

T H E S I S.

The Establishment
of
STATE INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION
in
FRANCE.

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PREFACE.

There exists no historical conspectus of French intermediate education; and without that, it is impossible to appreciate its true relation to the present state system. In supplying that want, this study incidentally makes a contribution to the wider question of the limitations inherent in state action. Moreover, previous treatises, whether by official observers or private publicists, have been static in character, summarising current legislation and statistics, but failing to show intermediate as a living growth, or to bring out its social implications. Our endeavour to make good those defects has led us to seek the roots of the official structure in society and the schools themselves; and in so doing, we have established an Anglo-French link which has completely escaped previous notice.

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INTRODUCTORY.

The story of public intermediate education in France has not been written. Legislative and administrative material exists in such profusion for the French system as a whole, that it has almost inevitably formed the hunting-ground of commentators, native and foreign alike, to the virtual exclusion of other documents. But if such evidence yields only part of the story even in the main branches of instruction, its incompleteness is still more marked in intermediate proper for the reason that, from the legislative point of view, it was for half a century somewhat of a failure. Laws were passed with apparently little or no permanent sequel in the life of the schools; yet these laws have constituted the stock-in-trade of writer after writer, being usually taken at their face value, and therefore permitted to create quite a false impression. Labels have been accepted as denoting some modern conception which, even if it had existed in the mind of the legislator, was not in harmony with contemporary life. Thus we find in reputable publicists such statements as : "M. Guizot was the first to appreciate the need of something beyond the very elementary schools, and he tried to establish these higher schools as early as 1833" - an averment which is at variance with the facts on more than one point. Guizot himself, as will be shown, cannot be completely exonerated of responsibility for the misunderstanding in this particular instance; but

that merely emphasises the necessity for reading laws into their social and political setting before attempting to interpret them.

This study has therefore been suggested by the discrepancies in published works, particularly with regard to the official objective behind higher primary, and its relation to other reforms. It may be safely affirmed that in no branch of French education will labels prove more confusing than in that which we have designated "intermediate". By that we mean a general education for the early adolescent period from eleven or twelve, devised for pupils who, after two to four years, have to go out and earn a living, or proceed after that general culture, and with wage-earning in view, to a special school for a technical course preparatory to some specific calling. The subject trenches on the one side upon primary and on the other upon secondary, major interests which have in the past dwarfed it in the eyes of the educational writer. Its importance however cannot be denied, whether on democratic or economic grounds, despite its late appearance as something more than a truncated secondary course. It has moreover a topical interest, bearing upon the problems involved in Scotland's organisation of Advanced Divisions, and England's "modern schools" of the Hadow Report.

The labels referred to (primaire supérieur, spécial, intermédiaire, professionnel, industriel, français,

secondaire spécial, etc.) sufficiently indicate the chequered career of the instruction with which we are concerned. In a sense, it can never have an independent existence; for, even after making due allowance for the new outlook that comes with adolescence, it is in the last resort but the consolidation of elementary. Its growth as a branch of the French public system is just the history of its evolution towards that; but it is so closely related to the early stages of secondary, and has so often been mistaken for apprenticeship, that all three, primary, secondary, and technical schools, have contributed towards its establishment and entered into its composition. The emphasis shifts from one to the other according to circumstances; yet it retains an identity which has only been lost sight of through the inconsequent treatment meted out to it.

Prior to the Revolution, theoretical approaches to the diversification of education were directed against a uniform and exceedingly narrow college curriculum. Practical innovators on the other hand had usually some particular trade in view, and the institutions established by them were in consequence purely vocational. Intermediate education proper could not become practical politics until primary was relatively widespread. The latter had a long battle to fight even after the State, under the inspiration of the 18th. century philosophers and the idealists of the Revolution, was led to regard the education of the

people as an obligation upon those set over the country's destinies; but long before that battle was won, whether on democratic or nationalist lines, economic progress had allied itself with democracy and nationalism to mark a middle point at which large numbers would normally terminate their formal studies. It is natural to expect that the progress of elementary education would determine the fortunes of this intermediate grade; yet, though that may be largely true in France today, and though the early legislator christened it as if he considered it to be true in his day also, the secondary school and its social implications were nevertheless the conditioning factors in the initial stages of the new grade. The surprise is that the legislator himself expected that to be so. He gave [intermediate] a superior designation as if it betokened progress from below; for a specific social purpose, he permitted it to assume inferior status in the secondary school as a second best to a classical education. It was part of the price to be paid for a centralised system that a name should be found for the new-comer; and the name had an important bearing on its reception. Still, the fundamental weakness of those early schemes, as can be seen by comparison with those of today, lay in the fact that the administrator was seeking to regularise the country's educational equipment before he had sufficient scholastic types at his disposal to meet society's needs. Those needs were multiplying at a rate with which

educational provision on a national scale could not keep pace. The result was that the symmetry of the general system, so dear to the central authority, failed to fit in with economic requirements and social prejudices.

