable of choosing the best course for themselves before the age of fifteen or sixteen or later, we must allow for the exceptions. Therefore, though I think that compulsory secondary education for those judged fitted for it would not infringe the parents'rights, and would benefit many children now losing their chances, it would have to be attended by considerable safeguards if it were not to damage the interests of some children.

The second measure the rightness of which must be discussed is a general State supervision of all schools, which would involve compulsory registration and inspection and the acceptance of a certain number of free pupils, under conditions made by the State, by all schools except those whom the State might exempt.

I repeat that in this question the schools are a minor consideration. Though they may make one generation, they are made by another; they may create a society, but they also reflect one. They are a means, not an end. Therefore the opposition which is inevitable from many schools to a proposal of this sort is a

(1) Since the State already enforces a certain kind of education it might equally enforce another kind.

matter of practical politics, but not of fundamental principles. The three chief parties to this question are the children, for whom everything is to be done, and the family and the State, who dispute the doing of it. The chief point of difference is whether the State may control all schools and so restrict the family's choice and freedom. I may note in passing here that the interest of the great majority of families in educational freedom is purely academic, since they are too poor to patronise any but the State schools; but, since all are in theory free to choose what schools they like, the question must be discussed on its merits.

Though in this matter comparison with foreign countries is not in general useful, because of differing conceptions of the State, the educational history of the United States reveals the difficulties very well. In the first enthusiasm of independence opinion ran strongly towards a complete State system, on the grounds that only this could ensure equality of opportunity. (1)

> "private schools do not provide for equality of opportunity; they make education the concern of the few."

Again; "The State in the interests of its own perpetuation and progress has a duty to establish a system of education and may for that reason even over-ride the authority of parents"

The second quotation shows a-very- an extreme State view.

But by 1922 a different view of equality had come to prevail. When the state of Oregon attempted to compel all children to attend the public schools, the Supreme Court delivered judgement

(1)Quoted from Kandel, COMPARATIVE EDUCATION, page 77, where he summarises the opinions of early American writers on education.

in the following words: "We think it entirely plain that the Act of 1922 unreasonably interferes with the liberty of parents and guardians to direct the upbringing and education of children under their control....The child is not the mere creature of the State; those who nurture him and direct his destiny have the right, coupled with the high duty, to recognise and prepare him for additional obligations."(1) Mr. Stephen Foot, from whom I take this quotation, goes on to say:"In other words, it is declared as a fundamental principle that education is a function of the parent, and not of the State."(1)

We need not apply the judgement of the Supreme Court to England, but it reveals clearly the dilemma that such freedom in education for the child, as is ensured by equality of opportunity, is sometimes in conflict with the freedom of action of the parent.

In England the Committee which enquired into the private schools found itself in ~~the same dilemma~~ a similar dilemma on a smaller point (2). It found itself almost equally divided on the question whether the obligation to be put on the proprietor of a private school to provide efficient instruction, should be put on the parent also. Those who held that it should, "Consider, in the first place, that it is most undesirable to do anything which would imply, however remotely, that the parent's responsibility for the education of his own child is in any way diminished". (3)

It is to be noted,however, that the Report recommends

(1)Both quotations are from an article "The Future of the Public Schools." in THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. January 1930.
(2)Above, p.82
(3)PRIVATE SCHOOLS. Report of the Departmental Committee. Page 59

that all private schools, with a few exceptions, should be inspected(1), and I would go further only in making all schools take some free pupils. The Committee regarded the placing of an obligation on the proprietor, which would go with inspection, as a fundamental point in their recommendations.(2) In this way they would bring all private schools under State control. Here is precisely the limitation of the freedom of the parents which I advocate and which I think is justified. The parents cannot choose a school which is outside the State's control, because there are none. But, for effectiveness from the point of view of equality of opportunity, I would add that they cannot choose a school which is confined to the children of their own class or degree of wealth, because there are none of these. I would destroy, that is to say, the freedom to be exclusive.

This would be an extension of interference in education, which could be defended in this way. To destroy the Public Schools would both interfere with the parents' freedom of choice, and deprive many children of an education which many people regard as superlatively good. Therefore it would be indefensible. To open the Public Schools, and the better private schools in general,to free pupils, would slightly curtail the parents' freedom of choice, and it would deprive certain children, not of any educational advantages benefits, but of the privilege of possessing those benefits to the exclusion of others with as good a claim, as future citizens; and at the same time it would

(1)THE PRIVATE SCHOOL. Page 85. (2).Ibid. Page 54.

greatly increase the benefits available to other children. The State, then, would be extending the educational opportunities open to all children, at the expense of the educational privilege available only to a few. I do not think there can be two opinions as to the justness of such action.

As to the endowments and statutes which would have to be altered, the same thing was done on an enormous scale by the Schools Enquiry Commissioners in 1868 and afterwards, and might with equal justice be done again. To prevent the necessity of periodical redistributions in the future, the setting up of educational privilege, especially by endowment, should be controlled by law.

