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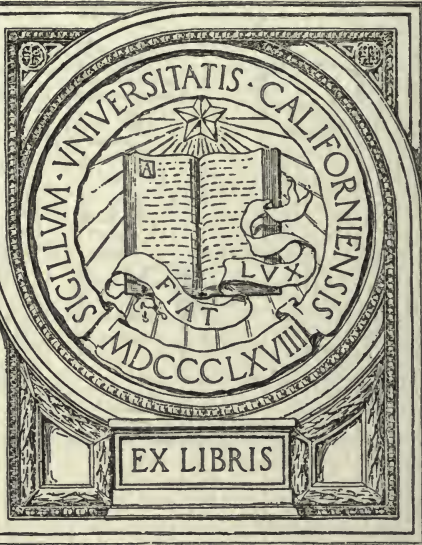
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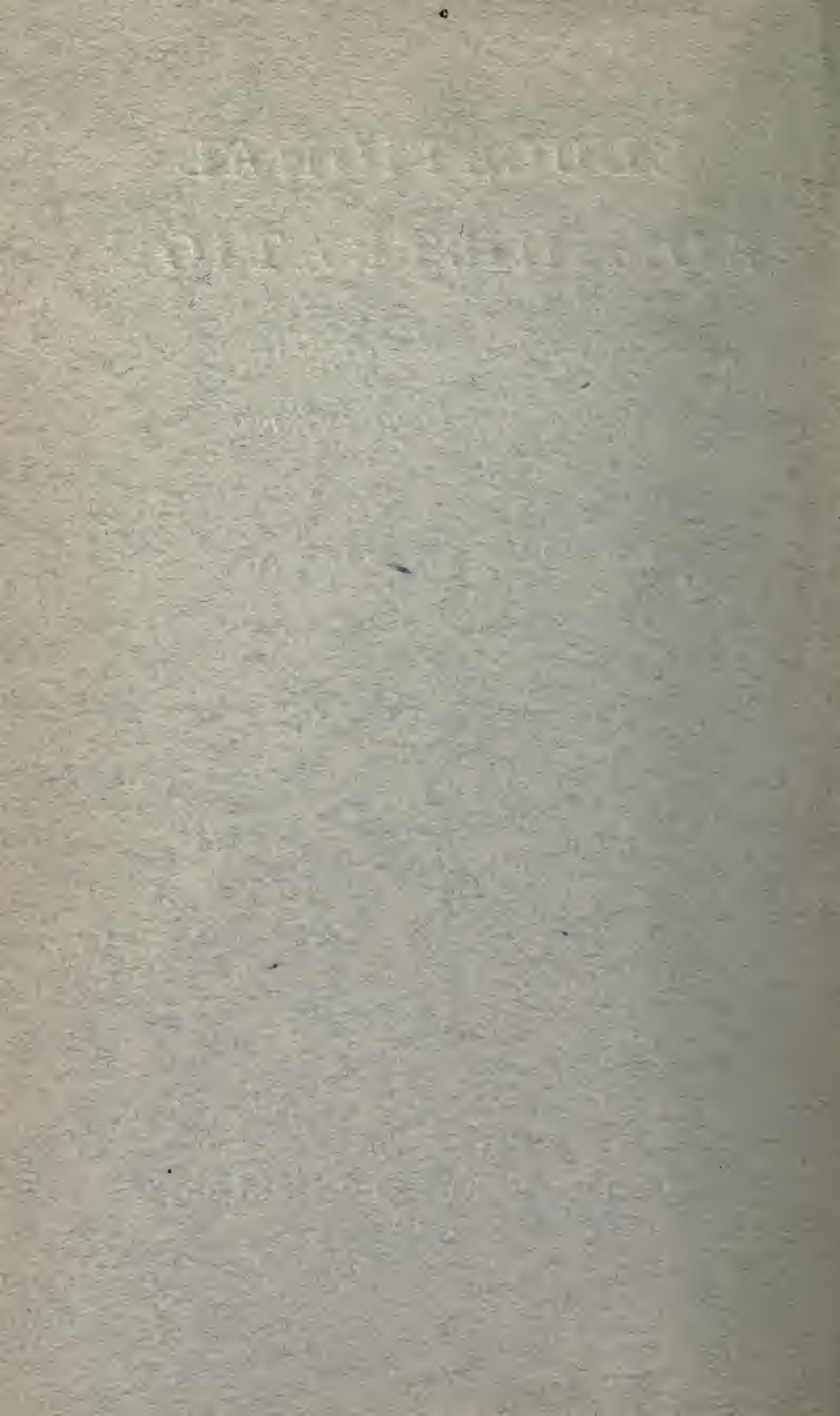
EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

*Two Lectures delivered before the University
of Birmingham in February, 1921*

BY

SIR GRAHAM BALFOUR
Director of Education for Staffordshire

OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS
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EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

I

PUBLIC AUTHORITIES—THEIR HISTORY

EDUCATIONAL Administration is one of those subsidiary services which are in themselves without value except in so far as they secure the success of their object. Learning and teaching are the first and chief acts of education, but even in their simplest form they involve the beginnings of administration, which in the earliest stage devolves solely upon the teacher. Even the Irish 'hedge-school' involved, I suppose, the selection of a hedge, and when it comes to the provision of a book and a pencil, we are face to face with the supply of school materials. In private schools even to-day the whole administration is in the hands of the head master, but when the acceptance of education is made a duty obligatory on every child in the state there arises the need for setting the teachers free to practise their art and for giving the work of educational administration to be carried out by officials upon a correspondingly extensive scale.

The growth of almost any English institution proceeds by a series of accretions, largely independent of consistency, but adopted for utility and tested by practical experience. This certainly holds good with the educational administration of England, which can hardly be understood without a brief historical survey of the last

eighty years. By this we shall see why English education is dealt with by the authorities central and local, and not by independent commissioners or philosophically constructed bureaux as in America or on the Continent of Europe.

It is almost incredible that ninety years ago there were in England neither central nor local public education authorities, unless we reckon the governors of endowed schools and the governing bodies of the universities and colleges.

In 1830 there were in existence a number of educational trusts, many of which were greatly neglected or abused: by 1837, the total number of these reported upon by Lord Brougham's Commission was 28,840, of an aggregate capital value of about a million and a quarter pounds. The only controlling authority over these trusts was the Court of Chancery, which was a byword for procrastination. There were no parliamentary or other public grants for education, and no official body, except the Treasury, to receive them if they should be made.

First as to the Central Authority. In 1833, the year after the Reform Bill, the first grant, which amounted to £30,000 'for the purposes of education', was made by the House of Commons. It was stoutly opposed in the House by William Cobbett and Joseph Hume, two prominent Radicals of the day, but was carried by 76 votes to 52. By the Appropriation Act it was paid to the Treasury 'for the erection of school houses in Great Britain', and by the Treasury was handed over to the two large voluntary societies founded in 1811 and 1808, the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society. Not to enter too precisely into details, approximately the same amounts and same general method of

disposal were continued for six years, but in 1839 came the crisis. The Government determined to set up an official body dealing with education, but evidently saw that there was no chance of carrying such a measure through Parliament. Accordingly, in April the Queen issued an Order in Council appointing a special committee of the Privy Council to administer the money voted by the Commons. But so unpopular was this step that the House of Lords by a two-thirds majority resolved to present an address of protest, and a like proposal in the Commons was only lost by five votes. The annual grant of £30,000 in the Commons was subsequently carried only by two votes. So nearly did the first beginnings of state education in England come to shipwreck, even after six years' experience.

The new Committee of Council (for which there existed a precedent in that Committee which became the Board of Trade) consisted of the Lord President of the Council, the Lord Privy Seal, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Home Secretary, and the Master of the Mint. They proceeded to appoint Dr. Kay (afterwards Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth) as Secretary, and before the end of the year the appointment of the first two H.M. Inspectors was sanctioned. The State Central Administrative Establishment with expert advisers was now an accomplished fact.

No Act, however, dealing directly with education was placed upon the Statute Book until 1856, when the 'Education Department' was founded under this title, and to the 'Educational Establishment of the Privy Council' was added 'The Establishment for the Encouragement of Science and Art', founded in 1836 by the Committee which had since become the Board of Trade. The old Committee of Council on Education

continued in existence for another forty years, in nominal charge of the Education Department, but by the new Act the Committee received in 1856 a Vice-President who was henceforth definitely responsible in the House of Commons for the work of the Department.

It was not until 1899 that an Act was passed substituting for the Committee of Council a Board of Education consisting of a President of its own, the Lord President of Council, the Principal Secretaries of State, the First Lord of the Treasury, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. There is also a Parliamentary Secretary. Exactly what benefit was secured by substituting a Board for a Committee, I have never—as the Irish preacher said—‘been able to understand or even to explain’, since both bodies were mere parliamentary figments and had no living existence.

It is not known whether this Board of Education has ever met, but it is on record that its predecessor, the Committee of Council, did hold at least one meeting in circumstances described by Lord George Hamilton, who was at the time its Vice-President. In 1879 Sir Stafford Northcote, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, induced the Duke of Richmond, then President of the Council, to agree to cutting down the Vice-President’s Education Estimates without consulting either the Vice-President or Sir Francis Sandford, the Permanent Secretary of the Board. Lord George went to the Prime Minister, Lord Beaconsfield, and made his protest. ‘He listened intently, and after a minute’s reflection said, “Is there not a thing that you call the Committee of Council upon Education?” “Yes,” I said, “there is.” “Am I on it?” “Yes.” “Very well then, tell the Lord President I wish it to be summoned at once.” It was summoned, and I should think for the first and

last time in its existence all the official members of this heterogeneous body met. We sat in a semicircle, Lord Beaconsfield in the centre and I at the extreme outside. "I understand", said Lord Beaconsfield, "that the Vice-President has a statement to make to us." I then proceeded to state my case as best I could, letting down the Lord President and the Chancellor of the Exchequer as much as possible. When I had finished there was a dead silence, whereupon Lord Beaconsfield remarked, "I move that the Committee of Council upon Education do agree with the Vice-President". There was not a word of opposition to this motion, both the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Lord President looking rather foolish.' Such was the only recorded meeting of the body which for sixty years nominally directed English national education.