In general terms therefore, the story of intermediate instruction in France, too often regarded as a history of legislation, goes to show that legislation may be nullified by forces outwith the control of the law-maker. It has been said that in English educational development "the individual initiates, public enthusiasm vivifies, the State spreads", and that it would have been useless to provide a complete system of secondary for the rural population of England sixty years ago. That is no less true of France. "What the English have achieved in the department of public education has been gained by a process of gradual evolution, by experiment, by opportunities, by successes and failures, by compromises and concessions, and not by any predetermined plan or clear forecast of the future....And so if by slow degrees institutions, though they seem to be clumsy and unsymmetrical in form, prove to be convenient, and to suit well the peculiar genius, the traditions, the wants, the sentiments, the religious convictions of the nation, we may be well content to use them, and to reconcile ourselves to their uncertain origin and to some at least of their inevitable defects and limitations." ("Education in the 19th. Century," ed. R.D.Roberts.Lecture by Sir J.Fitch)

But is the method of advance very different even under State auspices, when its action is directed to a new venture which the public is not capable of comprehending? In the case of France an affirmative answer would seem justifiable from the legislation in force at any one period. That assurance however is rudely shaken when, by standing back for a wider view, we find much of the legislation nugatory or cancelling out.⁽¹⁾ It does not follow that, given well-conceived models and elaborate regulations, the whole country will range itself in line with a minister's scheme. The national genius, as manifested in other spheres, may seem to postulate that procedure; an executive somewhat alien to the national temper may see in such methods the only chance of its own perpetuation; but can it ever hope to impose its will effectively in education unless its theories are in harmony with the forces at work in society? Those forces had become much more complex in the 19th. century, so complex and so aggressive as to shake to their very foundations all accepted definitions of the ideal in education. The Middle Ages and the Renaissance had no hesitation in formulating the end of educational activity; the 19th. century could claim no such assurance. In France, as

(1) 'Our education laws supersede, rather than supplement, each other.' Gréard, p.2, preface, 'Législation de l'Instruction Primaire.'

elsewhere, verbal solution of the problem was rife, especially in the secondary sphere - the legislator considered he had sufficiently defined his mission by proclaiming his intention to make "men". But whether he set out to make "men", or "citizens", or something else, his decrees, when they presumed to define these, could not always prescribe satisfactorily for their nurture; neither could they become living instruments of culture until they corresponded to mental and social attitudes in the school and the community. "Everything depends upon a clear view as to what the law can do, and what it cannot do....No law can give life; it does not reach the inner being and vital power of the school; its real function and power is in the right of protecting and stimulating to do one's duty." (1) Wiese is thinking of the evils inherent in the Prussian system which, however, he saw as a healthy organism, whereas the French system, in his estimate, was but an artificial imitation.

In England, Matthew Arnold's influence through the labours of his leisure hours was not greatly enhanced by his denunciations as an official; that of his father does not seem to have suffered from his attention having been mainly devoted to one school. 'The living force of

(1) Wiese, p.268, 'German Letters on English Education.'
1877.

education has always sprung from movements of the human mind and aspirations of the human heart; legislation and administration are mere tools which these movements and aspirations use." (1) French educationists, when free to speak out, have not spared the state machine, however strident the voice of apologists in justification of it. "It would seem that any big administrative system, when left to itself, must needs continue along the same lines, condemned to reproduce for all time the same types." (2) Or again : "Neither the Grand Master of the University, nor the Superior Council, nor the rectors nor proviseurs can perfect methods : they can only encourage, welcome and generalise improvements effected spontaneously by the initiative of the teachers. The master is the living force of any teaching corporation. Reduce him to the rôle of an instrument of transmission and you change the whole teaching body into a mechanism which can neither be improved nor renewed." (3) The same cry for freedom rings throughout the whole century, that century so full of changes entailing adaptation in all existing institutions, and making it more difficult to define "collective best self", "national right reason." "Liberty is the source

(1) R.L.Archer, p.147, "Secondary Education in the 19th. Century." 1921.

(2) Michel Bréal, p.269, "Quelques mots sur l'Instruction Publique en France." 1872.

(3) Michel Bréal, p.22, preface, "Excursions Pédagogiques" 2nd. edit. 1884.

of reform. Not that the State is condemned to be static; but were it alone, it would have difficulty in moving forward. It is a powerful cumbrous machine that cannot move without disturbing many interested parties, and has no right to hazard experiments." (1)

While these observations are generally applicable to the State as educator, they are subject to qualification in proportion as the State, in its institutions, has progressed towards democracy. The greater the sympathy between government and governed, the greater the responsiveness of the machine in eventual reform. "When compulsory action taken by a State legislature (in America) was too advanced for the general run of local communities, the possession of immediate control over their lawmakers made it possible for the majority of the citizens to secure repeal of obnoxious school legislation at the next meeting of the legislature....Then, after a new period of educating the public and of organising support, the friends of educational improvement would secure the passage of laws that achieved the lost cause of ten years before." (2) Too often in France the machinery was pressed into the service of a political régime requiring to bolster up its unrepresentative character; at other times

(1) Jules Simon, p.348, "L'Ecole." 1865.

(2) Reisner, p.338, "Nationalism and Education since 1789." 1927.

the impatience for tangible and immediate results led to precipitate interference with tender growths which demanded nothing more than to be left alone. Such conditions might be compatible with the dignity and prestige which Arnold desiderated for English schools; they could not endow France with a new type of education without those very successes and failures, compromises and concessions which are often regarded as the preserve of individualism.