Lastly, it might be argued that the admission of free State pupils into the Public Schools would destroy their character the character of the schools and so ruin a thing which has taken centuries to build. But if the character of the schools depends on their exclusiveness, though the preservation of that character might be advisable for its own sake it could hardly, I think, be urged as a matter of right; for the effect of such a right would be to enhance the opportunities of some citizens, or future citizens, at the expense of others who would be incapable of exercising the right. It would be the right to a privileged position. We must admit the right of parents to get the best education possible for their children, so long as, in doing so, they do not damage the chances of others. I maintain that the chances of poor children are damaged, not by the existence, but by the exclusiveness of the Public Schools and better private schools.

4. Details of Proposed Changes.

(a). The question of the refusal of Special Places and the withdrawal of children from secondary schools will practically solve itself with the raising of the leaving age. Under present conditions it is clearly impossible to make maintenance grants so large that it will be profitable for parents to keep their children at school; and therefore we must expect refusals to continue in spite of a compulsory examination and increased knowledge of the reasons for refusal. I have said above why I think it unjust to make secondary education compulsory. If the leaving age were raised to fifteen, the number of refusals would fall because a secondary school course would mean only one extra year. If the leaving age were raised to sixteen the number of refusals would be very small indeed. If, coupled with the raising of the leaving age to either fifteen or sixteen, it was made necessary for the parents and the child to give adequate reason for the refusal of secondary education, I think the loss of chances of secondary education under this head would be almost negligible. But before such a drastic step were taken, very full knowledge of the reasons for refusals would have to be available, and, in particular, we should have to be certain that the small extras sometimes charged at secondary schools are not such as to be a burden to very poor parents.

(b). The problem of the bad private schools has been studied, and a solution proposed, in the Report on the private schools. I think such a scheme as is proposed there (1), namely, regis-

(1) Private Schools. Report of the Departmental Committee. Pp 85-6

tration, inspection, compulsory closure and the placing of responsibility on the proprietor, would solve the problem in so far as it concerns educational opportunity.

(c). I regard the problem of the better private schools as by far the most important of those I have raised. I have shown above that even in the field in which the State or State-aided schools are supposed to rival them most nearly - that of scholarship - the private schools win scholarships out of all proportion to their numbers. If we add to this, other less definable advantages, physical, cultural, and social, which many of the private schools can offer, it is evident that the inequalities of opportunity caused by the existence of these schools are considerable. Since the remedy which I propose for this state of affairs is a radical one, it needs full discussion.

I take the following at length from Mr. Kandel because it outlines the problem very well.

> "If the progress of society depends upon the trained initiative of responsible individuals, the burden of providing facilities for their education devolves upon society. The new note of the twentieth century is the recognition of individual worth and of the importance of encouraging its fullest development. Equality of opportunity can only be provided by the concerted efforts of society. Education thus becomes not a police measure of the State established in the interests of its ownsecurity and stability, but the right of every individual for the attainment of the fullest development of his abilities, irrespective of his social origin. Thus the Declaration of Geneva, endorsed by the Fifth Assembly of the League of Nations, 1924, bases the rights of the child upon the recognition "that humanity should, all consideration of race, nationality, and creed, give the child the best that it has, irrespective of race, nationality, and creed." Hence the problem ceases to be one of the control of education and becomes one of the provision of educational facilities for all. If equality of opportunity is accepted as the essential principle of the modern State, then there can be no question but

> that educational facilities must be provided by the State. If the interests of the State are best served by the fullest development of the individual, and by the promotion of variety of experience rather than by uniformity, then the task of the State is to create the best machinery for their encouragement, and its concern is not that all shall be educated alike in the same institutions, but that all shall have equal opportunities ~~of~~ for education accessible ~~open~~ to them. Accordingly, the State on these principles does not establish a monopoly to the exclusion of private schools, if there are groups which desire to maintain them, but exercises such supervision as will guarantee adequate standards in all schools."(1)

Mr.Kandel is speaking of current tendencies in educational thought. Now although this line of argument slightly confuses the issues of educational opportunity and State teaching, I am in complete agreement with it except in one point, small in this argument but fundamental to mine. There is,I think, the tacit assumption that equality of opportunity will be assured by "adequate standards in all schools". A great part of this thesis has been devoted to showing that this is not the case - that whatever the schools may offer, there are other bodies and individuals, as well as mismanagement, which will deny equality. Mr.Kandel, I think, in writing the above words, sees the State in partnership with other bodies to secure equality, and imagines that if the State only does its share, equality will be assured. If there is any truth in my interpretation of educational history, this is an unduly optimistic way of looking at the situation; the family at least, among bodies or forces different from the State, has shared with the State the burden of providing

(1). COMPARATIVE EDUCATION. Page 54. The underlining is mine.

education, but has not been concerned to provide equality of opportunity, and has tried to see that in general the standards in the schools outside the State system are higher than those in the schools inside, however adequate the latter may be. I have given reason for believing that this process is still going on; and because the State cannot spend unlimited amounts on education, I believe that the process will continue while there are any exclusive private schools left. Therefore, paradoxical as it may seem, 'adequate standards'are not enough. Only the highest standards open to all can ensure equality.

This 'race', as I see it, between the State and the family, has produced a very high standard of education. I do not, out of mere jealousy of the family, wish to lower any standards. I wish to make them more generally available.