The most recent precedent, or at any rate the closest analogy for the establishment of a Board was in the case of Agriculture in 1889, a Board which has since acquired the up-to-date title of Ministry: it remains to be seen whether the same honour will be bestowed on education and what difference, if any, it will produce. At any rate, whatever other effects may have been produced by the Board of Education Act in 1899, it rendered possible the policy which has been followed ever since 1905 of having the chief official representative of national education in the House of Commons. At first this change seemed only to have substituted for a mere figurehead some active politician with less interest in education than in his own promotion to some more popular office, but in 1917 the opportunity of education came at last, and the nation secured an able and enlightened expert who turned out to be a born parliamentarian. Some of us who have claimed that

a really good university career fits a man for any known post have been somewhat dismayed to see the application of this theory by the Cabinet in the ubiquitous employment of Mr. Fisher, and questioned within ourselves whether the heaven-sent Minister of Education, who is set to understudy half the Cabinet, is being utilized to the best advantage of the nation.

To sum up this remarkable history.

Less than forty years before the decade which saw the institution of a universal compulsory system of education throughout the country, the system of State aid was smuggled in by a money grant, and it was left to the Treasury to let out the public business to two voluntary societies. Even then, after six years of useful work, the House of Commons as nearly as possible dropped the new-born department, while the Lords tried to kill it. It was only the firmness and courage of the Ministry which secured its continuance and its elevation into a State Department by a method which appears altogether unconstitutional. The most surprising thing is that the earliest opposition came not in the years of reaction after the French Revolution, but partly from advanced thinkers and in the first flush of the advance of the Reform Bill.

Till 1856 there was nominally no Education Department, and after that until the end of the century the sleeping Committee of Council remained, and was even then only replaced by the equally inactive Board of Education.

With Parliament rests the credit of having passed the various Education Statutes of the second half of the century as they were needed, but the actual progress was made by the steady administration of the officials to which we must in due course turn our attention.

LOCAL AUTHORITIES—THEIR
HISTORY

But first we must consider the original local authorities in education. Local administrators of education, other than trustees, a hundred years ago there were none. Indeed, it is very curious how imperceptibly that important figure of the latter half of the nineteenth century, the School Manager, steals into existence. In such extracts from the minutes of the Committee of Council as I have been able to consult, I find no reference to him before the end of 1843, while four years later the 'management clauses' of the Committee were the chief battleground between the central authority and those who had local control of the schools as well as, in most cases, the privilege of paying for them. In the forties it is interesting to notice that all grants to teachers were made by Post Office orders, payable personally to them, and it was not until the Revised Code of 1861 that payments in respect of teachers were made directly to the Managers. Thus the teachers, who had been on the verge of being civil servants so far as central payments were concerned, were then placed definitely under the local employer who appointed them.

School Boards were introduced by the Education Act of 1870. They were the first elected public local education authorities: on them fell the duty of making good the enormous deficiencies in the cities and towns left by the voluntary system. Both Voluntary Managers and School Boards bore the burden and heat of the day. To them is due the credit for much of our present

English education, and to them we who are administering it can never be sufficiently grateful. The School Boards were the first bodies on whom was placed the legal obligation of providing and maintaining elementary school accommodation for the needs of whole districts and of obtaining the necessary amount from the rates. Here the chief points to notice about them are that their adoption was voluntary, that their members were elected *ad hoc* for the purpose of managing their elementary schools and for nothing else, and that the election was by cumulative vote.

The Local Government Act, 1888, possessed an importance for English education foreseen by few, in providing the machinery for its future administration by the creation of County and County Borough Councils; but already in the following year the next step was taken by the Technical Instruction Act, 1889, entrusting to the new or newly-named authorities what proved powers for higher education; and yet again, a year later the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act, 1890, furnished these authorities with an unexpected income. In this way the new local authorities began to administer higher education on a small scale, and were not at once overwhelmed by the large mass of elementary education, which was withheld from their charge until 1902. In 1902 came the Education Act, the greatness of which may best be judged by the fact that it made the Act of 1918 possible: two measures of which probably no one living can hope to see the final result. It linked up the whole system of public education with the general democratic system of local government, and in spite of other objections, it has taken deep root in the principles of government upon which it is based. It is perhaps worth noticing that it was eighty years from the very

beginning of any official system of education in England before the first statute was enacted which bore the title of Education Act. Elementary Education Acts eight or ten there were, Board of Education Act, Endowed School Acts, Technical Instruction Acts, and Acts dealing with education in various aspects, but until 1902 no general Act with the plain and comprehensive title of Education Act, such as was passed for Scotland in 1872.

These at any rate were the legislative origins and transformations of the central and local education authorities of the England of to-day. But great as the progress has been towards unification and the establishment of one central controlling authority, there is still much simplification to be done. The powers of the Charity Commission over educational endowments have been transferred to the Board of Education, but the Home Office still exercises a very close control over Reformatories and Industrial Schools: the Ministry of Agriculture has made a wholly unnecessary differentiation of agricultural education as a thing apart, and the Ministry of Health, as successor to the Local Government Board, controls Poor Law Schools and regulates the loans of local education authorities, while on the other hand, the medical service of schools is only linked to the general work of Public Health by a personal connexion.

Apart from any general scheme for the devolution of domestic self-government to Scotland and Wales, and possibly to provinces of England, it is not probable that any interference will take place with the system by which the local charge of education is entrusted to the boroughs and counties of England. Even were such a sweeping change introduced there would still be

needed the dual control of central and local bodies for education in each province: such is the independence of English feeling and the extraordinary differentiation between adjoining areas on the one hand, and such the need on the other for the establishing of a national standard to which the laggards must, in the national interests, conform. For, unfortunately, the splendid independence of England has always claimed the local right to be incompetent, no less than the right to be free.

CENTRAL AUTHORITIES—BOARD OF EDUCATION

The position of the Ministers of Education seems to have differed little, if at all, from that of the Ministers of other Departments, except that (if they had minded) it was rather more uncomfortable. Their duties were at once controversial and wearisome. For the administration of education, much more than education itself, seems to have had the power of raising in the breasts of politicians of all parties, more anger, hatred, and uncharitableness than any other subject. T. H. Green once said that 'the two questions of our time which compete with each other in a reputation for dullness are about the most important that we can discuss. One is the organization of charity, the other the organization of schools.' The subject was full of tedious technicalities, and at the end of the last century a jargon had grown up which, like the slang of the day, has since varied but not disappeared. The Duke of Devonshire's question, 'What is an ex-P. T.?' has become historical, though it is now understood as a condemnation not of the Minister but of the pedant. And the distaste excited in the breast of

successive Ministers may be illustrated by the authentic *cri du cœur* from one newly appointed, addressed to an old friend, calling on him, 'I say, —, I never took on such a job as this before.'

But to take Education Ministers as a whole, Presidents, Vice-Presidents, and other Parliamentary representatives of the Committee, the Department, and the Board in the past are but little known and less remembered. I have never seen a complete list of them, and doubt whether one has ever been published.

Sir Arthur H. D. Acland made his mark in the early nineties: Bob Lowe—Lord Sherbrooke—somewhat unjustly is known only as the infamous author of the 'Revised Code' of 1861, which inaugurated the bad years of payment by results: Lord Harrowby, who is well known to Staffordshire as the first and ideal Chairman of its County Council, was always identified, as Lord Sandon, with the Elementary Education Act, 1876. The Acts of 1870 and 1918 will be inseparably connected with the names of Forster and Fisher, and if the Education Act of 1902 is not similarly coupled with the name of the then Leader of the House of Commons, who, contrary to precedent, took charge of it, that will be only because the name of Mr. Balfour has so many other associations of even greater distinction.

But take them all in all, parliamentary connexion with education has conferred little prestige upon most of its representatives. The reason for this probably is that nearly all of them had little expert knowledge of, and less affection for, their subject before they took it in charge, while the subject itself is not easily made attractive to the House of Commons. The saying has become almost proverbial that 'the most valuable Minister is one who knows nothing about his department

when appointed'. But this paradox is probably less true of education than of any other branch, possibly for the reason that every educated or semi-educated critic regards himself on the basis of his own experience as an authority on education. Whether or not there is anything in this contention in favour of the expert as Minister, at any rate it is not contradicted by the names most likely to be remembered. How much initiative or driving power any individual may have shown remains a secret between him and the permanent officials. When we come to the permanent officials, we are confronted by another difficulty—the silence of the Civil Service, which is respected not least by the servants of the Board of Education.

There have been seven Permanent Secretaries—Kay-Shuttleworth, Lingen, Sandford, Cumin, Kekewich, Morant, Selby-Bigge. Of these the first retired early, three of the others went on to other high public service, one died in office, and the other two survive. Seven in eighty years: this is an average of over eleven years each, and it is characteristic that Lord Lingen, who held the post longest—for twenty years—and then went to be Secretary of the Treasury, is the one most shadowy to us, the man of whom least seems to be known. Of the first three occupants, however, and their respective shares in building up the work, I at any rate know so little that it is better to say nothing more than that they jointly left a tradition of highmindedness and ability not surpassed by any Government Office of their day. Of the two survivors, Sir George Kekewich has just published his reminiscences, which furnish an account of what he chiefly wishes to be remembered. Sir Amherst Selby-Bigge still retains the office, which he held during the years of the inception and passing of

the 1918 Act, and it will be a grave loss to Education if he does not remain in authority until its administration is well established.

But of one Secretary, unfortunately for our country, it is now possible to speak without restraint, and with that fuller knowledge which does not come to us until after a man's death. Not only is our knowledge of Robert Morant, of his aims and his work for education, increased, but our tongues are unloosed. 'Death hath this also that it openeth the gate to good Fame and extinguisheth Envy. *Exstinctus amabitur idem.*' In person and experience one of the most striking figures of our time, he may be said to have spent four lives in the public service. But here we notice him as the official who had most to do with passing the Education Act of 1902, and then administered it for eight stormy years. He was strong, he was wise, he was resourceful, he was fearless, and he saw far ahead. The man who brought into work the Education Act and the National Insurance Act would not have failed with the Ministry of Health. He was unquestionably the greatest administrator the Board of Education has known. From the notices at the time of his death last year I take three paragraphs:

'Impossibilities were done, because a man was in charge who had an indomitable spirit, an infectious energy, and a singular capacity for gathering round him a team of younger men whose standard was efficiency.

'The function of the official was to him that of enabling other men to do real work with the utmost scope for initiative and individuality.