If we discount certain aberrations attributable to political motive, the residuum in French secondary activity of the 19th. century falls naturally into two tendencies, the one towards the equivalence of subjects, the other towards the definition and supply of an intermediate content. It is with the latter that we are concerned here. Reisner, looking at France as a whole, finds nationalism and democracy to have been the major influences at work in the building of the educational edifice, and therefore in her case he scarcely touches upon the third of the great movements conditioning school development, namely the industrial revolution, or, as he puts it, "the transformation of economic and social life which has been brought about by the application of a series of important mechanical inventions to the arts of communication and to the processes of the manufacture and distribution of goods."(op,cit. p,3) But if a qualified democratic movement initiated the official campaign for widespread

elementary instruction, vocational requirements, that is the industrial revolution, played a part in intermediate from its very inception. Guizot himself, less impressed perhaps than others by that aspect, could not forget that the elements of practical geometry "constitute the preparation for every industrial calling." (1) Just as "the economic revolution, with its extensive application of science, art, and superior forms of management to the business of everyday life, calls for the education of all the people in order that they may be efficient economic units, productive and prosperous for the individual satisfaction as well as for national strength," (2) so also does it call for the education of many of the people up to the point when they can become efficient foremen, possessing at least the skill of the ordinary workman together with greater adaptability and knowledge of men and business. The range of the population here envisaged is difficult to define, because of the varied demands made upon it by the many different callings; but it has to be catered for, and France has made the attempt in different ways, yet always under the direct impulsion of the industrial revolution. Granted that Reisner is correct in showing France as typifying an "accomodation between the demands of nationalism and those of democracy," the

(1) Chamber of Deputies, 1833.

(2) Reisner, op.cit., p. 3.

fact remains that throughout the century, the claims of an industrialised society became increasingly insistent. She was slower to satisfy those claims in any reasonable measure, than to act upon nationalistic or democratic ambitions; but that was largely because the former opened up new vistas which were hard to bring within the ambit of effective government action - a serious obstacle in a country where "the spirit of initiative and association is as feeble and sterile as it is developed in England."⁽¹⁾ Under pressure of economic necessity, the demand in the country for a sound intermediate education was very real, whatever the motives of the ruling power in attempting to meet it; and the measures adopted had important repercussions in the whole educational system. They were bound up with the breaking of the classical monopoly and the regularisation of apprentice training; while the necessity for a solid foundation on which to build was eventually instrumental in forcing up the standard of elementary instruction.

One other point is worthy of note in an introductory statement. The history of 19th. century France falls into line with that of the remainder of Europe in being a tale of striving after greater freedom through democratic institutions. Educationally it takes on a distinctive character through the part played by the Church in the

(1) Pompée before a Commission of Inquiry, 1863.

evolution of the State. Mutual tolerance, sullen acquiescence, open antagonism alternated throughout the period in the controversy over their political and social adjustment; and round this controversy raged the storms of religious, philosophical and educational debate. As Anglicanism in England tended to range itself with the conservation of privilege and the status quo in education, so in France the clerical party was on the side of tradition, continuing to honour Latin and taking little part in developing modern practical instruction. For this reason, if we except clerical resistance to state interest in girls' secondary education, it may be said that the religious complexity running through school problems does not so directly affect the establishment of intermediate. The State was here aiming at something in which the Church had less inclination to follow as a competitor. As its champions often advised, it was strengthening its hold upon the population by providing something different from the fare offered by its educational rival.

... ..

*Comparison
to them in each case*

THE RESTORATION.

Not till about 1880 did primary education in France achieve anything like the development which secondary had enjoyed for some three centuries. The latter owed its strength to its very simplicity, attributable to the fact that it catered for an élite whose needs were not too diverse. The same forces however which brought about the Revolution were also undermining the educational structure, and found expression in the numerous schemes strewing the path of the revolutionary governments. While the more idealistic of these will always interest the educationist as monuments of vision and comprehensiveness, he will travel far through France's troubled history before encountering even partial realisation of their dreams. The Consul did not choose to give primary education the attention claimed for it by his immediate predecessors; while the failure of the "écoles centrales" was a distinct set-back to the idea of a non-latin secondary course parallel and equal to the classical. This did not prevent special courses appearing here and there even under the Empire. Sainte-Barbe introduced in the year XII ~~classes~~ classes in architecture and commerce, the latter of which survived for 30 years. (1) In 1812 the lycée at Pau instituted courses in Spanish and book-keeping. (2) The movement gathered strength under the Restoration, when

(1) Quicherat, p.72, Vol.3, "Histoire de Sainte-Barbe." 1864.

(2) G.Weill, p.109, "Histoire de l'Enseignement Secondaire en France" 1921.

principals of small communal colleges closely in touch with realities felt constrained to give some satisfaction to individual needs. Even when their sympathies and academic qualifications may have been all in favour of classical education, the fact that they were dependent upon local supply for the maintenance of their schools stimulated them to consider local conditions. Epinal secured approval in 1827 for a school of geometry, mechanics and mechanical drawing as an annexe to the college; Saint-Mihiel set up commercial classes under similar conditions.(1) Such practical innovations were accompanied and encouraged by activity on the part of publicists in and outside the University. A.Rendu, Fontane's right-hand man during the infancy of Napoleon's organisation, was in 1821 urging the claims of practical instruction,(2) and, as a member of the Royal Council, encouraging those cities which were attempting to establish it. Among others in which he interested himself were Limoges (a school for trades and business men), Toulouse (a course in commercial theory and practice), le Havre (a school of commerce and languages), Mulhouse (a preparatory course in physical science and art leading up to its higher technical school).(3)

(1) G.Weill, op.cit., p.110.

(2) "Système d'instruction approprié aux besoins des classes de la société qui se livrent aux professions industrielles et manufacturières."

(3) Buisson, Dictionnaire de Pédagogie, art.A.Rendu.

