

National, Elementary Education.

AN

ADDRESS

BY

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DELIVERED AT A MEETING OF HEADS OF TRAINING COLLEGES, HEADS
OF DISTRICT SCHOOLS, AND OTHER SCHOOL TEACHERS AND
EDUCATIONISTS, HELD ON THE 15TH FEBRUARY, 1868,
FOR A CONFERENCE ON THE STATE OF THE
NATIONAL ELEMENTARY EDUCATION
QUESTION IN ENGLAND.

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PREFATORY NOTE.

Since the following Address was delivered, the Report of the Commissioners on Middle Class Education has been issued, and the Government plan for the improvement of the national elementary education has been stated. Having moved the memorial from the Association for the Promotion of Social Science, on which the commission on middle class education was granted by Lord Palmerston's Government, I may be permitted to express the opinion that, with shortcomings on some points, as on the extensive applicability of the half-time principle to middle class education, it is, on the whole, an excellent Report, highly deserving of the attentive study of educationists. The evidence cited in it will be found in the current of other evidence corroborative of the conclusion I advanced in my Address, that improved elementary education must be made the basis of secondary or middle class education, and should be arranged for administration under the same local educational boards with superior grades under the supervision of the same central authority. The report confirms the grounds on which I have therein challenged the doctrines of Mr. Lowe as pernicious, and his pretensions to represent national educational improvement as false. The Commissioners, after a survey of the same field of evidence in respect to educational and charitable endowments, surveyed by myself and submitted with conclusions to the Newcastle commission which were substantially adopted by it,—emphatically re-affirm the principle of those conclusions on the expediency of the transference of the functions of the Court of Chancery, in relation to those endowments, to a properly constituted educational authority,—a measure which Mr. Lowe took upon himself to set aside as ill advised,—though it had the support of eminent Chancery lawyers, with whom Lord Westbury now concurs. On the adoption of this recommendation, the necessity of additional educational grants for large portions of the country must very much depend. The Middle Class Education Commissioners now recommend that the organization of the means for the education of that class shall be confided to the charity commission, strengthened in its composition, as to the educational part. Some renovation of that commission in other respects will, I apprehend, be needed. The recent proposal of Her Majesty's Government to appoint a Minister of Education under the name of a Secretary of State, may be taken as an abandonment of the mixture of educational functions with sanitary and other functions, as exercised by the Lord President, and the Vice-President of Education, against which, as maintained by Mr. Lowe, I have argued. But the need of connecting elementary education, and thence its administration with secondary education, when examined, must (if Parliament will have the education department represented there) carry the Secretary of State, or the Education Minister, as a changing political chief or president, to the reorganized Charity Commission, where his functions may be the best exercised,—being restricted, as those of a changing party political chief ought to be, to the duties of supervision, leaving the executive functions to be ostensibly exercised on the exclusive public responsibility of the permanent Commissioners. The objection of the late Lord President that a Secretary of Education will have little to do, is an illustration of what I have stated in my Address of how deplorably little can be known in that position of what is urgently needed to be done. On the other hand, a like illustration was presented by the present Lord President of the Council in pleading to the prejudice of ignorant ratepayers, that the advancement of education by public means must needs be an augmentation of existing fiscal burthens, whereas, if he could have been duly and competently informed, he must have known that by an improved administration of the existing educational means through an educational division of labour in most of our towns, three children may be taught well, at the present common expense of teaching one comparatively ill, and that, with a due application of our educational and charitable endowments properly administered, little, if any, additional public or private expenditure will be needed, whilst education taxes efficiently applied, constitute a great means of economy of the direct burthens of penal and repressive administration, and also the great and necessary means of augmenting the productive power and riches of the country to sustain all public burthens whatsoever. The revised code has given a severe blow to confidence in departmental administration, and has created a desire on the part of school managers for better security for the future. But the best security will be in departmental re-organization, in hands that will justify confidence; and the proposal of the Government to stereotype detailed administrative regulations by statute, will be found to be ill advised, obstructive, and re-actionary.

EDWIN CHADWICK.

NATIONAL ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.

On Saturday, the 15th ult., a crowded meeting of principals of training colleges, head masters of elementary district schools, and others, friends of popular education, was held at the rooms of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, Adelphi, to discuss the present position of the question of national elementary education. Amongst those present were H. Seymour Tremenheere, Esq., Edward C. Tufnell, Esq., Commissioners of Inquiry into the Education of Young Children engaged in Agriculture; W. T. Ineson, Esq., M.A., Head Master of the Central District School of London; John J. Cromwell, Esq., Principal of St. Mark's College, Chelsea; the Rev. E. Daniel, Principal of the Training College, Battersen; Barrow Rule, Esq., Hon. Secretary of the Scholastic Registration Society; Mr. J. Todhunter, Head Master of the South Metropolitan District School; Mr. A. Mosely, Head Master of the Childrens' Institution, Stepney; Mr. Thomas Crampton, late Head Master of the British School, Brentford; Mr. Thomas Smith, Head Master of the Hampden-Gurney Schools, Marylebone; Mr. Oppler, Director of the New College, Arundel Square; Mr. G. Larkin, Secretary to the Metropolitan Association for the Promotion of the Education of Adults.

The chair was taken by Edwin Chadwick, Esq., C.B.

The CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, I feel it a great honour to be requested, by eminent and successful school-teachers, to preside at the present Meeting, and to open the discussion by an Address at this important time, when it certainly appears to me to be incumbent on those who have been long engaged in large and successful practice in elementary education, to come forward with those who have made education a special study, and submit the results of their experience and observation for the public information on the proposal of a national system of elementary education. The need of their doing so will be apparent to most of those whom I have the honour to address, who have read the discussions and speeches of Members of Parliament at the recent educational congresses. One leading position which appears to me to be necessary to impress on the public mind is that elementary education is not all much of the same sort or very much

on the same level as commonly assumed, and that there are wide differences in quality and results, not hitherto apparently discriminated between one method of teaching and another, and that as one or the other method of education and training is adopted there is danger of failure or disappointment on the one hand or on the other, a promise of success beyond any of the public anticipations. Allow me to state my observations on this position, as they have been long and somewhat peculiar.

The common practice is to look for educational results, in general society or amidst masses of populations,—a search that is most perplexing, uncertain and leading to contradictory conclusions. In my official inquiries I have looked for results from schools whence the children may be distinctly traced into actual life, and I have examined in relation to them the experience of large employers of labour in workshops and manufactories, and in agriculture, and officers of the army and navy who have seen much service; and this course of inquiry leads to clear and definite conclusions, elevating the importance of good teaching and training power, and placing its results out of the reach of controversy. I have examined the outcomes of different modes of education and training upon orphan and destitute children especially. Of the pauper children brought up in the metropolis, sometimes by a drunken adult pauper, who taught them for a pot of beer a day extra the three R's and the catechism,—of these children so taught not above one-third could be traced to respectable service; the great majority went to the "bad," to the streets as mendicants or as juvenile delinquents, or to the prisons as runaway apprentices, or as depredators. Some advances were made upon these conditions,—often, however, but little, where the children, in defiance of our recommendations and of administrative principle, were brought up under the same roof as the adult paupers, and under an inferior system of only single masters. A chaplain of Newgate, who has traced the antecedents of delinquents there, declares that the most impudent and obdurate have come out of the London poor houses; and other inquiries in prisons show that two-thirds of the prisoners have been orphan children who have passed through inferior educational conditions. The education the poorer classes do get is often of a sort that is slow, dull, and positively stupefying. Dr. Hodgson relates that he heard one of Her Majesty's late inspectors of schools declare that in certain schools he could tell pretty accurately by the pupils' faces how long they had been at school. The longer the period, the more stupid, vacant, and expressionless the face. I have heard some eminent educationists fully corroborate this observation. It is little known, certainly not to Members of Parliament, how common this quality of teaching is, and how revolting it is to the minds of most children. In truth, moreover, prolonged retention in the vitiated atmosphere of a crowded and ill-ventilated school contributes to the mental depression. I do believe that the resolution of parents of the wage class to take their children early from school and put them to any sort of work has frequently a foundation in experience that the

school is doing the child no good, and that its removal is really a mitigation of bodily as well as of mental mischief. On my own observation as a Commissioner of Inquiry, I can state that after a little time, I had only to look at the sort of man as a teacher who got the children through the three R's and the catechism, and the sort of place in which the children were kept, to anticipate the sort of answer I should get as to the outcome in the way of subsequent service, and to hear it said by overseers, "Oh, sir, they are a bad set. We can do little with them. We should be glad to be rid of them anyhow." On inquiring into the cases of the runaway apprentices, whether they had been ill-treated or not by their masters, it frequently occurred that they had no complaint to make as to the way in which they had been housed or fed, but they declared it was the labour that was painful to them, and more than they could bear. And this was true. Labour of any sort for these enervated frames was really, for a long time, severely painful, as well as difficult. The long hours of daily sedentary work;—the long years of slow teaching in school, had occasioned bodily as well as mental deterioration. Outside the school I found the juvenile population were subjected to grievous over-bodily work, and under-mental work. Inside the school there was slow, tiring, over-mental work and under-bodily work. How wide-spread are yet these violations of the laws of psychology and of physiology? Sanitary investigations have shown too an excess of upwards of fifty thousand deaths annually in the school stages, in England and Wales, which are largely influenced by the bad ventilation and over-crowding of ill-constructed schools, from which school teachers suffer excessive disease and premature mortality. Are these conditions to be maintained and extended in a national system of education? Is there no better assured future for the children in this country? This is the question to which I beg for one to submit my answer.