'His task was to weave related units into a harmonious system. Characteristically he approached it piecemeal, taking up first one end of the tangle and then another and treating each type of institution as a problem by itself to be solved, or at least put in the way of a solution,

before he passed on. He was the greatest of opportunists, moving by instinct rather than by calculation to a goal of unity of which he certainly had an intuitive perception, but of which he always declined to commit himself to a logical definition. He thought logic rather dangerous in public administration. His method was the tentative one of natural growth in itself—the *elan vital* of evolution.'

He was a tireless worker, who often laboured on undisturbed through the small hours of the morning, and he established in his department a tradition of hard work which once for all made ridiculous the old jokes about the Civil Service 'playing like the fountains in Trafalgar Square from 12 to 4'. As well apply the old ribaldry about the Volunteers of 1859 to the Territorials of the Great War.

Progress in the methods of dealing with education has been gradual and progressive, but is with difficulty associated with any one name.

In the first decade of this century the Board separated the administration of secondary and of technical schools, the staff of the Endowed Schools Department of the Charity Commission being transferred for this purpose; the inspection of science schools and art schools was likewise divided; the Medical Department was started; the Universities Department (including Training of Teachers) materialized, while Wales has steadily tended towards complete separation. These developments have materially increased the staff of the Board, but not at all out of proportion to the work done and the growth of population. Between 1883 and the present time the population must have increased by 50 per cent., while the increase of Elementary H.M. Inspectors in England and Wales (apart from women inspectors) is only 15 per cent. The general policy of the Board tends steadily

more to education and less to mere administration than in former days. The encouragement of improved methods in schools, beginning in the nineties, reached a further stage in the Suggestions for Teachers which are now an established declaration of its programme.

To turn to smaller matters—as Morant said, no detail in administration is ever insignificant, and even if regularity and accuracy are humble virtues I should like to testify that I can hardly remember any letter having been lost by the Board, or any failure to reply to a letter. But far beyond this is the maintenance of a high tradition of correspondence. One of the most wonderful things about the Board to my mind is the way in which, if they do not suffer fools gladly, they at least answer provoking correspondents politely and without repartee. Among the many sharp-witted servants of the Board there must have been some for whom the temptation to sarcasm and epigram must have been almost irresistible, and yet somehow or other the answer has in my experience always been of the kind that turneth away wrath.

No change during the last twenty and especially during the last ten years has been greater than in the attitude of their staff to local officials. I remember in my early days as a Director of Education being in the Board one day and thinking that it would be in the interests of Staffordshire education if I could have a few minutes' talk on rather general points with the high official in general charge of our schools. I was admitted to the great man's presence and received with the dignified courtesy of one ill at ease and honestly puzzled as to what on earth I wanted. Whatever I may have wanted, all that I got was an assurance that if I would make a written application to him specifying the exact point

on which I required information, he would be very glad to make an appointment. A few months later I was discussing the Area in general and receiving all the advice and help I wanted from a less inflexible successor who appreciated his opportunity and my needs. Nor have I failed ever since to receive the same consideration, not in the least that I had any special influence or introduction, but when two people are keen on the same work, I have never found that they discover any reluctance in discussing its possibilities.

This is only typical of the general willingness of the chief officers of the Board to receive both deputations and individuals. In former days such readiness was supposed to be reserved for those who could bring the power of special organizations to bear: has it not been written of those times that 'Satan trembles when he sees the weakest of the N.U.T.'s'? But now the doors readily open to great and small, and within the last five years the practice has been established of placing at any rate two or three local officials upon various Special Departmental Committees of the Board. And never before has there been such a general overhauling of the amount and methods of instruction in Higher Education as was and is being carried out by the important Committees on Science, Modern Subjects, English and Classics, on all of which local officials were included.

The chief method of control by the Board over local authorities has been by the method of grants. 'If you do this, half the expenditure will be met by the Board. If you do not do that, the Board will not be able to pay your grant in full.' These inducements and threats, explained and supported by codes and regulations, are practically all the coercion which the State can use, but

once a local authority has begun to rely upon the regular receipt of such subsidies, it has seldom had the strength to reject them. It is difficult to see what other form of penalty is available. Nothing could be more simple than to withhold a grant; anything less negative would have a positive air of tyranny which would give the recalcitrant a better chance of undeserved redress from the House of Commons. A grant ought to be given on simple conditions which are clearly understood, and which cannot be evaded. There ought to be no doubt about the amount earned and no delay from one financial year to another in payment. In criticizing Grant Regulations it is only fair to remember that experience has shown that there are authorities against whom it is necessary to erect an unclimbable iron fence, and when that is needed, it is not reasonable to complain of the number of iron spikes upon it.

The Deficiency Grant has attracted so much attention of late that I must not leave it without a further word. Though well known to the Ministries of Agriculture and of Health, and first reaching Education in grants for medical inspection, it made its first public appearance in Education proper in the Act of 1918, which laid down that the total grants to each local education authority in both higher and elementary education 'shall be not less than one half of the net expenditure of the authority recognized by the Board of Education as expenditure in aid of which parliamentary grants should be made to the authority'.

The chief difficulty with regard to it seems to be that the Deficiency Grant does not fulfil the conditions I have laid down. It is simple and clear enough—pound for pound—but there seemed to be, at the end of nearly two years, great doubt about the amount earned for

Higher Education 1920-1, and even that for 1919-20, which had not yet been finally paid. Consequently, the grant is certainly difficult of estimation, until its orbit can be calculated from actual experience. Nor is it yet known whether an authority will be able to learn for what part of its original estimate or claim the Deficiency Grant may in practice have been withheld. Already it is offered to us in Higher Education as a substitute for all substantive grants, and perhaps experience will bring the necessary element of certainty.

LOCAL AUTHORITIES—COUNCILS AND EDUCATION COMMITTEES

We now turn to the Local Education Authorities, the County and Borough Councils and their executive bodies for education, the Education Committees of the Act of 1902.

As we all know, that Statute required the Council in each County and County Borough to establish an Education Committee for dealing with Higher and Elementary Education, on which the Council shall appoint a majority of the members, but in which persons with experience in education and women must be included. The Committee has to be appointed in accordance with a Scheme made by the Council and approved by the Board of Education, but considerable latitude has been allowed to the various Councils in carrying out their own ideas. All matters relating to education must stand referred to the Education Committee by the Council, who must consider their report before taking action, but the delegation of powers by the Councils to the Committees differed very considerably, especially among the County Boroughs.

The points I have mentioned are common to Counties and County Boroughs, but both in the controlling Statute and still more in actual practice there are points of divergence. There is only one matter (so far as I know) in which the Act assimilates the practice of Boroughs to that of the Counties—the audit of education accounts by the Government Auditor instead of by the auditors appointed by the Boroughs themselves for all their other public accounts.

Of the differences between County Boroughs and Counties in educational administration, a few are under statute, but most, as we shall see, arise from difference of conditions. Under the Act of 1902 Counties have to appoint (in conjunction with the local authority) Managers for the Council Schools, whether singly or in groups, while certain limitations were imposed on Counties with regard to rates, though these have mostly been rendered optional or removed. For capital expenditure or rent in elementary education Counties had to charge not less than half or more than three-quarters of the amount on the parishes specially served. This has now become permissive, and in Staffordshire no such charge is made either for elementary or higher education. The County rate for higher education might not formerly, without special permission of the Local Government Board, exceed twopence in the pound, but this limit has been removed, though the similar penny limit for urban districts still survives as a necessary part of their subordination to the local authority for higher education.

But the chief determining factor in the administration of local education authorities is the size and homogeneity of their Areas. In a County Borough all parts of the area are readily accessible, and it is comparatively

easy for members of the Education Committee to attend meetings on most days in the week : at any rate, they have not to set apart one day in seven for a pilgrimage. Even where the County Town is central and the railway system conveniently arranged, the outside ring of the County area may be thirty miles away, and those members of the public who have the spirit to serve on Councils and Committees will find it costly and laborious to attend at the centre on more than one or possibly two days in the week. The County Committee has to deal with towns of moderate size, with mining districts neither town nor country, with villages large and small, and with almost trackless solitudes. Nor would it mend matters to separate the outlying districts and leave them to themselves, as the experience of the small Country School Boards has shown.

As with the Committees so with the scholars. In a County Borough such is usually the density of population that it is looked on as a hardship if a child has a mile to go to the elementary school, so the journey of the secondary scholar and university student is proportionately diminished. Also it is more practicable and more profitable to differentiate one's institutions, when it is feasible to fill each of these with the appropriate kind of pupil only. Whenever I come into a County Borough I feel like Lazarus, and only hope that Dives is sufficiently appreciating his opportunities and advantages. In the country it is not an unheard-of thing for a child to have to travel three miles daily from his home to the school, where on his arrival he will find a scanty band of fellow-pupils and perhaps only a couple of teachers with no very outstanding qualifications. These difficulties are reflected in the work of the Committee, and seriously affect the organization of the

schools. The mobility of the teaching staff in Counties is relatively small. A teacher in a County Borough is available, apart from denominational difficulties, for almost any school in the whole area. In a County, Beersheba school may be over-staffed, while the Dan School is on the point of closing, and yet it may be impossible to effect the transfer of a single teacher. But so long as Town and Country continue to exist, and until the whole of England is covered with evenly distributed garden cities, so long shall we have to make shift to administer our areas to the best of our abilities.

To return to the Committees themselves, County Councils being representative of larger areas have more members than Town Councils, and this is reflected in the size of the Education Committees. In actual practice the County Committees are appointed for three years, the duration of the life of the Council, while in the County Boroughs they are reappointed every year. It is open to each Committee, subject to the directions of its Council, to appoint such and as many Sub-Committees as it thinks fit, each consisting wholly or partly of members of the Committee. In Counties this has largely been used for the purposes of School Attendance, and also in some areas for the more important purpose of delegation of powers and increase of local control. The Sub-Committees as a rule seem to be much the same in Town and Country: Finance, Higher and Elementary Education, Staffing, School Attendance, and Medical Inspection: Sites and Buildings, and the government of special institutions are the normal subjects allocated, while in Counties Agricultural Education provides a good deal of work, if this is not allocated to the new Agricultural Committees.

The only unusual feature in the Staffordshire Scheme of 1903 is the constitution of three so-called 'Geographical' Sub-Committees for North, Mid, and South Staffordshire, each of which deals, subject to confirmation by the full Committee, with the detailed work of both Higher and Elementary Education in its own portion of the County. Every member, according to his residence or his interests, is placed on one of these three, and the other standing Sub-Committees are constituted by the appointment of the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of North, Mid, and South, and of three other members elected by each of these Geographical Sub-Committees, a thoroughly democratic method of appointment.