In 1823 the press, reflecting public opinion, showed an interest in those new movements. "Les Tablettes Universelles", a liberal periodical, expressed itself thus : "Among the defects of the present system of public instruction, as of all that have preceded it, there is one which has specially struck all discerning minds, namely that this system is out of harmony with the present position and real needs of the nation....Between the primary schools, in which the humblest citizens learn what all require to know, and the colleges given over to classical studies, there is obviously a wide gap. In society that gap does not exist; it is filled by innumerable families who, by their interests, employment, and social position, have no call to give their children a literary education, yet who require to provide them with instruction far above that within the compass of the primary school." The paper therefore went on to propose an essay competition on the best method of filling in the educational blank. A panel of judges was formed, consisting of the duc de Broglie, Guizot, Jomard and Charles de Rémusat; and though the periodical shortly afterwards went down, the competition was proceeded with and the report given by Guizot on 13th. September, 1824. The successful treatise by A.Ch.Renouard, an advocate and secretary to the Société d'Education élémentaire, was published the same year. ('Considérations sur les Lacunes de l'Education Secondaire en France.')

In view of subsequent experience, one passage is of special interest. "The organisation of secondary schools for the people presents at first sight considerable obstacles. This type of education appears difficult both to impart and to receive : to impart, whether because of the expense involved or the imperfection or non-existence of elementary works to serve as instruments; to receive, because ignorance, self-interest and vanity may combine to keep away from it those for whose improvement it is intended. Ignorance will scorn its benefits through not understanding them; self-interest will calculate the family earnings by manual labour of working-class children and look upon time spent in study as lost; vanity will resent being relegated to second grade institutions, and take offense at the distinction between the new schools and the classical colleges....As for those who abhor all education and are desirous of keeping a section of humanity under the yoke of base ignorance, they too will have their objections." (1)

The author, though desirous that the college should be maintained, saw that it was suitable only for a minority. Working-class children aspiring to secondary study should be given French, morals, very elementary history, more detailed geography, the elements of the natural

(1) p.90.

sciences and mechanics, arithmetic and elementary geometry, drawing and gymnastics. The course should be short, leading to practical callings, and partly available to adults. It is noteworthy that according to Renouard, the only establishments then attempting to fill the gaps in the existing system were the trade schools of Châlons and Angers, the veterinary schools of Alfort and Lyons, the mining school of Saint-Etienne, the conservatoire des arts et métiers in its public lectures, and the two free schools of drawing in Paris. All he could name therefore were more specialised than those he desired to see instituted - a natural position, for the new establishments which came into being before discussion had made out a case for general cultural intermediate were avowedly utilitarian, looking to business men for patronage and direction, and to the apprentices of these men for a clientèle.

Such tendencies were contrary to the general spirit of the Restoration government. It had maintained the administrative tradition of the Empire, exercising its power through the upper bourgeoisie and the Church. It therefore proved aloof in its attitude to the populace, reserving its favours for agriculture, the intimate concern of an aristocracy, and for heavy industry as represented in the Chamber. A protectionist system was inaugurated with tariff arrangements favouring the aggrandisement of influential industrialists. Nevertheless

industry in general benefited by fifteen years of peace which saw the beginnings of mechanisation and a great increase in manufactures. Additional outlets for these were secured by the improvement of foreign commercial relations. National wealth thus grew, although the benefits were mainly reaped by the middle classes. As an off-set to the rise in wages enjoyed by some groups of workers, machinery reduced the earnings of others, and threw idle many more. The French workman was paying the same price for industrial progress as his English brethren across the Channel. The circumstances called for alleviation by voluntary effort, not always a prominent feature of social activity in France, yet at this juncture playing a not unimportant part. Savings banks were set up, benevolent societies founded, schools opened and fostered by such associations as the Société d'Education élémentaire. Only in these last did the government show any interest; but there was little conviction behind its action. The Villèle ministry, typical of the times, reflected clerical prejudice against any considerable interference by the State in the education of the people; and it was not till the advent of Vatimesnil to the ministry in 1828 that the popular movement met with much official support. While an ardent champion of the reigning monarch, he saw in the liberal measures of the Martignac cabinet the only hope of that monarch's survival, and translated them in terms of education by running counter to the policy of the

Right which he was supposed to represent. Article 19 of the Ordinance of 26th. March 1829 was his contribution to the campaign which was to reap more substantial fruits under the July Monarchy. Colleges were authorised to add to their regular scheme that type of instruction more particularly suited to industry. He had in view "the sciences and their application to industry, modern languages and the theory of commerce." Angoulême, Toulon and le Havre had already moved in that direction. Vatimesnil's short ministry of 18 months saw Lyons and Caen take advantage of this official recognition; the royal college of Rouen, having already opened special courses, now organised a second year. (1)

At this early stage, very little is made of the point at which special study should begin; there are safeguards neither for balance between theoretical and practical, cultural and utilitarian, nor for efficiency of teaching. Standard of attainment is indicated in the vaguest of terms. The sole established qualification for a school embarking upon such developments is its own desire to do so. Theorists are looking ahead, framing schemes out of the country's needs, ready to grasp at the slightest suggestion of initiative as confirmation of their ideas. Even the experience of other European countries is not yet available in any accredited form. Propaganda and

(1) G.Weill, op.cit., p.111.

economic stress however are doing their work, both in junior secondary reform and the spread of primary. Many are beginning to see what a wide field primary has to cultivate; many, at least outside the government, are also advocating that it should not be limited to reading, writing and ciphering (décret, 17th. March, 1808), and that, far from preventing the masters from exceeding these limits (décret, 15th. November, 1811), every encouragement should be given to raise the general level. So jejune however was the accepted elementary programme, and so numerous the section of the population that was yet to have its first experience even of that, that any extension, however slight, of the subject-matter taught would be sufficient to label those schools offering it as belonging to a grade above those of the populace.

... ..

THE JULY MONARCHY.