The core of the problem is the breaking down of exclusiveness. I should adopt Dr.Cyril Norwood's suggestion that "The obvious proposal to meet the difficulty is that the schools should be made accessible to more than one social class."(1) In detail, I propose that all private schools, having been inspected, be under an obligation to take, if the Board or the Local Authority (in the case of day-schools) so wish, ten per cent of pupils free from the State schools.(2)

(1) In the SCHOOLS OF ENGLAND. Edited by Dover Wilson. Sidgwick and Jackson. 1928. Page 135.

(2) I do not regard ten per cent as adequate from the point of view of equality, but it is probably as much as could be done at present, and the effect of this upon the schools would have to be watched before an increase should be made.

The complete working out of such a scheme with all its details I cannot attempt here, but I think I can show that it is worth the working out.

In the first place, it would break down the present division of education into two almost water-tight compartments. The actual living together in school of children from very different classes of society would be a more effective social solvent than missions or school camps or other temporary contacts, which give little time for the finding of community of interest. No doubt there would be considerable hardship in some cases for the first poor children to go to wealthy schools. They might regard themselves, or be treated, as outcasts. This would have to be taken into account in choosing them. The purely intellectual type, as Dr.Norwood (1) suggests, would probably be better in a day school; and it would be wrong to send very sensitive children into this strange environment.

Secondly, the scheme would throw open opportunities in all types of education to the poor. If one of the finest products of the Public Schools is the man who ~~fills~~ fulfills the idea of 'mens sana in corpore sano', some poor boys of the right type will have a chance, in the best surroundings, of attaining the ideal. If the day school is more fitted to prepare the pure intellectual, not only will the poor have a chance there, as today, but the sons of the wealthy are more likely to go to day-schools, if they are fitted for them, when both classes are mixing in the boarding schools, and the idea of exclusiveness has

(1).The same passage as that from which the quotation on the previous page was taken.

disappeared. Thus it would be possible to arrange our educational system upon a basis of need, instead of , as at present, partly according to wealth and other things irrelevant to education.

These would be the two greatest benefits of the scheme. Their purely educational advantages would be great, but much less, I think, than their social advantages; and, since education exists to serve the needs of society, an educational system which is well adapted to the society it serves is a good system, even from the narrower point of view of the educationist.

The difficulties would be many. First, how would the pupils be chosen ? Examinations are not, at present, popular and I have shown that the Special Place examination is not above reproach. But, since the first object is to do away with exclusiveness, and to establish merit, some objective assessment is essential. An examination might miss out some able pupils, but it would miss considerably fewer than the present system, based upon wealth, does. By the time that the scheme could be brought into operation the Special Place examination will almost certainly have improved. But intellect alone will probably not be the criterion of entrance to boarding schools; therefore the recommendation of teachers should carry some weight, and the interview with the prospective Headmaster will be important. There might be a tendency to recommend, or to accept, pupils from good homes, whose accents were not noticeable, who would 'fit in' better with their new surroundings. There might thus grow up a custom

amongst comparatively wealthy parents of sending their children to the State schools in the practical certainty that they would get boarding school scholarships. The mixing would be good, but there must be no favouritism. Therefore I think that the examination, with all its faults, must remain the primary qualification. Intellect alone might not command entrance, but without good intellect there should be no chance.

Another difficulty would be the age of entrance, connected with the curriculum. The dividing line between the preparatory schools and the boarding schools is about 13 plus, as compared with 11 plus between the elementary and the day secondary schools Either, therefore, the pupils would have to be taken at 13 plus from the day schools, or the preparatory schools would have to come into the scheme. It is doubtful whether the educational value of the preparatory schools is sufficient to justify this,(1 and with them the question of finance would be most difficult, since they are mostly managed for private profit. On the other hand, there does not seem to be much educational opinion in favour of the soundness of a break at 13 or 14, and if pupils went on from day schools to boarding schools they would have two breaks within two or three years.(2) This question needs further study, but the presumption seems to be in favour of making the break at 11 plus general for all children, and therefore bringing in the preparatory schools.

(1) See Marvin, THE NATION AT SCHOOL, page 77.
(2) THE EDUCATION OF THE ADOLESCENT, pages 70-76, in which the practical unanimity of opinion in favour of a single break at 11 plus is shown.

In the matter of finance, the day schools would not be a serious problem. The present arrangements for grant might be extended to those secondary schools which still refuse aid. As to schools of elementary type, it is not likely that many would be chosen as recipients of free pupils, but to those which were the State could pay grant per pupil equal in amount to the total cost of educating a child in a public elementary school. It is possible that the scheme might act as a stimulus to private schools, in that there would be two grades of success after inspection, the lower grade being simply recognition, the higher being the qualification for taking free pupils.

The boarding schools would be more difficult. Since the free pupils must be treated in every way exactly as the others, their education would be costly. Under present conditions it seems unlikely that the State would undertake the burden for many years to come. As a matter of expediency, therefore, as well as of social justice, there is a case for a general enquiry into and redistribution of endowments. It would make the scheme possible, and it is justified both by precedent (in 1864-8) and by the claims of equality against privilege. I suggest that endowments which are at present used for reduction or abolition of fees, as well as some of those which are used for prizes, should be formed into a national fund from which scholarships would be awarded at the best schools as and when the fund permitted. Such scholarships would be limited in amount, and the most expensive schools would be left with the alternative of supplementing the scholarship so that the scholar would be on an e

equality with his fellows, or of reducing their fees and their standard of living, dress etc. If the latter were adopted, I do not think much harm would be done, since there seems to be a tendency for the boarding schools to rival each other in externals such as dress and entertainments, as much as in the more serious things of education. Here again, if the taking of free scholars came to be recognised as a stamp of high efficiency, there might be rivalry for the honour.