In Poor Law administration I did succeed in getting the half school time system adopted as a principle, the more readily, I apprehend, on the notion that it was not well to over-educate children of the lowest class. But it is found that we must give them an improved education, if we would have them cease to be paupers and delinquents. Fortunately, an assemblage of several hundred children under a contractor for the maintenance of those belonging to a number of very small parishes in the city of London, had to be dealt with, and presented the means of what we, of the Commission of Inquiry, had recommended for the treatment of pauper children, in establishments apart from adult paupers, and in such numbers as to necessitate a better order of teaching. Mr. Tufnell first called attention to the training of teachers in Holland; he took Dr. Kay and one of the Commissioners to see them; and he and Dr. Kay, now Sir J. Kay Shuttleworth, began to work together on the question, first with Aubin's school, and afterwards they proceeded in founding a separate, non-pauper training college, for the establishment of which, be it noted, Mr. Tufnell gave three year's salary. Out of this arose the training colleges, which are declared by the Rev. F. D. Maurice to be one

of the greatest blessings conferred upon the country during the last quarter of a century. But the aggregation of numbers in Aubin's establishment necessitated segregation and classification, and a division of educational labour, and a gradation of skilled teaching. There was an infant-schoolmaster, a head master, a second master, and a third master, a writing master, a drawing master, a work master, and a naval and military drill master.

By the large aggregation of several hundred children, large classes were obtained for simultaneous teaching by skilled teachers. The heads of district, and other large schools for elementary instruction, are aware of what is now to be gained by this; though Members of Parliament and others, I find, are yet unaware of the gain in time obtained by it;—that supposing the boy to have been at the infant school up to his seventh year, he will be got through the three R's in three years instead of six, as now commonly demanded for compulsion throughout the country; that is to say, to use the expression of Mr. Imeson of the central district Poor Law school of London as to what is done there with children of a very inferior physical condition, "We get the first class up to reading, with a thorough understanding of the sense of such matter as is given there in the school to read, with a clear expression of the ideas; with a clear handwriting we get them into habits of the correct spelling of words, in arithmetic to fractions and decimals, and a good understanding of the principles of arithmetic, and a general aptitude for applying them." Added to these are military and gymnastic training, exercise in elementary drawing, and in vocal music, and there is also better religious instruction.

The head teachers of large district schools will also be prepared to aver against gainsayers that all this is done as well on the half-time system, of three hours each day, or four hours on alternate days, as on the usual full-time system, and it has been proved the best on half-time each day. But what is the comparative moral outcome of this improved educational power? I asked the late Mr. Aubin, some short time before he died: "Supposing we were a great contracting national education company, who undertook to be responsible for moral failures, that is to say for misconduct, disqualifying them for respectable places?" His answer was that, setting aside the half idiotic, the scrofulous, and bodily and mentally disabled, of whom there are many in these schools—taking fair children for fair places, the failures were within two per cent. against sixty. A wide experience under which a generation almost has passed through these half-time schools warrants the assertion that it is within educational and the training power on children of the hereditary mendicant and delinquent classes, to ensure that they shall no longer be vagrants nor delinquents, no longer be spoilers, but respectable producers. The special physical training, combined with the improved mental training, gives them those aptitudes to manual service which in the case of other children are gained in the ordinary occupations of life. With the special physical training, these aptitudes are greatly advanced, I have said that it imparts to four the efficiency of five for all

ordinary labour. But, in truth, I believe it does more than that; it is avowed that when well done it imparts to three the aptitudes of five. The wide differences of result, from differences in the quality of the teaching and training power applied, have been made evident in various fields of service. In the Greenwich naval school, for example, where the education was of a sort deemed besitting the low station of sailors, a large proportion of them went to the bad, and they were avoided in the mercantile marine. The course of instruction was improved and elevated—a higher order of teachers and teaching power was applied, and subsequently a large proportion of them were sought by the mercantile marine. Now, indeed, it is in evidence that the result of some of the naval training schools is so good, that it is proposed to supply the Royal Navy exclusively by youth specially trained for it. Experienced naval captains have assured me, that they would work a ship more safely with a quarter or one-third fewer of properly educated and trained seamen, as against common seamen of the ordinary sort.

The like experience may be cited for the improved elementary instruction in military schools, such as the Chelsea school, now on the half-time system, that they are producing an increasing number of non-commissioned and even some commissioned officers. With such training made general, it would be as if the ranks of the army were made up of non-commissioned officers. The results of an improved teaching and training power are manifested in like degree in civil life. These results, however, are all dependent on skilful teaching and training. The half-time system depends for its success on well organized and skilful teaching, and I am not prepared to maintain that slow half-time teaching can be as effective as slow full-time teaching. The securities for the goodness of the half-time teaching were struck out of the Bill I prepared for the regulation of the labour of young persons in factories, and I gave up that cause as lost, and it was only saved by voluntary effort with large and good schools which have increased in the manufacturing districts. Good elementary teaching has a greater importance than is commonly supposed in imparting docility—in teaching the pupils how to learn after leaving school. In this respect the higher as well as the middle classes are placed at a disadvantage in the primary teaching on a smaller scale, in smaller numbers, and with less of system than is practicable in the larger and well organized district schools with a division of educational labour. I will give an illustration of this. When I was inquiring as to the state of the half-time schools at Rochdale, I was informed of one machine manufacturer who employed great numbers of persons, who had upon experience come to refuse to employ any but "half-timers" when he could get them for his service. I went with my friend, the Rev. Mr. Nassau Molesworth, to learn more particularly as to the qualities which the manufacturer found from experience the half-time system imparted. His answer was general, that he found the half-timers had a greater aptitude for learning and for doing whatsoever they were put to do than he could get elsewhere. "Now," said the manufacturer, "I do not know your sons, but presuming that they are like the sons of gentlemen of your class; if you were each

to bring me one of your sons and offer to me a premium with him I would not take him. I prefer taking half-timers for nothing. I know, from experience, how inapt are the boys of your class to learn, how troublesome they are to teach. You have almost to stand over them to guide their pens." I know from other large manufacturers, that they do not care to have gentlemen's sons with premiums, as they rarely find them to answer, or to pay for the trouble taken with them. This is a state of things very little satisfactory to those papas who have been paying between one and two hundred a year for the education of their sons. One leading educational principle, however, as it appears to me, is made manifest by such experience as that I have cited from Rochdale, viz., that where the technical school acquisitions are nearly the same from slow and long teaching as from quick and short school time teaching, the power of future acquisition imparted by really good and quick half school time teaching is widely different.

Some further illustration of the state of primary instruction for the higher classes may be derived from the highest educational effort of the country, that for the Royal Engineers and the Artillery. It certainly appeared to me to be questionable, as a waste of time, that after their admission to the Woolwich Academy, the young men, instead of being exclusively occupied with the special subjects of professional study, should be largely occupied in learning mathematics and other branches, which, if properly taught, they should have mastered before they came to the academy. But the answer was, that they were seldom properly taught; that their teaching had been generally so shallow that it was necessary to go over the subjects again, to ground them safely. And this was with the elite, or some sixty out of a competition of between two or three hundred! Neither the public schools nor the universities furnish preparatory instruction to sustain the competitive tests, and it is therefore necessary to have recourse to special schools, which are designated as "cramming schools." I visited some of these schools, which are under very able teachers, all competing with each other, and, as they are tested, they are certainly among the most efficient schools in the country. But the answer to the complaint of their shallow teaching was the very inferior and ill-used, ill-trained material, brought to them to work upon.

Among the adverse elements they had to deal with was a large amount of indocility. The superior public academies, appointed specially to give a training in discipline, present public examples of indiscipline and disorder utterly unexampled in the civil training colleges. All these evils go back to the defects of the elementary teaching for the higher and the middle classes, which is further shown by the examinations of the Civil Service Commissioners, where the greatest amount of plucking of the candidates of those higher and middle classes is in common arithmetic, and in spelling. Now, the middle classes may at great expense obtain better teachers, but they cannot obtain the advantages of numbers, and it is proved that the efficiency of simultaneous teaching is (within limits) as the numbers. My view is, that technical as well as other instruction will hereafter have its basis

in common elementary instruction, to all classes, as in a large part of Scotland, which will have the great social advantage, of bringing up the lower, without lowering in any way the middle or the higher classes. The superiority of trained against other teaching is not confined to half-time teaching, of which I have spoken though it has been proved that boys of the same ages of Eton, and other large public schools cannot come near the good half-time elementary teaching by a division of labour under trained teachers. I need not point out the importance of an improved elementary teaching as a foundation for any technical education.