In 1830 the bourgeoisie, trembling for their political privileges in face of a double dissolution of parliament, the stubborn retention by the king of unpopular ministers, and the issue of ordinances violating the constitution, had been the first to take action; but they were soon joined by a much wider body of malcontents. The national guard was spontaneously organised; secret societies and unemployed spread disaffection, seeing in the bourgeois revolt a new opportunity for the lower classes. Any misapprehension however there may have been as to the community of interest in deposing Charles was short-lived. The younger branch of the Bourbons could hardly find sympathy with those who cherished republican ideals; and when the July revolution was acclaimed by the mass of the bourgeoisie in Paris and the provinces as heralding a democratic monarchy, they were but celebrating the re-establishment of bourgeois rule. The July Monarchy, in fact, extended the electorate but little. If the tax qualification was lowered to 200 francs, it was not to draw upon a new class of voter, but simply to increase the suffrage within the same class. It still represented an income of between one and two thousand francs. The qualification attaching to office or academic standing,

which might have been made a really liberal extension, was whittled down to cover only members and correspondents of the Institute, and retired officers with a pension of 1200 francs. The result was to raise the electorate progressively from 166,583 in 1831 to 241,000 in 1847. Out of 10 million taxpayers in 1846, only 239,000 enjoyed any voice in government policy. 276 million francs in direct taxation out of a total of 371 millions came from the pockets of the disfranchised.⁽¹⁾ Continued liberal agitation throughout the life of the régime was of no avail. "The law must secure a preponderant influence to the class of society that can best assure the triumph of general interests and the development of civilisation. That class today is the bourgeoisie."⁽²⁾ In short, on the eve of the Second Republic, only 1 in 42 taxpayers was politically participating in this alleged democracy.⁽³⁾

The hopes of the working classes aroused by the overthrow of the Restoration had found expression in a group of new popular papers - l'Avenir, l'Artisan, le Journal des Ouvriers, le Peuple, la Révolution, la Sentinelle du Peuple - but their ephemeral existence points to the early disillusionment of their sponsors. The revolution

(1) G-D.Weil, p.149, "Les Elections Législatives depuis 1789." 1895.

(2) do. p. 151, quoting the reporter of a bill of 1835.

(3) In England, the Reform Act of 1832 had raised the proportion of electors to population to about 1 in

itself had aggravated^{at} the economic crisis; business was almost at a standstill; three years of political agitation were not conducive to recovery; and by that time the resentment of the poverty-stricken and unemployed had widened the breach between governed and government. Rioting was prevalent. In 1832 cholera broke out in Paris, ravaging the unhealthy populous quarters, and carrying off as many as 1800 victims in one day. The helpless ignorance of the populace was evidenced by the strange fears and wild accusations to which they gave expression. The republican party, till then exclusively political, was beginning to stress the social side of its appeal to the workers. A "Société des droits de l'homme et du citoyen" published in 1833 a manifesto on the sovereignty of the people, universal suffrage, the right of association, emancipation of the workers by a better division of labour, and more equitable sharing of profits. The government's response to this agitation was a law of 10th. April, 1834, declaring such societies illegal - a measure which was the signal for fresh outbreaks in many of the towns.

Such troubles however could not be dismissed by legal enactments. The importance which industry was assuming concentrated attention upon numerous social problems connected with the new labour conditions. Condemnation of the whole social organisation became almost a fashion, even among the bourgeois; and this interest in the lower strata

of society produced its own literature.(1) The evils thus revealed were construed as the offspring of industrialism, increasing as it did the wealth of those already rich, and submerging the poor in greater poverty. The theories of reform were many; an increased proportion of agrarian population, the suppression of free competition, the return to trade guilds, the enforcement of thrift - these and many more, besides innumerable utopian ideals, were urged as necessary restraints upon the growing evil. As at other times of stress, education was called upon to purge society. Some saw in ignorance and immorality the root causes of the disease, and pinned their faith to nursery schools, primary instruction with a practical bias, manual instruction for soldiers, associations for benevolence, patronage and supervision.

After the initial period of unsettlement, the country proceeded to move along the lines of economic advance roughly laid down during the previous régime. From 1829, (the peak year under the Restoration), to 1846, the general figure for the national wealth rose 100% (1224 to 2437 million francs), imports increased 90% (483 to 920 million francs), and exports 69% (504 to 852 million francs).(2) For these results, some credit was due to

(1) Cf. "Les Mystères de Paris", by Eugène Sue, 1842.

(2) E. Levasseur, p.92, Vol. II, "Histoire des Classes Ouvrières et de l'Industrie en France." 2nd. ed. 1903.

government interest in transport and communication. The Empire had early realised the importance of these factors; the July Monarchy continued projected schemes, and added canals to its programme. A beginning was made with a railway system, a passenger service being inaugurated in 1832. There followed a series of enactments creating facilities and credits, until in 1847 there were 1832 kilometres of railroad under general management, together with 89 kilometres reserved for goods traffic.(1) This made a new outlet for the capital of large and small investors; new groups of workers were created with their own needs and skills; and a corresponding impetus was given to allied trades, notably coal and iron.

These social conditions, presided over by such a government as we have described, permit us to interpret Guizot's education act as a product of its day, and to appreciate the true significance of the provisions in it for higher primary instruction.

