

The Young Wage- Earner

And the Problem of his Education

Essays and Reports

Edited by J. J. Findlay

With the Committee of the

Uplands Association

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THE YOUNG WAGE-EARNER

INTRODUCTION

AT the Summer Meeting held during August 1917 in Bangor, the problem of Continued Education proved of great interest; it was therefore decided to pursue the inquiry after the Meeting closed. The Committee put together a statement (see p. 10 below) which was issued in January 1918, and it was then decided to extend the study to a further stage by preparing a number of essays and reports. These are now collected and submitted for the use both of teachers and of the wider public interested in educational reform.

The reader will bear in mind that the treatment is not intended to be comprehensive or exhaustive, but is designed to support a distinctive point of view as regards the part-time education of adolescents. The examples chosen by the reporters may be said almost to be chosen at random: they happened to have come within our purview and to be apposite: the reader may take it for granted

that similar activities can be witnessed in many other districts than the one which has fallen under our notice. Our purpose is to supply data, sufficient to secure a point of view. Some omissions will possibly be remarked. Writing as several of us do from Manchester, it might be expected that we should give a leading place to Lads' Clubs, but we have preferred rather to deal with efforts which have not been brought so prominently under public notice. A full account of this movement, from the pen of Mr C. B. Russell, was published by the Board of Education a few years ago, and a more recent summary can be read in the British Association volume called *Manchester, 1915* (The University Press, Manchester), written by Councillor Melland.

Our space has only permitted a scanty reference to religious institutions, but here again those who want to know the facts can readily ascertain them. The Roman Catholics maintain most active societies, of laity and clergy combined, for the oversight of youth; the Jewish community often maintain clubs and other social organisations: the Wesley Guild, attached to the Wesleyan Methodist Church,

flourishes in most large towns and in many smaller centres also.

In spite of these evidences of religious zeal there can be no question that only a small portion of the ground has been covered, especially in regard to the new scholars, the hitherto untouched mass of young wage-earners, who are the theme of Mr Jackson's essay. And Professor Shelley does not hesitate to affirm that the Churches on the whole have failed to realise the tragedy of the moral crisis which the war has exposed. A confirmation of this view is presented by the results of an inquiry conducted during the last month in a large town in Lancashire. A **Juvenile Organisations Committee**¹ has commenced operations in this town at the instance of the Home Office, and has collected full information from every type of religious and social organisation, including Bands of Hope, Guilds, Boy Scouts, etc. The conclusion, as reported so far, is that only one in five of the young people between the ages of twelve and eighteen are to be found in any kind of voluntary association.

While the contributors to this volume are

¹ See p. 114 below.

largely of the same mind in general policy, some divergence may be noted in details, and no effort has been made to ensure consistency of exposition. We write as students, who approached this new field of inquiry without any prepossessions, and we submit these first-fruits of our study to those who are prepared to investigate the needs of the young wage-earner with an unbiassed mind. Apart from the extracts quoted in the Appendix, all the contributions have been prepared by members of the Uplands Association.

J. J. FINDLAY.

POSTSCRIPT

While this volume has been passing through the press, the House of Commons has considered the Education Bill. Clause 10 as we have printed it below has suffered some change, and many reformers are inclined to reproach the Government for making any concession at all to those who claimed to speak on behalf of manufacturing and agricultural industries. Without an inside knowledge of the force of the opposition which the Government had to

face no one can judge how far such reproaches are justified. The main principles underlying Clause 10 are maintained, and at the moment of writing there is every prospect that they will be translated this summer into an Act of Parliament. That is a great achievement, and Mr Fisher's name will be associated with it for all time.

The result of the changes is a postponement of the introduction of compulsory part-time schooling between 16 and 18 until seven years from the "appointed day," instead of two years, as was contemplated under Clauses 10 and 45 taken together: and a permission to Local Education Authorities during this period of seven years to reduce the attendance from 320 to 280 hours if they elect to do so.

The Government has added to Clause 10 a subsection relating to Works Schools which provides that "A local education authority shall not without the consent of a young person require him to attend any continuation school held at or in connection with a place of employment, and any such school shall be open to inspection either by the local education authority or by the Board of Education at the option of those responsible for the manage-

ment of the school." These provisions are the result, it appears, of friendly compromise between the representatives of labour and of the large manufacturers. The Reports numbered I. II. and VI. below will show how necessary it was to determine by law the status of this peculiar type of " non-provided " institution.

The chapters that follow deal only with wage-earners between the ages of 14 and 18, who are henceforth to be legally described as " young persons " ; a critic might fairly point out that thousands of children earn wages before they become young persons on reaching the fourteenth birthday. For many reasons, however, we have thought it well to confine this volume to the problem of continued education, basing our arguments upon the psychology of adolescence. The relations between schooling and employment previous to 14 are equally important, and the discussions now proceeding in the House of Commons are of great moment ; but the proper treatment of these would require us to expound the psychology of childhood, and in particular to consider how the practical outlook of the child upon his environment affects

his relation to work and to paid labour. Such a study would require a separate volume.

Now that the Government Bill seems fairly secure, the pages that follow will, we hope, assist public opinion in answering the urgent question which must now be answered—viz. where are the teachers to be found? The reactionaries who hope that the inevitable postponement in adopting the new law may lead to its being eventually dropped are relying upon the scarcity of teachers as a weapon of attack. It therefore becomes a matter of the first importance for reformers to fix their attention on this aspect of the problem. If I may venture on a personal opinion, I would prophesy that many of the teachers and supervisors of the Young Wage-Earners will be found in our citizen army. During the last few months our soldiers have begun to realise the possibility of educating themselves while still wearing the King's uniform: if this movement spreads, assisted by the Y.M.C.A., by the universities, and by all grades of the teaching profession, we may find when demobilisation sets in that Education has become a matter of real interest and pride among

soldiers and sailors : if so, these will furnish an adequate supply of men and women ready to serve the youth of England in days of peace with a devotion and a loyalty equal to that with which they have defended our country amid the perils of war.

J. J. FINDLAY.

12th June 1918.

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PASSAGES FROM THE EDUCATION BILL
(JANUARY 1918) RELATING TO THE
EDUCATION OF YOUNG PERSONS

(For definition of "young persons" see Clause 42 below)

CLAUSE 3.—(1) With a view to continuing the education of young persons and helping them to prepare for the freedom and responsibilities of adult life it shall be the duty of the local education authority for the purposes of Part II. of the Education Act, 1902, either separately or in co-operation with other local education authorities, to establish and maintain or secure the establishment and maintenance under their control and direction of a sufficient supply of continuation schools in which suitable courses of instruction and physical training are provided without payment of fees for all young persons resident in their area who are, under this Act, under an obligation to attend such schools.

(2) For the purposes aforesaid the local education authority, after such consultation with persons or bodies interested as they

consider desirable, from time to time may, and shall when required by the Board of Education, submit to the Board schemes for the progressive organisation of a system of continuation schools and for the purpose of securing general and regular attendance thereat.

Clause 10.—(1) Subject as hereinafter provided, all young persons shall attend such continuation schools at such times, on such days, as the local education authority of the area in which they reside may require, for three hundred and twenty hours in each year, or, in the case of a period of less than a year, for such number of hours as the local education authority, having regard to all the circumstances, consider reasonable:

Provided that at any time after the expiration of five years from the appointed day the Board of Education may, after such inquiry as they think fit, and after consulting the local education authority, by order increase in respect of any area or part of an area or any young persons or classes of young persons the number of hours of attendance at continuation schools required under this Act, and this

section shall, as respects the area to which, or the young persons to whom, the order applies, have effect as if the number of hours specified in the order were substituted for three hundred and twenty; but no such order shall be made until a draft thereof has lain for not less than thirty days on the table of each House of Parliament.

(2) Any young person—

- (i) who is above the age of fourteen years on the appointed day, or
- (ii) who is above the age of sixteen years, and either—

(a) has passed the matriculation examination of a university of the United Kingdom or an examination recognised by the Board of Education for the purposes of this section as equivalent thereto; or

(b) is shown to the satisfaction of the local education authority to have been up to the age of sixteen under full-time instruction in a school recognised by the Board of Education as efficient or under suitable and

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efficient full-time instruction in some other manner,

shall be exempt from the obligation to attend continuation schools under this Act unless he has informed the authority in writing of his desire to attend such schools and the authority have prescribed what school he shall attend ;

(3) The obligation to attend continuation schools under this Act shall not apply to any young person —

- (i) who is shown to the satisfaction of the local education authority to be under full-time instruction in a school recognised by the Board of Education as efficient or to be under suitable and efficient full-time instruction in some other manner, or
- (ii) who is shown to the satisfaction of the local education authority to be under suitable and efficient part-time instruction in some other manner for a number of hours in the year (being hours during which if not exempted he might be required to attend continuation schools) equal to the number

of hours during which a young person is required under this Act to attend a continuation school.

(4) If a young person, who is or has been in any school or educational institution, or the parent of any such young person, represents to the Board that the young person is entitled to exemption under the provisions of this section, or that the obligation imposed by this section does not apply to him, by reason that he is or has been under suitable and efficient instruction, but that the local education authority have unreasonably refused to accept the instruction as satisfactory, the Board of Education shall consider the representation, and, if satisfied that the representation is well founded, shall make an order declaring that the young person is exempt from the obligation to attend a continuation school under this Act for such period and subject to such conditions as may be named in the order :

Provided that the Board of Education may refuse to consider any such representation unless the local education authority or the Board of Education are enabled to inspect

the school or educational institution in which the instruction is or has been given.

(5) The local education authority may require in the case of any young person who is under an obligation to attend a continuation school that his employment shall be suspended on any day when his attendance is required, not only during the period for which he is required to attend the school, but also for such other specified part of the day, not exceeding two hours, as the authority considers necessary in order to secure that he may be in a fit mental and bodily condition to receive full benefit from attendance at the school: Provided that, if any question arises between the local education authority and the employer of a young person whether a requirement made under this subsection is reasonable for the purposes aforesaid, that question shall be determined by the Board of Education, and if the Board of Education determine that the requirement is unreasonable they may substitute such other requirement as they think reasonable.

(6) The local education authority shall not require any young person to attend a continuation school on a Sunday, or on any day

or part of a day exclusively set apart for religious observance by the religious body to which he belongs, or during any holiday or half-holiday to which by any enactment regulating his employment or by agreement he is entitled, nor so far as practicable during any holiday or half-holiday which in his employment he is accustomed to enjoy, nor between the hours of seven in the evening and eight in the morning : Provided that the local education authority may, with the approval of the Board, vary those hours in the case of young persons employed at night or otherwise employed at abnormal times.

Clause II.—(1) If a young person fails except by reason of sickness or other unavoidable cause to comply with any requirement imposed upon him under this Act for attendance at a continuation school, he shall be liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding five shillings, or, in the case of a second or subsequent offence, to a fine not exceeding one pound.

(2) If a parent of a young person, by wilful default or by neglecting to exercise due care, has conduced to the commission of an offence under the immediately preceding subsection,

or has caused or connived at the failure on the part of the young person to attend a continuation school as required under this Act, he shall be liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding two pounds, or, in the case of a second or subsequent offence, whether relating to the same or another person, to a fine not exceeding five pounds.

Clause 12.—(1) The Board of Education may from time to time make regulations prescribing the manner and form in which notice is to be given as to the continuation school (if any) which a young person is required to attend, and the times of attendance thereat, and as to the hours during which his employment must be suspended, and providing for the issue of certificates of age, attendance and exemption and for the keeping and preservation of registers of attendance and generally for carrying into effect the provisions of this Act relating to continuation schools.

(2) For the purposes of the provisions of this Act relating to continuation schools the expression "year" means in the case of any young person the period of twelve months reckoned from the date when he ceased to be

a child, or any subsequent period of twelve months.

Clause 42.—(1) In this Act, unless the context otherwise requires,—

The expression “ child ” means any child up to the age when his parents cease to be under an obligation to cause him to receive efficient elementary instruction or to attend school under the enactments relating to elementary education and the byelaws made thereunder ;

The expression “ young person ” means a person under eighteen years of age, who is no longer a child ;

(2) In the Education Acts the expressions “ employ ” and “ employment ” used in reference to a child or young person include employment in any labour exercised by way of trade or for the purposes of gain, whether the gain be to the child or young person or to any other person.

THE PART-TIME EDUCATION OF WAGE-EARNERS

(Statement drafted by the Committee of the Uplands Association)

THE Uplands Association and its Committee have been engaged for some time upon the problem of Continued Education, and the following paragraphs state very briefly their conclusions—indicating the lines along which they consider the working of the Government proposals should move.

1. All programmes for continued education should be based on a recognition of the changes in mental outlook accompanying the onset of adolescence; *e.g.*, a novel restiveness in regard to authority, often balanced by an admission of helplessness and hence willingness to submit to guidance; the strength of the sex instinct, which can be best "sublimated" by affording opportunities for club-life wherever the home circle does not meet the new social cravings of youth; the formation of ideals, liable to rapid change, but

possessing a strong hold on the sentiments, and affecting the wage-earner's choice of occupation. For while these changes characterise all normal adolescents, the youth who earns wages undergoes a special transformation as the result of his (partial) economic independence. The sanctions of parental control are placed on a new footing when the boy or girl contributes materially to the family resources ; a new set of feelings and attributes are engendered in regard to the entire household. These feelings of emancipation react also in many instances on his relation to religion and to his city and country as well as to his family and other associates.

2. Public Authority, in claiming control of the adolescent up to 18, should therefore provide for individual knowledge of and interest in each young person. This can best be done by putting him under the care of a supervisor or tutor. These officers, who would discharge some of the functions of Juvenile Labour Exchange officials, would not necessarily be professional teachers ; they may be Scout Masters, Club Workers, or Senior Sunday School officers. School teachers would often be available, especially those who have had

charge of the young people while in the upper standards of an Elementary School.

3. The class instruction (320 hours a year is the actual amount proposed in the Bill) to be imposed by Authority will often be given directly by the Local Education Authority, but (since its value is enhanced when the youth can express his personality through this means) it may partly be arranged either in a workshop or in a Scout Troop, a Girls' or Lads' Club, or a religious institution. Such instruction should be recognised by, and if possible aided by, the State; attendance would be regulated by the supervisor or tutor, answerable to the Local Education Authority and complying with its regulations.

4. The two upper standards of the Public Elementary School, reorganised so as to include all scholars who have reached the age of 12, should be adapted to fit in with the scheme of Part-Time Instruction and Supervision after 14; for the years from 12 to 14 constitute a time of transition from childhood to youth. Thus an unbroken course of education and tutorial supervision from 12 right on to 18 would be possible, making more easy the transition from full-time schooling to a life of

wage-earning, and helping the child before leaving school to find himself at home in the society and under the supervision which will continue with him throughout the period of youth.

5. This re-organisation, involving the creation of a new department or section in the Public Elementary School at the age of 12, would be of advantage in other ways. Firstly, 12 is the age at which pupils ordinarily leave the Public Elementary School for the new experience of a Trade or Domestic Economy School or a Secondary School; for those who are left behind some change of school conditions is necessary, both in corporate life and in curriculum; the new conditions can be extended and made effective by reaching up to 18, providing what in principle will be found to be Secondary Education for the Wage-Earner. Secondly, as soon as public opinion warrants the extension of full-time compulsory education to 15, this can be carried through without disturbing the public system.

6. Many of the teachers in this reorganised upper section of the Public Elementary School would serve also as supervisors or tutors to

youth, but in any event they would *co-operate with the voluntary agencies* through which many young persons of both sexes will continue to find opportunity for development. Whatever choice was offered to young persons to attend classes other than those provided by the Local Education Authority, some part of the attendance would usually be taken in the provided classes, so that the link between the youth and his earlier education up to 14 would be maintained.

7. *Curriculum.* (1) The insistence in the Bill upon physical training is to be welcomed, together with the prospect of holiday or school camps. All such pursuits should be associated with a corporate life in which the maximum of freedom is permitted. (2) Technological instruction is a necessity, not primarily to increase the wage-earning capacity of the youth, but to enable him to find in his occupation something more than wages. So far as possible the instruction should be associated directly with the factory, the office or the shop, and the instructor should have first-hand acquaintance with the trade. Many varieties of treatment will be necessary, ranging from the lowest form of unskilled

or repetition work to the elaborated crafts, from solitary employment in a house or on a farm to the thronged shops of a huge factory ; but technological instruction is needed for all without exception. (3) Some time must be left over, if only a short period, for enabling the youth to carry forward one or other of the " liberal " studies in which he made a start between 12 and 14. No cut-and-dried scheme of compulsory classes in subjects of general education should be imposed, but supervisors should for some years be allowed a free hand, affording to young persons a wide freedom of choice among a variety of pursuits, subject always to the Local Education Authority being satisfied as to steady attendance and industrious application.

8. *Selection of Teachers and Supervisors.* The choice of fit persons to take charge of youth is by far the most important factor in the problem. Many of these can be found among the professional teachers now engaged in Elementary, Secondary or Technical Schools ; especially those who by working in Continuation Classes have gained a first-hand knowledge of wage-earning boys and girls. A few will be found among officers of the

Juvenile Labour Bureaux; others among social workers such as are mentioned in paragraph 2 above; many of these are persons who possess the requisite experience and attainments. The demand will be great and the resources scanty; every welcome should be given to voluntary effort, even if the volunteers be not specifically "trained" on certificated plans of training. All such supervisors or tutors would act under the sanction of the Local Authority, who must be responsible to the community for seeing that the law as to compulsory attendance is complied with. The fear of friction, whether arising from denominational bitterness, from professional jealousy, or from distrust of employer's motives, should not be permitted to thwart the great purpose of this national effort on behalf of the youth of England.

January 1918.

ESSAYS

I. FROM HOME LIFE TO INDUSTRIAL LIFE : WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE ADOLESCENT GIRL

IN such a time as this, in the midst of a heated and gigantic conflict, it is difficult in the extreme to maintain anything like a true set of values in the national perspective; the mole-hills of the immediate present that demand so much of our attention often hide from our view, not only the clear blue of the everlasting hills that mankind in times of vision always sees at the horizon's bound, but also the dangers of the dark middle distance that must be reckoned with before we can again lift up our eyes for the ascending effort. So is it, I fear, with one of the gravest of problems that will beset us when that dark middle distance of peace is reached—the problem of the nation's youth. In the energetic solution of this problem lie not only means whereby the vast social issues that will

emerge upon the conclusion of war may be rendered more manageable, but also means whereby the nation will rise victor over the destroying effects of war, if she is not to remain for ever fallen. Let us face the facts as we now see them, and consider them in the light of conditions which peace may bring.

To understand the problem at all fully, it is necessary to approach it from two sides, the more important of which is the one which is more apt to be neglected because it is the less obvious. These two aspects are the material and the mental; and since our legislators have not yet acquired the psychological habit of thinking, the neglect of the mental considerations in dealing with sections of the community has often brought trouble where there need be none. The material side of the adolescent problem is easily stated and easily comprehended. Let us consider it first.

The nation, being engaged in such a gigantic military struggle, has gradually been deprived of its adult males in the production of food-stuffs and war material, and has necessarily fallen back on the old men, the women and the adolescents. A very large percentage of the youths and maidens of the country

between the ages of 13 and 18 are engaged in work outside their own homes (and often far from them) at wages which are abnormally high, owing to scarcity of other labour. These adolescents are enjoying a spending power beyond their wildest dreams of two or three years ago—and to a great extent they are exercising that power in a most irresponsible way. They are not to be blamed for this: they have not learned how to spend, and it is to be expected that they will attempt to realise some of the extravagant dreams that characterise the improvident period of youth. So that at the present moment we can think of our young people as using up their abundant energies in two directions: first, in “doing their bit”—which is often a long and tiring bit—and thus earning big money; secondly, in indulging in all the many activities, enjoyments and luxuries that money opens to them. From a material point of view, therefore, the problem of youth at the coming of peace does not seem to be a very difficult one. All that appears to be necessary when the fighting men return to take back their work, and when, owing to there being no further need of munitions, and

to there being a probable shortage of employment generally, still further young men and maidens are thrown out of their industrial occupations—all that seems on the surface necessary is for the girls to go back to their homes and for the youths to pick up odd employment or go back to the position of "learners" as before the war. True, they will not have much money now for luxury—but, we can hear the moral adult say, that will be good for them. Where, then, is this gigantic problem of youth that is to beset us after the war, and for which we must prepare with all haste? The problem becomes clear enough as soon as we consider things from the mental and moral point of view.

Let us begin by casting back our minds to the pre-war conditions of life of the adolescent girl. Girls generally were attached to their homes in a most intimate way; a large percentage remained wholly at home, and, although a number went out to work during the day, they lived at home—the centre of their social being was their home—the unifying factor in their thought was their home—the standard in the light of which their judgments of others were formed was unconsciously

built up in the home circles—their manners and morals were the result of home influence. The home was the centre of their whole thinking and feeling being, which they carried about with them, and which consciously or unconsciously determined their actions outside; it restrained the almost overpowering instincts and emotions whose awakening dominates the period of adolescence, and implanted in their souls a model (although not a perfect one) of that ideal home which they themselves will one day found. It is vastly important to our proper understanding of the problem that faces us that we should grasp the deep significance of this idea of the home being the centre around which the whole of the girl's life and thoughts revolved. Many young women, especially those who enjoy the pose of being considered "advanced," will doubtless have laughed playfully at the seemingly strait-laced remarks of their mothers, who "can't understand what girls are coming to nowadays"; outside the home they may have passed scathing remarks about Mrs Grundy as impersonated by their parents; but in their heart of hearts they have always worshipped that same goddess of the family

hearth, knowing intuitively that she represents the eternal demand of the instinct of motherhood, of which the home is the shrine, that the subservient instincts and interests should not be allowed licence to parade as ends in themselves. Considered closely, we shall find that this homing tendency of the minds and bodies of our adolescent girls has been the rock upon which the national morality has been built.