In this point of view an improved infant school teaching should form part of a national system, for it shortens the period of elementary instruction between one and two years. In the proper infant school, teaching is included the exercise of the fingers, plaiting, threading beads, the little clay moulding, and the other exercises of the "kinder garten." In the advanced juvenile stage, in good district schools elementary drawing, as taught by the South Kensington school teachers, should be included, as giving (at an inconsiderable expense) training of the hand and the eye, which I need not say is an important training in technical aptitudes. Added to these are the qualities as imparted in these district half-time schools, by the gymnastic drills, which advance the bodily training and aptitude beyond the cricket and boating of the larger schools. In France it has been found out in the asylums for idiots, that physical training is one of the most powerful means of awakening some intelligence in them. For social reasons, as well as for the discipline of the school, vocal music is included in a course of national education. It was included in a national system of education intended by Thomas Cromwell, and sanctioned, though not executed, by Henry the Eighth. In large manufactories of districts where music has been taught, choruses and chants are heard, in relief of the monotony of labour, and giving indeed stimuli to it like that of the band to the march. "But, to think of giving the children of the poor teaching in music, in drawing, drill masters, head masters, second and third masters, will the rate-payers stand all this expense! Do you really believe that such an augmentation of expense can be obtained!" will be the first exclamation of various right hon. friends, and hon. Members of Parliament who have taken up the subject of national education with the conception of common parish schools under single teachers. No, is our answer, we want no augmentation of existing expenses;—nay, and with an improved organization of the elementary schools you may, in many cases, by the adoption of correct administrative principles, if you will be at the pains to master them, materially reduce the existing charges.

The Duke of Newcastle's commission made out that the average cost of teaching-power throughout the country was then almost £1 8s. per head of pupils taught per annum. That, however, included a great deal of inferior teaching, at inferior salaries. If any one will set up a school for forty boys, he cannot get a good trained teacher for less than £80 per annum, and generally the expense of the

good single teacher in the small school will not be less than two pounds per head per annum, whereas the expense of educational power, comprising the educational division of labour which I have described, is about half that. It is three years at one pound per head per annum for a full course as against six years at two pounds per annum on the single master system, without military drill or drawing. If, however, we augment the salaries of the teachers in the school unions to that of the single master teaching, to 30s. per head per annum a full elementary training, bodily and mental, may be imparted at £4 10s., as against £12 on the common parochial system of organization. In other words, by the division of educational labour, three scholars may be taught well, quickly, briskly, and animatingly, at the price of teaching three ill, slowly, dully, depressingly or revoltingly.

I do not claim to attribute these results solely to the one form of educational organization to which I have referred. I believe that they may be obtained by other combinations. I am assured that in Germany they get through the three R's in three years, which here commonly require six. I refer to these head district half-time schools specially, as having been particularly examined, and as having been sustained by powerful testimony. But by whatsoever arrangements the results are achieved, I may assume that they are all dependent on one form or other of trained teaching, and a division of educational labour. The subject of trained teaching which rises in importance with the question of a national education, has yet to be appreciated in Parliament, as it would seem from the recent discussions in which it appeared to be assumed that the revised code, and the method under it, of the payment for results—works passably well. I must beg leave to enlarge somewhat on that topic. Now, I may assert as a rule, which should be known, that the method of instruction being given,—“as is the teacher,” so will be the school or the pupils. Anybody may, it is thought, teach children their A, B, C, but there are various deeply considered methods of doing so, and a great deal of skill is required to apply these methods properly. Reading, including parsing, with training in distinguishing subject from predicate, may be so taught as to become an elementary training in logic. Arithmetic has been called the poor child's mathematics, and that it may be made so, and a training in logic, as shown, by my lamented friend, Horace Grant in his elementary works on arithmetic, as also by a recent treatise by my friend, Dr. Arnott. But even with these advanced methods, even trained teachers, some men of high attainments, are distanced by men of somewhat lower technical acquirements, but of more suitable temperaments and better manners.

By one teacher of a kindly manner and patient bearing, who habitually regards the different children's different rates of apprehension or mental paces, the children will be *led* to obtain the technical results in a manner to impart pleasurable associations with what has been taught, and to induce its further cultivation, and above all a capacity for learning, in whatsoever position they may be placed. By another and coarser teacher, children will be dragged, or cruelly

and brutally “tongue-banged,” and *driven* through the three R's so as to obtain results for an examination; and yet the children will be so badly impressed and disgusted by the cruel manner of teaching as to have acquired disagreeable associations with the subject taught, and be left, so far as their teaching is concerned, in their primitive and unmitigated savagery. The revised code takes no notice of this wide difference of intellectual results, and only regards the inferior or the immediate mechanical results howsoever produced. But superior teaching is of peculiar importance to the poorer classes, for taken away as they are, and will be, by the demands of domestic and industrial service at an earlier period than others, it is highly desirable that, instead of being sent away in disgust, they should be sent away with a docile habit of willing attention to whatsoever they may have to learn and to do. Giving a bounty only on the rudest or the mere mechanical results howsoever got, the revised code tends to produce and does produce coarse teaching, by coarse teachers, who drive the quick, or those who may be readily scared and driven, but neglect the slow, or those who require patient and tender treatment, and to be carefully, attentively, and laboriously led. It has always been a matter of great difficulty to get pupil teachers of a proper quality for the supply of the training colleges and the schools. They must be taken young, for they are not of a position in life in which they can wait for uncertainties or for remote chances. If they ever go into the general labour market, they are lost to the teaching service. It was thought by many that if results were paid for, the teachers would be found, but it is proved that they are not now to be found, as before, since they are not so systematically provided for the service.

As an inducement to engage in the service, as apprentices, an early promise was made, and I think wisely, when the department of education first commenced, that to those of them who might not display the highest qualifications for the office of schoolmaster, but whose conduct and attainments were satisfactory, an opportunity should be given of obtaining employment in the public service, understood to be as clerks in the public offices. As a further inducement, they were to receive their principal payment from the parliamentary grant. In fact, they were offered very much of public position, with its prestige. Now, there are persons of refined and good qualities of mind, who will make sacrifices to avoid the rudeness and the uncertainties of the open labour market. Many would object to subject themselves to the ignorant caprice of those to whom the office of school manager often falls, by the death or resignation of the first zealous founders, who yet would be willing to abide by the decision of competent and impartial judges, like the experienced inspectors of the Privy Council Office. In my observation, the value of security, even with responsibilities, and the prestige of a quasi public position, is worth full one-third, as against the value of service of the same quality in the open labour market. To despise and throw away this cheap element of economy, the security of position, at a time when

all inducements to an improved quality of service required to be carefully augmented and husbanded, as against a rising labour market, were simply ignorant waste, or worse, unless it were determined to degrade the public education.

But this Mr. Lowe has done. Taking advantage of a sinister cry got up in the House of Commons against "over education" and the increase of the votes for elementary education, he, by the revised code, abrogated the equitable claims of the pupil-teachers, as apprentices, upon the Government, claims which according to legal opinions might have been enforced in law, if the transaction had been with private individuals, and he altered their whole status to one of dependence for their position on changing and irresponsible local managers, and for their chief emoluments on the attainment of such mechanical results as I have described. The effect of this measure has been what was foreseen and foretold by those who understood the subject. The last reports of Mr. Cowie, the Inspector of the Church of England Normal Schools for schoolmasters, Mr. Bowstead, the inspector of the training schools of the British and Foreign School Society, Mr. Stokes, the reporter on the Roman Catholic training schools, concur in reporting on the disastrous effects of the measure on those institutions. The number of young men who offered themselves to the normal schools the year before the revised code was 1,177. This number was reduced, by examination, to 821, while the number who entered the normal schools last January was 486, being a reduction of one-half. The female teachers have fallen from 770 to 685. The candidates have fallen in quality as well as numbers, against an increasing demand. The direct economy claimed for the results of the revised code involves—in the degradation of the education of the people, and of their productive power and value—waste on the largest scale. Three of these colleges have sunk, most of the rest are crippled, and we have not yet got to the end of the mischief.

The effects of the measure in the quality of the teaching is described by one of Her Majesty's inspectors in the following terms:—

Dr. Morell, the school inspector states in his last report:—"The question of national education, as regards its *quantity*, has been exciting unusual attention for many months past, but comparatively little has been said on its *quality*. Convinced as I am by long observation that this is after all one of the most crucial points of the whole question, I have ventured to indicate what in my judgment are some of the weaknesses under which we are now labouring in this particular;" on which he says,—“Under the old code the intellectual stimulant applied was undoubtedly very great. The teachers were full of life, and took interest in their work. Their inner faculties were daily stirred to exercise by the necessity of giving ever fresh instruction. The logical training of grammar united with the ever interesting facts of geography, popular science, and history, applied some daily incentive to work. The scholars felt the whole atmosphere of the school-room more or less charged with these intellectual forces, and were roused to equal interest in their

lessons. The effects were seen in the eagerness with which the best boys came forward as pupil-teachers; the persistent affection with which the old scholars lingered over the scene of their first mental awakening, and the intellectual activity stirred up throughout the whole educational world." "Most of this kind of intellectual stimulus has now passed away; the school-room has comparatively a colder and more mechanical aspect about it; and it seems impossible to arouse the same amount of intellectual energy, either in the teacher or the scholars, by the present routine, as it existed previously."