The national fund might be found sufficient to pay for two years at a preparatory school for the scholars. If not, and if the alternative of sending them on from the day schools were not adopted, the State might either reduce the number of scholarships, adding to them as it could, or as private benefaction helped the fund, or appeal to the motive of competition. Preparatory schools might be willing, as proof of the highest efficiency, to pay for the bulk of the education of the scholars. The cost might be met partly out of economies, partly out of increased fees.

Objections to the scheme may be made on more general grounds. The Public Schools have been attacked for their morals. It may be urged that it would be bad policy to add to the corruption of the youth of the wealthy classes, the corruption of a part, and that the best part, of the poorer classes. Against this view is the fact that the general sense of the nation, as shown by those who can afford to send their children to boarding school, seems to regard the Public Schools as desirable places. With inspection, and increased publicity, it seems likely that the

trouble, or the suspicion of trouble, will be diminished.

Again, are the Public Schools, as the schools partly of a leisured class, the guardians of culture, which would be destroyed by the infiltration of those of humbler origin ? Mr.Clive Bell, who upholds the idea of culture the civilised life being possible only for the leisured, does not think that the leisured class should be hereditary, or depend upon wealth. " There is something to be said for competitive examination. Each year the top boys and girls in the state schools might be promoted to the state-supported leisured class."(1) Alternatively he would choose them at birth, by lot. Nor does there seem much reason to suppose that the Public Schools are cultured. Mr.J.F.Roxburgh, Headmaster of Stowe School, says "the average ex-Public School boy is not really a leader of taste either of taste or of opinion."(2), and that there are many parents of Public School boys who are "wholly indifferent to learning, culture, the widening of interest or the improvement of taste."(3) Later, however, while he suggests the taking into the Public Schools of a certain number of poor boys, he says that their numbers should be kept small so that they shall not destroy the standards of the schools (4) Experiment would show whether this is likely to happen.

(1) CIVILIZATION. Clive Bell. Chatto and Windus. Phoenix Library. 1932. Page 213.
(2) Eleutheros ELEUTHEROS: THE FUTURE OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS. Kegan Paul. Page 57.
(3) Ibid. Page 52.
(4) Ibid. Page 81-2.

The Public Schools have been defended as the training grounds of the nation's leaders. While this may be so, there would be few people who would say to-day that the qualities of leadership are hereditary in the class which uses these schools. Similarly with intellect. There is evidence that the children of clever parents tend to be clever themselves(1), but there is nothing which would justify us in reserving certain schools to certain classes on the ground that those are the intellectual classes.(2)

Lastly, of freedom in the schools. Mr.Marvin has said that there is nothing of which the Public Schools are more tenacious than their independence, That may be so, but it must be remembered that it needed a Royal Commission and an Act of Parliament in the middle of last century to reform them after a long spell of independence. As to the more general question whether such a scheme as I have proposed would destroy the freedom to experiment in schools, and introduce too much State control over what is taught, I think the established position of the greater private schools, the fairly liberal tradition of the Board of Education, and the large amount of freedom to experiment already allowed in State schools should be reassuring. We cannot be certain what the State will do in the future, but, whether such a scheme were put into practice or not, if the State were determined to control teaching it would do so. The risk which would be taken in allowing the State supervision over all schools would make constant vigilance necessary, but it would be, for the sake of equalising opportunity, a risk worth taking.

(1) THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF ENGLAND AND WALES. Pages 209-216
(2) In EDUCATION AND THE SOCIAL ORDER, Lord Russell says "the

only scientifically sound position is to confess our ignorance as to the distribution of native ability and the laws of its inheritance." until more knowledge is available. And again, "nothing whatever should be presumed either for or against the intelligence of a pupil or group of pupils on account of the race or social status or personal achievements of their parents." p.55.

Dr. Norwood, in THE ENGLISH TRADITION OF EDUCATION, p.184, says, "Educability is not a matter of class: intellectual talent of every sort is produced in a certain quantity by every class of the community."

APPENDIX A.

THE FOUNDATION DATES OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS.

(N.B. The term 'private school' is used here in the sense of private-adventure school, not, as elsewhere, to mean a school not in receipt of grant.)

These figures are taken from the SCHOOLMASTERS' YEAR-BOOK AND DIRECTORY for 1930 - 1931, and include boys' and mixed schools founded up to 1930. I omitted all schools which do not take boys to the age of 16 or over. Going through the list alphabetically to the end of the letter 'L', I found 611 schools. 57 of these were undated, and 517 were English and Welsh dated secondary schools, the rest being Scottish, etc. I based my figures on the first 500 of these 517. If two dates of foundation were given, I took the first as most likely to be the date at which the money was bequeathed.