The reader may now anticipate a declaration that the proper place for the woman is the home; let no such thought enter the reader's head, lest it work as a prejudice preventing the just consideration of what follows. We are going to say no such thing. We are not going to argue as to whether or not such a thing as what we now understand by home life is necessary to a nation's welfare—that is beside the point. What we are going to take for granted at the outset is that *some* type of social method—not necessarily the particular form of society as at present constituted (which is ultimately based on the family), but some type of social organisation—is essential to human progress from the very fact that it is inherent in the nature of

human reproduction. With this warning to the reader not to anticipate our conclusions, let us try to understand the change in the mental and moral outlook of the adolescent girl that has come to pass during the war. Gradually as the girl has been absorbed in the industrial effort that so greatly relies upon her toil, being persuaded, as she is at first, to offer herself so splendidly at the nation's demand, and afterwards (as the glamour of the patriotic appeal wears off and she finds that war work is just the same old drudgery as repetitive work has always been) being held by the increasing wages; herded with other girls to live and work in munition camps and other places away from home, and having no connection with home life: gradually her thought strays to the wider, freer existence that is bought ready-made in our large towns; she wonders why she ever was foolish enough to spend her life scrubbing and dusting the unused rooms of home, she wonders how she ever could have been satisfied with the little circle whose centre was her family; her home begins to creep down into a shadowy corner of her thoughts and feelings, and it becomes just a

place to visit or to write to, a place that in some odd, old-fashioned way is put into a mental glass case, like a piece of antique crockery to be kept and cared for with affection and laid on a shelf out of the way. *The home no longer is the central controlling factor in the life of the adolescent girl.* This is the vital fact which we must deal with. Meanwhile we may consider that the centre has shifted to the particular sphere of employment the girl is engaged in. She has probably found congenial companions there. During her leisure hours she has engaged in pursuits which attract her more or less for their own sakes, with little thought of anything but just the pleasure of the moment. We know from abundant evidence that under such conditions, with the falling out of the home as the point of view from which life is seen, there is a disastrous tendency for the mind of the girl to lose all points of view, and for life to become a non-moral, aimless round of seeking for momentary excitement. All kinds of moral pitfalls are open to a mind in such a disorganised state, and, without lessening our admiration for the magnificent way in which the girls have played up to what the nation

demands of them, we cannot shut our eyes to the evident loosening of adolescent morality during the war.

We see so far that the national morality before the war depended largely upon the home being the centre of the life and thought of the future mothers of the nation. We see that the present generation of adolescent girls has lost hold to a great extent of home influence and has found its thoughts and feelings bewildered by sudden access to a wider but more superficial world. The question we now have to ask ourselves is what will happen after the war, when the means of access to this big world are suddenly closed. Is it possible that the mind that has wandered so far, that has been diverted in so many directions, will find it possible to return to its narrow outlook and its restricted means of self-expression? This is hardly conceivable. The girl will find herself robbed of the slight and temporary means by which some kind of social centre was provided for her, and before she can have found herself in her new relations she will be thrown adrift without an anchor that she wishes to use. Do not think that the idea of national service is strongly

enough developed in her mind to keep her moral being from becoming unstable ; this may be so in a few cases, but with the great majority now, as paid workers of the powers that be, girls no more realise their position as members of the State than the modern domestic servant considers herself a member of the family which she serves, or is wise and thrifty in its cause. The adolescents have been drawn into a mad industrial whirl, and have found emancipation of a very complete nature ; must we attempt to crush them back to what they now regard as bondage ? Even if we *could* do it, would it be wise ? Would not their bitter and reckless struggle against us make them the victims of a despairing pessimism ? The real task of reconstruction lies with them, and, as such, the adolescents are the most important people of the present State, and we must prepare them accordingly. Materially the State of the immediate future may be in rags, but there is no need for its spirit to be poverty-stricken ; if only, by a careful tending of the nation's youth, we develop a new social consciousness in the individual which alone can bring forth the spiritual riches we shall so badly need. The

war has liberated vast effort, and has given to youth the consciousness of unfettered power; a sense of importance has for the first time been attached to its labour. If we can but grasp all this liberated effort, this feeling of power unshackled, and direct it, or inspire it in such a way that it will seek direction, into channels of usefulness and great endeavour for the State; if we can set burning in the mind of the nation's youth the compelling idea of communal service: then we shall have cause, amid all our sorrows, to rejoice that the war has shaken off the asphyxiating comfort of material riches, and left us a wreckage from which a richer life may rise.

The need for this inspiring discipline of the adolescent was felt, especially in regard to young men, before the war, and many tentative attempts were made by individuals to meet the need, mostly in connection with places of worship; but as a whole the problem still awaits solution. The existence of the problem was seemingly evident to the Government at that time, for proposals had already got well forward for compulsory continuation schools when war broke out and put an end

to such efforts. But the problem before the war was trifling compared with what it will be immediately after the war, especially in the case of girls; and we now see that compulsory attendance at so many evening or day classes of a purely academic or technical character does not really touch the problem deeply. The main direction in which effort is needed is social rather than merely intellectual; what we have to do is to create in the adolescent mind a centre for social reference, and this can only be done by elaborating an institution which will absorb the thoughts and activities of the free or floating portion of youth's existence; an institution in which ideals can flourish, in which social experience can be gained, in which the youth will pass a novitiate preparatory to initiation into the full rights of citizenship of the great commonwealth. The Government is putting forward a Bill for Continued Education, and we must see that it is not interpreted in a rigidly scholastic manner, as will doubtless be the tendency; it must not be regarded as a critically inspected "requirement" which youth will look upon as an infliction, giving to it a mini-

munum of effort ; it must rather be considered by religious bodies and others interested, working in sympathy with the Local Education Authorities, as a generous official recognition of the bigger work that they will strive to do. What the Bill demands is so many hours per year ; what the adolescent demands (if he could voice the more or less unconscious craving which possesses him) is an institution that shall embody an ideal of social life and absorb his whole being. The adolescent has a great fund of social energy derived from newly awakened instincts, and it will find an outlet in one way or another. If we cannot engage his sympathy in social good, he will find expression in social evil. As evidence of this seeking after social experience outside the pale of the recognised efforts of society, witness the gangs of hooligans who organise themselves with most admirable discipline in large towns such as London and Glasgow. The police know of them well enough to their cost ! We can look forward, unless extraordinary efforts are made, to the terrible prospect of the country being overrun with male and female hooligans in all grades of society. If we do not provide means of

organising them along beneficent and positive lines, then they are bound to organise themselves in ways which will cause infinite trouble.

Up to the present we have made a mistake in trying mainly to hold up the moral life to youth by negative means, by a series of "thou-shalt-nots": he is bursting with the energy and desire to make a new earth, and he is met with prohibitions. The Churches, one can hardly help feeling, are largely to blame. It is their business if it is anyone's, but they have chiefly emphasised the importance of the negative virtues. The divine motherhood of the future—not a divine virginity of the past—and the beauty of the social life that motherhood brings with it, and the beauty and the sternness and the rapture of a full social preparation for ripe adulthood—these are the matters above all others that should be engaging the attention of the Churches at this moment when the State is so busy with the mole-hills. The future of the State is most surely what the women choose to make it—it is in their keeping.

In spite of their lamentable failure during the war, I still have a strong belief in the

power of the Churches, if they will but shake off the lethargy that comes from mechanically preaching a dead dogma in a century of unbelief; they should root their work in the "will to life," the subconsciousness of which is the very Kingdom of God within the young people; the priests must find a conscious external expression for this belief, lest they stumble, blind and inarticulate, towards death.

Whether or no the Churches are able to rise to the demand of the times, it is imperative that the State itself should solve the problem in one way or another, in order that it may not fall to social and moral ruin. The Education Bill for Continued Education is a beginning, but it must not be suffered to be put off or feebly interpreted. We must insist on the same energy being put into the work as into the rapid production of munitions, for the social training of our adolescents is the armament with which we must meet the forces of social disruption. A solid phalanx of organised youth must form an impenetrable creeping barrage which the threatening disintegration of the State cannot approach. Granted that the important thing

for the moment is the attacking of the mole-hills—difficult ones, but still mole-hills—have we not pioneers who can stand aside and from a calm point of vantage take a mental measure of the obstacles of the future and set their engineers to work to attack the ominous middle distance? Have we no faith in the wisdom of our educationists, that the Government leaves them so little freedom to act? Must Parliament be allowed to go on for ever chattering so loudly and so long that it cannot hear or spare time to heed the insistent cry of the future? Must Education Bills for ever be left over till next session and then be reduced to the anæmic state of undebatable clauses? In this matter wisdom lies as much in the right choice of the time to do as of the thing to be done; and the right moment to prepare the path along which youth may safely travel when peace comes—is NOW. To leave it till we are overwhelmed by the difficulties of the coming peace is to court disaster, for we shall then be all knee-deep in the slough of social conflict.

JAMES SHELLEY.

II. THE NEW SCHOLAR

WE propose to deal in what follows with the special case of one section of the boy and girl population of the country. This section will be affected vitally by compulsory continued education. If we take the whole of the adolescent population of 13 to 16 years of age, three groups or classes are distinguishable. Firstly, there is that relatively small section of boys and girls (what is said of boys applies throughout, *mutatis mutandis*, to girls) that proceeds to the full-time education of the secondary school. Secondly, there is another section whose members, though they do not proceed to secondary schools, are always ready to make use of any means of part-time instruction that may be available; such courses, for example, as are already established in the ordinary "night schools" and technical colleges. With these youths, home influence or natural curiosity and inclination, or both together, are sufficiently strong to lead them to whatever is

going in the way of instruction and training. This group also is numerically small, as may be seen by comparing the number of boys who leave the elementary schools in any one year with the number who enrol in the "night classes."

Thirdly, there is a group of boys and girls, much more numerous than either of the above—those, namely, who become wage-earners at 13 to 14. They have, in the past, made little or no use of the facilities for continued education, so far provided. They will be compelled, if the new Bill becomes law, to attend some kind of school or courses of instruction provided by public authority.

In the presence of these New Scholars the educator is faced with a novel problem. He is called upon to deal with a nature responding to influences which are, it is taken for granted, ruled out of the lives of pupils in schools of any kind. In the bulk these young people have never been brought within the ambit of organised education; they are the lost sheep of the educational fold. Neither singly nor in the masses should they be judged by the youths of the second group

mentioned above. It is to be feared, indeed; that most of the boys and girls who are members of Scout Troops, Girl-Guide Associations, Boys' Brigades, Church Clubs and similar organisations belong to the two groups we have excluded—namely, the group that has attended night schools voluntarily and the group that goes to the secondary schools.

Of the group we are dealing with, only the fringe has come into contact with any organised means of education; the mass has remained beyond the reach of educational effort. What are the reasons for this? And what bearing may these reasons have on the problem of finding the best kind of training for them?

THE SPECIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF THE YOUNG WAGE-EARNER

The answer to such questions can be formulated only after an examination of the mentality of these youths and the special conditions under which they live. It is not much use pointing to the conditions of labour, though these have a bearing on the general question. Nor will the deploring of a lack

of proper parental control, or of a lack of respect for learning, or of the want of an ideal of thrift, serve our turn. Nor again will mere criticism of the kind of mental stimulus provided by continuation schools and elementary schools, as so far constituted, lead us to the roots of the problem. All of these are indeed factors in the situation, and should come under review in the establishment of a scheme of national education. As moralists or as social reformers, or as idealists in educational theory, we can see plain reasons for reform in all these directions. But they all point to another factor which in greater or less degree is complementary to them all. It cannot be said that we have taken any great pains to examine the mind and nature of the boy and girl at this difficult age and under the complex circumstances in which they thrive. We might add that it is extremely doubtful whether we have the courage to face the real problem and to start with the conviction that education is a matter for the individual soul. Questions of thrift and edification, particularly from the point of view of the worldly-wise, merely seem to burke the issue.

We must take it that if these boys and girls are to be compelled to come to school they are to be treated with some degree of respect. We want to serve them, to help them. We can never do it by the high *a priori* road of forcing upon them that for which they do not feel, and cannot be made to feel, a need. Anything less than an attempt to influence their whole outlook is not worth our pains. And we should not be turned aside from that attempt by any undue deference to vested interests, whether industrial or professional. No section of society and no machinery of administration has any claim whatever to dispose of the time and interests of these youths in any merely sectional way. They have a claim to our best and to that of our best which is best for them.

At all times and under all conditions the mind and nature of boys of this age are elusive and baffling to the adult. This is particularly so for the teacher with a merely scholastic outlook; or for one who has to work to a narrowly devised and formal scheme. To the jealous tutorial mind the apparent waywardness of the adolescent, his persistent

occupation with what is particular and personal, and his lack of logical stringency, is a continual source of irritation and puzzlement. It is not, however, that the mind and nature at this age are more complicated and subtle than they are later in life. On the contrary, boys of 14 to 16 are in general very unsophisticated and single-eyed. But their mental nature is so simply organised and so emotional that it is lacking in stability. They act impulsively and from motives that are largely unconscious. Their minds lack the content and the established faculties that experience alone can bring. And during these years there is an outburst of a group of newborn impulses that lead ultimately to a complete reconstruction of the mental fabric. It is upon the control and direction of those impulses that almost everything of value in adult life depends. The question how best to bring these impulses, with their co-ordinate appetites and emotions, under control and direction, is *par excellence* the problem of all adolescent education. These appetites and emotions cannot be destroyed, but they may grow out of control or be driven into underground, subconscious ways of acting. From

the educational point of view the positive acquirement of particular kinds of knowledge or of skill is incidental and accessory to the main end of bringing these impulses under organised control. Without centralised control in the individual nature, personality is destroyed and the best part of social life becomes impossible.

The main complications seem to be due directly to the fact that the boy has become a wage-earner, and so partially, and in some cases wholly, self-supporting. Where, as in the greater number of cases, he is a member of a family, he contributes to the sum-total of the family resources. And this contribution is accompanied by a tacit claim to the privileges and status of the adult members of the family. These "rights" are usually allowed. They are not easy to define, but they may be seen operating in most working-class homes where boys and girls go to work. At best the "sanctions" of parental control are inevitably changed. And in those families where the tie of the common roof is not very strong, where family affection and the sense of a founded home, of family pride,

are absent or weak, parental control practically vanishes. There are many families of which this is true. What little cohesion there is while the children are absolutely dependent on parental care and maintenance disappears as they become able to fend for themselves. There are, moreover, quite a number of boys and girls who are not members of a family at all. For others wage-earning is taken as the opportunity for cutting adrift from the family altogether.

In the average household where boys and girls go to work at 13 to 14 we may see what this readjustment involves. The movement is reciprocal. The youth demands, not formally, but none the less explicitly, to be treated as a senior. In such matters as food, clothing, pocket-money and keeping hours, he expects to be privileged, or at least to be treated in a new way. Leaving school is his emancipation. His mother anticipates and grants his demands, and the rest of the seniors, where there are any, follow suit. They expect him to behave as one of them. With the usual amount of give-and-take, presumption and snubbing, he takes his place as one of the props of the family. In short,

wage-earning boys and girls assume economic and social independence and responsibility earlier than youths who remain entirely dependent on their parents.

This assumption of seniority is an important factor in the mental outlook of the wage-earning boy. Even where the actual wages earned are small, the new force is present, heightening the new-found sense of personality. It tends to be stronger in its influence when relatively high wages are earned immediately upon leaving school; for the contribution to the household resources makes a substantial deal of difference in the weekly income. And the boy is not slow to realise this. So far as the home is concerned, he becomes a person of some importance. Not infrequently the mother, to secure the boy's good will and to keep him attached to the home, makes him an absurdly generous allowance of pocket-money. In other cases the boy hands to his mother just as much of his wages as he thinks fit.

In general there is a heightening of the sense of self-importance, self-sufficiency and self-dependence. And these new feelings begin to colour not only the youth's attitude and

bearing towards the members of his own family, but his outlook upon others about him. He becomes touchy and sensitive to outside authority, particularly if such authority is imposed upon him meticulously and pedantically. Fathers and mothers at home, bigger brothers and sisters, policemen, park keepers, seniors in the shop and factory, and even pastors and Sunday school and Guild leaders, will bear witness to this. Essentially we have a human creature who is mistrustful of any person or institution that threatens his freedom; who instinctively resents and despises the pedagogical attitude; who is continually fearful of repression. There is a note of this even in those boys who, as we have put it, mainly through natural inclination, attend "night school." But with those it is latent and shows only at moments of strain and friction between themselves and authority. With our New Scholars there is a set attitude of mistrust and apprehension towards tutelage, particularly of the kind associated in their minds with school and school-life. There is a ground-swell of resentment against being passive; against being talked at, being ordered about, and being

treated as a child. There is also a dislike of what is taught in school.

THE REINFORCEMENT FROM SOCIAL USAGE

The majority of wage-earning boys and girls will be found working in two types of industry. Either they are employed in an established industry, as in mines, mills and iron-working shops; or they are engaged in more or less casual work and odd jobs—*i.e.* in the well-exploited blind-alley occupations. Under both conditions it is the accepted order of things—it is an axiom in the parental outlook—that boys and girls go out to work and to earn wages as soon as the law releases them from the elementary school. The boy now pays, at least in part, for his keep. He goes on “board and lodgings”; and, since he pays, he has the privileges of independence. The common conveniences of domestic arrangements (determined largely by the factory time-table) are to be observed. But outside such accepted control there must be no further interference. The youth may listen to advice or even to reproof, but he no longer renders the implicit obedience which he gave

while dependent; and his parents do not seek to direct his movements or to choose the company he shall keep.

All this applies, as we saw above, to the youths in both types of industry. But where the youth goes to a mill or factory, or mine, or workshop, he goes to an occupation that is definite and specialised. Now this specialisation, under the conditions of modern industry, is exceedingly narrow. The work that has to be done is reduced largely to a set routine. What has to be learnt can be learnt completely and satisfactorily in doing the job. Instruction of a utilitarian kind about the work will not make it any more absorbing, and will not result in any greater skill or proficiency. The whole set and trend of the environing circumstances is, in the main, against inspiring a theoretical interest in the work, or a desire for instruction in it. The job is there, and will always be there. That is enough. The youth graduates through quite well-known steps, and, barring accidents, he is sure of a living wage at the end of a few years. The day's work done, he is free; no authority has the right to claim his time or order his goings.

We have, then, two forces at work: a personality that is uneasy with and even hostile to external authority, and a social outlook that condones, if it does not excite, that hostility. These influences are organic with one another. The contempt for school and schooling arises both from familiarity and from ignorance. It must be remembered that the experience of many of these boys and girls in the elementary school has not been happy. The elementary school can stimulate and satisfy the mental needs of the average and conventionally-minded child; it is a poor place for the exceptional one, whether below or above the average. It has been devised and constructed on a narrow criterion. Its curriculum and methods are still bound to the traditional book-learning. In total it is only a few of our boys and girls who find a spiritual home in school. The remainder are uneasy and unhappy, because they are unsuccessful. Immense as has been the influence of the elementary school as a civilising agency, it is still lacking in the narrow and formal appeal it makes to the energies and interests of most children. This will not be mended merely by raising the age of

leaving to 14. Not a few of these youths leave school before they have completed the "standards." Even the intellectually most alert, the least stupid in the pedagogical sense, pass from school before they have any degree of free power in expression or any ease in knowledge. This is the case of the best in the sense of the most successful at school. But many, though they remain till 14, will always be "backward" pupils. They will never get further than the fourth or fifth standard. The extension of the school life now proposed will only serve in many cases to intensify the sense of hostility to schools and schooling. School has been a bitter and benumbing experience, and when release comes an unpleasant memory abides. At best, for many, it was not an exhilarating influence. The acquirement of knowledge in the set ways associated with the tradition of school was a hard and uncongenial task; and anyhow it had been done badly. There was little of the comfort of success, and the scholars will not readily go back to repeat the trial. They are, moreover, the children of their parents.

AUTHORITY, FREEDOM AND DOCILITY

Let us restate the terms in which the mental outlook of the new scholar should be described. If there is one trait more noticeable than another it is the instability and incoherence of his character. He has no defined interests, but, as a rule, a perpetual ache for change and adventure. He can scarcely be entrusted with any task that involves serious responsibility or thorough-going accuracy. He cannot keep his mind for any length of time on any end. His physical powers are easily fatigued. He is capable only of casual and disjointed tasks. All this has been understood from the time when formal apprenticeship and training in any craft first began. It is the main reason why apprenticeship usually begins not earlier than 16.

But on the other hand, if he has these negative qualities (from the adult standpoint), he has the positive energies of social cohesion and co-operation. The "herd instinct" is strong within him, and it is no longer the simple "gang-spirit" of the plays of the smaller boy. It has a different and greater

place in his mental outfit and is a motive force in his character. For it comes as part of that immense group of impulses that break into life with the consciousness of sex, with the heightening of self-consciousness and of the sense of personality accompanying that emotional outburst.

The assumption of potential independence makes in the direction of short-circuiting those feelings and tendencies which are distinctive of adult and self-dependent personality. It operates as a force tending to make the youth free of the world at large. It brings nearer the anticipation of some of the more serious undertakings of life, such as courtship and marriage.