The number of members on Committees varies under different authorities. Lord Palmerston said that the best Committee was one of three members, if two of them stayed away, and there is no doubt that this is true where prompt and certain action is necessary. In practice the principle is usually recognized by allowing large discretionary power to the Chairman of the Committee and also to the Chairmen of Sub-Committees. In a County Area there is a natural tendency to appoint quite small Minor Sub-Committees, having special knowledge of the circumstances and locality, to visit and report upon any special difficulty, and this leads to the exercise of that personal contact, which it is the first object of a local authority to achieve.

The chief difficulty in general Committee work is the rapidly increasing calls on the time of the Chairman and of the ablest members for public work. Not only has the bulk of Education and Public Health work rapidly increased, but the establishment of bodies for dealing with Pensions, Insurance, Tuberculosis, and Territorials has made it difficult for any members to co-ordinate

the work of several Committees (which is in itself most desirable) or to give to any one Committee that unswerving and continuous attendance which is the indispensable condition of good public service. The member with special knowledge or qualifications is invaluable on occasion; but reliable attendance is the chief of all virtues which nothing can replace.

The pressure of work causes this further difficulty. So limited is the time, so great the concentration, and so urgent the need for reducing the presentation of business within the shortest possible space and for taking it at top speed, that it is difficult even for experienced members to realize how many difficulties have been smoothed away, how much economy has been already effected in estimates and proposals before they reach each Sub-Committee concerned. It is expedient to mention occasionally a few typical reductions and to acknowledge good offices in reaching a settlement, but the effect is not the same, and critics who would be well satisfied if they had been through all the stages themselves are too little impressed by a mere lightning summary or abstract of them, if there is time even for this. The sick hurry and divided aims in modern life, of which we have been complaining now for nearly a century, are to blame for this result also, that work so compressed has very little interest for those who merely have to gulp it down, and pemmican is not an exhilarating diet.

To return to the Committee, the crown of Committee work is the Chairman. From the very qualities which cause him to be chosen, he is the natural leader of the Committee, and to the prestige given him by his ability and force of character he adds the authority resulting from the knowledge of detail and familiarity with his

subject which come from his continuous attendance and constant attention to business.

Of the arts of Chairmanship it is not for me to speak. There is one method for dispatch of business, another for encouraging discussion, another for knotting up contentions and securing unanimity by an instinctive perception of the general sense of the meeting. To keep the members interested and informed with regard to the policy and progress of the Committee is one of the greatest services he can render. There is the work that is not done in the Chair, the perpetual vigilance and concern for education, the securing of likely recruits, and the conciliation of interests; there is the support of officials, and when necessary the faithful dealing with them as a friend. These may be accompanied with varying degrees of eloquence or persuasiveness, but in the end it is character and reliability that retain the leadership of a body whose votes may vary but whose ministers do not go in and out of office. Besides the Chairman of the full Committee, judicious appointment of Chairmen and Vice-Chairmen of Sub-Committees greatly increases the strength of the Committee in debate and leads to solidarity. Members with special subjects, or at any rate special responsibilities, take increased interest in their work, which often assumes a different aspect when seen from the Chair and not from the private member's seat. I feel that in dealing with the topic of Committees and Chairman I may be looked on as walking in slippery places, but I have no unfriendly criticism to offer. To the three splendid Chairmen and to the hundred and more members of my Committee under whom I have served I can never be sufficiently grateful for their unvarying kindness and support. Of officials and their work I propose to speak later. Of their

power and influence with the Committee it is not for me to express any opinion. I could only say with the Admirable Crichton in the play, 'Nature will decide'. But in that very remarkable but too little-known book, *The Government of England*, by the President of Harvard, published in 1908, there is the following passage :

'Great stress has been laid upon the influence of permanent officials, and its importance in promoting the efficiency of administration. Now it must have been evident to any one who had personal knowledge of school management before 1902, that as a rule the influence of the permanent officials was much less than in other branches of local government. In an occasional town, indeed, a clerk of the board, or some other officer, was a real superintendent of education, but more commonly he was little more than a head clerical officer, the appointment of teachers and the management of schools being really done by the elected members of the board. This would seem to account in part for the long period that it took the schools to grow to maturity, even under the strong pressure of the Education Department. Here the Act of 1902 worked a great change, as any one travelling through the country a few years later could not fail to perceive. Owing to the fact that the members of the representative bodies who now control education are not selected for any special knowledge of the subject, and owing still more to the fact that they are busy with other affairs, the influence of the permanent officials in the schools has greatly increased, their position becoming much more like that of the officers in other branches of local government.'

The direct relation of Teachers to the Education Committee and especially their representation and co-operation are most important if only because they are in close and constant touch with the children, and moreover still have a good deal of administration, especially as head masters or head mistresses.

Our County practice has been to have two representa-

tives of Secondary and two of Elementary Teachers as full members of the Education Committee, and most helpful they have been. We had a number of conferences on matters of teaching before the war and were very ready to receive teachers' deputations, but it was only in 1920 that a Joint Advisory Committee for Elementary Education came into being. This has six members on each side, the Chairman of the Education Committee is *ex officio* Chairman, and the Secretary of the Teachers' Association and the Director are representatives on their respective sides. A year's experience of its working, including a discussion of the Provisional and present Burnham Scales, has been wholly favourable. There is as yet no similar Committee on the secondary side, but there have been conferences to which the heads of the whole of the schools serving the County, whether from inside or outside, have been invited, and at which they have nearly all been present. It remains to be seen how best to keep in touch with the Secondary assistant staff.

The principal difficulty in a County Area is to give to the teachers an adequate share not only in controlling but in making arrangements for their own schools, especially when their schools are combined in a large group under the charge of a body of Managers. In a single school any head teacher who is fitted for it usually obtains his full share of influence. If, however, there are a dozen schools in a group, the Managers, who are probably the heirs and successors of an important School Board, cannot invite the dozen heads to be present simultaneously and hear one another's intimate affairs discussed and confidential explanations given. Where any appointments of staff are being made and any unusual and important inquiry is on foot, the head

of the school concerned usually is, and always should be, called in. But there are many variations short of this, and we are now trying a voluntary system by which an elected representative of the whole staff of the grouped schools may attend.

In a neighbouring County I hear that five Advisory Committees of teachers have been set up, covering the whole County, and to them reports and suggestions for the schools in their area are submitted and left for them to deal with. But in this arrangement Managers are, I understand, not included.

I have referred to the difficulty of increasing the powers of Head Teachers at the expense of the Managers, and this involves a very real problem—viz., how to allow sufficient power to the Managers of elementary schools and the Governors of secondary schools to keep them interested in the work, if the local authority are to maintain anything like a reasonably uniform standard of expenditure in local payments.

In Staffordshire nearly all our secondary schools are now maintained by the County and governed by bodies of Governors under Schemes: the finance is based on their annual estimates approved by the Education Committee, which may not be exceeded without express permission. But the coming of the Burnham Secondary Scale for Heads¹ and Assistants in these schools has necessarily removed from the Governors another instalment of responsibility and in one more particular has made any variation between school and school impracticable.

So far I have, like the Education Acts, accepted things as they are and made no suggestion of probable alterations in the present distribution of authorities.

¹ So far as minima are concerned.

There have been numerous proposals for the grouping of authorities for higher education, but from my experience it would be very unwise to go beyond the present system of Part III Authorities for elementary education and the optional powers of combination of Counties and County Boroughs. Staffordshire has done more, I believe, than any other County in combining with its neighbouring authorities: with Dudley and Wolverhampton for existing High Schools and prospective Technical Colleges, with Stoke for the Pottery and Mining School and in part for a Blind and Deaf School, and with Shropshire and Warwickshire in the Harper Adams Agricultural College. These alliances seem to work well enough in the maintenance of institutions with governing bodies.

So far as joint elementary schools are concerned it has not appeared to us worth while to establish combined bodies of Managers, but the control of each such school is left to one of the two authorities concerned, a financial adjustment on a simple basis being made each year.

There was for several years an Agricultural Provincial Advisory Council between the Counties of Salop, Stafford, and Warwick, started at the instance of the Board of Agriculture, and this proved in my experience (and I was Secretary) to be wholly unreal. Each County went its own way and allowed its two neighbours to go theirs, forming their own schemes and working by their own officers. There was no disagreement; the parties were most friendly and complaisant, but the net result of co-operation was to appoint one farrier instructor, whose services were shared by the three partners. If it had ever come to one authority insisting on the establishment of a joint institution within its own borders,

or of precedence being given to one farm school over another, I fancy that the harmony would soon have been broken. But the war came, and after the war this combination disappeared with the full approval of the Ministry, and each County is working as before.

There was at one time a great eagerness on the part of some reformers for the establishment of large provinces for Higher Education, each containing several Counties and, I suppose, County Boroughs. I have the greatest possible admiration for Chairmen, but I do not believe that Counties would readily submit to be ruled by one another's Chairman, and still less by one another's officials. A similar proposal was once I believe made of forming the smaller colleges at Cambridge into several groups. A don of one of these colleges received the suggestion with a shudder and said, 'It reminds me of the Roman punishment for parricide', in which, you may remember, the criminal was put into a sack with an ape, a dog, a cock, and a snake, and was thrown into the Tiber. I am afraid the local education authorities would not have accepted their scheme with more enthusiasm, while a proposal to have a central provincial body for Higher Education, leaving Elementary education only to each County and County Borough Authority, would have been even more distasteful.

Local authorities can send representatives or individual officers to attend Advisory or Consultative Committees with excellent results in the diffusion of knowledge and in the gradual formation of policy, but the ruling powers are after all those who are legally constituted and who possess the power of the purse. They will not give up to one another nor delegate any but strictly limited expenditure to subordinate bodies. And I may add they are extremely loth to make grants over which they cease

to have any control—except in the case of universities or colleges of established position and fully recognized efficiency. An authority is in fact unwilling to be regarded and treated as merely a milch cow.

There is another point I should like to add. We hear a great deal at the present time of the Burnham Committees on Scales of Salaries, and both local authorities and teachers have good reasons to be grateful to their representatives on these bodies for the strenuous and valuable work they have done. But while we all recognize a need for a certain uniformity, it will be a great misfortune for education if the need for abolishing competition in salaries between local authorities leads to depriving them of any power for making those educational variations which are the soul of local administration.