The figures can refer only to existing schools, and therefore generalisation about the earlier centuries is unsafe. My main conclusions refer to the nineteenth century where there is less risk. Again, the most ephemeral schools are the private schools, and since my concern is with educational benefactors, these do not affect the issue. An added source of inaccuracy in the sixteenth century is the attribution to Edward VI of many schools which Leach showed to have been founded much earlier.

In classing schools as day or boarding schools, I have considered as boarding schools all those which have either (a) half their pupils boarders or (b) at least 100 boarders. The second qualification gave rise to some anomalies (see Appendix B). I adopted it because boarders have more influence than day-boys in determining the character of a school (e.g. at schools where there are a large number of boarders the fees for day-boys tend to be high, and so preserve the exclusive character of the school. If it were not so it is unlikely that boarders would be attracted). Again, the few doubtful cases are chiefly outside the nineteenth century.

In the 500 schools considered there were:-

Boarding Schools, non-private.....81
Boarding Schools, private.....11
Day Schools, non-private.....387
Day Schools, private.....21

TABLE I. (See Chart I in the text) Numbers of schools founded in each century since the twelfth.

Century.	Before 1200	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20.	
Numbers	6	2	7	23	98	67	22	159	116.	Total 500.

It is interesting to note that there are less schools surviving from the eighteenth than from the fifteenth century.

TABLE II. (See Chart II in the text) This shows the distribution of the 275 schools founded since 1800 according to the numbers founded in each decade of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Decade.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1	2	3	
Numbers.	2	2	3	3	10	18	17	22	27	55	48	22	46.	Total 275.

The state of secondary education in the early part of the nineteenth century is shown by the figures for the first four decades, only ten schools in forty years. There is a rise in the 'forties, when Arnold's influence begins to spread, and this is continued through the century, but much more rapidly towards the end. 55 out of 159 schools were founded in the last decade, and 82 in the last twenty years.

The next Table represents a closer enquiry into motive. Leaving out the private schools, since the chief motive in their foundation is private profit, I distinguished the boarding from the day schools. There were left 200 day schools and 45 boarding schools.

TABLE III. (See Chart III in the text) Distribution of day and boarding schools by decades in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Decade.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1	2	3	
Day Sch.	1	0	1	1	4	6	5	10	17	52	44	20	39.	Total 200.
Boardg."	1	2	1	0	6	7	9	6	5	1	2	1	4.	Total 45.

The most curious thing here is the distribution of day school foundations in the nineteenth century. Out of 97 founded during the century 52 were in the last ten years. On the other hand the boarding school foundations rise to a peak in the 'sixties and then fall off. With such small numbers it is unsafe to draw conclusions from the fact that the boarding school foundations actually exceed the day school foundations during the three middle decades, but in view of the vastly greater numbers for whom day schools are suitable, even approximate equality between the figures is remarkable.

APPENDIX B.

FOUNDATION DATES OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

These figures are taken from the PUBLIC SCHOOLS YEARBOOK. 1933. There are 167 schools on this list. I have discussed in the text the value of a list selected, as this is, on no very clear principle.

I left out the one school in the Irish Free State on the ground of nationality, and the Royal Naval College, Dartmouth as a specialist institution not useful for discovering motives in foundation. I have, however, included in this list all the other schools, ~~not in~~ whether inside or outside England and Wales. These figures are therefore of less use for comparing with the figures in Appendix A, but they give a full picture as far as the Public Schools are concerned.

There were 165 schools left, of which 58 were day schools and 107 boarding schools. I used the same methods of analysis as in the former enquiry. The anomalies in classification showed themselves more here. Bedford School, for instance, with 270 boarders, is clearly a boarding school: with 600 day-boys, it is clearly a day school. There were 11 schools of this type, but only one of them, Edinburgh Academy (1824), was founded during the nineteenth century, and so my main conclusions are not seriously affected by these doubtful schools. I classed them all as boarding schools. The division into day and boarding schools, which I show in Table IV, is ~~therefore~~ of value as showing how many schools have survived as day schools from the sixteenth century, but it does not pretend to show the ~~comparative~~- comparative numbers of day and boarding schools founded in that century.

TABLE IV (See Chart IV in the text) Numbers of Public Schools founded in each century since the tenth, showing those at present day schools and those at present boarding schools.

Century.	Before 1000	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20.	
Day Sch.	1	0	0	2	0	2	26	11	3	13	0.	Total 58.
Boardg."	3	1	1	0	2	4	32	6	3	51	4.	Total 107.

The nineteenth century founded 64 Public Schools as against 58 in the sixteenth century; and almost half the boarding schools belong to ~~the~~ XIX century, even if we take no account of conversions.

TABLE V. (See Chart V in the text) Numbers of Public Schools founded in each decade of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The separation of day and boarding schools is here significant and can be relied upon.

Decade.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1	2	3.	
Day Sch.	1	0	1	1	2	1	1	2	2	2	0	0	0.	Total 13.
Boarding Sch.	2	1	4	1	11	5	14	7	5	1	1	1	2.	Total 55.

The boarding school figures follow roughly the same course as that shown in Appendix A (Table III), with a peak in the 'sixties and a subsequent decline. It is interesting to find Arnold's influence so strongly marked in these figures

The PUBLIC SCHOOLS WEAR BOOK also gives details of reductions of fees, scholarships, etc., and the figures on page 27 were taken from it. The following notes amplify those figures.