On the whole there is reason to believe that with wage-earning youths at this period of life both natural disposition and environmental circumstances tend to quicken the outbreak of this group of impulses. It is not merely plausible, but in a great degree true, that the majority of the boys and girls of this class—if the term may be used—are the children of that part of our population for whom emotional life is less organised and controlled than for those who have had

opportunities of more prolonged and persistent social training. They mate earlier, with little deference to future comfort, and without the apprehensive circumspection that others take. Many of them live under conditions which tend to force upon their attention the outer evidence of the sexual habits of adult society. All this makes the period in their lives a critical one. Sympathetic fellowship and guidance are needed, and that authority which is allowed spontaneously to an experienced mentor for whom there is both affection and respect. And, as such authority is felt as needed, it is accepted gratefully and frankly when it is of the right kind. But it is precisely at this critical juncture that the power of authority is weakened by the youth becoming a wage-earner. Authority of the proper kind, wisely used and persuasively imposed, can do almost anything. Pedantry and formalism, mere teaching and tutelage, can do nothing but what is wrong and disruptive.

The best authority is parental. There is scarcely any effective substitute. Here and there we find a person with a genius for friendship with youths at this awkward age. But the faculty of securing the confidence of

youths and stimulating them in the ways of self-control and endeavour is not common, though our resources in this direction have not been exploited. The best endeavours of these natural leaders of youth are not infrequently discounted by the disruptive force of wage-earning. This tends to dis sever the youth from his membership of Guild or Sunday school. And many if not most of the youths we have in mind never come into contact with such a source of stimulation at all.

Wherever the authority of parents is wisely exercised and genially accepted, the risks of trouble and estrangement are reduced to a minimum. Wherever parental authority is rigid and exacting—wherever, that is, the child has been brought up in unquestioning obedience and docility—the worst risks are avoided, however unfortunate in other respects such an influence may be. But in the majority of cases it can scarcely be said that authority of either kind is exercised. The tendency is strongly in the direction of the youth becoming a law to himself in his free time. He begins to develop a private life of his own. Of real home life there is little or none. The

house is where the boy gets his meals and finds a bed—and this is true not only of boys but also of girls. The outlook is towards the streets, of which they have the key. It is there they "visit" one another, and seldom under the regulative influence of an ordered home. It is by what they see, hear and do there (with the added excitements of the picture-house and music-hall) that the social instincts are directed and fashioned. They become inveterate impressionists. And they presently become incapable of enjoying the tranquillity of ordered social amenities. They resist sullenly or with truculence, according to their dispositions, and always with a fine disregard of the consequences of resistance, any force that tends to detain them from the lure they find in the streets. The master passion is to run free. And for the most part it is not denied them. The free life of the streets gives them the only opportunity of satisfying their impulses for social intercourse. School, as many if not most of them have found it, has been a house of repression. And even those who were happy enough there, and found themselves at home in learning, look forward to "work" as a natural and

inevitable change. But work turns out to be dull, mechanical and tedious! The family roof is a shelter. But life throbs in the streets! It is there that the new-born social instincts can find satisfaction.

In laying our plans for the continued education of these youths, their dominant desires should be appraised at their proper value. We cannot take docility for granted. The average English boy is rarely docile, and the wage-earner most of all, when released from office or factory, is, as we have seen, quite the opposite of docile. Why then should we expect that he will continue to attend school? We can coerce and compel attendance, with the legal authority contained in Clause 12, if we are sufficiently thorough in using the police court or in stopping wages—that is, we can compel the bodily presence of these youths at our classes; though there is something of assumption even in this. But the country will scarcely be satisfied with compelled attendance. Unless we can find some kind of an organisation and curriculum that makes a positive appeal, our compulsion is waste of energy and temper.

The whole bent of the mind and nature of

these boys and girls is to avoid external control when presented to them in the form of mere schooling. This feeling may be largely unconscious. But when it is challenged the means of escape to freedom becomes the absorbing object of thought. Under such conditions formal instruction and merely technical practice will produce no results worth having.

Further, this attitude has hitherto been acquiesced in, if not condoned, by those who have admittedly the greatest right to coerce. There is a solid mass of the population amongst whom as between parent and youth it is understood to be entirely at the option of the latter whether he goes to continuation school or not. The relation is significant of the attitude of this large section of the population towards school and schooling. In the industrial areas the youths turn from the thought of going to school. The parents are indifferent and do not take it as their duty to insist on their going. And we must remember that we are becoming industrialised to the core. It is for the youths of this section of the population that part-time education is to be provided. We cannot proceed upon the assumption that

enactment will secure attendance at school, much less continued "education," unless we can devise "schools" in which these youths will find a spiritual home.

Organisers should therefore lay their plans on the assumption that the youth has no felt need for schooling or for the kind of improvement that schooling by tradition stands for. He knows nothing about and has had no foretaste of the joys of scholarship even in the simplest sense, nor of real craft, nor of art. He has, too often, the prejudices of the ignorant against teachers as a superior class, and the suspicion of being "exploited" by attempts to improve his technical value.

It is not that the youth carries his prejudices and antipathies aggressively. But they appear with the threat of coercion. And, if the coercion is unmeaning and arbitrary it only serves to widen the gap between his instinctive sense of what ought to be and the hostile adult order of things. If there is anything to be learnt from the past history of "night school" it is that his desires do not take him to those doors.

There is the further question whether it is in the temper of English people to train their

youths in docility. So far, indeed, as the immediate future is concerned, there is little need to be apprehensive on this score. But compulsion and coercion are too frequently taken for granted. The official organiser assumes that the law will shepherd the flock and on this assumption proceeds to "organise courses of instruction." It is not a difficult matter. We can arrange organised courses and rack the theory of every occupation and process in industry. We can peptonise every craft into a graded series of laboratory exercises. But it is quite another thing to devise and create a medium in which a sensitive and half-mute mentality will find satisfaction and rest. This is the problem and the quest. It is not that we should seek to pack what information we can into him in 320 hours in the year. Nor should so much time be spent in doing in the sheltered and abstract air of the class-room the work he has to do in the factory and shop. While we are about it, we may as well at least attempt to provide the means through which his nascent energies may cohere and develop; a centre about which his social instincts will build a fabric of intelligent activities. Practical

arithmetic and mechanical drawing taught in a class-room will hardly do so much. Certainly let us endeavour to reform both the streets and the youth by taking him out of them ; but this cannot be done by hustling him into a class-room for eight hours a week.

TWO FALLACIES

We have assumed throughout, and warrantably, that any scheme of education or training must meet the main forces operative in the mental nature of adolescents under the conditions in which they live. School, as most of these young people have known it, has been a repressive influence. Work, looked forward to hopefully as an emancipation, turns out to be a worse repression, and becomes merely a means of securing the freedom of the streets after work hours. But, after all, the entrance to whatever world they are to realise must be through the gateway of their natural impulses and appetites ; and it is these natural impulses and appetites that have to be developed and guided into the organised dispositions of a permanent personal character.

From the educational point of view, two

persistent fallacies stand in the way of a clear recognition of this simple and strictly practical truth. Firstly, there is a widespread and futile belief that continuation classes can give to these youths an acquirement in learning or in craft that can be immediately applied in their work. Secondly, and more plausibly, that such classes can be used to give some touch of interest to the dull and disjointed tasks to which these boys and girls have to go. We cannot rely on notions of this kind. For one thing, the work these people do, uniform enough as it may be in its casual and disjointed nature and in its insipidity, is, in the aggregate, too various to be organised into any curriculum that would meet the special needs of each pupil. Something might be done if centres were organised on a classification of trades and occupations. But the strict limitations to a scheme of this kind are fairly obvious. Again, every factory or works might organise its own classes. But here again there are obvious and insurmountable difficulties. Not every works is big enough. And there are many industries which do not lend themselves to an arrangement of this kind. There are factories and works (for example,

many distributive agencies and such industries or part-industries as box-making and packing), staffed mostly with young people, and particularly with girls, where there is nothing whatever to be learnt beyond an easily acquired manual dexterity.

Such occupations offer no material for an educational curriculum. Neither virtue nor discipline is to be found in work that resolves itself into a meaningless repetition, that becomes semi-automatic. We must all do some of it. But the pity is that it occupies so many youths for the strongest part of their working life. Educationally, the best possible thing that could happen for the youths engaged in such tasks would be a drastic restriction of the time spent in such mechanical toil.

RESULTS

We have dealt throughout this essay with one section of the adolescent population of the country. Numerically large, it seems to present certain special features due to forces both of a psychological and of a socio-economic order. Because of these features it calls for

special treatment. But, as it appeared one-sided to judge the needs of these youths by those of the few, so on the other hand it would be one-sided to prescribe, for the few who are anxious for the kind of instruction up to now provided in night schools and technical colleges, the treatment that is more suitable for the needs of the many. After all, natural curiosity and the enterprise of thrift must be the first factors in the process of selection of those youths who have the gifts and qualities to profit by higher technical training. The development of a method of selection of candidates for such training, and its rigorous application, is necessary in the interests alike of those who have the nature to profit by it, of the development of our industries and crafts, and of technical training itself. There is reason to believe that many of the youths of the wage-earning class possess these powers. These youths have to be selected and sent forward. But there are many, as there are also in the two groups of youths we excluded from our review, who do not possess these powers. There is no good reason for narrowing our view of the needs of all to the needs of the few. The whole of the wage-earning

class of youths should not be regarded merely as constituting a huge preparatory school to the "organised courses" that terminate in the higher classes of the technical colleges. There are other most worthy ambitions, graces and accomplishments besides industrial technology. The simple virtues of being neighbourly, of spreading the light of one's humour, not to mention the power of seeing the beauty of things, make more for social coherence and solidarity than much technical skill. These values deserve to be conserved and increased, and many of the youths of the wage-earning class seem to have the root of these in them in a rich degree.

The reader who has followed this essay so far may be referred to the "Statement" on pages 10 to 16 of this volume for the groundwork of a scheme which seems to meet the situation. Corporate "club" life seems to be an indispensable part of the future continuation "school." Two further points of detail may be touched upon.

"Some time must be left over"—*i.e.* beyond the time given to physical training and technological instruction—"for enabling the youth to carry forward one or other of the

'liberal' studies in which he made a start between 12 and 14." Those studies should surely be those that can be treated under the heading History. But this should be history taught, not through text-books, but through literature, particularly through romance and poetry. The mere mention of song and poetry will exasperate the narrow-sighted utilitarian. But it is for such revelation that many youths ache and gasp.

The recruitment of fit persons to take charge of these youths is a more difficult matter, but it is not impossible. One fertile source may be mentioned. There are in most of our schools—we hope in this matter any distinction of grades may disappear—many teachers, both mistresses and masters, who have in a special degree the power of attracting the confidence and friendship of boys and girls. This personal gift may or may not be joined with technical skill in instruction. The two are not always found together. Both are invaluable qualities. The quality we speak of is a free gift in some natures, above and apart from any merely pedagogical capacity. Boys and girls turn instinctively to such persons from sheer pleasure in their company

and confidence in their friendship. It should be made worth while for such people to give their time to the work of bringing together groups of their pupil-friends and developing what form of social structure they can. They should be given a free hand : free from the suspicion and embarrassment of officialism in any form. They will not betray their trust, and they should be trusted.

S. F. JACKSON.

III. THE PASSAGE FROM ELEMENTARY TO CONTINUATION SCHOOL

THE adoption of a system of compulsory education after the age of 14 would seem to imply some modification of the curriculum and organisation of the last two years in the elementary school.

1. Let us see what the present conditions are, for a boy who will leave an elementary school on attaining the age of 14 and will thereafter be under no compulsion to attend school. (This note deals primarily with boys: some modifications may be necessary to make it apply to girls.)

At the age of about 4 the boy enters the infants' department, whence at 7 or 8 he is moved to the boys' department. Progress for four or five years is fairly smooth, but then disorganisation begins.

When he is about 12, the brighter of his comrades—or, at any rate, those of them whose parents are sufficiently far-seeing, and

can afford to dispense with children's wages— are transferred to a secondary school; others leave, to go to work or to junior technical schools, at 13; he himself will leave on the day he is 14, and this may fall at any time in the educational year.

The last two years of the school course are thus subject to constant interruptions, which make it difficult to organise a syllabus of study suitable for all the boys in the upper classes. There is also no very definite agreement as to the purpose which the course of study should have in view. One head teacher, interested in local politics and in touch with a large number of employers, will aim at procuring good situations for his boys, and will devote their school work mainly to attaining greater proficiency in the elementary subjects, such as arithmetic and writing; another, with some detailed knowledge of local industries, will give opportunities of acquiring scientific and technical knowledge which will be of use later on; another will have more regard to the development of the boy's individuality apart from his bread-and-butter work, and in these last two years will allow him as much freedom as possible to make

progress in those things that specially interest him. But it is to be feared that a very large number of teachers merely continue a text-book instruction which is broken off short when the boy leaves school. In some cases the experiment has been tried of introducing boys to evening classes while they are still in the elementary school, in order that the habit of attending these classes may persist after the boys have gone to work ; but it is not certain that the experiments have been very successful, though their relative failure may be partly due to a real lack of time for attendance.

Under the conditions described above, it is not surprising that during these last two years—12 to 14—the school should, in a great many cases, lose its hold over the boy. His comrades have left, or are leaving ; there is a lack of purpose in the school routine ; and he himself is looking forward to his freedom—or, at any rate, to the opportunity of doing something on his own account. With this weakening of the boy's interest in the school, difficulties of discipline arise. In the elementary school, the discipline has been fairly rigorous ; but this rigour is not suited to the

boy of 13. If the number of boys of this age in a school is small, their needs may be partially met by giving them responsibility, as monitors, for some of the miscellaneous routine work of the school. But this has not any very definite ultimate object; the immediate object is rather to give the boys something to do while they are waiting.

2. The Bill proposes compulsory full-time education up to 14 (which may possibly be raised later on to 15); and also compulsory education after that age, either full-time to 16 or part-time to 18. The full-time education after 14 will be mainly in secondary or junior technical schools, and similar schools, to which boys will have been drafted at about 12 or 13; and with these we are not concerned here. The boys who will come under the part-time provision will be those we have been considering—namely, the boys who at present continue at the elementary school up to 14 and then go to work; and also those who, under present conditions, go to work at 13.

How will the school life, during the period 12-14, be affected by the new conditions?

In the first place, it must have a more

definite purpose—namely, that of preparing the boy not only for his occupation but also for the further part-time schooling which he will have to undergo before he attains the age of 18. It is hoped that this schooling will not be purely technical, in the sense of bringing the boy into a relation of automatism with his occupation, but rather liberal and individual, so as to develop his interests and his initiative; though there is no reason why this development should not, at any rate in some cases, be based on the wider relations of the occupation itself.

In the second place, the school life must be made interesting, so that the boy, when he goes to work, shall desire to "continue" his education. It is true that compulsory attendance is proposed. But the new provisions will fail in their purpose if compulsion has to be applied. The justification for continuing to keep the boy under supervision after he is 14 does not lie in the fact that the intellectual equipment he has acquired by that time is insufficient for his individual and social life. It is rather that the main object of education is to attain self-mastery, and that experience shows that this has not been

attained by the time the boy leaves the elementary school. The success of a course of education is to be measured not by the knowledge or capacity acquired but by the development of the power and the will to acquire further knowledge and capacity. These cannot be properly developed under compulsion; but compulsion after 14 will be necessary if before that age the school life has ceased to have an absorbing interest for the boy.

3. The period from 12 to 14 thus acquires a new significance. It is no longer the closing portion of the boy's elementary school life, but is a transitional period, during which we must direct our attention to the life, inside and outside the continuation school, which is to follow it, and also must give the boy the fullest opportunities of living his life in the present. It may even be described as the pivotal period of the boy's school life.

4. Ordinarily, at any rate in towns, the elementary school and the continuation school will be different organisations. Can the needs of this pivotal period be met by keeping the

boy at the elementary school until he is 14 and then passing him on to the continuation school? If the boy is to continue under the direction of the elementary school teacher, some extension of the experience of the latter will be required; can this be achieved without interfering with the work of the elementary school? And can the boy's environment during this period be so effectively adapted to his present and future conditions that at the end of it he will pass naturally from full-time attendance at the elementary school to part-time attendance at the continuation school, at the very same moment that he passes to the new conditions of work?

All considerations seem to suggest that, if the passage from elementary to continuation school is to involve a change in the school environment, it is better that this change should be made at the beginning rather than at the end of the transitional period, so as not to coincide with the change from full-time school to wage-earning. The following seem to be the most important points.

(1) Each of these changes is a **big** one by itself, and it is better to separate them.

(2) As the school work will have to look

to the future as well as to the present, it can be best directed by those who will have to deal with the future.

(3) So far as the organisation of the elementary school is concerned, the real interruption comes at the beginning of the period, when boys are drafted off to secondary schools. Ordinarily this is at 12+, *i.e.* at the end of the educational year in which a boy reaches the age of 12; in some cases the experiment has been tried of taking boys earlier, namely—at 11½+ or even at 11+, but it is not yet certain whether this is a success. For junior technical schools, the age of commencement is about 13; but there is a tendency, which we heartily welcome, to make the education in these schools less exclusively technical, and this may lead to an earlier age of entry. The course at present is ordinarily for three or two years; there would be no difficulty, if the curriculum were widened, in extending the course to the four years 12+ to 16+, so as to run parallel with the secondary school.

With so many boys leaving the elementary school at 12+, it is a short step to regard this as the normal end of the school's life. The curriculum of the elementary school could

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thus be made more self-contained and more purposeful. The school would take children from about 6 to 12, preparing them for entry at 12+ into a secondary or a technical school—these would be very similar in character, the main difference being that in the later years the one would have a humanistic or commercial and the other an industrial bias—or into the wage-earners' school, which the boy would attend full-time for two years and part-time for four years. The limitation of the age-range of the elementary school would enable the teachers in these schools—of whom it is probable that a much larger proportion will in the future be women—to intensify their knowledge of this period of the child's life without narrowing their sympathies.

(4) For it is at about 12, rather than at about 14, that childhood ends. One of the aims of recent reform has been the prevention of full-time employment before 14, or possibly even before 15. But this is not because there is any sudden change at that age. The change has been taking place gradually, and it is not until it is complete that the boy has become sufficiently well-set, physically, to stand the strain of full-time employment.

As regards physical well-being, therefore, it is in a sense true that the period 12-14 is a culmination, and belongs to the elementary rather than to the post-elementary school. But in the development of the intellectual, social and spiritual life, as well as of individual initiative and power of self-control and of control of others, it is a period of re-birth.¹

(5) The question of discipline and of punishment is important. Light corporal punishment in childhood, given immediately, may often be useful as a corrective and sedative; and the older boy may sometimes need chastisement, as something to remember. But in the period 12-14 the organism is in an exceptionally sensitive condition, and punishment of any kind—especially if it happens to be regarded as unjust—may do irreparable harm. On this ground alone the organisation of the elementary school seems hardly suit-

¹ Statements as to particular ages must, of course, be interpreted broadly. It might or might not be found desirable that backward boys should stay in the elementary school a year or so longer than the average boy. Girls might leave the school earlier than boys. The determination of the age at which any particular child should leave would be a matter for the medical officer and the psychologist, aided by records of the rates of physical and mental growth.

able. The restlessness of the boy tends to find vent in acts which are harmless in themselves but are infringements of school discipline ; and the best way of preventing the commission of these school offences is to give an opportunity for the development of new interests.

(6) The life of the child as a member of a school community would also be helped by giving a longer period to what we may call the post-elementary school. *Esprit de corps* is not easily developed in a school in which the pupil remains for only two or three years, or even for four years when the attendance is limited to eight hours a week ; on the other hand, a too long stay in any one school is apt to develop staleness. Under the organisation here suggested there would be about six years in the elementary school, followed, in the case of the young wage-earner, by six years in the post-elementary school. Experience seems to show that this is about the right length of the period to be spent in any one school.

It is true that in the full-time secondary or technical school the period would be shorter ; but it is to be hoped that in these

cases education would not cease absolutely at 16+, and there are good grounds for suggesting that all boys ought to be under some sort of supervision up to the age of 18. If the curriculum in the secondary and in the technical school were of a fairly liberal character, there would still be an inducement to the boy, after leaving school, to continue instruction of a more technical kind in evening classes.

5. In suggesting that the change from the elementary to the post-elementary school should ordinarily be made at about 12 rather than at 14, it is not intended to suggest that an abrupt change is desirable in itself, or that the boy on entering the post-elementary school should in all cases make a complete break with the elementary school. Such a break, in fact, is to be deprecated; and means should be found for preserving some continuity, at any rate in personal relations.

The means will depend largely on the organisation of the elementary school. There are three main types of school organisation. The first, which is found more often in secondary than in elementary schools, is that of

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specialist teachers. The second system is that of organisation in standards, where each teacher takes the boys who are working to attain a particular annual standard. Under the third system a teacher retains the same set of boys from year to year. The first two systems may be regarded as designed for efficiency in instruction; the third system tends rather to develop the personal relation between teacher and pupil. Where this latter system holds in the elementary school, there should be no great difficulty in keeping the teacher in touch with his pupils for a year or two after they have left; in other cases some special means would have to be devised.

6. In villages, and in the smaller towns, a separate post-elementary school for wage-earners would not be practicable; and it may be expected that this school will use the buildings of the elementary school, and have the same staff. This will avoid the inconvenience of discontinuity, but it may encourage the tendency to drift. What is needed is that at the beginning of the period 12-14 there should be a definite change in the relation of the boy to the school. Outwardly,

this will consist in regarding the boys of 12 to 18 as constituting a separate department or institution. But what is more important is to make the boy feel that with this transfer there is a change in the attitude to him of those about him and in the opportunities offered to him. He should be given more freedom in his school work, and the hours of attendance at ordinary lessons should be reduced. The time thus put at his disposal might be occupied in various ways. He could be given responsibility, according to his bent, either for conducting some small part of the routine work of the school or for helping younger children in their individual studies; but the spare time would mainly be devoted to learning how to pursue knowledge for himself, with the aid of simple apparatus and of books of reference. The need of laboratories for the performance of rough experimental work (with apparatus largely made by the pupils themselves), and of reference libraries containing standard dictionaries and encyclopædias, is as great in the country as in the towns.