It will be a heavy price to pay for financial peace, if uniformity of payment and not variety of Education is to be the chief result.

Of the Autonomous Areas for Part III I have no time to speak, nor of the Continuation Schools, of which as yet I know nothing, nor of Juvenile Employment and its Care Committees, nor of School Circulating Libraries, due in Counties to the liberality of the Carnegie Trustees. I have time only for a brief reference to the relation of Local Education Authorities to the University of their district.

It should be clear to all of us that in every province of England there should be a Centre of Higher Education for students of eighteen and upwards, for advanced teaching in all subjects, not only for science applied to those industries which are so vital to our welfare, and without which we cannot afford to build and maintain Universities, but in pure science, and in those abstract

studies of history and literature and philosophy and religion by which the mind of man transcends his material limitations, and by which alone he is able to fulfil his destiny.

If the University discharges these functions with any approach to success, it will provide light and leading for the district, including the surrounding Counties: all will look to it, all will receive from it nourishment for the mind and spirit.

It is still common in the darker places to hear assertions that there is no relation between Universities and elementary teachers, that secondary schools are not for the workers, and other like fallacies, due to ignorance of what has been done and what is being done. Not only should the teachers in Elementary, Secondary, and Continuation Schools be its graduates, and have aims and studies beyond the immediate requirements of their pupils, but from it should come a plentiful supply of extra-mural teaching in the closest connexion with the work of the local education authorities. And if these benefits are to be given out, the means of providing them should be found by the areas which will benefit. In return for such assistance will come increased representation and more intimate connexion. The stage of isolation and inward growth is, I hope, over, and I, for one, warmly welcome the coming of expansion and inclusion.

EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

II

LOCAL OFFICIAL ADMINISTRATION AND THE PERSONAL ELEMENT

WE have seen how Central and Local Education Authorities were established in England during the last century: how the form of the local control of education was settled by Parliament, how a national policy is provided and its continuity secured. We have seen how the local Education Committees carry out the laws and central regulations, how the mixture of popular election and co-optation of special representatives provides the necessary blend of popular control and special knowledge for the working of a highly technical subject.

We now come to the immediate administration by the officials; the work, as I prefer to regard it, of shouldering the burden of the teachers. These should be set free to educate with as few hindrances as possible, not only to give instruction, but to use their expert knowledge and their intimate acquaintance with the children so as to build up that development, moral, intellectual, and physical, which is the aim of education as a whole, intended to turn out citizens efficient, happy, wise, just, and good.

Perhaps before now we should have sought a clear definition of the object of Educational Administration,

I suggest that it is: To enable the right pupils to receive the right education from the right teachers, at a cost within the means of the State, under conditions which will enable the pupils best to profit by their training.

The first point to notice about this definition is that it contains no reference to committees or their officials, and that it subordinates even teachers to pupils. This is entirely as it should be. Education is for the pupils first and last: all the rest of us are their servants. The second point open to criticism is its vagueness. Who are the right pupils? what is the right education? who are the right teachers? what are the conditions? what the possible cost?

In the first place these questions remind me of a talk on education given by Ruskin to a girls' society at Oxford. He began with 'First of all I would have you taught common sense'. To which Miss Maggie Benson, the Archbishop's daughter, replied 'in her very quiet voice', 'And how would you begin?' And Mr. Ruskin said: 'My dear young lady, I cannot tell you.' My answer, however, is that these are not the problems before us. They have been settled rightly or wrongly, or will be settled in the Committees' Schemes submitted to the Board: and before the Schemes existed, the questions had been answered, for the time being, implicitly and provisionally, by the practice of each authority.

It is, of course, not an infrequent experience to hear members of committees complaining that the last thing which is ever discussed at Education Committee Meetings is Education, and that they are always settling contracts for stationery and the wages of school cleaners. There is to this the further answer that the only place where educational theories can be worked out is in the school itself;

experiments are best left to the teachers and inspectors who are in personal contact with the pupils, and that problems which would first have to be explained to ordinary laymen would not be likely to receive a very satisfactory solution at their hands. This is in no way inconsistent with the fact that it is the duty of the Committee to require a broad and liberal curriculum for all stages of education, one which cannot be confined solely to converting children into cheap labour or useful hands when they leave school. It is equally the duty of Directors to keep abreast of the professional theories of the day so that we may be ready to afford intelligent and sympathetic help to new developments as they pass into practice. Committees cannot be too ready to provide facilities for teachers to attend conferences and lectures, and above all refresher courses, and it will be a good thing for English schools when the sabbatical year, or even the occasional term's leave on full pay is given as a matter of course to teachers to enable them to widen their experience and keep their souls alive.

We have seen what the work of the Chairman and Committee is: it is now for us to consider how their directions are to be carried out from day to day both in the office and throughout the area. The principle of managing a County Office is necessarily much the same as that laid down by Sir George Cornwall Lewis for a Government Department. 'It is not the business of a Cabinet Minister to work his department. It is his business to see that it is properly worked.' Something depends on the circumstances, but in most Counties I take it that a Chairman leaves the detailed administration in the hands of the Director.

Close contact with facts is the first need in any discussion on principles of administration. I need hardly

apologize for taking my illustrations and references from my own experience of nearly twenty years in Staffordshire.

I have already mentioned the division of our work and its delegation to Sub-Committees, which differ but little from Sub-Committees elsewhere. I now turn to the Office Staff in Stafford. In addition to Clerks to Council Schools and to School Attendance Committees (few of whom are whole time Officers) and to School Attendance Officers scattered over the County, in the Stafford Office the staff numbers about fifty, chiefly men and boys, with a certain number of girls who were, however, not employed before the war except in the Medical Inspection Department. The lads have largely come from the Grammar School, generally with a strong recommendation from the head master of their previous elementary school. The work is necessarily divided into clerical and administrative, and all the administrative officers except the Director have been teachers. But so far as the clerical staff come into contact with the outside world, and entirely within the office, there is the same aim to secure for them the spirit which is required of all the senior officials.

There is no one method of organizing an Education Office, which may be affected in many ways by its surroundings and by the control of the other officers of the Council. At Stafford the Technical Instruction work had created an Education Office (since enlarged) a quarter of a mile away from the County Buildings, and though the Clerk of the County is Clerk of the Education Committee (which ranks, except for its Scheme, with the other Committees of the Council), yet the problem of granting all necessary independence to the Director, who at the same time is afforded the most

ready assistance by all Departments, has been very happily solved.

We have Departments for Higher (including Secondary and Technical) and Elementary Education, with Works and Medical Inspection serving both. Accounts, by an accident of origin, are partly separated for Higher and Elementary, and are of necessity connected also with the County Accountant's Office. School Attendance, Juvenile Employment, and School Libraries are each under separate management.

Into the detailed arrangements of any of these I do not propose to go: the Accounts are for various reasons the most complicated. In addition to the division I have mentioned, the Chief Educational Paymaster is the Manager of the Bank from which the cheques are issued: our whole system being devised to pass the accounts through as many hands and provide as many controls as possible, and as few opportunities for the possible frauds of single individuals or of very small groups.

In the methods of carrying on business the conduct of any public office cannot be judged in the same way as if the office belonged to a private firm or person. 'More writing is done,' says Mr. Lowell, 'more things are preserved and recorded than in a private business, and there are more steps in a single transaction.' Any individual member of the Committee may challenge the accuracy of a minute or seek to have it rescinded, and complete correspondence or précis of negotiations may have to be produced: and there is always the Government Auditor to be satisfied.

The storage of records and other old papers is a serious question, as the sifting of them can only be done by highly responsible officials, whose time is more

urgently required for other purposes. Probably the only expedient is a time limit for old correspondence, but I am not prepared yet to say what that limit should be.

In the mechanical equipment of our office full employment is made of typewriters, duplicators, files, card-indexes, addressographs, and other machines so far as they can be kept in regular work and justify their cost and upkeep. Motor cars and motor bicycles for rapid transit—we have none of our own—are regarded with varying degrees of favour, as saving time but increasing expenditure and hurry. Among the equipment of a County Office, sets of ordnance maps of an inch and six inches to the mile (or even in some cases the five-and-twenty inch) are of unspeakable value. I used to approach country parishes with an immense respect for local knowledge of distances. Armed with a six-inch map, especially if I have covered the ground on a push bike or better still on foot, I am too often amazed at local inaccuracy or ignorance. For inspecting possible sites, motor cars or side cars are most misleading, in that they give a wholly different impression of distances from that of children on foot.

In dealing with papers I have one paramount rule in the office, that every multiplied report or memorandum must be dated, and the first copy placed on the Director's desk. These I have bound, and index personally every year. All minutes are of course indexed. I also keep a large Director's book, containing information recurrently required or likely to be suddenly wanted, and in the index of this there are also references to volumes of minutes or of bound papers. These and all other mechanical aids it is our duty to use to the best effect, but our *chief* duty is to deal with matters which these do not touch.

Publicity: One of the most difficult questions is to decide on the amount of printed information to be issued to the Committee, to other persons concerned in education, and to the public at large in the County. Even so far as the members of the Committee itself are concerned, (one man's meat is apparently another man's poison. The detailed figures eagerly consumed by one person may be withheld from another at his own request. There is hardly any matter on which there is so much difference of opinion and of practice.) One authority will publish a fat annual volume full of information as to the exact cost of each school, another area will regard this as a matter of useless expenditure. On this particular item I made the experiment of collecting the full material one year, and of then, with my chief officer, scrutinizing and comparing the details of expenditure to see how we could save money on unnecessary expenses in order to spend it where it would be beneficial. But again and again with a personal knowledge of all the schools concerned we were reduced to making further inquiries, and in the end we were convinced of one result and of one result only, viz. it was a waste of time and money to present a mass of stereotyped information upon a host of institutions housed in buildings varying so infinitely in structure and arrangement, in local conditions and personal differentiations, to the members of the Committee or the public at large who had no means of discriminating between them.

The golden rule in these matters seems to me: Before sending out any inquiry, ask yourself what use you will make of the information when you have got it. Again, reflect that nearly every document begins to go out of date before it is sent to the printer. There are few more exasperating occupations than trying to patch up

to date a memorandum which for some reason has been hung up for six months, Too soon to get the new returns, too late to employ the old; the writer at any rate realizes that his egg is no longer new-laid.