The three schools mentioned as being founded with money bequeathed before the nineteenth century are Newcastle-under-Lyme High School, The Hulme Grammar School, Manchester, and George Watson's College, Edinburgh.

As to reductions of fees, I left out isolated scholarships and included only those schools where reduction of fees is made in a considerable number of cases.

The twenty schools which make reductions for sons of clergy are Ardingly, Campbell College, Bloxham, Brighton, Cheltenham, Dean Close, Eastbourne, Framlingham, Haileybury, Hurstpierpoint, Lancing, Leatherhead, Marlborough, Monkton Combe, Rossall, St.Edward's Oxford, St.Lawrence Ramsgate, Trent, Weymouth and Worksop.

Epsom is the school which makes reductions for the sons of doctors, and the nine which make reduction for the sons of military or naval men are Brighton, Dean Close, Eastbourne, Imperial Service College, Kelly College, Monkton Combe, Trent, Wellington, and Weymouth.

Fettes takes 50 boys from the State-aided or inspected schools, in open competition, and educates them free.

APPENDIX C.

List of schools winning scholarships and exhibitions at Cambridge, 1929 - 1933, with the numbers won.

I. Grant-aided schools with advanced courses.

Addey and Stanhope.	1.	K.Ed.VI. B'ham.	28.	Rochester, Sir J. Williamson's	2.
Alderman Newton's. Leicester.	7.	" " Stourbridge.	9.	Rutlish, Merton.	1.
Altrincham County.	1.	" " Southampton.	3.	St.Dunstan's, Catford.	4.
Aske's.	8.	K.Ed.VII Sheffield.	7.	St.Francis Xavier, Liverpool.	1.
Bablake.	1.	K.James, Almondbury.	1.	St.Olave's.	13.
Barnsley & Holgate.	2.	Lancaster, R.Gr.	6.	St.Peter's, York.	1.
Battersea Gr.	12.	Latymer, Hammersmith.	5.	Sheffield Cent.	8.
Bedford.	13.	Leeds Gr.	2.	Sir W.St.John's, Battersea.	1.
Belper (H.Strutt).	2.	Leeds West High.	2.	Sloane, Chelsea.	4.
Berkhamsted.	3.	Lincoln City.	4.	Solihull.	1.
Bishop's Stortford.	2.	Liverpool Coll.	17.	Southend High.	4.
Blackburn Gr.	7.	Liverpool Inst.	5.	Stamford.	1.
Blackpool Sec.	1	Longton High, Stoke.	1.	Staveley.	1.
Bolton.	7.	Loughborough.	3.	Strand, Brixton.	1.
Brentwood.	4.	Macclesfield Gr.	1.	Swindon Sec.	1.
Bradford.Gr.	24.	Magnus, Newark.	2.	Taunton.	4.
Bridlington.	4.	Maidstone Gr.	2.	Ulverston Victoria.	3.
Bristol Gr.	5.	Manchester Gr.	47.	University College School.	2.
Burton-on-Trent.	1.	Marling, Stroud.	1.	Wakefield Gr.	1.
Cambridge & County.	5.	Merchant Taylors' Crosby.	3.	Wallasey Gr.	6.
Central Foundation.	3.	Middlesbrough.	1.	Walsall, Q.Mary.	2.
Cheltenham Gr.	6.	Morpeth.	2.	Watford Gr.	8.
Chesterfield.	2.	Newcastle High.	3.	West Ham Sec.	2.
Chigwell.	1.	Newcastle R.Gr.	6.	Wheelwright, Dewsbury.	2.
Colfe's.	2.	Northampton Co.	5.	Whitgift.	3.
Cotham, Bristol.	4.	Norwich.	5.	Whitgift Middle.	4.
Crypt, Gloucester.	9.	Nottingham High.	13.	Wigan.	2.
Darlington Gr.	2.	Oakham.	6.	Wilson's Gr.	1.
Emanuel, Wandsworth	3.	Owen's, Islington.	2.	Widnes.	1.
Hanley High, Stoke.	3.	Penistone.	2.	Wolstanton Co.	1.
Hereford Cath.	1.	Perse.	5.	Wolverhampton Gr.	12.
Hulme.	1.	Plymouth Coll.	6.	Worcester, R.Gr.	4.
Hymer's, Hull.	3.	Portsmouth Gr.	6.	Wyggeston Gr.	6.
King's, Chester.	1.	Preston.	1.		
K.C.S., Wimbledon.	5.	Reading.	2.		
King's, Warwick.	4.				
K.Edward, Norwich.	5.				

II. Grant-aided schools without advanced courses.

Alleyn's.	8.	Beverley.	1.	Colchester R.Gr.	7.
Alsop High, Liverpool.	6.	Borden, Sittingbourne.	1.	Cranbrook.	2.
Ashby-de-la-Zouch.	2.	Brighton Gr.	1.	Dame Allan's, Newcastle.	2.
Barnstaple.	1.	City of Oxford.	1.	Deacon's, Peterborough.	1.
Bec Sch. Tooting.	3.	Clay Cross Co.			