Mr. SIMON LAURIE, an eminent educationist of Scotland, an experienced inspector, the visitor for the Dick Bequest Trustees, and Secretary to the Education Committee of the Church of Scotland, in a recent work on "Primary Instruction," pronounces, in relation to education in its proper sense, the revised code to be a reactionary measure, and declares that "it unquestionably has had a tendency to drive education as such out of the primary school where it is most of all needed." He observes that the "consciences of children are much injured, and their desire to labour in the discharge of their school duty weakened, if not utterly extinguished, by the rough and ready style of estimating moral qualities according to the measurable results in intellectual organization. That man is a clumsy manipulator of the tender mind who does not anxiously and scrupulously distinguish between the gain in intellectual and moral habit and the coarse and more palpable profit in respect of mere knowledge." "To test the moral qualities by the amount of intellectual ground traversed is as unjust as it is beside the whole object of education." Speaking of the practical work of the schoolmaster, he says "He has a plastic work to do; the work of moulding the untutored nature of peasant and city boyhood into a shapely form. Nor will any one regard this as an exaggeration of the teacher's office who has had opportunities of contrasting the uncombed, untamed young barbarian of civilization, distinguished for his loose and insolent carriage, his lawless manner, licentious speech, and vagrant eye, with the same child, sitting on the school bench, well habited and clean, his manner subdued into fitness with the moral order around him, his tongue under a sense of law, his countenance suffused with awakening thought, his very body seeming to be invested with reason. That such transformations are effected by the best schoolmasters, all know who have come into contact with educational agencies. And surely the man who can point to such results as the product of his labour rightly claims to have in some sense a creative function." In every direction I hear of distinguished teachers of this sort driven from the aided schools into private adventure schools, or into private commercial or other service, leaving the children to teachers of a coarser character, who, as Mr. Laurie observes, "imagine that good discipline and severity of manner and language are inseparable, whereas, on the contrary, severity defeats the very object of discipline. When the painful sense of awe pervades a school all the technical results, however high, ought to be rigidly discounted by an inspector."

The Dick Bequest in Scotland, for the trustees of which Mr.

Laurie is inspector, is a sum of one hundred and thirteen thousand pounds, yielding an interest of between four and five thousand pounds, bequeathed to the maintenance and assistance of "the county parochial schoolmasters" of Elgin, Moray, Banff, and Aberdeen, comprising one hundred and thirty-four parochial schools. The fortunate administration of this bequest has raised the literary character of the parochial schoolmasters and of the schools within the three favoured counties to a position of marked pre-eminence over those of any other part of Scotland. On the passing of the revised code, it became a question with the trustees whether the aid it proposed should be accepted for the schools in aid of which the bequest was applied. The trustees had no hesitation in repudiating the aid proffered, and they did so on the ground of its manifest tendency to degrade the education of the people, by degrading the position of the school teacher;—although the revised code would give in some instances more money than they did, £90 where they gave only £40. The revised code embodied vulgar ignorant notions of education, such as those Mr. Laurie has pointed out in the above extracts. Educationists are aware that acquisitions of a high order, which impart high general position, conduce to the better teaching of what are deemed the lower elements of instruction, even the A B C; whilst the code proceeded on the notion that the teacher's qualification might be reduced to the elements taught. The trustees require as a preliminary to participation, that teachers should pass a stringent examination on all the subjects of a high class literary and classical education, and in particular in Latin, Greek, the higher branches of mathematics and physics, while under the examination for a Government certificate Latin, Greek and physics are not required at all, and the mathematics necessary are of the most elementary character. "The teachers, who participate in the Dick's Bequest says Mr. Laurie's "report, are almost, without exception, graduates of the University of Aberdeen, and four-fifths of them are licentiates in theology. Only a small proportion are excluded from participation in the Dick's Bequest in consequence of failure to pass the examination of the trustees. These facts guarantee not only the solid acquirements of the teachers, but, which is of more importance, an elevation and solidity of moral and intellectual character which are of inestimable value in attaining the true end of the school. Those schoolmasters, who have received their preparation for their work in our normal colleges; certainly exhibit, in the very first year of their professional life, a capacity for organization, a knowledge of good methods, and a skill in teaching which university men attain only after many years of conscientious labour."—"That high intellectual qualifications unfit men for the humblest elementary work of the school is contrary to the fact. The neglect of the junior classes by schoolmasters is to be ascribed to an unsympathetic nature, mistaken methods, or a lax conscience, not to excess of intellectual endowments. Indeed, it may be safely predicted that the highest scholarship and the most effective school keeping will be found to go together." The anticipations of the trustees that the revised code

would, at increased expense, degrade the education of the people, have their verification in the testimony that in England it has degraded it, and is degrading it still further, whilst in Scotland, without the code, elementary education is maintained.

"It is to be regretted" says Mr. Mitchell, inspector of the schools of North London and East Middlesex, "that the new code reduces the attainment of all schools to the same dead level—the level of the lowest country village school. There is no encouragement to well-skilled teachers to put forth their powers, and make their schools a success and a name."

Mr. Routledge, the Inspector of the Church of England schools in the West Riding of Yorkshire, says that the schoolmasters in his district "complain that the pupil-teachers do not now come from so high a class as they formerly did, and if this be so it is a very serious thing, for children cannot be expected so readily to respect and obey those whose parents are living in the same alley and working at the same trade as their own."

These and other the like statements made by the inspectors are made, it is to be observed, with the reticence of men in office, bound to uphold, as far as they may, the authority under which they act; and I believe they are under-statements of the actual amount of degradation inflicted by the measure on the training of the rising generation by the inferior articles now got as pupil-teachers, to whom one-third less of instruction is now given than was given to the old superior pupils. But I have been assured by school-teachers that the degradation of the teaching powers has been in moral quality as well as mental quality of the teaching power. One manifestation of this is that too many of the school-teachers think themselves justified in getting back by fraud the payments which they consider to be unjustly taken from them by force, and this they do by falsifications of returns, which are difficult to detect, and which have gone on to a greater extent than is supposed, and contributed to give the new code a false appearance of success, even for its inferior mechanical results. I have recently seen an important pamphlet by Sir. James Kay Shuttleworth, in which, on other and more full evidence, he demonstrates the fact of the degradation of the elementary education of the people by the operation of the revised code.

In the presence of such teachers as Mr. Imeson of the Central District School of London, and of Mr. Mosely of the Stepney School, and others who can testify as to what has been done on the new half-time principle of teaching by having regard to the varied capacities of children for attention and mental labour, and who have thereby improved the quality of the teaching as well as reduced the time one-half, it were trite to speak of what may be done by new principles and methods which, if they are at their full development, are only at the commencement of their application. I will advert here, however, to the principle of strict attention to simplicity and the systematic avoidance of the occupation of the minds of learners, with incongruities in the subject matter taught. On their testimony, I pointed out to my friend, the late Mr. Cobden, and he

stated it in the House of Commons, that by the full adoption of the decimal system, the time of teaching arithmetic in our elementary schools might be reduced one-half, and that the quality of the teaching would be greatly improved, and that this reduction of the time of teaching might be taken as equivalent to a saving of a quarter of a million of money annually in the education grant;—a saving that should be taken into account, as well as the saving of torment to the juvenile population.

The late Professor Pillans of Edinburgh, one of the most eminent educationists of this century (of whose approbation I was proud), was profoundly impressed with the national importance of the systematic study of the principles and methods of teaching children, on some indications of which, by his son-in-law, Mr. Laurie, I have touched upon. Under this impression the professor, not a long time before his death, went up to London after consulting with Mr. Laurie, prepared to offer £2,000 for the endowment of a chair of "Pädentic" in the University of Edinburgh, and he saw Mr. Lowe, the Vice-President of the Committee of Privy Council of Education upon it. That right hon. gentleman said that he might as well tell him at once that in his opinion there were no principles in teaching, and that consequently he could not be a party to the institution of any such chair as he proposed. Here was a high dogmatic and dumb-founding declaration that there were no principles in teaching, made to a most able man, who had passed a great part of his life in the practical development of some of the most important of them? The estimable Professor went away so thoroughly snubbed that he declared he felt as if he had been asking a personal favour from the Government instead of offering a public benefaction. Other things, along with his treatment by the Vice-President, led to his revoking that part of his testament which arranged for the foundation of what few who are acquainted with the subject will not declare to have been an institution of the highest order of public importance. But only conceive what must be the administration of the educational funds of the country subjected to persons in the state of information of the right hon. gentleman, and what must be the general state of information when support can be claimed for him on the ground of the special services he has rendered to the cause of education!

Bearing in mind the educational maxim that as is the master so is the school—a maxim understood in Germany which it is our duty at this time to reiterate here in England—I could do so in the terms used by that most experienced educationist and school inspector Professor Moseley. "As I go from school to school," he says, "I perceive in each a distinctive character, which is that of the master. I look at the school and the man, and there is no mistaking the resemblance. His idiosyncrasy has passed upon it. I seem to see him reflected in the faces of the children as in so many fragments of a broken mirror." Now we have to ask of all who are interested in the great question of national education, what is the distinctive character they would have impressed upon children?

Would they have it that of a rough; which is what the revised code tends inevitably to provide for schools, or do they desire the gentleness—the benignity of a person of a good condition? If you would improve the manners of the rising generation; if you would remove the roughs from amidst our population, you must begin early, and begin with the manner of man as a school-teacher whom you would have impressed on them! Certainly any competent and impartial persons who examine the subject, or who will simply try the revised code by its results, will agree that it is a legislative disaster, and that in principle it will have to be retrieved. Most persons who examine the subject will fully concur with Mr. Laurie in his observation "That the teacher's office had recently been further magnified by the extension of the suffrage to the operative classes. It is now more than ever necessary that the time of the teachers should be wisely employed. The public will also perhaps be taught by political events to respect in the primary teacher the maker of future voters; and ungrudgingly in their own defence, if from no higher motive, to adopt measures for attracting into the profession men who will make it their aim to discipline the intellects and the wills of those committed to their care, men qualified to train as well as to instruct. The return which the public of Great Britain have already obtained for the money and attention bestowed by them on primary instruction is large and probably unequalled in any other country. But large as it is, it falls short of the expectation of those concerned in education. And until means are devised for providing the primary instructors with a career within the circle of the scholastic profession, and thus sustaining the courage of the young and ardent by the prospect of advancement, the intellectual and moral results of the most elaborate educational machinery will continue to be disappointing." Now I proceed, very confidently, to state the proved administrative means for doing so.