In dealing with periodical tables the period chosen must be long enough to show the curve. A useful instance in point is our experience in School Attendance Returns, which for many years we published every month. For the last two years we have (for the sake of economy) tried the experiment of quarterly publication only, and the results are so much more authoritative and so much less at the mercy of the passing ailment, that, even on grounds of efficiency alone, we think we have changed for the better.

What I have found invaluable for the use of correspondents and teachers is a Monthly Circular, a printed sheet, usually single, which brings forth things new and old, novel announcements and reminders of directions certain to be forgotten. In a wide area it saves its cost in postage many times over.

Minutes vary greatly with different authorities. Our own choice has been on the lines laid down by the London County Council, which aim at a concise but detailed register of the resolutions. Minutes are not an Agenda paper, but a record. The only question that can arise at their signing is their accuracy, and the phrase 'arising out of the minutes' can only be an attempt to dig up what is dead and buried, or to indulge in a breach of order. A properly constructed Agenda and a firm Chairman will always prevent either indiscretion.

A Quarterly Report on the education work has been a condition of the delegation of its powers to the Committee by the County Council not only since 1903, but

since 1890, when the first grants were made to the Technical Instruction Committee. As it is a report of what has happened since the preceding meeting of the County Council, it is merely a current record and does not correspond to any well-marked periods of educational development. We have never had an annual report, but in 1913 we published a record of 'Ten Years of Staffordshire Education'.

A Directory for Higher Education was published yearly up to 1915, and was reprinted in 1919, but it is to some extent replaced by pamphlets dealing with Scholarships, Grants to Urban Districts, and other subjects. So far as the work of the Committee themselves is concerned, a Memorandum (now always multiplied, formerly printed) on any proposed new development, on the Annual Estimates, or on any new schools, is found, if clearly written and not too laboured, to expedite greatly the work of the Committee Room.

Minor Officials. For service in the Education Office a good memory, accuracy, and hard work are all needed, but the first requisite is to take an intelligent interest in the work. Of accuracy—we may say that some are born accurate, others achieve accuracy, while others have accuracy thrust upon them: the first of these classes is the best, if it is accompanied with any degree of swiftness. And the next best thing to accuracy is a readiness to admit mistakes. I knew of a notoriously inaccurate Scotch clerk, who on being detected in an error for the hundredth time would say, 'Weel, I may be wrang, but ma word it's not often!'. But the intelligent interest can best be secured and developed by clever distribution of the work in each department, so arranged that though there must be some mechanical drudgery, no one's lot need consist wholly of such routine. For

this reason I have always eschewed a typewriting department, and require each lad or girl, as they developed, to do their own typewriting and to *learn*, at any rate, shorthand, even if they do not use it daily. Both attending and teaching in evening classes are strongly encouraged in the subordinate staff.

The unpardonable sin, sometimes though rarely found among minor heads, is that of jealous monopoly of official knowledge, due to an attempt to make capital out of the sole acquisition of detail, or to a mistaken belief that it takes too long to teach subordinates, whom they regard as incompetent. Some day that pin falls out and the machine is temporarily held up. But for the reasons just given this vice is also harmful because it leads among the subordinates to an unintelligent performance of apparently arbitrary orders. The aim to achieve is to secure an understudy or substitute for everybody in the office, and personally I find it worth while giving a good deal of time, mostly at odd moments, to securing continuity of knowledge between departments.

Another difficulty besetting all offices is to prevent the upper positions being filled with mediocrities who have drifted there. 'Ower bad for blessing and ower good for banning, like Rob Roy.' The first-raters go to the top, and we are happy if we can keep them there: but a day comes when there is a vacancy two or three places down, and nobody very good to put into it. This is the chance of the third-rater, and if his progress is not deflected or in some way modified at a later date by a reorganization, it becomes extraordinarily difficult to remedy the results of a mediocre appointment made some years ago.

In organization it is useful to bear in mind the watch-

word of a well-known general, 'No finality', and indeed, one celebrated organizer used to say that, when you had completed your organization and thought you had it all perfect, the only thing to be done if you wanted to keep your work living was to pull down all your machinery and build it up again in a different way.

In making office appointments my Committee has always recognized it as reasonable that the head of a department should have the chief voice in the selection of a man who is to work under him, and for whom he will be held responsible. In proportion to the importance of the appointment will be the previous consultations between the Director and the official immediately concerned, the mention of the matter to adjoining departments, the pains taken to obtain not only a good field, but also trustworthy information about the best candidates. An office boy will not normally be brought from a hundred miles away, nor in the case of higher appointments will glowing testimonials from wholly unknown persons be accepted without further close inquiry. In Education Offices it is necessary to insist on a standard of accuracy and of conformity to educational conventions which are perhaps not so indispensable in a shop or other business. An ill-spelt and ungrammatical letter on which the signature of an Education Officer is stamped creates an unfortunate impression, which from a certain type of mind can never be erased. As the American humourist said, 'Appearances are deceitful, we all know, but so long as they are, it is as well to have them deceive for us as against us'. When it comes to selection I am tempted to say that the power of making a good selection is a gift. Certainly I have known of able administrators, even of great head masters, who were largely without it, but there is no doubt that

this interfered with their success. It is partly a matter of knowledge of the world and experience, and for its exercise needs of course a fairly close knowledge of what the duties and relations of the successful candidate will be. There is a legend—one of those well-invented stories of which the central fact probably never happened, but which represents the inmost truth—the legend of a well-known bishop who as a rector went to a railway station to meet a candidate for a curacy. The young man walked up the platform only to be met by ‘Thank you very much. It is very kind of you to have come to see me. But I think if you cross that bridge, you will be just in time to catch your train home again.’ Unfortunately such swift decisions, even if they can be made without fear of a mistake, cannot in real life be so rapidly announced without misunderstanding, and I have known committees continue politely labouring for many minutes with candidates whose chance had disappeared with the first replies they gave. Conventions do not always allow the most direct methods. There is the story of another parson who got up in the pulpit, and instead of preaching, announced that as he had had no time for preparation he did not propose that day to give any sermon. One to whom this was afterwards told said, ‘I have often heard that sermon, but usually at very much greater length’.

To get a man to talk about his work and to ask what improvements or new developments he would like to introduce if he were appointed are useful methods. The vain man begins to boast about himself, the dull man is taken hopelessly aback at the idea of new departures: the man whose heart is really in his work and who has brains in his head has generally something alive and personal to say. Into the secrets of the Inqui-

sition it is perhaps inexpedient to go farther: it is conceivable that I might hereafter meet some candidate skilfully modelling his replies upon the advice I have been giving in this lecture.

There are those of course who would deceive the very elect. In the worst appointment I ever had a hand in making, the candidate came before us twice, with an interval of several years. On the first occasion he (or she)—it is well not to be too precise—was second, and for the time being we saw no more of her (or him). Time passed, the post again became vacant, and the same candidate reappeared. I found myself wondering, as the door opened, what had been the special charm at the previous interview. Within five minutes we were again under the spell, and the appointment was unanimously recommended: an appointment subsequently regretted and remedied.

As to applicants, I take it for granted that every authority has a form for this purpose, if for no other reason than to render omissions conspicuous and to enable the seeker after truth to know where to find the definite items of information. Not the least necessary among these items in an Education Office is a clear and consecutive statement of the candidate's own education.

But the worst part of applications is the testimonial. Testimonial—the very word breathes disappointment. In moments of bitterness I should describe it as 'a document of extravagant eulogy proceeding generally from an unknown source, which has been frequently hard to give and almost always impossible to refuse'. After reading a batch of such documents, one is irresistibly reminded of Charles Lamb's childish question to his sister, 'Mary, where are the naughty people buried?'

But the real reason that I dislike them so much is that the art of writing eloquent and plausible testimonials is so unevenly distributed in this world, and that while the master in one school may be fortunate enough to have a vicar or a Chairman of Managers with great ingenuity and a gift for sonorous platitude, the school mistress two miles away may have a patron of the kind which John Knox called a 'dumm dog', and no educated friend in the least able to do her justice. One good definition of education is that it enables a man to distinguish argument from rhetoric: it does not, however, always enable one to distinguish between inarticulate panegyrists or rival rhetoricians.

There is an admirable footnote in a book by Sir Horace Plunkett which I have pinned up opposite to the desk in my office. It runs: 'Personally I prefer the practice of telling the brutal truth in testimonials—a method well illustrated by the following incident which occurs to my memory. An Indian called at the ranch where I was living at the time and handed me a letter from the Agent of his Reservation: this characteristic, and, as I afterwards learned, just testimonial, ran—"Tinbelly is a worthless Indian. Any one who gives him anything will be that much out." Do any of us know a country where the testimonial would be phrased: "Mr. P. J. Tinbelly is well qualified to discharge efficiently and faithfully any duties which may be entrusted to him"?' And some of us may remember Swift's testimonial to a servant who left him and went into the Navy: 'The bearer, while he was in my service, was a liar, a rascal, and a thief. Whether his service in the Navy has improved him they may best decide who are best qualified to judge.' I do not suggest that either of these are the type of applicants with whom Education Offices have

to deal, but I am sure that in my time I have had to read many testimonials no less evasive.

When one comes to scrutinize testimonials, if they are without discrimination and probability, the only course is to rely on such solid facts as are permitted to appear, and to note the absence of qualifications which might be expected. Above all, by the reading of many testimonials one may hope to acquire a certain flair for what is *not* to be found. We may remember how in *The Egoist* Dr. Corney found in Crossjay's narrative 'a strong flavour of something left out'. If there is a lower but still uniform level of rather undistinguished merit, I am afraid that the skilled searcher begins to discount such sound but colourless virtues as patience, perseverance, and punctuality, which, however praiseworthy in themselves, are seldom mentioned before more striking qualities of mind and character.

After all I, too, am human, and have in my time both received and given testimonials which would fall within the categories I have described, and which might bring a blush to the cheek of the most hardened Director. But I have travelled far from the Education Offices and the ranks of its service.