Devonport High. 1.
Doncaster. 2.
Ealing Co. 1.
Elland. 1.
Eltham. 1.
Derby. 1.
Foster's, Sherborne. 1.
Gosport Sec. 1.
Guildford, R.Gr. 1.
Hackney Downs. 4.
Harrogate. 1.
Harvey, Folkestone. 3.
Hastings Gr. 1.
Henley. 1.
Hereford High. 2.
Hertford. 1.
Heversham Gr. 1.
Highbury Co. 1.
Hitchin. 1.
Horsham, Collyer's. 1.
Houghton-le-Spring. 1.
Huddersfield, Royd's Hall. 1.
Huntingdon. 2.
Ilkeston Co. 1.
King's, Grantham. 1.
K.Ed.VI, King's Lynn. 3.
" " Nuneaton. 1.
K.George V, Southport. 2.
Kingston Gr. 1.
Kirkby Lonsdale. 1.
Knaresborough. 1.
Leeds, Roundhay. 1.
Long Eaton Co. 1.
Maidenhead. 1.
Manchester Mun. 1.
Market Bosworth. 1.
Market Rasen. 1.
Matlock. 1.
Monoux, Walthamstow, 2.
Quarry Bank, Liverpool. 2.
North Walsham. 2.
Priory Co. Shrewsbury. 4.
Redruth Co. 1.
Ripon. 1.
Palmers, Greys. 1.
Rotherham. 2.
Rugby (L.Sherriff). 1.
Newbury(St.Bart's) 1.
Salisbury. 1.
Selhurst. 1.
Sir T.Rich's, Gloucester. 1.
Sheffield, Firth Park. 1.
Skipton. 2.
Stretford Gr. 2.
Strode, Egham. 1.
Tamworth Gr. 1.
Thetford. 1.
Torquay. 1.
Tottenham. 1.
Vaughan Central. 3.
Wallasey, Oldershaw. 1.
Wath-on-Dearne. 1.
Wimborne. 1.
Winchester, Peter Symonds'. 3.
Wisbech. 1.
Wolverhampton Sec. 1.
Worcester, Hanley Castle. 1.

III. Schools not grant-aided (ie. those not receiving grant in a scale sufficient to take free place pupils). * See next page

Aldenham. 4.
Ampleforth. 1.
Ardingly. 1.
Ashville, Harrogate 1.
Bedales. 1.
Blundell's. 3.
Bootham. 5.
Bradfield. 2.
Bromsgrove. 2.
Brighton. 1.
Bryanston. 1.
Caldy Grange. 1.
Canford. 1.
Charterhouse. 30.
Cheltenham. 17.
Chichester Cath. 1.
Christ's Hospital. 22.
City of London. 21.
Clayesmore. 1.
Clifton. 11.
Cranleigh. 2.
Dean Close. 1.
Downside. 1.
Dulwich. 17.
Durham. 2.
Eastbourne. 1.
Epsom. 2.
Eton. 32.
Felsted. 1.
Gresham's, Holt. 12.
Haileybury. 13.
Harrow. 16.
Highgate. 12.
Holborn Estate Gr. 1.
Holmfirth. 1.
Hurstpierpoint. 1.
King's, Canterbury. 6.
King's, Rochester. 1.
Kingswood, Bath. 5.
Lancing. 4.
Leighton Park. 4.
Leys. 4.
Malvern. 13.
Margate. 1.
Marlborough. 49.
Merchant Taylors'. 8.
Mill Hill. 7.
Monkton Combe. 1.
Oundle. 13.
~~Palmers, Greys~~.
Radley. 2.
Repton. 9.
Rendcomb. 1.
Royal Masonic, Bushey. 3.
Royal Liberty, Romford. 2.
Rossall. 12.
Rugby. 19.
Rydal Mount. 1.
St. Bees. 1.
St. Christopher, Letchworth. 2.
St. Edward's Oxford. 4.
St. Ignatius, Stamford Hill. 1.
St.James, Grimsby. 1.
St.John's, Leatherhedd. 5.
St.Lawrence, Ramsgate. 1.
St.Paul's. 36.
Sedbergh. 3.
Sherborne. 5.
Shrewsbury. 19.
Sir W.Laxton, Oundle. 1.
Stowe. 14.
Tonbridge. 8.
Uppingham. 10.
Wellingborough. 2.
Wellington. 17.
Westminster. 7.
Winchester. 31.
Worksop. 6.
Wrekin. 1.
Wycliffe. 1.

IV. The following schools I could not exactly identify. I counted them all as grant-aided, but could not distinguish them as advanced course schools or otherwise.

Barrow. /.
Hereford Coll. /.
Ipswich. 2.
Latymer (two schools of this name). /3.
Mile End Central. /.
Rotherton Grammar (? Rotherham). /.
Wednesday (? Wednesbury). /.

* There are one or two schools which receive grant on a lower scale, and take no free place pupils. I have considered them as non-aided.

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ACCOUNT OF SCHOOL EXPERIENCE.

Since taking the Certificate in Teaching at Cambridge, I have taught in only one school. For four and a half years I have been an assistant master in the Boys' High School, Scarborough. This is a school of about 480 boys, maintained by the North Riding County Council, and taking fifty per cent. of 'special place' pupils, including a good many from country districts. There are two advanced courses, one in Science and the other in English, History and French and German.