IV. THE YOUNG FACTORY GIRL

THE problem of the young factory girl is largely one of adjustment. To fit into the regular groove of factory life the wayward, excitable, unstable, fanciful girl needs vision and big-mindedness of a fine order on the part of the employer, otherwise it is a case of the butterfly and the wheel. The life in the factory must "give." It is no longer the bed of Procrustes to which perforce all who come must fit. It has to form an integral part of a living organism; not a tiresome adjunct to life, but a vital part of it.

The problem of the continued education of the girl in the factory is far from simple. We must consider what are her needs; how does factory life affect these; how far can it supply them; what adjustments will have to be made. The time has passed when a ready-made scheme can be imposed from the top. Continued education should not be an excrescence—something built on to life—but rather a reinterpretation of what is. Life

in the workshop has to be filled with greater possibilities ; to receive the divine afflatus ; it has to give scope for budding powers—emotional, intellectual and physical. In short, it must be life itself.

We do not want the 320 hours given by the Act to be the means of imposing a certain number of *lessons* during working hours.

The idea is not continued schooling, but rather a reinterpretation of life as lived. We have to put on one side the old "lettered" ideal of education, so far as the young factory girl is concerned. The intellectual technique—the "tricks"—of education are no longer needed, the ideal is to provide right guidance, right fostering care for the young burgeoning life, with its rich heritage of feeling, aspiration and endeavour.

Thus the work of continued education need not necessarily be in the hands of the pedagogue. The essential qualifications for the post of supervisor will be a keen knowledge and love of life. "The earth is mine and the fulness thereof." The teacher of these young folk should be skilled to help in the realisation of this ideal.

How does the young girl entering the factory adapt herself to the life there? What demands does it make of her? How far can the employer realise and carry out his responsibility to the young growing life? These are the real points at issue.

The evolution of social consciousness is slow and difficult. School life, with its emphasis on competition and emulation as a motive, has done much to suppress social feeling, yet in the young work-girl there is a very marked social tendency. In the factory this tendency has so far found scope not so much in corporate organisation for the welfare of the girls as a whole, but rather in somewhat spasmodic efforts for individuals.

The appeal for a sick work-mate, for a wounded soldier, for a girl who has had the misfortune to lose her purse, is rarely made in vain. It is to be noted that in every case the girls are much more swayed by sentiment than by reason. Here is a fine field for the supervisor, to help on the development of social feeling through the exercise of that which is already there. As a body, the girls have but little sense of corporate life—they

need help.¹ It is of little value helping to start social organisation in the works—games clubs, rambling clubs, sick clubs, etc., etc.—if the welfare worker is then to feel that her work is done. How to find the happy mean is the problem; realising how much

¹ Yet the feeling of fellowship is strong. Young people are gregarious by nature: a friend to share one's secrets is an absolute necessity. A girl discussing her previous job at another factory will say first: "I liked the girls there!" Many children of 13 welcome their entry to the mill, even as half-timers, because of the comradeship there; school unfortunately has been repressive, and the bigger, freer, less supervised life in the factory more than makes up for the long hours of physical restriction and toil. In this sense of fellowship the educator finds his best appeal. Unhappily a commercial valuation of education has permeated all classes. The working man as a rule has looked at education from one of two points of view, "Will it pay?" "Shall I thereby become a manager?" or "Why do I need education to help me to be a coal miner or a navy?" This point of view has prevented the working class from making education into a social ideal. Education has not been the avenue to increased enjoyment of life; it has not been a personal pleasure, valued for itself and for the sense of personal power and personal enhancement that it gives; it has not meant the means to self-government or a greater realisation of the responsibilities and joys of communal life. Ignorance is the greatest of all anti-social forces. Starting from this natural comradeship we arrive at the point when the nation in the Whitley Report deliberately admits the right of the workers to control to some extent their own industry. It is this evolution of social feeling which constitutes the true education in the workshops.

the girls need help, and at the same time refraining from a too apparent exhibition of the supporting machinery. Youth begins many buildings and leaves them half finished, and so the landscape is strewn with ruins, yet youth can be a Master Builder.

The supervisors, instructors, club leaders, whatever the name or function may be, must keep in mind the co-ordinating principle in their many plans and schemes. The experiments and trials are stuff of which great things are made; they are youth's prerogatives, and out of them he builds his lasting structures. It has been thought that welfare work in the factory has been concerned with doing things for the "good" of the employees. It is really an educator's job in so far as the welfare worker provides opportunity for the young employee to do things for herself. But here is the crux of the matter—the girls need help in the "doing." Given this partly undeveloped sense of corporate life, shown in their spasmodic and temporary union for objects which appeal direct to sentiment, the problem is to see that the girls have a chance to organise their own life to some extent.

The Little Commonwealth in Dorset shows

what can be done in this respect. The guide and helper must be there to see that the ideas and aspirations of youth do not end in their first budding, but are guided, pruned and cherished until they fructify.

The girls at every turn ask for a leader; they do not want a master: though it is astonishing what loyalty and affection they will give to a "boss" who is merely fair to them. The eagerness with which the girls welcome a guide, or leader, gives the welfare worker in the factory a firm footing. They do not want one of themselves as leader, except to a limited extent: for instance, the girl who can sing or play well is always sure of a following, but she can only go thus far, and no farther. They ask for a leader who, as they phrase it, "knows her place and doesn't interfere." But their democracy needs a strong Prime Minister. The leadership must be steady and coherent and applied to specific ends. Factory life gives ample opportunity for corporate life—from the organisation of arrangements at meal-times to the evolution of a shop committee. Girls need constant practice in uniting together for social ends. Thus the welfare worker can support the

formation of games clubs, the organisation of weekly concerts for wounded soldiers, etc. But she must not be discouraged when she finds the girls very ready to initiate the new plan, but apt as time goes on to shirk the steady work needed to carry on the scheme.

Girls respond to responsibility. Let all the jobs in the shop be of the same type; make no demand of the girls beyond the performance of their particular job; let the workshop rules come from Olympus, so to speak, and it will be little wonder to find that the girls do not show *esprit de corps*.¹ But put girls into positions entailing some responsibility; let them feel that they have some voice in forming the rules which govern the workshop; give them some recognition for good service, and they will feel that the work is theirs and that it is up to them to keep things going well.

¹ The following incident offers a good illustration. There had been great trouble in enforcing the Ministry of Munitions regulation relating to the wearing of caps by the girls who work in the machine-shops. They were asked why they objected to wearing these caps; and they replied that the caps in use were both heavy to wear and unbecoming in shape. New designs were submitted to the girls, and their suggestions asked for, until a design was evolved which has proved satisfactory in all respects. There is no trouble now in enforcing the regulation.

Each workshop should form its own tribunal. Workshop morals should be largely the workshop's business; the older, more responsible girls forming a committee to deal with the minor troubles as they arise. Sick visiting and relief, again, should be the business of the girls themselves; anything which will deepen the sense of responsibility is giving the girls exercise in living.

The long hours worked in the factory, the necessarily unskilled character of the work, make for a monotony which is soul-killing. Real interest is lacking to a great extent, so that time is made to pass more quickly by the encouragement of illicit interests. Monotony is at the root of the indecent talk and questionable stories which go the round of the workroom. The active, curious, straying mind of the adolescent girl must be fed—if we provide good meat for her she takes it with avidity—but she must employ her powers, if not legitimately then illegitimately.

Monotony, irresponsibility and fatigue are the most immoral factors in the workshop. After a long day of work, which in many cases is merely repetitional in character, it is easy

to see that the girl by way of reaction will seek strong and crude pleasure. Æsthetic enjoyment asks for keen attention and mental discrimination; senses drugged by fatigue and monotony need more violent stimulus. Pleasure rather than enjoyment is her demand. Wearied with work, the girl seeks the anodyne of letting others amuse her. This endurance of monotony is the most important adjustment the factory girl has to make.

To make adjustments in order to achieve some purpose recognised as worth while by the individual is a highly educative process; but a forced adjustment to achieve a purpose not desired with the whole "push" of the girl's personality behind it is often deadening. It is a case of internal *versus* external discipline; the second type does not produce character.

The first question from an educational point of view that the employer is called upon to consider is the reduction of strain and monotony. How can the work be informed with spirit? How can it be made into work which can be done with the force of intrinsic interest behind it? Much of the work will always remain of a repetition type, necessarily dreary

and monotonous, but girls are capable of skilled and intelligent work if given the necessary training ; they are also capable of interest if the purpose of the work is explained to them. It is remarkable how few of the girls working on repetition parts know what part their particular job plays in the whole finished article. Intelligence must permeate the whole of work or it becomes deadly. Improvements in machinery, division and distribution of work, shorter hours, and instruction on the technical side would help to obviate many of the objections that at present exist. The difficulty of giving technical education is very largely increased by the fact that, for the great number, factory life is only an episode, something to take up time until the girl marries. It is not worth an employer's time to take much trouble when he knows that the majority of the girls have only a comparatively short factory life.

Again, it is cheaper for him to use the unskilled type of labour ; but has the employer the moral right to aim at the perpetuation of cheap unskilled labour ? One thing is certain. " Frills," in the way of domestic economy classes, blouse-making,

Morris dancing, etc., are superfluities until the fundamental questions of the character of the work itself are tackled. No society has the right to condemn the future mothers of the race to an eight or ten hours' day of stamping out tin cans or of pressing and packing blacklead, with a sop to Cerberus in the way of a weekly gymnasium class or a story-telling lesson.

Factory labour is repressive to a high degree. Physically, it often denies that movement and changeful activity which conduces to physical harmony. Physical expression of emotion is a necessity to youth; it is the primal form of self-expression. Denial of this natural form of expression must of necessity demand many adaptations which cannot but have wide-reaching effects mentally and physically. No wonder that when the girls are "let loose" they behave in what the general public may call an unseemly fashion; but youth will out. Much of the immorality of which the factory girl is accused may be put down to sheer reaction. She is drugged with monotony and long hours of physical labour, and feels the need for a strong and sharp stimulus.

The way to avoid trouble is to provide rational natural methods of "letting off steam," making for the preservation of the normal balance. Unnatural restriction means giving the girl a taste for caviare in the way of excitement and pleasure. Thus the working day should be shortened and frequent periods of rest given. Physical exercises (but not of the academic joyless kind) should form part of the educational programme. To recapture the joy of movement; to exult in dancing; to know the keen pleasure of the game worthily and well played; to feel the joy of the healthy body: these are great desiderata. It is of little value for the welfare worker in the factory to organise a hockey team when the only opportunity of play is on a Saturday afternoon (a time when most girls have their own social engagements) or after a ten or twelve hours' turn in the works. Such games may find their adherents, but they are too much of an afterthought to be of value.

To the adolescent girl many things quite outside factory life prove of great and absorbing interest. Home-making pursuits are very popular. There is no doubt that the young

girl is "house-proud." She will spend hours over an intricate crochet pattern, she spends much of her leisure in making cushion-covers, crochet lace and the like. Here surely are impulses that the educator cannot afford to neglect. Development on to higher levels from what already exists is the aim *au fond* of all true educational practice.

This home-making impulse would make practical lessons in housewifery very acceptable. The works canteen might possibly be the actual sphere of teaching cooking and domestic economy, for there theory is not divorced from practice. Planning out meals; economical methods of preparing food; dishing up and serving; washing up, keeping the kitchen tidy, could be done as part of the day's routine. The lesson would derive part of its value from the fact that it was actually part of a necessary communal service.

The question how far the employer can become the educator of youth needs very careful consideration. Technical instruction as given by certain well-known engineering firms, such as the Westinghouse,¹ is distinctly

¹ See p. 168;

a piece of good business on the part of the employer. But can the employer make himself responsible for the general education which is also designed by Mr Fisher's Bill? There is a great danger of the work-people questioning the motives of the employer. Some housing and education schemes promulgated by large employers have been viewed with great suspicion by the employees. An employer cannot play the part of a benign providence. The general opinion of the workers emphasises their desire to "get away from the place." The factory with ramifications in the way of housing schemes and educational facilities can well become too absorbing, too much of a microcosm. At present the employer's part would appear to be limited to the provision of right conditions of work, short hours, avoidance of fatigue and strain; elimination as far as possible of operations purely monotonous. He would aim at giving the women time and opportunity for physical exercise and social intercourse. True education is to a large extent auto-education, and the chief requirement is to give opportunity for the girls to do things for themselves. To put the matter briefly, it is the employer's part

to see that his conditions are such as to allow personality its true expansion and the social spirit its right expression. The other parts of education stand largely outside the influence of the employer. Classes for general education, and the supervision of these, are outside his jurisdiction. Technical education is certainly his business, and as such should form part of the day's work. The problem is to make the daily work pregnant with meaning and possibilities, something more than a means of maintenance

The factory girl has a strong sense of what in Yorkshire is called "fairation." She is keen to resent favoured treatment of any individual, and yet at the same time she is perfectly ready to admire and recognise those qualities in a work-mate which mark her out from the rest.

The girl who can sing, play or recite is always sure of an appreciative and very tolerant audience; the will is taken for the deed in most cases. She becomes at once a favoured and much-sought-after person. But let a foreman or forewoman show "favouritism," and all are up in arms. They will not hesitate to down tools on behalf of a fellow-

worker whom they consider to have been badly treated. A cry of injustice most easily arouses indignation. This strong feeling of standing by a fellow-worker is one of the most encouraging characteristics of the working girl.

As is to be expected, the adolescent girl takes up many causes with enthusiasm and facility and lets them die with equal ease. Older people complain that the girls "let them down" when the former take up their complaints or help them in carrying out projects. This is true to a large extent. It is due to the fact that the natural fluidity of interests characteristic of youth does not make for stability. It is merely that a new point of view comes very easily. Youth's fickleness is mobility; and youth is absolutely sincere in the passing mood; but the mood passes.

The young work-girl appreciates what she calls "a good time." She shows a great hunger for colour in every shape and form. Bright dress is really loved for its own sake, and is not adopted for purposes of allurements, as is often alleged. Even in the dingiest and most uncompromisingly ugly workshop

the desire for colour and decoration will out. There will be a few flowers in a glass ; a picture post card or so ; almost always a mirror. These young people are not restrained—they want to laugh long and loud, they want to wear pretty clothes, and they want brightness all around them. They appreciate very fully a beautiful room. Canteens and rest-rooms should show really simple and beautiful lines in colour ; such little things as growing plants and window boxes make a vast difference to æsthetic enjoyment, in their life as in ours. Dullness is the arch-enemy of morality. Under the present regime the wonder is that the girls are as moral as they are !

Girls are fond of excitement and enjoyment, and where it can be obtained are quite content and happy with its innocent forms. Where boys and girls are employed side by side in the works, there should be opportunity for boys and girls to play as well as to work together. Tennis, cricket, dancing are admirable for the opportunities they give for rational whole-hearted fun and enjoyment. It is a vast mistake to prohibit the boys and girls playing together. Give them leave to mix together freely, and the old secretive atmos-

phere is dispelled. There is none of the furtive feeling left, when intercourse is free and jolly. The worker amongst young girls must not forget that they are often egotistic and vain. They appreciate very fully the personal touch. If they can once be convinced that their work is valued, and that they really matter personally to the people for whom they work, they will give the best and most devoted service.

A workshop is proverbial for its gossip; girls like to "tell the tale." Stories grow to Gargantuan dimensions in an astoundingly short time. This seeming disregard for strict truth proceeds to some extent from the love of adventure, even although expressed in words only. It is pleasant to create a sensation in the workshop—to be listened to with interest and attention. As in other directions, everything that makes for enhancement of personality is welcome. The young girl loves to try her powers, to use herself to the full and experience all things. She does not want to be *told* of experiences—she wishes to taste and see for herself. This accounts for the fickleness of youth—the interest in forbidden things, the rather extreme and rather loud

conduct. Yet with all the young girl's curiosity she has *au fond* a strongly marked moral sense. She will accept without question the traditional and accepted "thou shalt not" in matters of conduct. She places implicit trust in the opinions of her teachers and leaders on moral questions. She rarely shows rebellion against the accepted canons of morality, but she is often a rebel against smaller restrictions of a material kind. She presents an interesting paradox. All who work amongst girls notice how in some respects they will give blind obedience; people complain of their sheep-like character, in that they follow any leader who is strong enough to mark a decided line. Yet, on the other hand, they show a sturdy independence of conduct and action. The explanation may lie in the fact that they grow into a life which is continuous; they accept rules and traditions laid down by others, and accepted by previous generations of workers. Just as one can grow accustomed to pictures on the wall, so that they cease to be a part of consciousness, so a rule may be accepted unquestionably as part and parcel of the natural order of things. Maybe the charge that the girls are conserva-

tive is open to a similar explanation. They have not stopped to value their values—they have accepted things as part of the normal order; when the new idea is broached, they are a little backward in accepting it. The canteen workers say that it is with difficulty that they persuade the girls to try any unusual dish; even this trifling proposal demands a mental adjustment and disturbs the normal course of events.

To make a new rule needs wary walking, and the employer will find that his essentially law-abiding employees may resent some trifling innovation whilst accepting without question many much more drastic regulations. The young girl is prone to strain at gnats and swallow camels!

When the case is examined it is usually found that the new rule may interfere with some cherished right or privilege; it marks something unforeseen, and appears perhaps as an attempt to "boss" the girls. Young girls have a deep sense of justice. Let a case be put to them clearly, let them have their say, and it is surprising how easily they will fall in with reasonable suggestions.

But, as we have seen, they do not like things,

either pleasant or unpleasant, arranged *for* them. Organisers often complain of the lack of enthusiasm in the response the girls make to well-planned efforts to amuse them. It is of no use for an older person to plan out courses which *she* personally thinks desirable—let the initiative come from the girls themselves, and then let help be given in consolidating the plans thus set on foot.

Management and arrangement savour too much of school, and of the far-away days of economic dependence, and are consequently resented. They will do things on request, and may listen politely when asked to tea and regaled with a piece of classical music instead of the latest thing in fox-trots, but they will not come again. They appreciate your effort, and come "to oblige."

The good wage earned by the young factory girl to-day is having a marked effect on character generally. It has brought about a much enhanced sense of personal value and a correspondingly increased sense of personal responsibility. She is rather more inclined to resent parental government than before. As an economic factor in the household she

is a person of importance. There is a freer atmosphere all round—it shows in her increased freedom of speech and reliance of manner and in her rather more pronounced expression of opinions, likes and dislikes. The old docile attitude has gone, and a much more striving, eager and buoyant spirit has taken its place.

More than anything else, perhaps, the factory girl appreciates being trusted. She resents being watched and questioned. To the curious she presents a blank face, but to anyone sympathetic she will volunteer her confidence with little hesitation. Above all she must be believed; to doubt her word is to forfeit her trust for always. If things are done for her she may be content for the existing state of affairs to go on, but she will become more and more inert; if the onus of doing is thrown on her personally she may rise to great heights. Thus her path to salvation lies on the road of her own activity.

There is no keener or more carping critic; she sits aloof on the fence and watches others struggle for her; but let the game be of her choosing and she will fight with the best and be the kindest and most tolerant critic of

her fellow-fighters. She understands clearly the great virtues of kindness, self-denial and unselfishness. As we noticed, no appeal is made in vain which has for its object the relief of a fellow-worker. If a girl is unable to work, it is quietly arranged that several others divide up her work and so keep her job open.

A rigid and often narrow standard of right and wrong is to be found in the workshop. But the greatest practical sympathy is shown to the sinner.

Summing up the whole position, it would seem that the young factory girl is now in a position where she craves food of all descriptions—mental, physical, æsthetic and moral food. She has the appetite, the proclivities and the powers, and is but seeking the chance to develop. The best the factory employer can do is to give her essentially good conditions, opportunity to assume responsibility according to her powers, technical education so that she may do the more intelligent jobs, sufficient skilled and sympathetic guidance; and then to leave her alone to find her own directions of development.

Provision of opportunity is the keynote of

the new educational schemes. The genius of a country shows itself in the power and force of its local institutions. No educational scheme can be imposed from a remote centre ; each township or district must work out its own salvation on its own individual lines. Inside each small community the same idea must hold good for the individuals composing it. Let the employer do his part by seeing that his conception of right working conditions is sound ; let him give the fullest opportunity for self-control and management in each workshop ; let him see that the people he puts in posts of authority have other qualifications than mere ability to produce maximum output ; and, above all, let him see that the workshop is open to communication with the outside world, that he encourages all attempts made to render life outside the factory as full and rich as possible.

EMILY MATTHIAS.

V. PRINCIPLES OF ORGANISATION

I. IN the preceding chapters the reader will have grasped the foundation on which the argument of this book is built : no scheme of education is sound which disregards the disposition, the psychology of the young people who are to be educated. Having reached an understanding on that point, we can proceed to consider the type of organisation which will meet the case.

The essence of the Government proposal lies in the assertion of control over youth. The machinery is described in terms of classes and hours of attendance, but the youth (as he himself will regard the situation) is to be restrained from independence; although a wage-earner he is still to be under orders. Our view is that, if rightly handled, he will not resent this control; he is not yet mature, and his nature, unless precociously perverted, leads him to accept authority. As a matter of history this control was always assumed, alike in savage and in civilised epochs, until

quite recent times. It has been widely recognised how disastrous was the effect of the industrial revolution on child labour: historians have paid less attention to its effect on the subsequent period of life; they have certainly noted that apprenticeship has decayed, but they have neglected to study the consequential effect on disposition; by treating these immature youths as wage-earning men and women, society has abandoned its duty; "greedy for quick returns of profit," we have reverted to a mode of life more suited to the experience of young wolves or tigers sent out to forage for themselves than of the young of men who need and welcome the guidance of their elders.