Though, by the decree of 1808, elementary teachers were attached to the University, the direction and supervision of their schools came under the local authorities. That is, primary education was still classed with local services, and charged exclusively to the parents and the municipalities. The Restoration government contemplated

(1) Levasseur, *op.cit.*, p.115, Vol.II.

the maintenance of this arrangement; and it was only under pressure from societies agitating for the spread of popular instruction that it was induced to disburse ~~the~~ meagre sums in its favour. (1) The earliest general statistics on school population are those drawn up by Montalivet for 1829, showing 30,796 schools, public and private; 1,372,206 pupils of both sexes in attendance during the winter, and 681,005 in the cropping season. This left 13,984 communes out of 38,135 entirely without primary instruction of any kind; but Lorain's survey (2), even when we allow for the distortion with which it has been taxed, does not permit us to lay much stress upon what in some communes was reckoned as instruction. The budget of the July Monarchy in the first two years of its existence had encouraged an increase in schools, so that by 1832 their number had risen to 31,420 for boys and 10,672 for girls, housing 1,200,715 and 734,909 pupils respectively. (3) The law of 28th. June, 1833, the outcome of earlier bills and lengthy discussion, was to fix the character, guarantee the conditions, and pave the way for the development, of public primary instruction throughout the country. Guizot voiced the government attitude thus: "Our idea has been that, in matters of public education particularly, it behoves us to regularise and improve

(1) 50,000 francs annually to primary; increased to 300,000 francs in 1828.

(2) "Tableau de l'Instruction primaire en France", 1837.

(3) Rapport au Roi, budget 1832.

what already exists, rather than to pull down in order to devise and build up anew on the strength of uncertain theories....We may say without exaggeration that, in the last two years, more has been done for primary education by the July government than in the previous forty years by other governments. The first Revolution was lavish with promises, but cared little about the outcome. The Emperor spent his strength on the revival of secondary; he did nothing for that of the people. The Restoration, up till 1828, devoted 50,000 francs annually to primary. The ministry of 1828 got 300,000 francs from Parliament. The July Monarchy has given us a million per annum, that is, more in two years than the Restoration in fifteen." (1)

The sections of the act relevant to our subject read:

"Art. § 1. Primary instruction shall be elementary or higher.

Elementary necessarily comprises moral and religious instruction, reading, writing, the elements of arithmetic and the French language, the legal system of weights and measures.

Higher necessarily comprises, in addition to these, the elements of geometry and its common applications, particularly mechanical drawing and surveying; notions of the physical sciences and natural history applicable to everyday life; singing; the elements of history and geography, and particularly the history and geography of France.

According to local needs and resources, primary instruction may be developed as is thought fitting.

(1) Guizot in the Chamber, 2nd. January, 1833.

"Art.10. Chief towns of departments, and communes whose population exceeds 6,000, shall have a higher primary school.

Art.12. Every communal teacher shall receive a fixed salary of not less than 200 fr. for an elementary, and 400 fr. for a higher, primary school.

(In addition he was to receive a monthly allowance from school fees, the rate of which had to be fixed by the local council)

Art.25. In each department there shall be one or more primary commissions to examine all candidates for teaching certificates, elementary or higher, and award such under the authority of the Minister. "

On the face of it, this legislation appears to betoken a democratic development of the normally accepted elementary programme, to be participated in by those in the elementary schools who cared to continue their studies, and were within reasonable distance of a higher primary school. As such it has usually been interpreted, with the result that credit has been given its sponsors for encouraging the upward extension of elementary instruction. A study of the execution of the law, and the social and political conditions surrounding it puts a very different complexion on the matter.

A year after the passing of his act, Guizot was making the most of higher primary as a palliative for the troubles besetting secondary education. The impatience of the opposition for an overhaul of the college organisation elicited from him the following statement:

'Before formulating a law on secondary education, I felt the necessity of knowing the result of that higher

primary instruction and those higher primary schools which were to be founded....I am not in a position to estimate what part they will play in our general educational system. It is ~~indispensable~~ impossible for me to say what influence they are calculated to exercise upon our colleges, and what modification our colleges will require by reason of the state and progress of higher primary." (1) And again a year later : the higher primary schools "approximate very closely to secondary, being intended to fill in some of the gaps and rectify some of the flaws in it....We desire all faculties, all social careers, to receive in our schools complete satisfaction... I agree that we need establishments of a different kind (from the present secondary) in which the various classes of society may find intellectual nourishment suitable to their life and destiny. That is what we gave, or rather, to avoid over-ambitious words, that is what we began to give when we created higher primary schools. The aim of these, whether in principle or practice, is precisely to satisfy those new needs; to give that common scientific knowledge required in agriculture, industry and commerce, in those numerous and important callings for which classical study is not necessary....It is a great evil, this mania, general throughout every class, for all and

(1) Chamber of Deputies, 8th. May, 1834.

sundry to flock to the fountains of learning. It is certainly not good for everybody; it develops many restless, unhealthy minds, many empty disturbed lives which weigh heavily upon society and become a grievous burden to themselves." (1)

This might have been regarded as a mere political shift to delay tackling the thorny problem of liberty in secondary education, had it not been in keeping with Guizot's views on democracy, as also with his arguments when piloting the 1833 Bill through the Chamber. "How many mediocrities contract in college tastes and habits incompatible with the social condition to which they should revert! Once out of their natural sphere, not knowing which way to turn, they nearly always develop into ungrateful malcontents, a burden to themselves and others." (2) It is clear therefore that while Guizot was showing commendable concern for the shortcomings of the secondary curriculum, he must forfeit all claim as an advocate of more education for the people, except in the sense of very rudimentary education for more people.(3) The innovation in his act must be interpreted not as a democratic development of the primary school, but as his contribution towards relieving the malaise of the college.

(1) Chamber of Deputies, 29th. May, 1835.

(2) Chamber of Deputies, 2nd. January, 1833.