As to Educational Heads in Staffordshire, without going into unnecessary detail I may say that since 1903 there has always been a Director of Education with two Assistants, one for Higher and one for Elementary Education, varying slightly in title, and under them the working principle has been that each Department has a head, recognized more or less formally according to the importance of the Department. The Assistants are responsible to the Director for and have immediate control, so far as they need to exercise it, over all Departments in their province. The more highly

qualified any officers are—as for instance the Medical Inspection staff—the more completely they are left in the control of their own officer. The Director on the other hand is in charge of the whole, and has always retained the right of intervening anywhere throughout the building, or inquiring without notice into any part of the work. I have never reserved the services of any clerk for myself nor had any sort of private secretary, and have made a point of writing no letters except short personal notes, or official letters of the first order of importance.

It will be clear that the problem of an office thus organized is the problem of the Neck of the Bottle, and how much can be got through it. At each successive stage the amount is reduced, until at last only so much is left as can reasonably find a passage. This involves frequent consultations not only between Heads of Departments and the Assistant Directors, but almost as much between the latter and the Director. With the Assistants remains much responsibility for smooth working, but it is always understood that an appeal lies from any one in the office to the Director, or beyond him to the Chairman.

The fact is, however, that the work of the Director and of the Assistant Directors is much the same, and the daily task of the administrator was never better described than by one of H. M. Inspectors in the words of his 'Father O'Flynn'—'Coaxing the crazy ones, soothing onaisy ones, lifting the lazy ones on wid yer shtick'.

The special feature that distinguishes the chief local officials from the staff at Whitehall, with whom they are rightly comparable, is the detailed knowledge which every competent Director should possess of the chief persons, places, buildings, and local conditions of every

part of his own area. This experience takes long to acquire and needs frequent refreshment and revision. But every Director who has been in his area during the last ten or fifteen years of rapid expansion must feel at times like the Greek athlete who carried a full-grown bull on his shoulders through the stadium at Olympia, and when he was asked how he managed, replied that he had carried it every day since it was a calf. It is not in any way the performance of the veterans which I hold up to you; what I admire is the thews and sinews of the younger heroes who come late into the arena and take up the full-grown animal as it seems without an effort. It is in this local knowledge that the personal touch comes in, and I must have made my points very badly if it has not yet been realized that I regard the Personal Element as the essence of local administration. No two persons and no two places are alike in this world in my experience, and if you do not know enough of local circumstances or local personalities to take them into account in your administration, you are likely to be a Bureaucrat.

The inward besetting sins of a permanent official are the excess and the deficiency of assuming responsibility, and with both of these the name of Bureaucrat is associated as a term of just abuse. In excess the masterful man, insufficiently controlled and (taking little notice of the wishes of his Chairman and Committee, tends to press his own views too strongly, and to ride roughshod everywhere.) There is on record the advice of a well-known Civil Servant upon reforms, 'Get it done, let the objectors howl!' In defect—and this seems to be the more common vice, perhaps because it is associated with caution—and the result of experience is generally to increase caution—officials tend to rely on

precedent and to shelter themselves behind their Committees, and so to avoid responsibility. Boards, it has been said, are often screens. During the years 1914-19, many civilians had opportunities of observing the result of Army organization, and from my own experience in France and that of many of my friends, I make bold to say that the besetting sin of ordinary Army administration was this. The system made it easier to say No than to say Yes, and there were far too many precedents *in favour* of refusing, and *against* making a desperate effort towards granting any desired concession. Sooner or later the positive act might incur blame and misunderstanding: to do nothing was always safe. Play for safety. Stevenson has somewhere said that the rightly constituted mind will always prefer to say Yes, but either rightly constituted minds are scarce, or else many of them are lacking in courage and initiative.¹

Precedents are not wholly bad: on the contrary they may be of great and proper service. Those of us who had the experience of bringing in the 1902 Act, in a County Area at any rate, know how disconcerting it was to start almost wholly without precedents in nearly all the work we had to do, to sail uncharted seas with a compass which had hardly settled down, especially as all the time we were oppressed by the knowledge that too sudden or too unqualified a decision might

¹ Sir John Cowans was fond of recalling how on his first day as Quartermaster-General in his new room at the War Office 'an older General came in to see how he was faring, and stood behind his shoulder. General Cowans had just written and signed a minute, which the veteran having read exclaimed: "My dear boy, this will never do. You have made a decision. Now remember, whether you say 'Yes' or whether you say 'No', you will live to regret it." . . . But to Cowans decision was as the breath of life.'—*The Times*, April 1, 1921.

create a new tradition far worse than mere indecision. In due course sufficient decisions were made and sufficient precedents were found, a great deal of time was saved, and the work began to go ahead.

The creation of precedents for all possible contingencies is pleasantly illustrated by the little French story of a revolution. An official in a Hôtel de Ville sees a group of men rushing along one of his corridors. 'Where are you going, gentlemen, where are you going?' 'We're going to proclaim the Provisional Government!' 'Not that corridor, please. *This* way. This is the window from which Provisional Governments are always proclaimed!'

But these faults, though perhaps the most dangerous, are not those which most rouse the public anger or make business most difficult. That, if people only knew it, is achieved by mere bad manners, by inattention, real or assumed, such as was shown by flappers in Government Departments and shop-assistants during the war; by unwillingness to hear people state their case and by refusal to explain perfectly reasonable actions; by the lack, in fact, of that consideration which is the good manners of the heart. If people would only remember that maxim, which used to be on the desk of a well-known minister: 'Be kind, for every one of us is fighting a hard battle.'

The first step in dealing with too formal organization is to humanize it and to render it more flexible.

To afford full consideration to each person and each case is surely the object of local administration. Rules and generalizations there must be, which will fall on the just and unjust alike. Nobody pretends, for instance, that a scale of salaries represents payment according to merit; at the best it is merely a compromise, an insurance

against the extremes of injustice, of miserliness and of misjudgement. But (within regulations there can be a wise discrimination, and at least correspondents and teachers can feel sure of a friendly reception and an understanding explanation of difficulties.) Uniform mechanical administration may be cut off in lengths: the personal method does not shorten work or make it easier; it may lead to opportunism and irregularity of procedure, but it does sweeten life and make education more acceptable, whether as a service or even as a burden.

'Courage', as Stevenson once wrote, 'is the principal virtue, for all the others presuppose it', and courage is necessary at times if we are to take responsibility. I once found myself in an *impasse*—not in my own area. I went off to the Board of Education, and told the officials what we intended to do and induced them to offer no opposition. For six months we ran a Committee which had no legal existence, but the work was done, and well done. At the end of that time matters were regularized, and all has gone well since. 'You and your South Sea methods', said the officials, but they were quite sympathetic. Some of us remember Carlyle's Indian hero, Ram Dass, who 'had fire in his belly to burn up the world'. It might perhaps be dangerous, but officials as a whole are likely to suffer more from the want than the excess of this incendiary gift.

Courage is necessary also in composing differences: there is no solvent like meeting people who differ, and talking matters over. When one has had one's back to the wall two or three times, one can realize the advantages of the position, and a fiery beginning to an interview is often the best preliminary to a harmonious ending. It is interesting by the way to note that the experience of

Mr. Gladstone was that interviews were the most tiring part of his work.

But these are for the rare occasions. For the daily setting work on foot and following it up, tact and geniality and encouragement make far better progress. For the introduction of a new subject, I have only known one method, and that is to begin with the willing people, whose sympathies should be enlisted by an explanation of its aims and importance. The history is always the same; first the pioneers, then the main body, lastly the stragglers who have to be brought in. As Morant said, 'Great things begin with small, never with a flourish of trumpets'. All schemes should be as elastic as possible, if the main principles are retained, and enough hard work is done. Uniformity is the enemy of development, and no scheme is good which cannot develop naturally.

Let us turn to more peaceful themes, to the art of managing the office and the teachers. The work needs imagination and needs sympathy: imagination not of the Shelley type, but the power to project oneself into the development of a scheme, to see whither it will lead and what assistance it will require on its often prosaic way: sympathy to understand the difficulties of those who, under adverse conditions and small means, are labouring in schools and offices, and imagination to perceive opportunities for giving their work in turn more life and more freshness for the children. Without perception there can be no effective exercise of tact, but it is dangerous to be over sensitive, even in perceiving. One eminent organizer of education had this sentence written up in his room—'Blessed is the man who has a skin of the right thickness: he can work happily in spite of enemies and friends.'

In dealing with teachers and subordinates, before all things the need is for magnanimity. Which of us forget Milton's magnificent description of an ample and generous education as enabling us 'to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously the offices both private and public of peace and war'? And the first step in magnanimity is to bear no grudge. We must always be open to conviction—in a generous spirit, if we can achieve it, rather than that of my fellow countryman who announced that 'I'm open to conviction, but I'm a dour deevil to convince'. And when an apology has to be made, it should always be ungrudging and whole-hearted. It has been well said that a man can do a great deal of good if he does not care who gets the credit for it, and I for one have never found selfish jealousy except in a third-rate man. Nothing makes a man so keen on any piece of work as the belief that it was he himself who originated it.

It is perhaps hardly necessary to say that for the chief officers and any one who have to do with minutes, the power of drafting clearly and concisely and rapidly—but before all things clearly—is invaluable. When a resolution is going to be of great importance, it is well to be prepared with a form of words, but always to produce a resolution cut and dried beforehand leads to a wrong impression that the Committee are brought together only to register decisions which the Chairman and officials have already drafted and taken for granted. Especially in dealing with new matter, on which the Committee has not yet decided its policy, a paper with a well-thought-out sequence of questions is of the greatest assistance both in crystallizing opinion and recording the steps by which each decision was reached. But in all the memoranda and regulations which fall to our

lot, good drafting is indispensable. Sir Courtenay Boyle, in his admirably clear and fertile little book on *Hints on the Conduct of Business*, quotes an extraordinary but actual instance of a draft which 'had been prepared by an officer of high technical attainments and passed under the eye of more than one competent critic. The Head of the Department sent it back three times for reconstruction, saying he could not understand its provisions. Twice it came back to him unchanged. On the third occasion the technical officer who had drawn it in the first instance confessed to the accidental omission of the word "not" in the principal enacting sentence.'

When it comes to drafting regulations, special care is necessary. Sir Fitzjames Stephen has said, 'It is not enough to attain a degree of precision which a person reading in good faith can understand, but it is necessary to attain, if possible, to a degree of precision which a person reading in bad faith cannot misunderstand. It is all the better if he cannot pretend to misunderstand it'. I may add what I have often said, that any code of regulations is really a register of past offences, as it is built up gradually of provisions to prevent misdeeds, most of which the code-maker never thought of as possible when he sketched his first draft.