It being, then, a necessity to improve the quality of the elementary teaching, in what way can it be done? I have always seen that at no time have the inducements held out by the system of small parish schools under single teachers been sufficient. For what was it? What is it now at the best in small schools but dull dreary dead level of a service, with little hope of obtaining better pay than that of a mechanic, or of a second-class clerk to a tradesman, for qualities which in commerce would obtain far higher emolument and a prospect of advancement? Who would advise a young man of intellectual promise or distinction to enter into such a course?

Now, I consider it one of the great advantages of the principle of local administrative consolidation, and of school unions, on the principle of the district schools, that it provides advanced professional prospects,—that it enables and necessitates gradations of rank,—head masterships, second masterships, third masterships, and so on, and that it enables this, without any increase, and often really with a reduction of expense to the public.

I have not time to enter into details as to the constitution of such

unions,—which might vary with the conditions of different districts, nor how they may be brought about. To those who ask how the religious difficulty, and how the denominational system are to be overcome, I answer, as they will find they were overcome in the example of the Faversham school union, which I have stated at length elsewhere in my paper to the Newcastle Commission; where it was overcome with the sanction of the late Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Sumner, on the one side, and leading dissenters on the other, and where the clergy of the Established Church will be found in the same general school committee with dissenting ministers, and trustees of the chief denomination of dissenters at that place. It will be seen there that by union the time of teaching the three R's was reduced by nearly one-half. But if the dissenters' children, who were about one-third of the children in the school union, had been withdrawn, the effect would have been to prolong the time of teaching the children of the members of the Church of England more than a year, whilst it would have doubled the time in which the children of dissenters could have been taught, and more than doubled the expense for anything like an equivalent teaching. The extent of the bounties, economical and educational, derivable from union, and of the heavy penalties inflicted on the people by disunion, have yet to be made popularly known by competent local examinations and reports, which must have a powerful influence on local opinion in removing difficulties. I have had the results of teaching in the small schools examined as compared with those of the large schools, and I find they are from one-third to one-half in favour of the latter, which, by the way, is one reason why managers of those larger schools which get the most money, are the least dissatisfied with the revised code.

I have been asked to give my views on the condition of the superior or governmental administration in education. In the first place, the administration endeavours to deal directly with upwards of seven thousand parishes or places, and to dispense money through unpaid, changing, and irresponsible managers, little used to public business, whose correspondence is loose, insecure, and altogether unsatisfactory. The office has been declared to be overwhelmed with details, which it may be proved it has badly mastered, and to have been incapable of doing properly what is required. In truth—as I feel it absolutely necessary to declare, the present system is one huge imposture by the conduct of correspondence under the pretext to decide by “my Lords,” which it is quite impossible that “my Lords,” or even the secretary, can know and decide, and which are, in fact, and must be, decided really by some obscure clerks or subordinates in obscure rooms. As for changing political chiefs, whose days are occupied in parliamentary committees or attending cabinet meetings, whose nights are occupied in Parliament, and by the multifarious demands upon their attention and by correspondence, and the duties of high office, and the exigencies of party, they may be almost defied to master anything systematic that is new; and I might

confidently undertake, if it were a commission of inquiry, to show, by a few minutes examination of any Lord President or Vice-President, that he really knew nothing of the principles or the means of a proper educational system, or of the most important business that was put forth as having had his deliberate and solemn examination with others of “my Lords.” I will give one illustrative instance. Early in the volunteer movement, I endeavoured to call public attention to the expediency of transferring as much as possible of the military drill from the adult stage to the juvenile or school stage, as part of a bodily training, in which I had the support of distinguished military authorities. A gentleman, a school manager, applied to the Education Department of the Privy Council Office, to know whether they might not have an extra allowance for a drill master for the boys, and he received for answer that such a grant was wholly unprecedented. The secretary knew nothing of such a precedent. Mr. William Ewart, about the same time, asked in the House, of the Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education, whether the committee could authorize a system of military drillings in schools which had participated in the education grants; to which the Vice-President, Mr. Lowe, answered, “that the business of the council was education, and that” in his opinion, “they should confine themselves to that, and not be led aside by any other object, however desirable it might be.” The answer is characteristic of the rhetorical trick of the pompous utterance of a dogma, the answer to which is the exposition of a system. “The business of the council was education!” Surely the classical instruction of the Oxford Tutor must have been of little profit, and he could not have read his Plato, being, as he was, unaware that physical combined with mental training forms part of the high system of education, to the practical application of which Greece owed its pre-eminence. For much of the moral training included under the terms discipline, prompt obedience, self-restraint, order, patience, the schoolmaster has to depend on precepts, on words, on uncertain attention, the impression of which he cannot at once know it, and which may be evanescent;—but the drill master or the workmaster has for his training the security of visible attention, manifested by bodily acts, and deeds of proved mental efficiency. But all this combination of the physiological with the psychological elements, so largely augmenting the efficiency of the public expenditure in public education, would seem to have been beneath the dignity of the attention and comprehension of the right hon. administrator of that expenditure. His declaration, however, as to what could not be done is illustrative as to the state of high official information incident to the official position as to what was actually done, and done with “my Lords” sanction; for the fact was, that there were then district schools in the metropolitan district comprising several thousand children, and there are others of Manchester and of Liverpool, under naval and military drill-masters, whose original appointment had been sanctioned by “my Lords;” the continued contributions to whom were then sanctioned by “my Lords;” whose services were examined and reported

on by my Lords' inspector, Mr. Tuffnell, in very interesting and important reports, which I have cited, but which my Lords, it would seem, never read. The way in which the business of that department has been managed—in which Mr. Lowe appears to have seen nothing to amend—may be seen displayed in evidence before Sir John Pakington's Committee as to the way in which those same institutions were summarily tossed over to the exclusive control of the Poor Law Board without the chiefs of either department knowing really what they were. But not to be one-sided, I give two other illustrative anecdotes.

The Marquis of Salisbury, when Lord President, did a very unusual thing for one of his position, and paid a visit to the Kneller Hall Normal School, of which Dr. Temple, now the head master of Rugby, was the chief. In the course of conversation, Dr. Temple mentioned that all the salaries of the workhouse schoolmasters were paid by the Government. The Lord President took upon himself to contradict the permanent officer, and the controversy was getting too lively, when the Doctor brought down a book which proved that he was right. His Lordship was paying away to schoolmasters £30,000 a year of the public money without knowing it!

At the time of the International Exhibition in 1862, I took some of our colleagues, the foreign educational commissioners, to see the half-time district schools of mixed physical and intellectual training, with which they were greatly interested. Having heard it talked about in society that I had been showing some remarkable institutions, a right hon. friend's curiosity was excited about them, and he asked to be of our next party to see them. I was only too happy, and he went with our party of some of the chief official educationists of France. He was, with them, much interested in what he saw and was then made acquainted with. Our French friends, who were public administrators, were much amused, on being told that our strange English visitor was no other than than the Right Hon. the President of the Poor Law Board, who had pretended to official charge of all those institutions, the officers of which had been receiving communications "by order of the Board," to lead them to suppose that the President knew more than they did about them, and had solemnly deliberated upon the matter enunciated in respect to them.

Here, then, are institutions, the evidence of whose head masters, and others, is now being quoted and acted upon in Canada, by the local governments, and in the State Governments of North America, and is now under consideration in France, as being, with the mixed physical and mental training, productive of the most important educational results of the time, and involving new elementary principles, of which my Lords in charge of the elementary education of the country have continued to know absolutely nothing! I say this from having, as a matter of conscience, tried to get one Lord President and Vice-President after another to come and see and understand them, and only succeeded, and that after much solicitation, in getting the present Vice-President to go with me to see one, for a whole half hour. As to getting a Lord President to

inform himself, I have long given that up. In truth, except by accident, they cannot do it. Progress in education requires new and important combinations, and the combinations are charged upon high officers of state, of whom Lord Russell himself has given evidence that if the matter be not one of routine of their offices, if it be anything now, they really cannot attend to it. He has shown that it was in this way the preparation of the first Reform Bill was left very much to himself.

Now, is the national education, the future of the country, to continue to be charged upon organized inattention and ignorance? For the subordinates of a department, like the children of a school, are too apt to reflect the countenance of the chief, be it of animation, or apathy and aversion.