(3) The Bill indeed had been forced upon the government by the deputies of the Left.-Cf. "La Liberté de l'Enseignement", Emile Bourgeois.

This is borne out by his Memoirs. "I know of nothing today more detrimental to society, or to the ^populace itself, than the poor paltry learning of the people, and the vague, loose, false, yet active and powerful ideas which it puts into their heads. To combat this peril, I distinguished in the bill two grades of primary instruction: the one elementary and everywhere necessary, in the most out-of-the-way retreat and for the lowliest station; the other higher and intended for the industrial classes who, in the towns, have to meet the needs and tastes of a richer, more complicated, more exacting civilisation. I strictly confined elementary to the simplest knowledge of really universal application. I gave to higher primary more variety and scope; and while defining its chief content, the bill added that according to local needs and resources, it might be developed as was thought fitting. I thus ensured the widest development of primary where that would be natural and useful, without seeking development where its uselessness is perhaps the least of its faults. The Chamber of Deputies asked that the prospect of varied and unlimited extension should be open to elementary as well as higher. I did not consider it wise to persist in opposing that amendment which met with almost unanimous approval; but it showed how little the object of the bill in differentiating the two grades was understood....The tendency to develop general primary, out of caprice more than from real necessity, is not

deserving of legislative encouragement; the aim of laws is to provide what is necessary, not to anticipate what may become possible." (1)

Later, in reference to his bill on secondary, he writes: "I sought to follow up the solution, already initiated in my law on primary, of a question which has lately been receiving much attention, that of practical intermediate education suitable for callings and conditions that have no necessary connection with learned studies, but which are important because of their numbers and active influence upon the strength and stability of the state. The higher primaries were the first step in that instruction which was to become more complete and more specialised in the second-class communal colleges, and also find a place in the ⁴big state and communal colleges, without doing injury to the advanced literary and scientific instruction so necessary for all the liberal professions."(2)

Cousin, speaking to the primary bill in the Chamber of Peers on 21st. May, 1833, showed the same solicitude for the college aspect and the social implications of the problem. "The point is that the number of pupils in our colleges should be reduced in the interests of classical study itself. That cannot be achieved without compensating

(1) p.65, Vol.III, Mémoires. 1860.

(2) p.110 do.

This use of the term "intermediate" was common among contemporaries. It was applied to a grade of instruction reckoned to be intermediate in status between primary and the traditional secondary, irrespective of the age at which it terminated. It therefore bore the impress of current prejudice in favour of the classics.

a section of the population lacking neither in means nor legitimate pride, by giving them an education sufficiently liberal for their needs....Doubtless there are localities where it will be necessary to supplement the prescribed curriculum with this or that additional course, e.g., German in the Rhine provinces; perhaps Italian or Spanish in certain parts of the South; and in manufacturing communities, lessons in the industries of the district. But these accessory courses must not be admitted or multiplied without serious consideration, for they would have the double inconvenience of depriving the compulsory subjects of a considerable portion of the available time and so weakening them, and of ultimately robbing primary of its true character. Primary instruction must be general; it prepares for all callings without leading to any one in particular : it makes men, not artisans. These considerations are specially applicable to higher primary, where unlimited extension would be in direct opposition to the aim proposed. Indeed it is obvious that if higher primary rises or tends to rise to secondary, then, far from remedying the evil we have indicated (i.e. fruitless study and social unrest), it rather spreads and deepens it." Elsewhere he is even more blunt : "It was to take the place of bad secondary education that we created higher primary." (1)

(1) p.169, "Instruction Secondaire dans le Royaume de Prusse." 1837. 2nd. edition.

In short, the appearance of this act on the statute book in Guizot's name does not invalidate the conclusion that Guizot never took a very wide view of what democracy might become. He feared universal suffrage. An electorate of 224,000 was for him sufficiently representative. "He forgot that the upper bourgeoisie had ultimately come to envisage the public weal in the light of their own private interests; that their detachment from political thought was increasing; that among the recognised electorate public spirit had ceased to exist; that, enjoying prosperity, they had no thought for the morrow; and that amid such indifference and inertia, there was no room for generous enthusiasm." (1)

In 1848, it was the larger number, the lower bourgeoisie, that were asserting themselves. They were born of new economic conditions, and the July Monarchy had underestimated their importance in a progressive democracy. With the genesis of the 1833 act in our minds, much of its subsequent history is clarified to a degree impossible from a perusal of the bare legislation; and we are now in a position to survey the trend of events under its influence.

(1) A. Bardoux, p.70, "Guizot." 1894.

On his appointment to the Ministry in October, 1832, Guizot addressed a circular to all rectors outlining what he considered to be the aim in popular instruction. "As there is to be no commune without its primary school, and no department without its Normal, so there should be no town of 8 or 10 thousand inhabitants without its middle school to crown the edifice of public instruction, and to stop only where the learned studies of classical schools commence." In theory therefore the higher primary was to be a development of elementary. In his own words it would "to the knowledge indispensable to all, add that useful to many : the elements of practical geometry providing the initial data of all industrial callings; notions of physics and natural history familiarising us with the chief natural phenomena and so rich in useful information of all kinds; the elements of music, or at least singing, bestowing a real culture; geography, teaching us the divisions of our earth; history through which we cease to be strangers to the life and destiny of our race, and especially the history of our native land which identifies us with it; not to mention this or that foreign language which, according to our particular province, may be indispensable or of the highest value."(1)

The rapid increase in the number of elementary schools

(1) Chamber of Deputies, 2nd. January, 1833.

was testimony to the Minister's belief that "universal primary instruction was henceforth one of the guarantees of social order and stability." (1) He was no less in earnest about the creation of higher primaries. To the primary inspectors appointed by Royal Ordinance of 26th. February, 1835, he wrote : "As for the higher primary schools, I charge you to leave nothing undone which will hasten their foundation in those communes that should have them. These establishments are meant to serve the educational needs of a numerous and important section for whom ordinary primary instruction is insufficient and classical instruction needless. In requiring from you a special detailed report annually on each higher primary school, the statute of 27th. February (1835) shows the importance attached to this matter."