As to qualifications for Education officials, in higher education especially arises the question as to how far a principal officer should himself be an expert in any one or more subjects, and the answer is that while he should have a broad education, including a considerable knowledge of science, it is his attitude of mind rather than his actual learning which is vital. He should be informed and interested in all the matters that come before him; he cannot possibly be an expert in a quarter of them. I have had to deal with education applied to

agriculture, bee-keeping, ceramics, dairy work, engineering, farriery, gardening—I could go on to the end of the alphabet, but must not leave out metallurgy and mining and refractories and several branches of art, and to my own loss I am an expert in none of them. But even more than to have scientific knowledge is it needful to realize the need of it and to have the will as well as the power to make use of and combine the advice of the various experts. The kind of thing to avoid is the attitude of the General Staff of the Army before the war, as described by a witness before the Committee on Science in Education. 'Hitherto the General Staff had been of opinion that "Infantry Officers did not require to have a knowledge of Science", and their view had been that "the military efficiency of the officers had not suffered from lack of Science".' A similar view is unfortunately taken by too many manufacturers, who have been quite unable to see the need for expert scientific advice in various forms of production. In no branch of work in Staffordshire have we made more progress during the last dozen years in breaking down this spirit than in pottery, but to take only two instances a similar advance is needed in dealing with refractories and the glass trade.

Of the training of local officials much has been said. The Directors and Sub-Directors of the future should be men of high intellectual powers, which have received the highest training that universities can give, who are neither prigs nor idlers, and who have sufficient practical experience of teaching, if possible in more than one kind of school. Although it is desirable that a man should be caught young—for he can never become a good official when he is old—yet the more knowledge of the world at large that he possesses the better for his

work. Personally I count the years I spent in Oxford and the years I spent in the South Seas as equally valuable parts of my own training, though the South Seas can hardly form part of the ordinary curriculum, and might not be suited to all temperaments. Mr. Fisher has said, in his address on 'The Place of the University in National Life', 'It is not my submission that it should be made a condition of entrance to the higher branches of the local service of education that a man should have a University Degree, but I do contend that there is urgent need that the spirit of a liberal education should be infused into this important branch of the public service, an object which may perhaps be more readily attained when it is realized that University men who elect to adopt a career with a Local Education Authority may, if they have the necessary qualities, find themselves armed with a degree of power for furthering the educational progress of the country which far transcends that attaching to the head mastership of a great Public School'. Perhaps I may add that though a University Degree may not be indispensable, no man should ever be appointed a Director who is not capable of having won high honours, though he may not have had the opportunity of obtaining them. At all events, when such a man has been secured, with the right ability, education, and experience, he should enter an Education Office where the business side is efficient and a liberal spirit prevails in the administration. The difficulty is to find administrative vacancies for trainees: one of the best qualified Directors I know tells me that he can in a very short time make good use of them. Personally, until they receive actual responsibility (and that responsibility the public at large outside the office are very loth to recognize), I find their training a burden on the staff,

if they are to be admitted to a full knowledge of the working of the Office.

Of the duties of the Director himself, what am I to say? In Staffordshire the ruling principle is that he is personally responsible to the Committee for the conduct of all their work, and in practice, except so far as it is impossible to be in two places at once, he attends all Sub-Committees and presents all the business, except such items as the Chairmen may keep in their own hands. He is regarded as intermediate between the Committees and the staff, and except when matters affecting himself, such as salary or special leave of absence, are concerned, is present at all deliberations. With the other County Officials he attends meetings of the County Council and the full Education Committee, but only for the purpose of supplying information, like the secretary to a Minister in Parliament. Of the actual work, especially the preparation for Committees, much is of the nature of the work of a barrister: getting up and compressing large quantities of detail which have to be delivered in as short and convincing a form as possible. Perhaps the more difficult task follows—when the meeting is over to forget nine-tenths of the whole, while retaining only a sort of general index in one's mind.

There is another forensic rôle which the Director has not infrequently to fill—that of *advocatus diaboli*: at any rate he has to represent the views of persons not present with whom he personally may not agree, but whose views should receive full and fair consideration at the hands of a Sub-Committee.

The Director is freed as far as possible from any continuous routine work, in order that he may have time to supervise, to think, to consult, and to devote his chief attention to whatever new departure is being made, to

any piece of reorganization, to whatever crisis may be impending.

It is obvious from what has been said that the first conditions of County work—a wide area and a Chairman and Committee mostly resident at a distance—lay a heavy burden of responsibility, and a corresponding amount of discretionary power, on the Director. I remember an instance in point where the question arose of some continuous correspondence being submitted to the chief Sub-Committee, and it was ruled out as impracticable (though the Director would have welcomed the relief) when it was shown to involve the attendance of the members at Stafford on three days a week.

The responsibility includes the strict keeping of much information given in confidence and scrupulously borne in mind. He must keep the spirit, if not the exact words, of Secretary Seward's reply at Washington to some one who was pressing him to divulge some information, 'If I did not know, I would gladly tell you'.

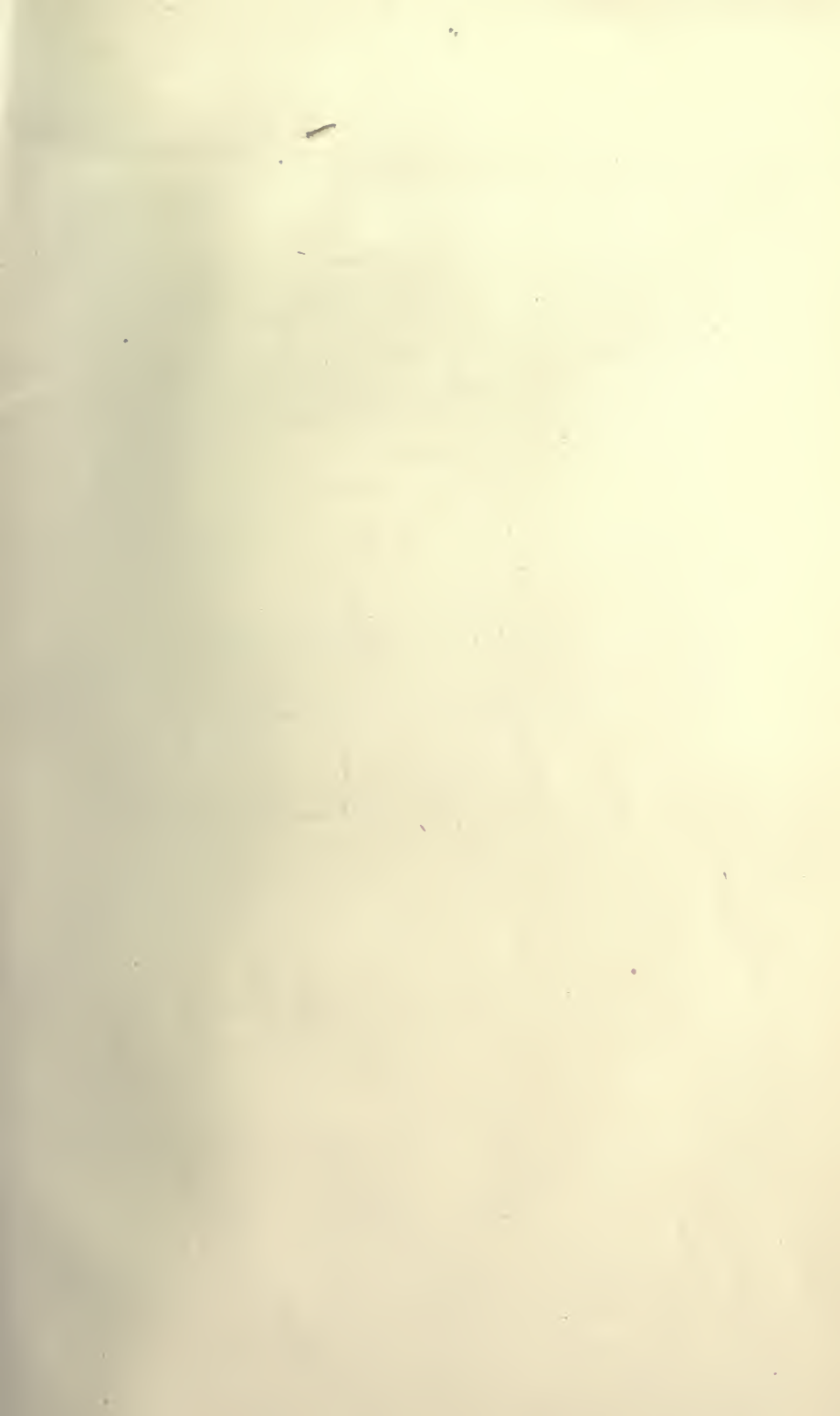
Though he must hold his own, and must sometimes disappoint people, no one should ever leave his presence discouraged: even when the time comes for finding fault, he should remember that if he has provided against the recurrence of the fault his end is already achieved. Moreover, he can often do as much service by remaining in reserve and as a further court of appeal, as by the most active intervention. If time takes away the keenness of temper and brings patience, it is not always patience in repeating experiments which have formerly failed: but with time there does come a certain flair for recognizing what will go wrong: just as we are told that Disraeli seemed to have an intuitive perception of what would pass the House of Commons. One acquires a power of recognizing as a rule what will not do,

though often one has to cast about for words to explain the reason.

But enough of paradoxes and of platitudes. Unless a man has a good staff, individually he can hope to do but little. To get good material and to make the most of it when obtained is the beginning and end of all good administration. To an exceptionally able and willing staff, past and present, Staffordshire owes whatever good work in education it has accomplished, and to my colleagues and subordinates I give my full tribute of admiration and close personal affection. Their practice and experience are the foundation of much of what I have said; which for the rest represents the aims and aspirations of a very fallible Director.

Finally, I would end with the words of the farewell of that wise and good lady, Octavia Hill:—

‘When I am gone, I hope my friends will not try to carry out any special system, or to follow blindly in the track which I have trodden. New circumstances require various efforts; and it is the spirit, not the dead form, that should be perpetuated. When the time comes that we slip from our places, and they are called to the front as leaders, what should they inherit from us? Not a system, not an association, not dead formulas. . . . What we most care to leave them is not any tangible thing, however great; not any memory, however good; but the quick eye to see, the true soul to measure, the large hope to grasp the mighty issues of the new and better days to come—greater ideals, greater hopes, and patience to realize both.’



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