This point should be pressed home, for the public are not yet alive to its importance. One of the opponents of Clause 10 in the House of Commons deprecated compulsion on the ground that it would "sap parental responsibility." But the compulsion exercised over youth in earlier epochs has not been mainly an affair of family control; it was part and parcel of an entire social convention, of religious obligation, of tribal initiation. The authority of the parents was

only valid because universal opinion maintained the need for surveillance over youth. When the demands of factory and workshop for cheap labour swept aside this ancient tradition, it destroyed the responsibility of parents at the same time. By Clause 10 the State, acting on behalf of society, reasserts a position to which every civilised people must adhere unless it "sink back into the beast."

2. Such is the principle. What kind of organisation is needed to make it effective in the world as it is to-day? If continued education, as its name implies, were merely a top-dressing to the successful system of public elementary schools, there would be no problem of organisation to consider. You estimate the additional number of "children"; you erect so many new buildings; engage so many new teachers; train these perhaps to teach new subjects; you issue a new set of regulations, select a few additional inspectors to see that everyone does as he is told—and *presto!* the thing is done, the youth of England are compulsorily taught, and the national duty is discharged!

Likely enough some of our energetic administrators have already drafted schemes, and these will come out of their pigeon-holes as soon as opportunity permits. Boards and Committees have been organising education on such lines ever since 1870 : it should be an easy job to turn out the slightly different article now to be demanded !

We willingly admit that such organising talent is necessary, as a subordinate agency ; but real organisation goes deeper : it demands a novel mode of thought, the apprehension of data which do not lie ready in pigeon-holes. A secretary drafting courses and syllabuses forgets his own boyhood ; the energetic woman inspector commanding thousands of girls to learn domestic economy is far removed from that strange, wayward creature of sixteen that once represented her ! And yet, unless these powerful persons can recall something of the moods and passions which sway the mind of youth, the mistakes they make will be terrible.

In earlier epochs youth was left to the crude but forceful control of a simple society ; to-day we have to reassert this control in a society which is complex and self-conscious.

The duty of the organiser is first of all to think and to philosophise; only after such reflection, only after a marshalling of all the data, can he venture to propound a scheme.

3. If the arguments of our previous chapters are to be accepted, the basis of organisation will be found in *social relations*, relations first of all of adolescents with each other, and secondly between the youth and his supervisor. We do not despise intellectual fare; on the contrary, the youth will welcome it, if presented in digestible form; whether the teaching be of a vocational trend or of a "liberal" trend, he will have use for it. But his education, in any rational view of development, is largely an affair of social contacts: and society is a matter of organisation, of group life, planned on conditions framed to achieve a moral purpose.

The reports presented in subsequent chapters show that the right kind of oversight for youth is already organised by many voluntary agencies. Where a group of young people are retained in the senior department of a Sunday school; where a foreman or master craftsman has the fear of God before his eyes

as well as the fear of competition ; where a scoutmaster gives his leisure time to the needs of his troop or a girls' club shepherds a company of young women—in all such cases we have organised effort on a voluntary basis. If a careful survey in each area were made of such agencies, it would be found that the English people have done much to counteract the evil effects of competitive industry ; and if these agencies were now recognised by the State and linked on to the machinery to be established by law, they would not only be improved in efficiency, but would secure the services of many thousands of new workers. For the partial success of these agencies proves that to many men and women between the ages of 25 and 50 occupation of this kind is congenial ; no doubt in one aspect human nature is self-centred and autocratic, but in other moods it is social and philanthropic. The youth of England has been and is being saved from moral shipwreck by the good will and devotion not only of professional teachers, but of the laity.

4. The administrator may admit the value of such influences but he will be reluctant to

give them a place in his schemes simply because they are voluntary. A sharp line has to be drawn in his opinion between the public service of civic authority and the irregular effort of volunteers. But the war has taught us to think rapidly in these matters, and a new theory of civic government is being welcomed. We have special constables, lay volunteers who fall into line and help to preserve the peace; and they provide only one illustration of manifold co-operation between lay and official service. We no longer consider that the citizen has discharged his duty when he has paid his rates and gone to the polling-booth in November; if democratic government ends there, then democracy is not "safe"; our security is seen to depend upon the number of citizens who actually bear a hand in the discharge, however humble, of civic duties. This is a foundation principle of Reconstruction: when peace comes we may drop some of the forms in which the principle is exemplified; it is not likely that a volunteer constabulary will be needed. But the larger vision of civic duty must not be discarded, as a war measure, as soon as the crisis has passed.

As regards education, the principle has never been wholly lost sight of. In many districts After-Care Committees have done good work ; many schools are still looked after individually by managers or governing bodies. We have never gone the lengths of the administrative systems of Germany or France where the machinery of schooling is left almost wholly to the official class, and this is fortunate indeed, since education in its essence is a moral and spiritual affair ; its life blood can only be sustained when the people, the laity, take their share, not only in the last resort as legislators or voters, but in daily efforts as co-partners with the official and the teacher.

Let us not shirk the difficulties : not only do we encounter the fear of inefficient irregular service, there is the fear of sectarian strife such as embittered the progress of English education for generations. The very word " voluntary " still excites the wrath of many stout educationists. But even in this unhappy struggle we seem to see daylight. The combatants have not laid down their arms, but they have come to terms : a higher platform is attained ; the State will

welcome all its citizens to a share in national service, and the cleric is also a citizen: he can do service to God and to his congregation by accepting the conditions that the State imposes on all who enrol themselves in its ranks.

5. The Government proposals make no allusion to these voluntary agencies, and some disappointment has been expressed at the omission.

One need not, however, be greatly perturbed by the terms of the Act of Parliament. The crucial time will come when the law has to be administered, and we can anticipate pretty fairly the procedure which public officials will have to adopt. The official machinery for the control of youth will centre round the keeping of registers. Record must be made right through the period from 14 to 18 of three distinct sets of facts relating to every young person.

- (1) His employment and change of employment (all statistics and investigations go to prove that frequent change is the rule with the great majority);

- (2) His health and physical training ;
- (3) His schooling. To these ought to be added
- (4) His social interests.

Now, so far as the mere recording and filing of this information is concerned, the Local Authority can easily fix up a suitable plant. The Juvenile Labour Bureaux ¹ are now working a system which can be readily enlarged. But records are only of value if they are used ; and it is evident that the four " sides " of the life of these lads and girls should be studied by one person and not by four separate agencies.

The Uplands statement therefore proposes that there should be an organisation of tutors or supervisors. Some may be in the service of the L.E.A. as teachers or officials, but many others would be voluntary workers.

About fifty young persons is the limit of the number that any individual supervisor can effectively take or get to know with sufficient intimacy ; in some cases a much smaller total would be advisable. The analogy of secondary school experience is here very much to the point. Many secondary

¹ See pp. 135-143 below.

schools have a "house" organisation quite distinct from classroom teaching: the house master or house tutor stands *in loco parentis*; he does not necessarily teach the members of his house at all, but he knows all about them: they are in his charge for the whole period of their school career. Such a "house" is a corporate society, and in the same way would things work out in the secondary education of wage-earners: the supervisor would usually ask to be put in tutorial charge of a group of boys who already are in friendly relation with him—perhaps as their Sunday school teacher, or as their previous school teacher by having had them already under his charge in the public elementary school, or as their scoutmaster, or as Y.M.C.A. (Junior Department) secretary. How far such a supervisor would actually keep the registers on behalf of the L.E.A. one ought not to forecast; but, whoever kept them, he would supply some of the material, he would have access to the cards and would constantly make use of them.

6. There is still an important body of opinion which distrusts registration; the

recent Act (February 1918), imposing the duty of registration on all boys of 15 years of age and upwards, has been widely resented ; there are fears lest the powers conferred by registration may be abused for the purposes of tyranny. So they may ; and so they will be unless the friends of liberty recognise that the complexity of modern life compels us to organise and register for public and private affairs alike. We can no longer dispense with bureaux ; we must therefore use them for social ends. Let us keep to the first point made in this essay : that the youth himself will feel the influence of public control not so much through attendance at a class as through the sense of dependence and obedience impressed on him by the oversight of authority. The business side of this oversight is represented by a register, kept up to date and including all the facts as to employment, health and education, which are recorded in order to comply with the law. One could enlarge in many directions to indicate how immensely helpful such supervisors can become, working hand in hand with a local authority, affording the human touch, the knowledge of personal idiosyncrasies which is

indispensable both to improve the industrial efficiency and to develop the character of young wage-earners; but the reader will be able to fill in the outline here sketched.

7. Some time must elapse before the law comes into operation; and the interval can be well employed in a survey of the ground. With a moderate expenditure for a clerical staff, it would be easy for a local authority to compile a tentative register of the adolescent population within its area, or of all the boys and girls who will reach the age of 14 during the current year. With the co-operation of social workers in the locality every volunteer agency could be inscribed with the names of persons engaged in the oversight of these youngsters and a record of the methods which they employ. It would no doubt be found that some such persons are not fitted for larger responsibilities: a preliminary survey would help to sift the grain from the chaff; and it would enable both parties, the official and the social worker, to realise the nature of their task and to devise machinery adapted to its performance. The country is indebted to the Home Office for

having already set on foot the machinery by which such a survey can be accomplished. As an outcome of the Departmental Committee on Juvenile Employment (1916) there are now at work in many large centres bodies called Juvenile Organisation Committees. The reader is invited to inquire as to the activities of this Committee in his own area: Liverpool has already issued a preliminary report, to be had (price 1d.) from The Liverpool Council of Voluntary Aid, 10 Castle Street, Liverpool.

In some quarters doubt has been expressed whether a sufficient supply of volunteers will be forthcoming. Hitherto the supply has been furnished very largely from people of leisure and culture, and one anticipates that these will be increased in number; but it should be borne in mind that the diminution in hours of labour and the extension of popular education are furnishing a further supply of men and women such as have not attended colleges or high schools but are equipped with powers and sympathies which fit them admirably for this service. Such men and women are enlisted in increasing numbers by the Churches, from the Salvation Army to the Established Church; some of

them, especially the young men, take to politics ; if they do not possess the requisite experience at the start they can learn ; no one, indeed, however well educated, can enter on social service without serving an apprenticeship.

Who would have ventured to prophesy, before the war, that volunteers could be enrolled in such numbers to serve as constabulary, or to serve on the countless committees which now work from year's end to year's end to assist government, both central and local, in the multitudinous duties imposed upon the nation in arms ! We shall emerge from this war a new people, our ranks desperately thinned, our pride chastened, but our eyes opened to a new vision of what democracy can achieve, not only in the agonies of war but in the social arts of peace. Church and Education, Labour and Trade are seeking for new terms by which to express their solidarity with national service.

We have broken with the past : it is the coming race, the rising generation on whom our hope is fixed. What can we give them to restore their faith and hope amid the ashes of this war ? It is from sentiments such as

this that men and women are moved, in every circle of society, to do what in them lies to educate young England. If Germany through an official system of schooling was able to discipline and organise its people to achieve the cruel purposes of a military empire, the people of England can organise and systematise for a finer purpose. We have taught the world the meaning and uses of political liberty ; we can now extend the lesson and learn, along with all lovers of liberty throughout the globe, how to organise and co-operate as a free people in the achievement of the highest ends for which nations are created and sustained.

J. J. FINDLAY.

REPORTS

I. A PART-TIME DAY SCHOOL FOR YOUNG EMPLOYEES

(CONDUCTED BY THE BIRMINGHAM EDUCATION
COMMITTEE IN THE STIRCHLEY INSTITUTE)

THE visit paid to the school was of necessity very brief—barely a morning session—and so for a great deal of the following information the writer is indebted to the courtesy of the Headmistress.

The school, which has now been in existence about five years, is for girls of from 14 to 18 years of age, who attend for one session of 3½ hours a week, either from 8-45 to 12-15 or from 1-45 to 5-15.

The majority of the pupils are employed by one firm, who make attendance at the school a condition of employment, the time spent in such attendance being paid for as work-time. Some 3½ years after the opening of the school permission to attend for a second

period per week—during working hours, but time thus spent not to be paid for—was granted to any who might desire the privilege, and about one-third of the girls took advantage of the opportunity presented to them.

Besides employees of this and three or four neighbouring firms, there are enrolled 4 pupils who have left the elementary schools but are not at work, 1 who is employed in a shop, and 1 engaged in domestic service. In this connection it is interesting to note that some young people seek employment with the firm referred to in order to secure the privilege of attending the Continuation School. In addition to those already mentioned, the pupils include eighteen girls over 18 years of age who are still attending one half-day session a week, their employers permitting their attendance in working hours but not paying them for time thus spent. At the request of certain of the girls who desired to pursue further some of the subjects commenced in the Day School, four evening classes, conducted by members of the Day School staff, have been established for their benefit under the auspices of the Workers' Educational Association.

In normal times from 80 to 100 names are

registered at each of the ten weekly sessions, the maximum number in each class being limited to 25. Under present conditions from 400 to 500 girls are attending the school.

An interesting and noteworthy feature of the method of classification is that, while age naturally forms the chief basis, there is within this limitation a further subdivision based upon "types of brain," as, for example, the "quick," the "slow," or the "subtle" type.

The teaching staff comprises six mistresses, who are specialists in their own particular subjects, but whose selection is also governed by a regard for special aptitude in dealing with girls in the adolescent stage.

At the commencement of each morning session the girls assemble for a hymn and short prayer, succeeded by a brief period of silence. An address by the Headmistress follows. On the day on which the school was visited, this address—one of a series dealing with "Girls and Women in their Business Relations"—dealt with the immense importance of the individual in the corporate life, and emphasised the dignity of labour regarded, not as mere wage-earning, but in the light of a service rendered to the community: just

a simple straightforward " talk " to the girls, related to their daily life and work, illustrated from their own everyday experiences, and helping them to find a new significance in the " common round."

While dealing with this subject of more or less direct ethical training, it might be mentioned that the Headmistress, as part of the ordinary school routine, makes a constant practice of receiving the girls alone in her own room and engaging them in friendly conversation, considering such close personal intercourse a most potent means of influencing them, as, in this way, she gets to know thoroughly each girl and to understand her special problems and difficulties and so is enabled to give effective guidance and counsel according to individual need.

With regard to the curriculum, the formal subjects of instruction comprise, during the earlier years, Arithmetic, Literature, History or Physiology, and Drill ; during the last year, when the pupils have attained to the age of 17, History, Literature, Drill and Infant Care and Management (including some instruction in Sex Hygiene) as a preparation for parenthood.

Great attention is paid to Physical Training throughout the course, three quarters of an hour of every session being spent in the gymnasium, where proper gymnastic apparatus and correct costume are provided for the use of the girls.

In all the teaching given much stress is laid upon the fact that "hard thinking" on the part of the pupils is absolutely essential in order to counteract the mental lethargy and brain torpor induced by long hours of monotonous, mechanical labour; hence, in an attendance of only one session of three and a half hours per week no time can be spared for "handwork," though it was stated that, were a longer period available, handwork of an interesting and educative character would most certainly be included in the curriculum, as there are undoubtedly pupils who would benefit very considerably from education of this type.

Lack of time, also, precludes any great amount of *direct* æsthetic training, though some dancing is included in the Physical Exercises and singing is taken with the younger girls. The principal *indirect* means consists in the study of Literature. Literary

taste and appreciation improve greatly, judging by the kind of books selected for private and recreative reading during the earlier and the later years of the course.

In order to cultivate the habit of independent thought, previously referred to, the subjects of instruction are, as far as possible, treated "problematically." Thus in Literature, with the older pupils, such social problems are discussed as occur in *Adam Bede*, such domestic ones as the marital relation in *Macbeth*. Some of the classes are studying European History leading to a consideration of present-day problems, and debates are held on burning questions connected with industrial life: for instance, last year classes resolved themselves into a "Minimum Wages Board" and an "Anti-Sweating Labour Meeting," and proceeded to discuss these matters in proper form and with much spirit. "Home work," occupying about half-an-hour a week, is insisted upon. It was somewhat unpopular just at first, but is now found to give an added zest to the work generally and has proved of great assistance in the development of the individual initiative, resource and self-discipline aimed at throughout.

An account of the educational activities of this institution could hardly be considered complete without some reference to the social side of the work.

The girls are encouraged as occasion arises to make some corporate effort on behalf of their own school, as, for example, the provision of a library, or to assist some local or national need, such as a Soldiers' Comforts Fund.

Social evenings, in which pupils, past pupils and staff participate, are arranged from time to time, the programme comprising dancing and music and dramatic items contributed by the girls themselves.

A flourishing "Old Girls' Association" is in existence, including amongst its activities a Dramatic Club, a History Study Circle, an Infant Care Study Section and a Choir.

On one occasion, during a summer vacation, a mistress organised a most successful holiday party, and sixteen girls spent a memorable week in Wales amidst surroundings and scenery which made a deep and lasting impression on many of these young minds.

Some readers, more especially, perhaps, those present at the discussions on Continued Education which took place at the last summer

meeting of the Uplands Association, may be interested to know that the Headmistress, who has had very wide experience in social and educational work, giving her an intimate knowledge of the outlook and the needs of the adolescent girl, is strongly in favour of compulsory attendance at the Continuation School, holding that at this stage of development there can be very little real "freedom of choice," the girl being swayed by public opinion in some form or other—home influence, the opinions of personal friends or co-workers, and the like—so that it is far better for the directing force to be supplied deliberately by those whose knowledge of life and its demands on the one hand, and of the special characteristics of adolescence on the other, render them capable of giving wise guidance. Her opinion has been strengthened by the fact that several of her girls have stated their satisfaction that they were compelled to attend the classes, as otherwise they would never have wished for further education. Freedom with regard to choice of subject is permitted within certain limits, this liberty being increased towards the end of the course. Also such studies as that of literature are, to a very great extent,

pursued along lines suggested or desired by individual classes. As might be expected with young people of this age, methods of "dramatisation" are very popular.

One is naturally somewhat diffident of expressing any opinion on work of so important and far-reaching a character from the necessarily inadequate knowledge obtained by such a brief and partial survey, but even a casual visitor could hardly fail to be impressed by the dignified bearing of the girls and the atmosphere of quiet and refinement which pervades the whole school, or to realise the immense amount of care and reasoned thought which has been devoted to the organisation, and the vigilance which is being constantly exerted in regard to the further development and extension of this pioneer work.

NOTE.—This report deals only with the Girls' School of the Sturchley Institute. A Part-Time Boys' School is conducted in premises near at hand but quite apart from the Girls' School, and many other social and educational activities are carried on. The largest firm which contributes pupils to the school is the Bournville works owned by Cadbury Brothers. Further information as to the educational methods employed by this firm can be found in a paper written by N. R. W. Ferguson, B.Sc., the education organiser to these works. It appeared in the

Conference on New Ideals Report (1917) and is reprinted separately (price 3d. on application to the works); *Cadbury, Edward*: Experiments in Industrial Organisation (Longmans, Green & Co.) may also be consulted.

K. GWLADYS M. FRY.

II. A COMMERCIAL SCHOOL IN A STORE

(SELFRIDGE & CO. LTD.)

THAT a commercial house should establish within its walls an education department, with University women to help in its direction, signifies recognition of the value of education in a business career. What does such a house hope to achieve through its education department? That question may best be answered in its own words. "Realising as we do the immense value of education as a means towards personal effectiveness and collective efficiency, we wish to encourage it by every means in our power, and especially by—

" (1) Supporting the Government in their efforts towards educational reform ;

" (2) Recognising a good education in those who apply here for employment, and making their entry possible, even though they may not have had business experience, as long as they have other essential qualities ;

“(3) Carrying on educational work within the store, with the objects of cultivating the imagination and encouraging the initiative of all sections of the staff; of making them thoroughly conversant with the science and practice of their work, and thus immensely increasing their value; of so raising the standard of knowledge and service in this house that it will be known as a house of experts, and do its share towards raising the status of business life in this country and making it recognised as a great profession.”

It will be noticed that the emphasis lies on the training of business experts. To this the organisation at present mainly devotes itself, while holding strongly that the best expert work must be based on a sound liberal education. Two sections of employees under the age of 18 come within its jurisdiction—the “students” and the “junior staff.”

The *Students* are of three grades: “(a) Those of 14 or 15 who have passed through an Elementary School to Standard VII. (initial salary ten shillings a week); (b) Those of 15 or 16 who have taken the four years’ course at the Central Schools or have attended a Secondary School (initial salary fifteen shillings

a week); (c) Those of 16 or 17 who have been educated at a High School and have studied for such examinations as the Senior Local or London Matriculation (initial salary £1 a week)." The period of training lasts two years, but as the students are bound to the house by no tie save mutual interest, they may leave or be dismissed with the usual notice. A careful record of the work of each student is kept by the Supervisor of Students, who sees that each is in the department for which he or she is best fitted, and no student is dismissed by the management without his recommendation. Failure to find suitable work for a student in some part of the store is practically unknown.