I know well enough that what I have said will not be well received by some right honourable and honourable gentlemen, who conceive that public administration can be carried on only as I have described. But I must maintain, paradoxical as it may seem in some old departments, that public administration may be, and ought to be, conducted wholly without shams. Various plans were proposed for the amendment of the old Poor Law administration, for dealing directly with between sixteen and seventeen thousand separate parishes and places. I alleged that this was impracticable, and succeeded in carrying a principle of administrative organization by which the sixteen and seventeen thousand parishes were reduced to between six and seven hundred unions, served by permanent paid officers. By this arrangement (which yet only went half-way of the reform which I purposed, and which experience will eventually bring about), the questions arising with the parish overseers, such business as parish school managers send to the Privy Council Office, was satisfactorily disposed of by the union clerks, by the paid officers, or by the board's inspectors on their visits; and only questions which required superior consideration, and matters of appeal, came to the general board. By this means the public business was brought within a manageable compass to the superior officers. I can answer for it that by the First Board of Commissioners, no letters, purporting to have been considered by the board, were sent out, that had not really and truly been considered by them, and of which the facts and justificatory reasons for their decisions, which it was then the practice to give, were not brought fully within their cognizance, and deliberated upon. And so it was with the correspondence of the First General Board of Health. For most of our business we might have sat in open court in Westminster Hall. I challenged comparison of the transaction of local business by any private professional Metropolitan agency. And so it may be with the great business of national education by means of properly constituted local educational unions, with a properly constituted superior authority or service or board of officers selected for their proved special aptitudes, and giving their whole time to the responsible performance of their duties. There can be no doubt of the advantages of "single seatedness"

and unity of administration, if any one person can be found who has displayed a mastery of administrative principles, and who has developed an accepted plan of organization for applying them. The first measures would, in my view, be provisional, and to a great extent tentative, as to local organization, which it will be seen must comprehend secondary and even superior education, and the business would be too great in the first instance for any single man without the services of assistants, who might conveniently be of co-ordinate authority or position as members of a board, as with the First Poor Law Board, or the First General Board of Health, with some amendments.

But the first business for the attainment of efficiency and economy would be one of local organization for the administration of the local means by school unions. In opposition to this we may anticipate the vulgar political platform cry against centralization, as being inimical to what is called "local self-government," a cry we commonly find raised by those who in one way or other profit by what Mr. Dickens has aptly termed "vestralization." The fact is, "centralization" has been the means of organizing local self-government in representative unions (very imperfect in constitution and action as they yet are) where nothing deserving of the name of local self-government previously existed. Instead of it being the interest of a proper "centralization" that local government should be scattered and weak, it is the interest of centralization,—with a view to the least trouble and annoyance—that the local organization and authority should be strong, and to the greatest extent self-acting and complete. When this end is obtained, the functions of the central authority are chiefly those of aid of the local administration as an appellate jurisdiction for the protection of minorities and individuals, including officers, from oppression,—as an agency for collecting information, and communicating to each locality for its guidance, the information or principles deduced from the experience of all other places from which information may be derivable; and also as an agency for the protection of the general public interests where they are compromised by defective local action. Mr. Lowe has talked of his being against "centralization." I should be glad to know what his conception of centralization is, for he has proved himself to be *for* centralization of a most pernicious sort—a centralization which the public interest in a national education and in the prevention of corruption and waste will require to be superseded—namely, the centralization of the control and direction of more than a million per annum of educational and charitable endowments, now generally worse than wasted, in the Court of Chancery. The Newcastle Commission, in a very able report, the part of which relating to this topic was drawn up by the late Master in Chancery, my lamented friend Mr. Senior, recommended that the jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery in relation to the educational endowments and charities applicable to education, and the power of visitation and of organizing new schemes for the application of their income, should be transferred to a committee of Privy Council, which might be its skilled inspectors, doing that gratis, which the

Court of Chancery is utterly incompetent to do, or does badly at an expense which would eat up the greater part of the funds of the smaller charities in question. Mr. Lowe set aside the proposition, saying, "It would be most objectionable to arm any political department with such powers," (assuming gratuitously that the proposal was to place such powers in the hands of the political chiefs, and that it was impracticable to constitute as contemplated, a special committee, as independent and free from political bias as the judicial committee of Privy Council,)—"that would be placing into its hands an immense amount of local influence." What local influence had those organizing bodies, the first Poor Law Board and the General Board of Health! And he says, "it would be quite impossible to escape the suspicion of partiality and corruption," it being impossible, in his view, to place it on the footing of a judiciary! "When trustees have to be elected for a charity," a gratuitous assumption that the same local constitution must continue in perpetuity, "there is sure to be a contest between Whig and Tory, and how could gentlemen belonging to one or other of these great parties give anything like satisfaction."

And so then, the opinions of Mr. Senior, Master in Chancery, and of Mr. Haro of the Chancery Bar, and of the Charity Commission, are tossed aside, and an amount of money exceeding the annual educational grant must continue to be misapplied, in such manner (as I have shown by the test of the outcome, and as will be proved on any proper inquiry) that they are worse than wasted,—because it passes the comprehension of the right honourable gentleman, how the superior as well as the inferior administration in this country can be other than corrupt. His consistency must be admitted, for in relation to other branches of administration he has on similar grounds declared himself against reform; as in the army, that the abolition of the purchase system and promotion by merit, as shown in continental armies, must here be promotion by job, and against railway reform, and management by contract, because the contracts must be politically jobbed. Yet he maintains that the Parliamentary system under which, according to his light, the corruption of the superior as well as inferior administration is an ultimate fact,—is the glory of the age and of the civilised world.

Now it appears to me that the cause of national education requires that we should make head against this political pessimism, and remonstrate against the constitution of the authority in which the direction of the public funds destined for its promotion may fall to the baneful influence of men, who are not merely apathetic to it, but are antipathetic and positively hostile to it; in which it is not one chance in ten that the charge falls upon an officer who has an earnest sympathy for the work in question. The greatest blows given in our time to progress in education I consider to have been given by two men in high office in the committee of the Privy Council on Education. The one was the Marquis of Salisbury who struck out the clauses of the first Factory Bill which provided securities

for a proper quality of education to be given under the half-time system, and who did so, as he avowed to me, that those clauses would lead to a national system of education, as I believe, ere this, they would have done, and, as I trust, will yet do. It has been my task to observe dangerous outbreaks in the manufacturing districts and crimes and violences, including those of the trades unions, by manufacturing labourers, the victims of ignorance,—who, but for him, would probably have passed through improved courses of education and training, by which those crimes and their miserable vices might have been prevented. This Lord President, as I am informed, more recently and consistently avowed his hostility to the school inspection, which it was his duty to direct efficiently. The other blow is that I have described of Mr. Lowe, which has struck at the training colleges by striking at their supply of pupil-teachers. Of his animus, we are, it appears to me, left no longer in doubt by the terms of his anti-reform speech, in which he declared that “our institutions in respect to education” were “as efficient as they well could be, and that he shrank from forcing education on the people.” This is at least apathy to a state of things in which, apart from the higher and the middle classes, only about one-half the lower classes possess elementary education, and that of an inferior quality,—to conditions in which the streets of our cities swarm with roughs, in which the freedom of labour is destroyed in workshops and honest workmen are enthralled by ratteners and assassins,—in which the prisons are filled with delinquents, whilst there are upwards of one hundred thousand enumerated delinquents at large, requiring the guardianship of an augmented police, and an expenditure of several millions a year in ineffective penal repression, against which he viewed with alarm an augmentation of a million of expenditure in educational prevention, and claims credit for its reduction. The sufferings of the honest poor arising from their ignorance, he viewed, it would seem, with cynical apathy until political power was given to them. Then he became sensible of political danger from their ignorance, and he was ready to concede from fear what he would not concede from sympathy or any better motive. Then he exclaimed, “I was opposed to centralization.” What centralization, I ask, other than that of his office, which it was his duty to exercise? “I am now ready to accept centralization.” To such centralization as he has shown any conception of, I think I should be opposed. “I was opposed to an education rate. I am now ready to accept it. I objected to inspection.” Here is not merely apathy, but antipathy. Those head school teachers who look forward to the visit of a competent inspector capable of appreciating good work, and who expect counsel and aid in overcoming the difficulties of advancing it, will know well enough that this hostility to inspection was hostility to the main security for the quality of the education to be given to the people, and the efficient application of the public money granted for its

promotion. “I am willing,” he said, “to create crowds of inspectors.” The comment upon this is, that the crowds of denominational inspectors in action, under his hostile supervision, require to be placed under another and better order. Imagine, however, the work of a body of officers being subjected to the direction of a chief, who had, as now, avowed not merely an indifference but a latent hostility to the exercise of their functions. Even high beneficence and sympathy, however combined with superior intelligence, imperfectly suffice, with the divided attention of political ministers in such offices: as I can say from practical experience—for when the late lamented Earl of Carlisle was chairman of the first General Board of Health, I had, as chief executive officer, to receive upwards of one hundred deputations from cities and towns, which he had appointed to receive, but was prevented doing so by sudden demands for his attendance as a cabinet minister: and even he made mistakes, very seriously affecting the public interests, in this branch of administration, when he was put to it to act upon his own imperfect information, and without the advice of his permanent colleagues. But experience proves that active beneficence is rare, and that the more common and continuous qualities of cold obstructive apathy, impatience of the work and positive antipathy, are of baleful potency in such offices. The greatest blow that the measures for the improvement of the health of the people received, was from a politically appointed chief of the General Board of Health, Lord Seymour, who came into that office with the avowal that his cardinal maxim was, “Never to act until he was obliged, and then to do as little as he could;” that is to say, for the removal of the great mass of preventible disease and premature mortality on account of which the Board was instituted. His hostility led to the extinction of some beneficent sanitary functions, which experience is proving the necessity of now restoring, and to the transference of others of them to the Privy Council, that is to say, virtually to the Lord President and to the Vice-President. The business of a properly constituted health department, I can answer for it, would task severely the individual labours of at least two superior officers of special aptitudes for the service, and I have no doubt, the proper service of a superior education department would need the same, however the work might be relieved by local organization. The effect of charging such services on officers engaged in high politics is really to put the service in the hands of clerks, whose interest is to do as little as possible, and to make things pleasant to such chiefs as the one whose state maxim I have cited. As the political Poor Law administration may be cited as an example of success, it may be here proper to aver that it will be found, on proper examination, to be an example of a grievous failure. The appointment of political chiefs has arrested advances and lowered the condition of the administration, and maintained inefficient and cruel modes of relief, at, I believe, an extra expense of a million per annum to the ratepayers.