I was myself educated in a boarding school from which a large number of boys went to Oxford, Cambridge, and the London Medical Schools. Many had to be rather pushed through their entrance exams. It was striking to see, in contrast with this, at Scarborough, apparently an equal number of clever boys, with good results in Higher Certificate, but only one or two a year going to the older universities, and those having a great struggle to get together the necessary funds. Others, equally clever, do not so much fail to get in - I think it can usually be done if the will is strong enough - as fail to conceive the possibility of going. In fine, the boys at the school at which I teach expect, and in general are content with, a lower station in life than those in the school in which I was educated. As far as I could judge, the boys in both schools are of equally good material. It was from this that my thesis arose.

My position has been that of assistant History specialist. I have taught from the beginning boys of all ages, from the Preparatory Forms to the Sixth, except that for the first two years I did not teach the Matriculation Forms. The History Syllabus is an exacting one both for teachers and taught, since it begins in the First Form with Pre-History, and runs through the whole of European and English History to the Nineteenth Century, which is done for School Certificate and Higher. In spite of its length I like it because it seems to put English History in its proper perspective, and it avoids the dullness of repetition until the Sixth is reached. It is quite possible to get good results, and, I think, good value, in the School Certificate year from a difficult period of History which has only been sketched as part of a larger period in the Fourth Form. All boys, in my opinion, should learn Nineteenth, and if possible, Twentieth Century History as late as possible in their school career. One criticism I have of this syllabus is that it is almost impossible to get its proper value out of Greek History in the Second Form (12 plus).

I have introduced a good deal of reading of the Old Testament into the First Form work, since otherwise Pre-History or Ancient History lacks stories. For one year I introduced a course in Civics with a Fourth Form which was unlikely to go on to School Certificate. The effect on interest was very good. As to other results I cannot say, but I think the course was of more value than a more formal History course

would have been, for those 'dull' boys. This Form has now been discontinued.

As to method, I started off as an opponent of formal class teaching, and in my second year I tried the 'project method' with a very good Second Form. The boys liked it, a large amount of written work was done, and the examination results were about up to average. I discontinued the experiment after a year because at that time there were not adequate Library facilities in the school, and because in a school where there are several strict disciplinarians the boys are bound to look upon such a lesson too much in the light of a relaxation - even so it was remarkable how with no discipline at all the class would work in complete silence for considerable periods. When they reached the Third Form the boys voted against the method as rather babyish. The 'project method', to be successful, involves, I think, choice of subjects to work at. I should like to have the experience of teaching at a school where the method is used throughout.

I have therefore come nearer to the formal method. But I believe that strict concentration for forty minutes at a time is impossible for most boys, and if enforced in one lesson has bad results in the next. I am satisfied with twenty minutes of real teaching in a lesson, and I find that that amount can be obtained willingly. Twenty minutes of willing, and at the best really interested, attention is worth forty of enforced attention. I therefore have intervals of 'conversation' in which I encourage questions and do not insist on the attention of the whole class to me. Such lessons, at their

best, are a strain, since the thread of the lesson must be kept. For success, good will is necessary on both sides, and such lessons. are impossible with a teacher or class below their best.

I believe in appealing to the eye whenever possible, and for this purpose use Time Lines, wall-charts, and broadly designed wall-maps. I have my own History Room, and have built up a set of such charts and maps, made largely by boys out of school hours. I dislike reading or having read the text-book in class, except for junior forms where practice in reading is necessary. It leads to dullness because it is unnaturally slow. I prefer to have periods of quiet reading, with difficult matters explained either before or during it. The expedients of debates, short lectures by boys, etc., I regard as useful occasionally. I have never found time for the 'document method', but in learning work always set short passages and expect thoroughness.

It will be realised that I am lucky in teaching in a school where much latitude is allowed to masters to work their own methods. The same applies to discipline. The cane is allowed but very little used. I do not regard discipline as a separate problem at all, as far as the class-room is concerned. It is subordinate to interest, and interest, in my case, though no doubt this is not a general rule, can only be ensured by complete mastery of the subject to be presented, and preparation of the method of presentation. In some lessons, therefore, the discipline is lax because of dullness. In others it appears lax at times, if the 'conversation

method' is working well. In others again it both is, and appears, good, if interesting teaching is going right through. At all times I think the best disciplinary measure is complete watchfullness, because if mischief is stopped at the beginning a word is enough. Bad discipline is, I think, an admission of dullness, and punishments for discipline an admission of failure. These are standards of perfection, and probably no teacher, certainly not I, can always attain them. But I have not used the cane for three years, and seldom do anything more violent than sending a boy out of the room. It must be noted that the discipline in the school as a whole is good.

I regard activities out of school hours as of the greatest importance in a day school, both for their intrinsic value and for the contact between master and boy which is apt to be too formal in such a school. Thus I have had great success in organising cross-country running practices, merely, I think, because I always run with the boys. From experience which I have had in organising dramatics, I am convinced that their value is great when the object in view is the benefit or pleasure of the boys in the school, much less when the main object is to enhance the reputation of the school as a school. This, I think, is a rule of general validity which is too often lost sight of. My school is a happier one through being without any near'rival'.