Demonstrations in the art of selling are given several times a week, much on the lines of the lessons given to teachers in training. Compulsory classes are held from 9-15 to 10-15 A.M. in a classroom set apart and equipped for the purpose. No student attends all these classes, and the writer found it impossible to obtain any estimate of the number of attendances made each year, this being determined by the needs of the individual student and the demand made by the Department on his or

her services. The class at which the writer was present took the form of a talk by a member of the Education Department, responsible for the selling efficiency of assistants, on "The Science and Art of Selling." The audience, consisting of twelve new-comers, were free to contribute suggestions or ask questions. The lecturer pointed out that, if business was to be raised to the level of a profession, two things were needed: a study of the work, and the habit of thinking more of what they were *doing* than of the money they were *getting*. Responsibility to the public requires an extensive knowledge of the article to be sold and a realisation that the purpose for which an article is wanted determines its style. The time should come when no one will be allowed to buy what does not suit her! The treatment of Selling as an art was made the opportunity for much incidental teaching of English, the inartistic character of such a phrase as "young lady" being contrasted with the dignity of service implied in the word "assistant." Reference was made to the "I-disease" prevalent in retail houses, and a distinction was drawn between the power of the individual assistant and the power of

the management to supply the customer's needs. If those who sold regarded themselves as hosts and hostesses, and their customers as honoured guests, selling would become a splendid form of public service. Apart from this incidental (and very valuable) teaching of the use of the King's English for all business purposes, little is done in the way of literary training, though a staff library is in course of foundation and will, it is hoped, be widely used.

Fortnightly lectures are given during the winter at 6-50 P.M. It is hoped before long to arrange for these during the morning. The lantern is used for illustrative purposes. This term the natural history of the silken thread, its manufacture, and the development of ancient and modern silk-weaving, are included in the course. All students are obliged to attend and to write essays on the subjects of the lectures. A record of this work is kept, and prizes are awarded, provided that the general work of the student is satisfactory. The prize-giving affords an opportunity for a social gathering and is regarded as a means of fostering the interest of the parents in their children's careers. Twice a week during

business hours the senior students attend morning classes at the L.C.C. Central School of Arts and Crafts for such subjects as design, the history and production of fabrics, salesmanship and advertising. A scholarship may be awarded to a student of exceptional ability, entitling the holder to a business trip to the markets of the Continent in charge of the buyer of the department, or to a course of instruction in a business college. The students have the free use of the House Sports Grounds at Wembley Park. There is a reference library within the store, and all are encouraged to consult the Supervisor of Students not only about any difficulty but also about any matter of personal interest.

The *Junior Staff* comprises all boys and girls, other than Students, under the age of 16. It is the duty of a special official, known as the Junior Staff Supervisor, to see that their occupations do not develop into blind alleys and to recommend the transfer of juniors of special merit and ability to another branch of the work, or to the body of students. Attention is paid to physical fitness in the sectional parades held every morning. Section commanders are appointed from the juniors

themselves to give practice in handling their fellows. A competent instructor takes simple drill exercises with them, and the parade is made to serve the opportunity for general information and talks on work and deportment. "Good form," rather than set rules, is looked to for the achievement of results in respect to punctuality and smartness in the case of the boys. Regular attendance at parade is rewarded by instruction in shooting at the rifle range at St Thomas' School. At present the social side leaves much to be desired, but plans for development are being made. A dancing class has lately been started for the girls and a football club for the boys. It is hoped, too, that before long additional mess-rooms and rooms for rest and recreation may be provided as well as a canteen.

The prefects of the house are elected by ballot to serve their department for one year. As they form an integral part of the system of the house they are chosen from the regular staff and not from the students in training. The Social Secretary is a kind of "ex-officio" senior prefect, whose special work is to look after the dress and appearance of all employees. She co-operates with and works

through the prefects wherever possible, and uses the magazine, *The Key of the House*, for the purpose of developing good taste in dress.

Voluntary classes in languages are held, but hitherto there has been little demand for anything save French, the attempt to carry on a Russian class having proved abortive.

It will thus be seen that the education provided is mainly vocational, with some attention to physical needs and the use of the mother tongue, but not extending to the so-called liberal studies. For education of this latter type the house looks to the Government, considering that it is doing its part in providing a thorough training on the business side.

A. G. Fox.

III. JUVENILE EMPLOYMENT AND AFTER-CARE

(BRADFORD)

IN the Statement on the Part-Time Education of Wage-Earners (pages 10-16 above) particular emphasis is laid on the point that public authority in any scheme for continued or part-time education should provide for *individual knowledge of and interest in each young person*. The statement proceeds to suggest that this "can best be done by putting him under the care of a tutor or supervisor."

The scheme at present in operation in Bradford for the exercise of powers under the Education (Choice of Employment) Act gives many clear indications of the way in which the principle of putting each young person under the care of a supervisor can be brought into practical operation.

In Bradford during the year ending 31st July 1917 about 5000 children—boys and girls—

left Public Elementary Schools and took up occupations. Had the Bill been in operation, those 5000 children would have been compelled to place themselves under some measure of supervision after leaving the Elementary School; for eight hours a week the Bradford Education Committee would have claimed authority over them. But, in spite of the fact that the Bill is not yet accepted, Bradford, in common with other Local Education Authorities, has been, during the past five or six years, taking account of, providing for "individual knowledge of and interest in," each of its young people after he or she leaves the Elementary School and goes out into the stormy world of wage-earning.

The Education (Choice of Employment) Act was passed in 1910, conferring on Local Education Authorities power to make arrangements for giving to boys and girls under 17 years of age assistance with respect to the choice of suitable employment. The Bradford Education Committee drew up and put into operation a comprehensive scheme for exercise of this power. A special Juvenile Employment Sub-Committee was formed, consisting of 22 members recruited as

follows:—12 members of the Education Committee, 2 representatives of the Chamber of Commerce, 2 representatives of the Chamber of Trades, 2 representatives of the Trades and Labour Council, 2 representatives of the local branch of the National Union of Teachers, and 2 representatives of the Local Guild of Help.

The Sub-Committee works in conjunction with the Board of Trade at the Bradford Labour Exchange. The department of the Labour Exchange which deals with juveniles has been established by the joint efforts of the Board of Trade and the Bradford Education Sub-Committee, and is called the Bradford Juvenile Employment Exchange and Bureau.

The work of the department is conducted by two officials: (1) the Board of Trade's Juvenile Officer, and (2) an officer who is appointed by the Sub-Committee and acts as its general secretary. The work of these two officials is divided to some extent as follows:—The Board of Trade's officer deals with the employer, brings the work of the Exchange under the notice of local employers, and registers notifications of vacancies; the Sub-Committee's

officer collects through voluntary workers, and registers, information regarding the children, their mental and physical ability, and the employment for which they seem suited. All this information is in tabular form, and is kept at the Bureau. The two officers are in constant communication, and, before submitting to an employer the name of any juvenile applicant, the Board of Trade's officer, in all cases in which it is practicable, consults the officer of the Sub-Committee as to whether the employment offered is suitable for the applicant; and in any case he has at hand all the Sub-Committee's information regarding the child.

But this work of the Sub-Committee has an intimate and personal side, the consideration of which throws a flood of light on the question of the supervision of wage-earning youth. A scrutiny of the Sub-Committee's method of collecting its information regarding the youths and maidens of Bradford and of the other work on their behalf to which at the same time it devotes attention will enlighten the scrutiniser.

In the first place all head teachers are supplied with cards on which they are asked

to furnish information regarding each child three months before he or she leaves school. As the card shows, they report on the child's mental ability; standard reached in the Elementary School; physical condition; occupation out of school hours, if any; parents' occupation, etc. These cards are received by the Sub-Committee's officer, and the information is copied on a duplicate card, which is lodged at the Bureau.

The actual work of "after-care," or supervision of the young folk after they have left school, is put into the hands of District Committees. These Committees are composed of teachers, Sunday school superintendents, Scoutmasters, Boys' Brigade leaders, clergymen, and other persons interested in the after-care of boys and girls. The members of the Committee, who are known as District Visitors, are asked to undertake a certain measure of supervision of children who live in their immediate neighbourhood. Each Visitor is assigned a few streets close to his (or her) own home, and the children who reside in those particular streets are under his care. It is arranged as far as possible that Visitors shall be given children whose homes are only

a few minutes' walk from their own, and it quite frequently happens that the Visitor has already been engaged in work in the neighbourhood and is therefore well known to the children allotted to him before they leave the Elementary School; he may have been their teacher there or in the Sunday school, their Scoutmaster or personally known to the child or his parents in some other way.

When the Juvenile Employment Subcommittee's Officer receives from the head teachers the cards relating to children about to leave school, he forwards each card to the particular Visitor whose area includes the street where the child resides. The Visitor is expected to pay a friendly visit before the child leaves school and impress upon him and his parents the desirability of choosing his future occupation with care, advise him and his parents to call at the Bureau, and arrange to accompany him if necessary. He is then expected to pay a second visit after the child leaves school and ascertain how he progresses; he will urge him to join an evening school if practicable, to join a Club, Scout Troop or other organisation. Each Visitor is provided with a list of young folks' recreative organisa-

tions in the district; if he happens to be himself a Scoutmaster he will try to get the boy to join his troop and keep in touch with him in that way, or the boy may be already in his troop.

After a second visit the Visitor may find that the child is well placed, his parents have a wise regard for his future, and the child is doing well; in such cases he will cease to "visit" in the official sense, but in other cases, where boys or girls for any reason appear to require particular attention, the Visitor will endeavour to continue keeping in touch with them and will report on them from time to time to the Sub-Committee. The cards at the Bureau are kept up to date, so that when any child calls there the officer in charge has at hand his card, which bears all the available information.

There are at present 18 District Committees in Bradford, comprising a total of 407 visitors. The number of children assigned to a Visitor varies according as his area is scattered or the reverse. In addition there are special Care Committees whose work is to supervise feeble-minded and physically defective children, and where such children

are able to enter employment the visiting of them is in the hands of the special Care Committee concerned.

It is to be hoped that, when Continued Education becomes compulsory, Local Education Authorities will not overlook these voluntary efforts to care for youth, and especially will not overlook the work of those who have proved themselves successful in influencing the adolescent wage-earner.

The latest effort of the Bradford Education Committee on behalf of the city's adolescents should be noted. A Conference was called in December 1917 of workers in all societies of Bradford which promote the welfare of young people. A Committee was appointed with the object of drawing up a scheme for the Federation of Young People's Societies in the city. The objects of the Federation are to encourage the establishment of play centres, young folks' clubs and similar organisations in districts which are not provided with them at present; to encourage the provision of swimming baths, camping grounds, playing fields, etc., and to receive, acquire or rent property for these purposes; and to arrange for such educational facilities as may be desired

by any particular Association, etc. Such a Federation must surely prove a valuable supplement to the work of the Juvenile Employment Committee.

AMY F. PURVIS.

IV. WORKING GIRLS AND TRADE SCHOOLS

(LONDON)

1. THE London County Council has during the last few years attached increasing importance to the organisation of Trade Schools for boys and girls who pass out of the Elementary Schools; in these is provided a course of instruction extending over two years, which is specially arranged to prepare pupils for entry into particular trades—to give a knowledge of the underlying principles of the trades and a practical training in trade methods. There is also opportunity for physical and general education. The pupils give about two-thirds of their time to trade work, and the remainder is spent on such subjects as English Literature and Composition, History, Mathematics, Art or Science: these subjects have a direct bearing upon the work the boy or girl is going to pursue later—the arithmetic will be of the most practical kind, and industrial history will be taught, special reference

being made to the conditions of life in factory and workshop.

These schools are run on secondary rather than elementary lines, and the large amount of practical combined with theoretical work seems to give the pupils a self-reliance and sense of responsibility which is not easily found in either an elementary or a secondary school of the ordinary type. They are open on five days a week from 9 A.M. to 12-45 P.M. and from 1-45 to 5 P.M. Most pupils spend the dinner-hour at the school, for it is then that they have opportunity for private talk amongst themselves or with their teacher, headmistress or headmaster. Various activities are carried on—the school may have its Scout Club, its Debating Society, exhibitions and expeditions.

In some cases temporary premises have been adapted and equipped as Trade Schools; in a crowded district the space is necessarily somewhat limited, but the new school at Lime Grove, Hammersmith, erected by the L.C.C. in 1915, is spacious and beautiful; the panelled halls and gymnasium, the airy rooms and gay corridors, must give a sense of satisfaction to those who work there.

2. The usual age for entry of pupils into Trade Schools is 13+; the pupils having left the Public Elementary School when they have reached the 6th or 7th standard. Since the course of study covers two years, this results in a normal leaving age of 15+. If the scheme of Mr Fisher's Bill as now presented to the House of Commons is retained, the future of these schools is difficult to forecast. Under Clause 10 (2) (ii) (b) the pupils, if they stay at the school till they are 16, will be exempt from further schooling up to 18, and will thus receive a privilege which those who commenced work at 14 will not be allowed to share. On the other hand, it may be felt both by parents and by employers in certain trades that a slighter but more extended course of education up to 18, with the pupil earning wages right through, will produce a better result all round than the Two Years' Course of the Trade School as now established. There are indications that this clause will encounter opposition, for in many quarters it is felt that all adolescents should be under supervision up to 18 years of age, whether or no they have had the privilege of whole-time schooling up to 16 or 17 in a Secondary or

Trade School. Those who support the Two-Year Trade School as at present established would be glad to co-operate in some plan for partial education after the completion of the Two Years' Course at 15+ or 16. It would be possible for the pupils after entering on wage-earning employment still to look upon the Trade School as their headquarters, to keep in touch with it as a corporate society, and to return for advanced instruction during a few hours each week until the age of 18 is reached. The headmaster or headmistress would continue to be regarded as the friend and adviser of their former pupils, and the institution would still afford opportunity for recreation and social intercourse.

3. During the last two years an effort has been made to utilise the Trade School organisation to meet the needs of a new type of pupil ; it has been found, in anticipation of the provisions of this Bill, that a certain number of employers are willing to release their wage-earners of 14 years of age to attend classes for a few hours in each week : and these are pupils of a type wholly different

from those who have hitherto made full-time attendance at the Trade School. A large number of young Londoners—in fact, the greater number of those who leave school at the age of 14—drift into unskilled employment in factories and workshops: although the girls are often called “learners,” the learning consists merely in acquiring knowledge of a sewing machine, or of the operations involved in filling bottles or pasting labels, and the learner receives wages from the first day of employment. An attempt has therefore been made by the L.C.C. to provide instruction for these boys and girls, and they have utilised the Trade School for the purpose. At a Conference of West End Employers held in consultation with the Juvenile Advisory Committee in September 1916 it was agreed that girls between 14 and 16 years of age should be allowed (without a deduction of wages), three hours on two days each week, to attend a Trade School, and that attendance should be made a condition of engagement by the employers. There are therefore at the present time, attached to Trade Schools, a number of young people who have entered a trade as “learners” and are sent by their

employers to receive instruction in drawing, and general and physical education, as well as technical training (so far as this can be given apart from the factory). The scheme is an experimental one ; it is too early to judge of its success, for these learners are drawn to a considerable extent from the backward children of the Elementary School who rejoiced to be rid of its fetters at the age of 14, and some, though by no means all, return unwillingly to lessons. There is a cleavage between them and the girls of the Day Trade School ; they feel themselves to be outsiders, and the whole-time pupils, if not the teachers, regard them as such. In some cases an attempt is made to work both sets of girls together, but the "learners" are more backward and less interested. Their interest is centred in the shop to which they belong ; it is the matron or forewoman of the work-room, rather than the headmistress, who is taken into their confidence.

This transition from full-time schooling to a life of wage-earning and part-time schooling presents unexpected difficulties. Suggestions for overcoming these difficulties are made in paragraphs 4 and 5 of the Statement printed

on pages 10 to 16 of this volume ; they are worth consideration.

4. In the case of boys, an increasing number of firms require their young employees to attend the classes which the L.C.C. is ready to provide. At the Post Office Instrument Factory, for instance, the boys receive technical instruction in the factory itself from skilled instructors appointed by the L.C.C. and are sent to classes held in the neighbourhood for general and physical education. They are required to spend eight hours a week under instruction either in the factory or in the schoolroom ; during five of the eight hours they are paid, the remaining three hours are made up by working overtime.

Sometimes the Labour Exchange will bring pressure to bear upon an employer by refusing to recommend his firm unless attendance at classes for a certain number of hours during the week is made compulsory. It may be that both employer and employee resent such a condition ; the boy may attend those classes which bear directly upon the trade he is following, but he has little interest in the somewhat cut-and-dried scheme of general

education presented in the English lesson, and he seeks his pleasure elsewhere. The success of the work depends to some extent upon the sympathy of the employer, but to a far greater extent upon the enterprise and enthusiasm of the educational supervisor.

5. Interesting experiments are being made in other directions. Messrs Reeves & Sons (Artists' Colourmen) place all their girls of 14 years of age together in a separate room. Here, in the "factory school," as it is termed, under the care of a skilled forewoman, they are taught the simplest methods of artists' brush-making, and receive instruction on various points connected with factory life from the works matron, who is also the welfare worker for the whole factory. The work is carefully watched, and when girls are sufficiently advanced they are passed on to the regular brush-making department, and learn there the more difficult parts of the trade. The time spent in the factory school—and during this whole period the girls are wage-earners—occupies from six to nine months. Last autumn Messrs Reeves & Sons

agreed with the L.C.C. to allow the girls working in the school to spend six hours a week upon certain subjects, such as Physical Education, Calculation, Needlework and Drawing, which have no direct bearing upon the trade. The L.C.C. provided the teachers for these school subjects. As far as the girls were concerned, the scheme worked most successfully; as the numbers averaged not more than twenty to thirty, much more freedom could be permitted and individual attention given than in the ordinary classroom. Unfortunately the scheme has had to be abandoned for the present, owing to the opposition of parents. A bonus is given to those girls who make more than a certain number of brushes a day; the girl is paid for the "lesson" hours, but she is not able to increase her bonus by making brushes during those hours; we gather that the parents, rather than lose the extra threepence or fourpence a week, send the child to work elsewhere. Pressure of Government work, and the consequent necessity of keeping in the firm's employ as many young girl workers as possible, have resulted in the classes being discontinued for the present.

Messrs Crosse & Blackwell have established a club in close connection with their factory. When girls are engaged the firm makes it a condition of service that they shall attend classes held in the clubroom, and gives eight hours a week from working hours for this purpose. This is a new scheme, for it was not until January 1916, when shortage of labour made it necessary, that girls under 18 years of age were employed at the firm's headquarters. The course of instruction (the instructors being provided by the L.C.C.) extends over two years, but it is hoped that girls who remain in the service of the firm for the two years will continue to attend classes in the club, which are being specially arranged for them on one evening each week. The girls have their midday meal in the club, and here Christmas parties, gymnastic displays, etc., are held. The successful working of the scheme is due to the close co-operation of the matron, who is appointed by the employers and looks after the girls in the factory and in the club, with the educational supervisor appointed by the L.C.C.

An extension of some of the foregoing

schemes so as to apply to those between 16 and 18 years of age, and to include a greater variety of pursuits, would be on the lines of Clause 10 of the Government Bill.

T. M. PUGH.

V. THE PART-TIME EDUCATION OF CLERKS

(MANCHESTER)

CONSIDERABLE facilities for commercial education have been provided by most Local Education Authorities in the Evening Continuation Schools in England, but as the majority of the pupils attending such schools are between the ages of 14 and 18 it is clear that, when Mr Fisher's Education Bill becomes law, these schools will be vitally affected, since it will be necessary for provision to be made to provide instruction for 320 hours each year in the day-time for young persons of those ages, and in a city like Manchester there will be many thousands who desire commercial instruction.

1. The Manchester Education Committee has already anticipated to some extent the changes that will be necessary under the Education Bill, by opening, in October 1917,

a Municipal High School of Commerce. The school is held in premises which have been rented for the purpose in the heart of the city. Full-time courses of instruction for one or two years have been organised for young persons (not less than 15 years old) who desire ultimately to undertake responsible positions in the business world; but for our immediate purpose it is more important to note that part-time courses have been planned for young persons in business houses who can arrange to attend during the day-time. The staff of the school consists of professional teachers who have had experience in commercial education, together with a number of business specialists teaching in their spare time.

There are 70 full-time and more than 300 part-time pupils in attendance; and in regard to the latter the principle of Mr Fisher's Bill is already in operation. Many of the part-time pupils, one-third of whom are between 15 and 18 years old, have been released by their firms in order to attend special courses of study, and the number of firms (at present 16) which are granting this privilege is steadily increasing.

The school is open for six hours each week-

day except Saturdays, and young persons attending from firms come either for a full day or for two or three half-days. In most cases not only have the firms allowed their employees to attend the school without any deduction from their wages being made, but they have also paid the necessary fees.

On entering the school each pupil is interviewed by the Principal and his course of study is carefully arranged after considering the nature of his occupation and his previous training. Many of the firms are quite willing to leave the arrangement of the courses taken by their employees to the school authorities, but in some cases firms have expressed a desire to have certain subjects included, and as far as possible their wishes have been met. Reports are sent regularly to the various firms concerning the progress of their employees, and every opportunity is taken to associate the instruction directly with the occupation of the students. There have been frequent consultations between the school staff and the representatives of firms concerning the courses of study, and modifications have been introduced from time to time. Though the instruction of the part-time pupils is of

necessity largely vocational, some time has been found, mainly in the English lessons, for study of a more " liberal " character.

The Principal has recognised that, if the scheme for the part-time education of young persons is to be successful, it is necessary for someone to have an intimate personal knowledge of each pupil; and he has therefore arranged that each member of the staff shall act as supervisor for a certain number of the part-time pupils, and these pupils know that they can consult their supervisor at any convenient time concerning their work. The supervisors endeavour unobtrusively to gain the confidence of the pupils and to find out their interests in life generally as well as those arising out of their work. Though the part-time pupils are taught in the main in separate classes from the full-time pupils, it is hoped that it will be possible for them to join in some of the social activities of the school, but it is too early yet to say how far this will be possible.