The working of the change in the health administration to which I

have referred is displayed in the education department. The school inspectors had for years called attention to the bad ventilation, the bad warming, and the overcrowding of schools, but yet not so much as they ought to have done. It might seem at first sight that the union of the health functions with the education functions in the same hands, might be regarded as, at all events, fortunate for the amendment of the sanitary condition of the children in the schools. The medical officers of health of London, who had particular experience of the effects of bad school conditions, know too well that a large proportion of schools in their respective districts were the foci of epidemic diseases, which caused upwards of seven thousand deaths in the school stages annually in the metropolis. They memorialized the Privy Council on the grievous subject, but as they got no attention I myself headed a deputation of them to Lord Palmerston, who received them extremely well, but referred the medical officers back to my Lord President, which was deemed futile after the neglect they had already experienced; and the evils rage on. The excuse on that subject from the department would have been—"We have no power." But the answer of the public would be, "It was your duty, in common humanity, to seek power from the legislature, and to withhold grants of the public money in aid of schools reported upon by your inspectors as being in such injurious sanitary conditions." The crippling of the health functions, as displayed on that occasion in that department, will become a yet more serious evil under a national system of education, including as it must do, if it is efficient, physical training,—for in the insanitary conditions of common schools, a compulsory attendance, with the increase of numbers, will be, in a large proportion of schools, a compulsory aggravation of the overcrowding of filthy children, and the creation of more fever nests, and foci of ravaging children's epidemics.

Some of the baleful effects of the present vicious constitution of the education department will be manifest to educationists on reading the reports which it now issues.

Confined very much, as school teachers frequently are, in remote rural districts, to the four walls of the schoolroom for their professional information, it was a service and a relief to them, at the beginning of the central educational authority, to see in the reports of the first school inspectors authentic reports of what was going on elsewhere, what was being tried and how it answered, and to find a large and wide interest kept up in their service. The zealous disquisitional reports of the late Mr. Joseph Fletcher, as school inspector, I find remembered with affectionate regret. My illustrious colleague of the Institute, M. Guizot, speaking of his labours in educational administration, advances the axiom that the best laws avail but little if the hearts of the parties charged with their execution are not interested in their mission, and if they do not support it with a certain amount of enthusiasm and faith. He says "Des rapports précieux pleins de faits et de vues rédigés par les comités, les inspecteurs, les recteurs, demeurent

inconnues du public." I presented to the Newcastle Commission examples of treatises involving new and valuable views by head schoolmasters, that deserved public circulation. "Le gouvernement doit prendre soin de connaître et de répandre toutes les méthodes heureuses, de suivre tous les essais, de provoquer tous les perfectionnements." It was precisely in this view that I projected and carried with the first Poor Law Board the periodical issue of an official circular of information for the use of the officers engaged in Poor Law administration, the annual reports being too slow for the purpose and too large, and it more than paid its expenses by its first issue. But disquisition was discountenanced by the new changing political chiefs of the office, and with their advent there being little or nothing to circulate, whilst in reality there was a vast deal to be done and an increasing need for it, the publication was quietly dropped. Under the like conditions, the changing political chiefs of the education department, apathetic or antipathetic to the subject themselves, impatient of any demands on their attention, have successfully discouraged the introduction of disquisitional matter on educational progress in the inspectors' reports; and have in Parliament spoken contumeliously of the wish on the part of the inspectors to publish such matter, as a wish to "publish essays at the public expense;" *i. e.*, for the public service. With great subjects before them, the weal or woe of the rising generation, and the future moral and intellectual position of the country, the reports of my Lords themselves are of a wretched perfunctory character, such as would be barely passable from third-class patronage-appointed clerks. The reports of the inspectors have become for the most part mere dry bone skeletons—with nothing of interest to the public or to the educationist to read or to quote;—all, however, showing powerfully the miserable abjectness of the present administration, and its incapacity to meet the wants of the public for a national system of education. It is due that I should recal attention to the fact that I am not singular in my opinions on this administrative question. The description which Mr. Henry Taylor, so many years of the Colonial Office, gives in his "Statesman," of the common character of the service of political chiefs, a description confirmed by Sir James Stephen, who had even larger official experience, will be recognized by others who have passed through permanent civil offices, as correct in all its features, and so applicable to existing arrangements made in new branches of administration,—in the the guise of increasing responsibility to Parliament, and thence to the public,—that I venture to cite it here.

"The far greater proportion of the duties which are performed in the office of a Minister," says Mr. Taylor, "are and must be performed under no effective responsibility. Where politics and parties are not affected by the matter in question, and so long as there is no flagrant neglect or injustice, which a party can lay hold of, the responsibility to Parliament is merely nominal, or falls otherwise, only through casualty, caprice, and the misemployment of the time due

from Parliament to legislative affairs. Thus the business of the office may be reduced within a very manageable compass, without creating public scandal. By evading decisions whenever they can be evaded; by shifting them on other departments where by any possibility they can be shifted; by giving decisions upon superficial examinations,— categorically, so as not to expose the superficiality in propounding the reasons; by deferring questions till," as Lord Bacon says 'they resolve of themselves;' by undertaking nothing for the public good which the public voice does not call for; by conciliating loud and energetic individuals at the expense of such public interests as are dumb, or do not attract attention; by sacrificing everywhere what is feeble and obscure to what is influential and cognizable:—by such means and shifts as these, the single functionary granted by the theory may reduce his business within his powers, and perhaps obtain for himself the most valuable of all reputations in this line of life, that of a 'safe man:' and if his business, even thus reduced, strains, as it well may, his powers and industry to the utmost, then (whatever may be said of the theory) the man may be without reproach—without other reproach—at least than that which belongs to men placing themselves in a way to have their understanding abused, their sense of justice corrupted, their public spirit and appreciation of public objects undermined." "Of and from amongst those measures which are forced upon him 'to choose' that which will bring him the most credit with the least trouble has hitherto been the sole care of a statesman in office, and, as a statesman's official establishment has hitherto been constituted, it is care enough for any man. Every day, every hour, has its exigencies, its immediate demands, and he who has hardly time to eat his meals cannot be expected to occupy himself in devising good for mankind. 'I am,' says Mr. Landor's statesman, 'a waiter at a tavern where every hour is dinner time, and pick a bone upon a silver dish.' The current compulsory business he gets through as he may; some is undone, some is ill done, but at least to get it done is an object which he proposes to himself. But as to the inventive and suggestive portions of a statesman's business, he would think himself a Utopian dreamer if he undertook them in any other way than through a reconstitution and reform of his establishments." "One who with competent knowledge should consider well the number and magnitude of those measures which are postponed for years or totally pretermitted, not for want of practicability, but for want of time and thought; one who should proceed with such knowledge to consider the great means and appliances of wisdom which lie scattered through this intellectual country;—squandered upon individual purposes, not for want of applicability to national ones, but for want of being brought together and directed; one who, surveying these things with a heart capable of a people's joys and sorrows, their happy virtue or miserable guilt on these things dependent, should duly estimate the abundant means unemployed, these exalted ends unaccomplished—could not choose, I think, but say within himself, that there must be something fatally

amiss in the very idea of statesmanship on which our system of administration is based."

The basis of the administration of the education department of the Privy Council Office, displays the absence of special aptitude, or inaptitude, distracted attention, and practical irresponsibility.

I submit it then as a duty to invite concurrence in the declaration made upon more justificatory matter than I can adduce on the present occasion, that there is little hope for any efficient progress in any system of national education which shall be entrusted to such distracted heads and torpid hands, even with the improved local organization which I have contended for.

In respect to the executive hands of a central department, the inspectors, there is one topic, in which you will be interested, connected with the religious difficulty, as one source of gross waste and insufficiency in school inspection. At present there are four sets of denominational inspectors visiting the same district and giving what is well known to be very inefficient inspection, for it commonly seems to be the business of each denominational inspector to make things pleasant in all that relates to the schools of that denomination. I have confined myself to the question of secular instruction, leaving the great question of religious instruction to be dealt with by the religious authorities;—but on the testimony of clerical inspectors, I may venture to say, that under the present system, the religious instruction is frequently badly, or unimpressively given; for the head masters have not time to give it, and it is given generally by the pupil-teachers. It is, I believe, given better and more befittingly in the army, where it is given at set times by the chaplains of the several denominations to the children of their respective flocks. By school unions, the children may be so grouped as to render the better performance of this religious duty more convenient and practicable. I would submit that the religious authorities of the several denominations may be asked in the interest of their flocks to give their own direct inspection, and rendering the administrative inspection undenominational, and confining it to the secular teaching; for it is to the interest of their flocks in that respect, not that the inspector should make things pleasant, but that the secular teaching should be efficient, and it will be all the more efficient by confining the inspection to the secular service. As a rule, the wider the area of inspection, the more varied the experience brought within the field of observation, and the more efficient the inspector. At present the good methods that may be adopted in the secular teaching of the children of one denomination, are lost for the children of another by the denominational system of inspection. The money expended on three or four sets of denominational inspectors would, I believe, suffice to provide extra inspection on special subjects, as the drill and physical exercises, and the sanitary state of the schools. Much of the general governmental local inspection is now conducted on an erroneous and wasteful principle, which it is time to bring under consideration. The chief functions

required in much of governmental inspection, the simply administrative, or legal, are comparatively narrow, and such as a man of good general education may easily master. Governmental, medical, or health inspection, will, in my view, be required to be more extensively provided for the sick poor relieved in union or district hospitals. The same health inspector might by appropriate arrangements do the work of school, of factory, and prison inspection, within the same districts, instead of sending special inspectors for each set of institutions: and he might also inspect local sanitary works.