2. This High School of Commerce serves the needs of the entire city and neighbourhood, and is linked on to a Lower School of Com-

merce, which likewise looks for its pupils to the whole area of Manchester, but gives instruction of a lower grade and is only open from 4 P.M. ; this restriction is necessary since the classes are at present conducted in the premises of the Manchester Grammar School. The Lower School of Commerce is attended by some 1500 pupils between the ages of 16 and 18, and it is probable that when compulsory part-time education comes into force this institution will have premises of its own in the centre of the city and will provide part-time instruction in the day-time.

3. Just as in the heart of the city there are full-time day classes (established October 1917) and evening classes, so there are in the various outlying districts evening commercial classes, which will in the future either be transferred to the day-time or be reduplicated ; and the Manchester Education Committee hopes to provide opportunities for full-time commercial instruction during the day in each district of the city. A beginning in this direction has already been made. In September 1917 a Junior Day Commercial Department or "School" was opened for the Cheetham

district in North Manchester in connection with one of the Public Elementary or "Central" schools. The aim of this Junior Day Commercial School is to give a sound preliminary training for commercial life to boys and girls who have passed an entrance examination equivalent to Standard VII. and are at the time of the examination between 13 and 14½ years of age. The courses of study extend over two years. The work of the upper standards of the Cheetham "Central" School has been modified to some extent in order to link it up closely with that of this Junior Day Commercial School. Many of the pupils pass directly into the Junior Commercial School after attending for some years the lower classes in the Cheetham "Central" School itself, and thus their capabilities and characters are well known to the staff, most of whom are regular members of the staff of the "Central" School. Two special teachers for commercial subjects have been appointed. At present there are 120 pupils attending this Junior Day Commercial School. It is probable that this school will help in the part-time instruction of young persons until 16 years of age at least.

Though neither the Junior Day Commercial School nor the Evening Continuation Classes are meeting exactly what the Education Bill proposes, the experience gained in them will enable the Local Education Authority rapidly to establish a scheme of suitable commercial instruction in the daytime for 320 hours each year.

The Director of Education for Manchester has recently said that in establishing these commercial schools there is no intention merely to turn out efficient typists, efficient shorthand writers and the like, for it is necessary to look at commerce in a much broader, bigger and more generous way than that, and to get away from the idea of a school for purely commercial mechanical purposes.

(Further particulars concerning the Municipal High School of Commerce can be obtained on application to the Registrar.)

WM. ELLIOTT.

VI. WORKS SCHOOLS FOR ENGINEERS

(MANCHESTER)

1. *The Works School of Hans Renold's Ltd.*— Hans Renold's is a well-known Manchester firm of engineers, in peace-time producing the Renold Chain, but now largely occupied on munitions. The works stand outside the smoke area, near the garden suburb of Bumage, where a good many of the workpeople live; others come by train to the local station from other outlying districts, or by car and bus from the town. The one-storeyed buildings are planned in such a way as to leave the country-side unspoiled. They are bright and well looked after; jessamine grows on the walls; and there is plenty of air and light.

The effect of such conditions upon young workers is obvious, and from the point of view of health there is considerable advantage in having a school within the works. The wear and tear of journeys into Manchester to one of the Junior Technical Schools is avoided,

and more leisure for meals and recreation is available.

The Works School for Apprentices has been in existence only since October 1917. It is under the direction of the Employment Department, the manager of which (being responsible for admission, rate of pay, transference, dismissal and general welfare of every worker) takes a keen interest in its development. There is a special teacher, who has, however, some other official duties; and in addition a visiting teacher, lent by the Education Committee, for English.

Of the apprentices about sixty are under 16 years of age, and a similar number over 16. All are being trained as engineers, but at present it is only the boys under 16 who are in the school. On admission they must have passed through Standard VII. or its equivalent. They are classified after an Entrance Examination, and grouped in three classes. Generally speaking, they are bright lads, though the bottom class is said to contain some weak members. A new course begins at Easter; and a "waiting class" for new admissions is contemplated. One day a week, seven hours, is spent in the school. The subjects taken

are science (physics and mechanics); mathematics (including practical mensuration); drawing and woodwork, English, drill (one group at a time). The work done is not strictly vocational, but might be called "pre-vocational," certainly with a bias in the direction of the boy's future employment. The handwork is closely connected with mathematics; constant use of the metric rulers helps to familiarise the metric system. The "English" period is mainly concerned with questions of industry or of citizenship. Classes are small, and a good deal of individual attention is possible.

When the present writer visited the school, a class of boys was at work in a large bright room, engaged on practical problems of mensuration. They had space and opportunity for moving about at will, and showed the alertness and concentration of active interest. A young trained pattern-maker was present, as well as the teacher, giving individual help. Note-books were examined; elaborate notes are not demanded, the teacher preferring to train the boy's judgment as to what record is necessary in regard to processes and results.

Again, only a small amount of home-work

is given—about an hour a week; probably here some extension might be made.

It is felt that the boys appreciate modern social and industrial history. In connection with a similar course at the Openshaw Junior Technical School a boy observed: "We don't learn about kings and battles *here*, but how the country is governed, and the life of the People." (The capital P was emphatic!) It seemed that more ambitious work might well be attempted in English; the boys will soon exhaust books of "outlines," and feel the need for fuller and more concrete expression of the workers' life and thought. The course is, however, in its early stage, and is capable of much development. Dramatic production might be encouraged by the general atmosphere of the works, where many social clubs meet and where lectures and discussions are frequently held. The human interest of such a community is stimulating. An elaborate system of reporting on special forms facilitates supervision and criticism on the part of the management. About two-thirds of the apprentice-scholars, we were told, are making satisfactory progress. Progress, indeed, is expected.

After 16 the training in the works takes up the whole week, but boys are encouraged to go to the evening classes at Technical Schools in Manchester or Stockport. Here again careful reports are forwarded monthly as to attendance and work. From this time to the close of the apprenticeship at 21, the four main types of worker become differentiated—skilled engineer, "tradesman," senior skilled machinist and clerk. Both manager and teacher know the boys well; indeed, with the present numbers, the question of individual relations is fairly simple. The school is a new experiment, and has favourable auspices.

In such a works, it should be noted, beyond the question of training the selected boy worker lies the larger and in some senses more complex problem of the unskilled.

There is a large amount of unskilled women's work, fluctuating of necessity. About 500 of the workers in this firm are girls under 18. So far nothing has been possible by way of provision for their continued education. They of course take part in the social activities; some attend evening classes. Of the Secondary school girls now employed in the office, ten, aged between 16 and 18 years, attend the

High School of Commerce¹ one day a week. In their case again the problem is manageable. Should the Education Bill become law, the manager thinks that one-fifth more employees would be required to make possible the adjustments necessary for liberating all the young workers in accordance with these new educational demands.

The Works School with its pleasant conditions may act as a stimulus towards a solution of the larger problem. But it is difficult to conceive how it could be extended to cover the needs of the unskilled. The boy apprentices represent an intellectual élite ; their work would seem exacting to slower brains. The type of teacher likely to appeal to them might naturally show little patience with the repetition worker. Moreover, the subjects would need reconsideration. The boys understand the bearing of their studies on their future career, and on the general work of the place. This wider view could not be expected for some time from the unskilled girls. The boys seem proud of the firm, and the firm of the boys. The Works School from both sides is readily seen to be important. The instruction of the

¹ See p. 156.

unskilled workers would be a new type of enterprise. Whether the management would feel this new enterprise to be worth while, and whether the new material would be best provided for in the works or elsewhere, are matters for consideration. Even less comfortable conditions might well be compensated by occupations in which the young workers were vitally interested and not "unskilled."

2. *The Westinghouse Works School.*—The "British Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company" is a very large engineering firm. Its buildings cover a great area of the industrial district along the Ship Canal, where within our memory the woods of Trafford Park stretched. Trains, tram-cars and motor engines pant past everywhere. Glimpses of the canal and the masts of ships appear now and then; and the strange lights at dusk and dawn are often wonderful.

"Industrial efficiency" is proclaimed everywhere. The Westinghouse was originally an American firm, but has been under British directorship now for some years. A sympathetic official who is chiefly responsible for the supervision of the apprentices explained

their system of training, and afterwards conducted us to see the Works School. Of the 400 apprentices, about 350 attend classes in the school, giving five hours a week to education. There are five classes; in the first three general education, with a pronounced industrial bias, is undertaken; then comes a "link class," in which the boys with a special bent towards mechanics or electricity are sorted out and instructed in the technical principles of their branches of work; the highest class receives a course of two years' training in special trade classes in the theory of the processes which are carried out in the shops. At about 20 years of age the boys will have completed the different courses; up to the close of their apprenticeship at 21 they continue to attend the school for an hour and a half each month for the purpose of studying and discussing work processes. Thus the period of training goes considerably past 18. The classes are small, the lecture-room accommodating about twenty boys.

One official is concerned with the general organisation of the work and is in close touch with all matters concerning the boys. In the teaching he is helped by a number of lecturers,

university graduates employed in the works either in the higher processes or in supervision of output. As they are on the premises, arrangement of the time-table is feasible though complicated. The bias of studies is naturally towards science and mathematics. An attempt is made to give some account of social development. On one visit we saw some interesting notes on prehistoric times. On the practical side the boys receive training under foremen as demonstrators, twelve being assigned to each instructor.

The general supervisor is an enthusiast and speaks of the boys with obvious pride. He pointed out that in time past boys had been encouraged to go to evening technical classes, but that only the 10 per cent. of marked ability and ambition did so. By establishing this school, the firm is also able to give instruction to the 90 per cent. of apprentices who will become workmen—fitters, moulders, turners, pattern-makers and so on; all of them, however, be it noted, *skilled* workmen.

The 10 per cent. with special ability are not overlooked. They may secure scholarships for the part-time day course at the Technical College in Manchester, and in some

cases may attend evening technical classes. One boy has taken a university scholarship.

During the last twelve months an interesting experiment in self-government has been made. A Council of sixteen or seventeen boys, with its own chairman, secretary and treasurer, meets to discuss and deal with affairs concerning the apprentices. At first questions of social life and sports were in view, and a summer camp was organised. Later the Council's range has been extended so that it acts as a tribunal as regards management of conduct in the works. The boys elect their own chairman, and act with great efficiency on the mornings when their classroom becomes a Council Chamber. One of their activities is *The Trade Apprentice*, a magazine recording social events, especially those of interest to the Trade Apprentices Association; it also contains articles, in some cases contributed by the lecturers, on "Science in Fiction," "The Wheels of Industry," and other topics for the serious boy reader. A study of the magazine certainly conveys the impression of intimacy and good-fellowship between apprentices and lecturers; there are caricatures and parodies, and accounts of

football matches, with the usual jokes at the expense of the staff.

Football is possible on a large scale in the Trafford Park fields not yet devastated by works. The Westinghouse has a Social Club House in the fields at some little distance from the business centre.

Football stands for the boys' physical training, but the management would be prepared to introduce Swedish exercises if required under the new Education scheme. The supervisor is alive to the importance of educating the possible new masters in industry. Clearly a great deal is being done for these young aristocrats of the labour world.

But in addition rises the problem of the 1200 boy workers in the shops who represent unskilled labour. It is felt that they should be educated also. The Works School, however, has not been devised in their interest, and under present conditions could hardly be adapted to them. Something is actually done for the repetition worker upon nuts and bolts, and lectures upon the whole story of the gun and the importance of the various parts are given. Workmen are encouraged to act as "godfathers" to the boys in their tasks.

Considering the large number of boys concerned, it would seem possible for the Local Authority to organise a system of central classes in such an area.

There are also the women workers. Already, owing to special war conditions, a class has been arranged for the women graduates and for matriculation pupils from High Schools, who are engaged on draughtsmanship and mathematical calculations. They are receiving a short period of intensive training, and the relative proficiency of the younger girls has been remarked upon with interest. Very different is the case of the girl unskilled workers whom we saw at their machines, and upon whose intellectual range the young experts commented very unfavourably. If their work awakens no mental interest and no feeling of personal responsibility, then the continued education of the younger girls should have another kind of approach, and might best be planned by an authority of less bewildering and magical efficiency than that which orders their industrial life.

WINIFRED HINDSHAW.

VII. THE CHURCHES AND THE YOUNG ADOLESCENT

I. PARISHES AND CLUB ORGANISATION

ALL the reports so far presented are concerned either with efforts covering definite educational areas or with single examples of education and training associated with an industry. When we turn our attention to institutions based on religious or philanthropic motives, the difficulty of selection increases. A Church must look after its young people in some way or other, if the community is to continue in permanence; but it may supply them with a good deal of spiritual oversight and opportunity, without making any special provision which we may distinguish as educational. Thus a Senior Sunday School or a Young People's Service is educational in the widest and best sense of the word, but, having regard to the lines on which education has been developed and systematised in our epoch, we do not classify such opportunities as

educational. The Churches themselves recognise the distinction ; and in some cases the supporters of a Church, both clerical and lay, draw a sharp line, and exclude from their province all social opportunities which are not definitely designed for spiritual edification. This is a logical and consistent view ; it simplifies the problems of pastor and flock ; it simplifies, too, the functions of public education authorities, and of other so-called "secular" institutions designed to attract the interest of young people. But a logical and simple policy is not always sound ; it can only be trusted when it covers all the data, and in this case it fails to reckon with the specific nature of youth. A grown man finds it easy to separate his life into compartments : he can be an active member of his Church or Chapel, and, quite separately, play a good game of golf ; to suggest that his golf club should be linked up with the spiritual organisation would be absurd. And yet thousands of football clubs, Scout troops, debating societies, guilds, etc., designed for young people under 18, are associated with religious communities ; and no one cavils at such association. The studies of adolescence

presented in earlier pages of this book explain why the young people welcome the union of secular and spiritual. They are growing into a new mode of life, and have not yet attained our adult capacity for holding apart the different strands of the week's experience. The youth is claimed by home ties, by his factory, by his religion, by his associates and their common pleasures: if two or three of these divergent interests can be identified in the same social circle of companionship and leadership, he finds life more harmonious and less distracting. And so the Church is able to step in and gather round itself various forms of group life to which young people are attracted, especially in cases where the home circle already "belongs" to the Church.

Two types of institution are to be distinguished, according as the original stimulus comes from a single Church itself, or from some larger external organisation.¹ Of such organisations, the Boy Scouts Association is among the best known; almost every religious community, from Roman Catholic to Methodist,

¹ In Birmingham we have an example of an intermediate type. See articles in *The War and the Citizen*, edited by the Rev. G. B. Code, Head Missioner of the Birmingham Street Children's Union. (Hodder & Stoughton. London, 1917.)

welcomes the formation of a Scout troop by its young adherents, who thus show their loyalty not only to Scout Law but to the Church. As a world-wide organisation the Scouts profess no creed except the widest and most catholic ; but any individual troop may be strictly limited to the membership of one confession. This alliance between the institutions of religion and an institution for adolescent training is a triumph of organisation. A similar alliance meets the needs of girls, in the Girl Guide movement.

There exist also an immense variety of institutions of the first type, in which the stimulus has come from the broad policy of an individual Church ; the report on pp. 180-190 below affords illustrations of these.

There are still, however, many parishes in which doubt is felt as to the extent to which social and recreative groups should be included within the sphere of Church activities, even when educative efforts, in the narrower sense of the word, are added to the programme of recreations. In such cases the clergy, while abstaining from starting their own clubs, often give a welcome to other organisations. In the case of girls, for instance, junior branches

of the Girls' Friendly Society, or the Girl Guide companies referred to above, seem to be very effective as an adjunct to a parish. Inquiries concerning Girls' Clubs in the east of London go to show that a good many are not directly connected with any parish, although in most cases the workers are expressly identified either with the Church of England or with some other religious body.

On the other hand, many large parishes in congested areas expend both money and time in maintaining clubs for adolescents. One such parish is here taken as an illustration. Like others, it has its junior and senior clubs for working girls.

The juniors (girls up to 16) flock to the club soon after leaving school. They do not take to the idea of self-government through committees of their own choosing, for they do not yet know what they want; if they choose a committee they will not obey it! They are, on the whole, disorderly; they like to chase one another about and let off steam; they have no respect for buildings and little for people, although they are full of good feeling for the older folk who come to look after them. Their monotonous factory work

tires them and leaves them empty of interest. A few of the quiet type will read books, but the majority prefer dancing or singing—and their taste in songs is not ours! So the outsider can at first merely look on, keeping herself ready to provide help when these junior members get accustomed to the environment and begin to feel the need of self-government. Any attempt to repress them or to produce orderliness, though it may seem the easier and more direct course, will only have the effect of driving away those who are most in need of that which the club life can give.

The seniors (over 16) are much more amenable to discipline, but in reality the girls of this age present a more difficult problem. Some of the roughest of them are not members of the club. After the life of the streets, to which they are already accustomed, club life seems tame; and the majority of those who have joined the club are not of their "set." Among those who do attend, government by committee is getting established. The Club has been open three nights weekly, and classes have been held in drilling, dancing, singing and first aid; dancing being the most

popular. There are opportunities for quiet occupations for those who prefer them. Those who want advice in sewing their clothes can get it; others play games, read books, or walk and talk unceasingly. They are keen to compete against other clubs, and to carry all the insignia of an organisation—a badge, colours, etc.

It is very clear that in such a parish the Local Education Authority should look to these clubs for the supply of tutorial supervision, and that the hours given during the day-time to "secular" instruction should be organised in close co-operation with the leaders and social workers of the Club.

M. M. MILLS.

J. J. FINDLAY.

2. NONCONFORMIST CHURCHES IN LONDON

NOTE.—This Report has been written after exchange of views with certain leading Nonconformist workers among young people, but is not in any sense authorised or sanctioned as an expression of their opinion.

Illustrations of work which, we think, might be incorporated in the programmes of Education Authorities can be found in some

of the Free Churches in any town, and often in country districts. Co-operation with the Education Authority in providing Continued Education may take three forms: (a) providing instructors for individual adolescents, or for quite small groups who by temperament, lack of interest, want of training, or other cause, are unlikely to benefit by the ordinary classes arranged by the Education Committee; (b) (in a few cases) undertaking, in addition to (a), to occupy the whole or the main part of the 320 hours in the case of certain young people; (c) supplying supervisors responsible to the L.E.A. for the right use of the 320 hours.

It is evident that many Churches which might assist in (a) cannot co-operate in (b), and need not in (c). Provided that a fair proportion of the supervisors in an area belong to, or have friendly relations with, Nonconformity, assistance under (a) will in many cases be all that is expected or desired. Bloomsbury Baptist Church, Shaftesbury Avenue, and Crossway Central Mission, New Kent Road, illustrate the position.

At Bloomsbury (Rev. Thomas Phillips, B.A.), in addition to distinctive religious study, and to W.E.A. and Boys' Brigade work, which

we may pass over, the following activities are typical:—French class (20 students, mixed); Shakespeare group (12); psychology (8 boys); physiology (30 girls). These groups, and other interests, attach to the Church over 100 young people between 16 and 21. In addition there is a Girls' Guild, with numbers varying between 40 and 60, consisting of girls from the streets of 13 to 16 years.

The Church lays itself out to attack its adolescent problem by the small group system. I saw four admirable rooms, large enough for twenty people, small enough for two or three. One is used as a reading-room, and is fitted with expanding book-cases. The rooms can be thrown into two by removing connecting partitions, and with the large central hall three large groups can be arranged for simultaneously. But Mr Phillips believes in the small group. "In addition to the four smaller rooms," he cheerfully said, "we can use this room and the next." If a President of the Baptist Union will give up his own study and his secretary's office to accommodate a fifth and sixth group, we need not seek further assurance that he believes adolescence needs this type of organisation.

The leaders or teachers of the study groups are well qualified. A Secondary school mistress teaches physiology; a research student from the University of Wales (a M.A. of London), the Shakespeare; a qualified French-speaking teacher, and in his absence the pastor of the neighbouring French Protestant Church, French. Mr Phillips himself leads the psychology group, and a Bible and discussion group of fifteen lads of 16 to 18 years. These two are groups of working lads. The latter had just asked for a talk about prayer: could it affect the question of war and peace? and for another upon questions of spiritualism. Work is hampered by the war, but Mr Phillips assured me that normally there is practically no limit to the group work he can arrange.

Bloomsbury could offer a home (*a*) to small groups of adolescents who find the restraint of large classes too irksome; (*b*) to those with out-of-the-way interests. It is, *e.g.*, unlikely that any L.C.C. class in psychology would attract or be conveniently accessible to such youths as Mr Phillips draws to the subject, and it is not easy to conceive an L.C.C. discussion class such as his. Yet a supervisor might well discover, here and there, young

people whose minds could be set working in these groups, whom class instruction on usual lines does not grip.

Crossway (Rev. Herbert Kenward) runs classes in cookery (8 or 9 members); dress-making (20); basket work (10); metal work (10); electrical study (6); first aid (15 to 20); shorthand (16); singing and elocution (20); junior and senior swimming clubs for boys and girls (20 in each); junior and senior boys' gymnasium (20 each); junior, intermediate and senior girls' gymnasium (25, 25 and 30): all for ages from 12 to 17. Teachers are voluntary, and, except the physical instructors or instructresses, do not hold special diplomas. In some cases the instructor teaches his own trade (*e.g.* metal work). I omit many activities for older or younger people, though a reading circle (5 or 6 seniors over 18) may be mentioned. There are five rooms suitable for small groups, six larger (for, say, 30 people), and two large halls for gymnastic or other large groups. Here again work is hindered by the war, but normally Mr Kenward could without difficulty extend the number of classes conducted in small groups.

In each case I gather (i) that a need not met by L.C.C. classes is felt to exist; (ii) that the method found effective to meet this need is that of the small group, especially in intellectual work; (iii) that a wide variety of interests must be met; (iv) that results are so encouraging that multiplication of groups would willingly be attempted. I think I may say that proposals for co-operation with the L.E.A. would at least be sympathetically received.