In respect to the future appointments of school inspectors, we may claim that they should be thrown open to the profession: and for a better protection of the public against jobbing, we might contend for the application of a very special form of the principle of open competitive examinations, including a clinical examination (so to speak) of the methods of teaching. There is much to say on the loss of efficiency and the waste of money incurred by the want of a general competent supervision of several large educational institutions, which are managed separately though they are paid for out of the public taxes, and are under direct governmental charge.

I beg leave to submit the order of the topics for consideration and discussion with a view to practical action. As it is now a common conception that the number of places under public aid for elementary education should be increased from seven to eleven thousand, and these places with schools under the single teacher system, it appears to me that the matter more immediately before us, is whether there is to be a further multiplication of schools on that, the old parochial system, often so wastefully carried out by the Privy Council,—a system which I find reported on by Mr. Fraser, as having been carried out in America with these results,—“That the multiplication of schools on the township principle leads to an unnecessary multiplication of teachers; that to a reduction of salaries, and this to the employment of incompetent persons.” By this system he shows that the required gradation of schools in a district is rendered impracticable. Now, whatsoever differences of opinion there may be amongst the heads of colleges or of the larger schools here, as to different methods of teaching, such as the best size of classes—or as to classification in the compartments of long rooms in large buildings, or classification in separate rooms or in separate buildings, which would often be eligible for the utilization of existing buildings in school unions,—I apprehend there will be little difference between us as to the advantages of a division of educational labour, in applying any good methods with efficiency and economy, in reducing the time of school attendance, in bringing that attendance within children's capacity of effective attention, in better conciliating the school attendance with the demands of domestic and other service, and in reducing the need of compulsory attendance. School unions, it will be agreed, are necessary to obtain this educational division of labour. School unions, under a good local organization, are necessary to secure the

efficient application of general as well as of local funds, and as a foundation for a competent, superior, governmental department of education. Improved local organizations or school unions are moreover necessary to provide an improved primary education, as a foundation for an improved secondary or technical education, as well as an improved superior education. I have not had time to enter into this last topic, and I have thought it proper to wait, and see how far the recommendations of the Commissioners of Inquiry into middle class education may be conformable to the principles established in relation to primary education. In many places the existing educational means, including the school fees of those able to pay them, will, I believe, be found to be ample, and those fees would be the more readily given for increased accomplishments, such as physical training, elementary drawing and music;—in other districts, as in the new districts of increasing populations there will, I believe, be found to be great deficiencies to be supplied. But until local examinations are made on the principles I have endeavoured to set forth, I cannot see how the financial conditions for a general measure of education can be ascertained; nor, until the reduced demands for school attendance are put forth, can I see how the extent of the need of compulsory provisions, beyond those already provided in the case of vagrant children, can be determined. It is admitted, I think on all sides, that an improved secondary education, and I add an improved superior education, must have its basis on an improved elementary education. And in the smaller provincial towns certainly, in my view, the basis will have to be connected with the superstructure, as in the example of Faversham, in one school union.

I have much to say on the waste of money and the scattering of the direct educational functions of the Government, which ought to be brought under the supervision of a properly constituted educational department. Long as my address has been, I have yet left unanswered several important questions, on administrative principles as well as on details, that have been put to me. I have trespassed too much on the time due for the exposition of the opinions of others in discussion, in my efforts to expound the chief organic principles of administration. Those who may desire to see more full proofs than I have had time to adduce in support of the chief propositions I have advanced, besides those, relating to the revised code, will find them in the evidence I collected from experienced teachers in Scotland as well as in England, as well as from witnesses of the highest practical observation of different modes of training submitted through Mr. Senior to the Newcastle Commission.

I would, therefore, after consultation with eminent school-teachers, and without fettering the opinion of the meeting, submit for discussion the following conclusions:—

1. “That the efficiency, the economy, and the general success of any national system of education will depend, in great measure, on the methods of instruction adopted, and on the superior and the local

administrative organization obtained to insure the general application of the best methods."

2. "That by well organized methods of teaching on a large scale and in full classes, and by division of educational labour amongst gradations of skilled teachers and pupil-teachers, elementary education may be given in from one-third to one-half less time, together with physical training, at one-third less expence than can be given to children in small numbers, and with small classes, under single teachers.

3. "That by the improved methods of school-teaching, which have been in operation many years, advanced elementary instruction, such as is commonly considered to require school attendance up to the thirteenth and fourteenth year, and does require it in small schools under single teachers, may be imparted satisfactorily before the end of the eleventh year; and

4. "That by the reduction of the school attendance in years by improved teaching, and also in many cases by the reduction of the hours of daily teaching by the application of the half-school-time principle, the demands of time for school attendance may be so far reduced, and conciliated with the demands of domestic and industrial occupations, as to diminish the need of compulsory provisions to enforce the school attendance in respect to any classes of children except those of the mendicant and vagrant classes, in respect to whom the principle of compulsory attendance has been sanctioned by Parliament.

5. "That for the attainment of these ends by the requisite school organization, local examinations, under superior administrative direction, are needed, of the widely different conditions of the populations in crowded and increasing urban districts, and in rural or thinly populated and stationary districts; the conditions where the existing means by educational endowments may be ample if duly applied; and the conditions of new districts where entirely new provisions have yet to be made.

6. "That upon such examination, conducted under competent inspectors or organizers, schemes should be framed and expository reports made, setting forth the local requirements and aid needed, and that such reports should be circulated for local information and consideration as under the first General Board of Health; and that after a due time for hearing any local appeals as to the constitution of any local authority, or as to the local organizations and measures proposed, the central board or department should be empowered to make order for the application of such scheme, subject to any proper conditions of appeal to Parliament.

7. "That the revised code is ill advised, is false in theory, as it attaches payment for results to inferior conditions, and tends to the maintenance and extension of inferior qualities of teaching, and has been disastrous in practice, and should be a warning for the entire reform of the organization under which it was prepared and enforced.

8. "That at a time when the demands of the open labour market, for service of skill, rendered it expedient that the inducements for the direction of ability and special aptitudes to the important service of efficient school teaching should be increased; the revised code diminished those inducements.

9. "That it has driven some of the most distinguished school teachers from elementary schools into other private adventure schools or into private professions.

10. "That it has diminished the number of pupil-teachers, and lowered the quality of those available for the training colleges, several of which have been ruined, and all crippled, by the operation of the measure.

12. "That there have been grievous complaints by medical officers of health, and repeated representations of the school inspectors, of the bad sanitary condition of a great number of schools, which occasion them to be sources of extensive preventible disease, and of premature mortality to teachers as well as to children, but that no proper regard has been paid to these representations, nor means, such as humanity would dictate, provided by the department of education.

13. "That there has been great waste in building schools where, under proper arrangements, they were not wanted, and neglect to promote them where they were wanted.

14. "That the present system of denominational school inspection is both wasteful and inefficient.

15. "That the late reports of the Educational Department of Privy Council, as well as the reports of a number of the school inspectors, display a lack of zeal and of special aptitude for the promotion of the work of national education, and for the most efficient application of the public money voted by Parliament for its promotion.

16. "That the success of the work of national education must be dependent on the special aptitudes applied to it, and on the undivided and responsible competent attention given to it.

17. "That much of the unsatisfactory state of things as to the recently past and the immediate present, which it is proper to regard for the sake of the future, is ascribable to the arrangements under which the administration of the funds devoted to education has been charged on changing party political chiefs, appointed without regard to any special aptitude for the service, sometimes positively and notoriously inapt for it; at other times not merely apathetic to the service but positively hostile to it, and who, at the best, if they have zeal for it, are commonly changed by the time they can have acquired any mastery over it.

18. "That the inception, conduct, and results of the revised code, and the long and extensive prevalence of the evils to which reference has been made, without any open manifestation of an earnest desire to remove them, are demonstrative of the conclusion that an improved system of national education absolutely requires a new organisation of the central authority to direct the application of the public revenue to the ends in view by officers of proved competence and

special aptitude, who have acquired a mastery of the principles to be adopted, and who can give an undivided and responsible attention to the measures requisite for their application."

On the first day of the meeting the two first resolutions were after discussion adopted. The conference was adjourned until the 29th, when after much discussion the resolutions were carried in a condensed form, except the resolution as to the school inspection, in which the meeting agreed, although it was doubted whether they as school teachers should pronounce upon that part of the Governmental service. A committee was named to frame a memorial to the Government founded upon the resolutions. The co-operation of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science was invited, and a warm vote of thanks to the chairman was passed.

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