It will be noticed that Bloomsbury inclines to intellectual interests, Crossway to manual, technical and physical. It seems to me that Bloomsbury might do excellent work under (a) of my first paragraph; while Crossway, with the addition of reading circles and other groups for liberal studies, might act under (b)—*e.g.* girls at the cash desk, or helping at home, might spend their eight hours a week wholly at the Mission. A supervisor might have his office at both Churches, not to confine his attention to the students attending there, but so as to work in the closest touch with the ministers in charge.

It may safely be said that denominational objections will not be raised by any Non-

conformist parents to such arrangements for their children's education. From the standpoint of the Churches concerned this "part-time education" would be regarded in the case of some young people as comprising the whole connection between them and the Church. In other cases, where with parental consent the young people wished to join in the worship and religious activities of the Church, it would be looked upon as part of a closer and more continuous connection. In this event so many character-forming pursuits are opened out by a progressive Church organisation that this form of education seems the most balanced, complete and intimate of all forms at present available for a large proportion of young wage-earners.¹

Finally, as to provision of workers. A difficulty arises if the study is to be wholly conducted in the day-time, before 7 P.M. Non-professional men teachers

¹ On Church organisation for this purpose I may refer to "The Church and the Adolescent Problem" (*Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, September 1914); and *The War, the Church and the Adolescent* (Bale Sons and Daniellson, 6d.). On the relation between Sunday work and weekday activities, "Intermediate Department Teaching" (*Wesleyan Methodist Sunday School Magazine*, 1914. J. Williams Butcher, Ludgate Circus Buildings, E.C.).

or group leaders will be scarce; but many women are thoroughly competent. They should be sought out and convinced of their competency. I am sure that in numberless cases the enthusiasm and common-sense of the lay person is a greater impetus to adolescence than the special knowledge and technical skill of the professional teacher hampered by conditions of class organisation. Both professional and lay teachers are needed: the question is how the two types can be employed in co-operation—a question wholly personal and local, to be answered on the spot by the supervisors and those working with them.

Finding supervisors is the most delicate task of all, but I am sure that Churches of all denominations have the right men and women, if only they can draw them into the work. The Churches should, in this view, make it a special objective to discover and introduce to the Local Education Authority men and women qualified for these posts, who, if appointed, will work with professional teachers and others specially chosen for this very special work. They will be appointed, not because of their religious profession, but on account of their power to handle and influence

young people ; and proof of their fitness will be sought in the work they have already done in their own town. They will be public officials who are also, but not officially, members of a Church : but they will engage in this enterprise because they deem it an expression of their Christianity, and because their Church in calling them, and they in responding, recognise that the opportunities created by the Act are a direct challenge to organised religion. If Education Committees can be persuaded to vest wide discretionary powers in these officials, and to appoint them in such numbers that they can cope with the individual problems presented to them, it must be difficult for suitable people to resist the call.

The Churches will need to attack the question upon two sides, on the one hand surveying their resources and mobilising their reserves of potential teachers and supervisors ; and on the other hand working to create such a state of public opinion as will ensure that sufficient supervisors, sufficiently trusted, are appointed by the Local Authority. On both sides much persuasion will be necessary. On the one hand, people well fitted to act as

leaders of small groups or as tutors in special studies are often unconscious of their powers : they will need persuading that their help is necessary and valuable. Educated people throughout the country will have to be brought to realise the magnitude of the teaching task projected by the Bill, and the importance of what is now regarded as informal, amateur teaching, both intrinsically—because of its informality, its freshness, its spontaneity—and circumstantially—until the teaching profession can adjust itself in numbers and method to the new situation. English society embraces no organisation so well qualified to pursue and demonstrate this thought as the Church. On the other hand, Education Authorities must ensure that assistance is efficient. For this, as indicated before, they must rely upon their supervisors, accepting their assurance that the best arrangements practicable have been made to bring each adolescent into contact with the teachers and studies most likely to inspire him and draw him out.

Material considerations involved in employing teachers and supervisors, as well as in details of co-operation, are matters for

adjustment by Board of Education, Local Authority and Church; and success will depend upon the reasonableness of all three. Notwithstanding difficulties, I dare to believe that, if the sympathy of Education Authorities equals that of certain representative Free Churchmen with whom I have exchanged views, some form of experimental co-operation will not be impossible to achieve.

W. C. WATSON.

VIII. THE SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF FARMING FOLK

THE reports presented in previous chapters offer illustrations of efforts in active operation at the present time, efforts which may be expanded in the near future, but not superseded; we trust, on the contrary, that they will be made part and parcel of the National System. But they are all found in the cities: when we turn to the country-side the field is barren. The great majority of children in rural districts cease their schooling at 12 or 13; apart from what is provided in Sunday schools, there is practically nothing to hold them after Standard VI. is attained. Night schools are kept going in a few of the larger villages, but the numbers in attendance are so small as to be negligible. It would be consistent with the plan of this volume to omit further reference to village life, since our chief object is to present the reader with evidence of educational enterprise: but the problem is too important to be

disregarded; the progress of rural England is vital to national well-being, not wholly or chiefly in order to grow corn and cattle, but to grow a finer race of men and women; we therefore offer a short chapter in order to elucidate the main points at issue.

I. One cannot forecast the amount of opposition which will be forthcoming to Clause 10 from the representatives of Agriculture in the Houses of Parliament. There will be resistance even to the extension of the leaving age to 14; there will be still more resistance to the obligation of partial attendance from 14 to 18. On the other hand, it will be a grave calamity if any section of English youth is exempted from an obligation which by its very nature should be universal in its operation. The basic principle of the law is to be sought in the need of youth for comradeship under supervision up to 18 years of age: if any home is so isolated that a youth cannot go several times a week to a class, he can at any rate go once a week to a tutor and can undertake some supervised study; or he can for a short period in each year be released wholly from the farm and attend all day long

as he used to do when a little boy--thus putting in thirty hours a week for a few weeks at a period of the year when the farm can spare him most easily.

2. While we urge the importance of enforcing the national obligation, we cannot deny the strength of the case presented by the farmer. He says, quite rightly, that the Bill is a townsman's Bill, planned to cope with the disastrous conditions of civilisation produced by city life. These conditions happily do not affect the farmer's boy: he lives in fresh air and gets abundant physical exercise, as well as practical experience which is an education in itself. The cities, as the chapters of this book show, are ready for the Bill, since they already possess resources both social and technological on which the nation can rely. The country-side has no such resources; its schools are not even equipped with teachers adequate to hold boys and girls up to 14.

The farmer's position is therefore a pretty strong one: he has always been regarded as reactionary in matters of schooling, but he can fairly reply that what is offered to his children, or to his labourers' children, is not worth

while ; its general effect has been to remove country boys and girls to the city. If, as some allege,¹ this migration to the city is inevitable, then the farmer has a still stronger case against the teacher. Why should he bear the cost of educating children to be used up in city industries ? If the only effect of schooling is to increase the discontent of country children with country life then we can scarcely blame the farmer if he abides by his distrust.

We cannot accept any description of farm work for boys and girls which ranks it at the level of " blind-alley " employment in cities, for these last are vagrant and often unwholesome both for body and mind ; nevertheless the argument from the rural point of view is sound, and was to some extent admitted by the Consultative Committee in 1909.² The real reply must be based on the adoption by the country of a new attitude towards agriculture as a whole. The agricultural revival

¹ See the acute criticism by Mr Pullinger, Director of Education for Wiltshire. " For 50 per cent. of country lads in normal times, agriculture is a blind alley." (Choice of Employment Conference, leaflet published by the Board of Education, 1917, as Circular 1012.)

² *Report on Continued Education* [Cd. 4757]. 2 vols. 1s. 6d. each.

involves the nation in a policy of "protection" which does at least three things: it brings more money to the farmer and the labourer; it increases the demand for labour; it increases the demand for a more intelligent type of labour. In return for these benefits the nation can fairly require the farmer to make some sacrifice: a portion of the enhanced profits must be returned for the good of the children. The nation is interested in the agricultural revival, it is prepared to pay more for its food, not only because our safety from submarines is thereby secured but because we are concerned, in the national interest, for the education of country folk: the return we expect for our sacrifices on behalf of agriculture is the growth of a finer race of countrymen and countrywomen; we are glad if farming folk are better off when we who live in cities pay more for milk and mutton; but they must spend part of their new capital on their children, whether these abide in the village or migrate to the town.

3. The first line of reform is to promote the general social and intellectual vigour of the country-side. During the last two years efforts

have been made to organise Women's Institutes somewhat after the Canadian model ; such plans should be associated with the village school, which would thus become a social and recreative " centre " for adults as well as for boys and girls up to 18. At least two well-qualified teachers, one of them a man, should be found in each such centre, occupied only partially in the teaching of little boys and girls. Clearly, if this transformation of the country-side is to be the chief aim, a new type of rural teacher must be created. The teachers must be the comrades of farmers, clergy and all other enlightened folk in the promotion of the agricultural revival ; teachers by profession but farmers by taste, liaison officers between the culture of the academy and the toils of the farm-yard.

Hence the second line of reform looks to the creation of a new race of country teachers. The existing training colleges are incapable of such a revolutionary adventure ; the best they can do is to offer a course with a " rural bias," which in practice has meant academic specialisation in rural botany or chemistry, with perhaps a course in gardening. The Consultative Committee reported against any

attempt to establish a new type of training to suit country conditions: but although in many respects their conclusions were admirable, it must be remembered that they were all city people, who did not realise, as the nation is at last beginning to realise, what the renewal of life on the country-side can achieve. They doubted, for example, whether a college established to train young men and women to be farmers as well as teachers would find students willing to take the course; or, supposing they were induced to come into the country, whether they would devote their lives to rural service. They forgot that at all times there has been a counter-migration, "back to the land"; that there have always been a few, both young and old, who prefer to be poor in a village rather than well off in a city: some who follow this stream do so for reasons of health, others because their tastes incline them countrywards.

Since the war began this tendency has been strengthened by causes which we need not pause to describe: a right perspective of the situation can only be attained when we view agriculture as a mode of life which concerns the city as well as the country-side. The

revival concerns the whole nation ; it is not only an affair of farmers and landlords. Hence if a rural county were to establish a thorough-going farm college for teachers, seeking for its students chiefly in the cities, it would soon have a long waiting list. And its success would depend not only upon the willingness of county authorities to give a generous support to the teachers but also upon the leadership of a staff devoted heart and soul to the welfare of the English village.

4. The third line of reform is concerned with rural science and technology. In this matter the Board of Education has already made a fair start. It recognises that the upper standards of village schools must offer the boys and girls a curriculum more in touch with the needs of their occupation ; and this not only in farming proper, but in the various subsidiary crafts (including tools and machinery) which are necessary to the new agriculture. On this account alone the village school will need to be strengthened ; and when the burden of Continued Education is imposed, no one can question that it will need to be transformed, as we have said, into a social and

technical institute served by more than one teacher, and competent to take the lead in the new era which, one would fain hope, will soon transform the forlorn aspect of our depopulated rural areas.

For let it be well understood that the agricultural revival is a necessary feature in any sound scheme of reconstruction. Its design is not to grow more wheat (although that has proved, in this disastrous epoch, to be necessary) but to grow finer men and women. The city needs the country : County Councils and Borough Councils may ignore each other's policy, but the nation is beginning to realise what we have lost by creating a gulf between the two. Men of wealth seek to bridge this gulf for themselves and their families, but the industrial revolution has prevented the people at large from combining the benefits of urban and of rural life. The foundations of a new system of rural education can only be laid by reversion to the first principles of human nature : these appeal to us for space and open air, as foundations not only for health but for art and morals ; and for simple honest labour as the foundation on which the child begins to understand his place in the world.

Agriculture is not a trade ; it is a life experience : those who share its gifts, even in a small degree, are close to the fountain-head of reconstruction.

J. J. FINDLAY.

APPENDIX

THREE NOTES ON THE PSYCHOLOGY OF ADOLESCENCE

[The following are extracts from notes which were sent some years ago to the editor by a Christian minister whose name is reserved only because he is in India and permission cannot be secured in time. They have been found to be exceptionally helpful to a class of students to whom they have been read: and although they were written offhand in a letter, without any thought of publication, we believe that they will be accepted as a unique contribution to a most difficult theme.

The only text-book of an elementary kind which treats of these themes is Slaughter: *The Adolescent* (Allen & Unwin). Dr Slaughter's chapters well repay careful study, and may be regarded as an expansion of much that is set out in the earlier part of this volume. The notes that follow treat of themes on which Dr Slaughter's exposition needs supplementing.]

I. *Choice and Habit*

THERE is one characteristic of the juvenile mind which is cardinal in all considerations of how to treat child or youth. It is strongest in the child period, but extends into the adolescent years and has an important bearing on the problem of the instinct of reserve of that period.

The characteristic is that the child expects to be ruled—recognises itself as subject to authority—and, so far from resenting its subjection, feels it natural and helpful. This view of the juvenile's

position is extensively ignored to-day ; sometimes it is even repudiated. . . . That severity of a past generation went a little way beyond nature ; this tenderness of a present generation is wholly in the teeth of nature. For surely the cardinal fact about the young of any species is its dependence : its normal attitude is one of accepting, not of selecting ; in spite of all the theories of the rights of individuality, it is largely moulded from without. . . . If we fail to train it, for instance, in such and such habits, in order that when adult it may be free to adopt or reject them by intelligent choice, then we shall find that we have trained it to the habit of going habitless, and so given as real a bias as any that active training could have given. Or ignore a subject (Art, say) in order that the child, when grown up, may come to it without prepossessions ; and you find that you have taught it a great indifference to the subject and inflicted a great incapacity for it. When the lad faces life he will do so—in spite of all efforts to leave him free—fettered by a complete outfit of habitudes, acquired tastes, prepossessions, aptitudes, etc. . . . It is not merely futile to try to leave the child untrammelled out of respect for its present and future individuality ; 'it does serious harm to the child-nature to call upon it for frequent exercise of choice. It is surely an outstanding fact of the psychology of childhood and adolescence that the instinct of freedom, the claim to choose, is almost dormant in the normal child, and even during adolescence is only slowly emerging. The child will have its likes and dislikes ; it may be wilful,

and even rebellious. But it recognises the assertion of its own will to be rebellion ; it will not dispute the lawful authority of parents and masters even while trying to resist or evade it. Where its tastes and desires assert themselves in conflict with authority it is not so much by self-conscious exercise of choice and exertion of will as by unpremeditated ebullition of feelings which it has not yet identified with its ego.

This quiescence of the faculty of choice is a wise provision of nature ; for during these years the faculty is little needed, and the energy of the child's being is left free to be spent on development in other directions. . . . The fashion of to-day in the training of children seems to be to arouse their faculty of choice by perpetual appeals to it. . . . This precocious development of the choice faculty seems to me to do very great harm among the present generation of young people. . . . It accounts, I believe, for a great deal of the nervous strain which children of the middle and upper classes so often show. . . . The normal child finds it much easier to have life planned for him and be told what to do than to have to look at alternatives and search within himself for reasons for preferring one of them. And there is moral mischief as well as physical and mental strain. Under this abnormal treatment the child is forced to discover its ego, that naturally would remain hidden for years, and it finds that the grown-ups mysteriously refrain from exerting the authority it expects them to use ; the consequence is that it becomes self-conscious, self-centred and self-willed—a complete egoist.

2. Religious and Sexual Excitement

We will consider two sections of the problem "How to treat the Adolescent": the sections which urge (1) that the adolescent's instinct of reserve should be scrupulously respected, and (2) that he should be shielded from "religious excitement," as being, among other things, contributory to sexual excitement. . . . Let us take the second point first.

The fact that the adolescent is intense about everything indicates that, at this stage, intensity is natural and good, not (in normal natures) harmful. To forbid religious excitement to him is to forbid religious development—during the very period when, as all students of the spiritual life agree, very important processes of spiritual development are to be expected. Of course, excess of excitement is possible, and, in some temperaments, has to be carefully guarded against; but I protest against the view, far too common among educationists, that whenever the adolescent has been stirred to religious excitement he has been wronged. The wrong is rather when he is allowed to pass through the adolescent period without being stirred to religious excitement.

As regards the relation of religious and sexual excitement, it is undeniable that there is some sort of affinity between the two. (Their relationship is that they are in some sort alternative satisfactions of certain cravings of our nature. The sexual impulses of the adolescent, on the mental and æsthetic

plane, have a large element of the mystical, of aspiration after the ideal.) Is this affinity a reason for averting religious excitement from the adolescent, lest it should run over into the adjoining sex region? This is a possible danger, though not nearly so serious a danger in the case of the adolescent as of the adult, since excitement is the native air of the adolescent and he can hold more of it, so to speak, without overflowing than the adult can. But the same fact suggests a more serious danger in the opposite direction. Repress the religious tendencies of the adolescent—or even merely fail to encourage them, on the ground that excitement will attend them—and there is a very real risk of diverting into the sexual region the instincts and cravings that would have found natural expression in religion. There are few natures, if any, in which the capacity for the spiritual (the ideal: the antithesis of the material conception of life and being) is not ready to assert itself and respond to cultivation during adolescence. One of three things happens. It is permitted expression—even crude expression—through the various idealisms which youth invents for itself, and, most helpfully, through religion; or, if circumstances are adverse, or the spiritual tendency is weaker than the normal, it atrophies, and the lad develops into a blankly materialist man; or, if the spiritual instinct is strong and the religious expression natural to it is denied, it will turn to the lower mysticism of sex for the satisfaction that it should have found in the higher mysticism of religion.

3. *Adolescent Reserve*

To come now to the question of what is due to the adolescent's instinct of reserve.

It is a very real and important fact of adolescence—this shrinking from invasion of his personality. Yet it does not follow that the lad is to be left severely alone to "find himself." There are two important ways of acceptable access to him.

First, though shy, he is keenly conscious of his need of enlightenment and guidance, and while he would resent having it intruded upon him *ad hunc*, as it were, he is alertly ready to give attention to it if it happens his way without being avowedly aimed at him individually. He is hungry, but will only feed as the birds do, when the crumbs are scattered and the scatterer is out of sight. Hence the method for parents, teachers, pastors to follow is to take care that in unobtrusive ways—by books, sermons, companionships, family example and conversation etc.—there is plenty of sound guidance, on the subjects a lad is awaking to at this time, within his reach. So long as he can look on it—the sermon, book, etc.—as addressed to lads in general, he will not resent it. Attention to it is his own act, not something forced upon him; and even if he does not follow the guidance he will at any rate have given it its full chance of influencing him. It needs much skill and wisdom thus to surround youth unobtrusively with the stimuli, restraints, explanations, warnings, attractions, that fit these critical years; yet the need is so serious, and they themselves are so con-

scious of it (though so shy about it), that no pains should be spared to supply it. To do nothing at all because they insist on being let alone is to let them starve because they will not feed from your hand.

Second, although the adolescent's attitude is, in general, one of strict reserve, and of extreme sensitiveness against attempted intrusion, yet there come times in his years of "storm and stress" when he desperately wants a confidant. The crisis may be a religious one, or intellectual, or at another time in regard to social relationships or life ambitions. At one time and another, in regard to one department of his developing life and another, when the storm reaches its climax, the longing to unbosom himself and to have the help of an understanding and sympathetic senior often becomes overpowering. The attempt to force his confidence, even at such a time, would very likely be resented. Even if you go half-way to meet him, he may shrink back into his shell. Yet he will be immensely helped, and grateful, if at such a crisis you can just make such imperceptible approach as will enable him to break through the barriers and cast himself upon you. For the adolescent, at such a crisis, to find no one in whom he may confide with utter unreserve is at least as great a misfortune as to be having his reserve perpetually assailed by unwise intruders. The lesson of this for his seniors surely is, that they should so demean themselves as to make the lad feel that they would be "the right sort"—understanding and sympathetic—if he should ever want to confide in them. To win this position with a lad—a position

he very likely does not know that you hold, till the need comes upon him—requires prolonged care and pains. To refrain from interference, though good within limits, is very incomplete without positive action, and action making as constant and serious demands on mind and character as are made at any stage of the relations of age and youth.

. . . The lad during those critical years is seldom open to approach by way of special treatment directed to his particular situation. . . . If he has been allowed to grow normally, he is still prepared to take it as a matter of course that his life should, in the main, be ordered for him by his seniors. Towards the close of the period he comes to look for growing freedom, concessions in the direction of self-government; but in general he still expects to be governed, and indeed finds a (dimly realised) comfort, amid the perplexities that are beginning to throng upon him, in having a large part of his life prescribed for him by authority. Quiet, regular maintenance of authority is one of the resources of the "storm and stress" period. It limits both the area and the violence of the storms. The boat is steadied in the rapids if it enters them with the momentum acquired in smoother waters and if the oars still rise and dip with precision. Moreover, under the stamp of authority, the lad will accept much direction that he might resentfully reject if it were offered to him as advice.

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(1) To provide means of active study and co-operation for persons (and especially for parents and teachers) interested in educational reform—that is, in the reform of school life and teaching.

NOTE.—The Association is not concerned with criticism of the public administration of education, or with any form of political or religious agitation.

(2) To associate such persons by means (a) of a Summer Meeting, and opportunities for study or conference at other periods of the year; (b) of a Circular as the organ of the Association.

(3) To publish, as occasion seems to require, principles of reform in education.

NOTE.—Membership of the Association does not imply acceptance of any declaration of principles drawn up by the Committee.

{Three reports have been published, in addition to the present volume.}

(4) To take active steps towards the practical working out of principles of reformed education, (a) by reporting in the Circular any efforts in schools and other institutions where such principles are being adopted or tried, and (b) by endeavouring to set on foot at least one school in close connection with this Association.

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