These schools however, where they were new developments at all, were often to originate in ways which at least the letter of the law did not seem to foreshadow. The latter pointed to their catering for at least an élite of the working classes; and many writers, taking that as being also the intention of the legislator, have adversely commented upon the use to which the legislation was later put. But the conditions prevailing in elementary instruction, whether with regard to educational attainment or the economic standard of the families represented, were not such as to fill the higher grade with pupils from the

(1) Circular to teachers.

lower ranks of society. We have shown that in any case, Guizot and Cousin, the chief sponsors of the act, had different aims in view.

The original programme in the mind of Guizot must have been modest indeed; for he was prepared to admit in 1833 that of the 363 communes of 6,000 inhabitants envisaged by the law as requiring a higher primary, 213 were already providing such instruction, either in elementary or secondary schools, and the act would only introduce it for the first time into 150 communes. (1) This was in reply to a deputy who held that, for the proposed instruction to accomplish any more than was already being done, it would require to be applicable to communes of 2,000, instead of 6,000. Higher primary was therefore far from being a "creation", as it has so often been termed; Guizot was going to regularise, rather than create. But more than that, it was already an appanage, and quite a substantial one, of the communal college. In fact, Cousin's strictures imply that the majority of these colleges were giving little more. "There are about 100 communal colleges termed 'de plein exercice', which, in theory, are similar to royal colleges in study and discipline. But this similarity is only apparent." (2) These 100 were certainly better than the others; but still they were extremely weak, and demanded the attention of the

(1) Chamber of Deputies, 30th. April, 1833.

(2) Cousin, p. 170, "Instruction Secondaire dans le Royaume de Prusse."

government. Hardly more than 20 of them could be exempted from that indictment. The reasons were obvious - pupils were few; salaries were precarious, coming up for discussion every year by the local authority; men of quality were not attracted, and the requisite qualification had to be lowered; licenciés were rare; teachers had only the knowledge they were to impart; any normal students they possessed had either succumbed to the aggregation examination or had never faced it. (1)

By May 1834, 45 higher primaries had been "founded", and 54 more were expected to be opened in the near future. (2) Guizot looked to having some 280 such schools eventually. When he says "founded", he is, in view of his own words a year earlier, obviously overstating the action of the government, whose intervention meant that some attempt was being made to consolidate where tentative efforts were already operating locally. He recognised that only a beginning had been made; and Cousin, writing in 1837, was also emphasising the precarious nature of the new "foundations". "Unfortunately higher primary hardly exists except in the law. A lofty social ideal presided over this wise innovation. The Chambers added 500,000fr. to the millions already allocated to primary instruction, in order to

(1) In 1844 there were 312 communal colleges, of which 148 were classified "de plein exercice", and 164 as 2nd. class, i.e. not giving a full course. This classification was not retained by the 1850 act.

(2) Guizot, Chamber of Deputies, 8th. May, 1834.

assist the government in accelerating the establishment of schools where the law requires them; yet they are still very few in number, and are not, and cannot yet be, on a sound footing." (1)

Cousin had the success of higher primary very close at heart; but the brevity of his own ministry (March - Oct. 1840) would appear to have denied him adequate credit for his understanding of and interest in the problem as seen through contemporary eyes. In the Chamber, his pompous supercilious manner with critics antagonised many who were in a position to belittle his work, and adversely affect any subsequent estimate of his achievement. His influence was not confined to those few months of office; and what he did then showed that he was already alive to many difficulties which other ministers failed to appreciate. Guizot's act and the application of it were to a large extent based upon Cousin's study of the German and

(1) p.169, "Instruction Secondaire dans le Royaume de Prusse."

The primary budget was certainly increased by that sum the year after the passing of the act.

1832 - 1,000,000 fr.

1834 - 1,500,000 fr.

1838 - 1,933,427 fr.

1841 - 2,381,868 fr.

1847 - 2,959,537 fr. (Ch. Jourdain, p.59,

"Rapport sur l'Organisation et les Progrès de l'Instruction Publique." 1867.

But the increase by no means went to higher primary proper. Over the same period, the number of public primary schools increased by 30,000. (op.cit. p.224)

Dutch systems, (1) and as a result, Cousin took a paternal interest in it during the whole of his political career.(2) When he came to the Ministry, his chief concern in the primary *élémentary* sphere was to make something of the higher grade,(3) in the establishment of which the law had not gone as far as he would have desired. Convinced that, to convert opponents and break down indifference, the most effective method was to show intermediate at work, he chose a few towns which seemed most in need of it, and made a special effort to have model establishments set up there. By that time many so-called higher primaries were in being; most of them however had been little influenced by the law, and none were, in Cousin's opinion, of the desired calibre except that in Paris (M.Pompée's), whose prospectus he therefore circulated to every academy district in the kingdom. Paris, Lyons, Bordeaux, Rouen, Marseilles, Strasbourg, Nantes, Caen, Orleans and Lille suggested themselves as key-positions; and all these he approached through the rectors, prefects and mayors. His period of office however, all too brief already, was

(1) "De l'instruction publique dans quelques pays de l'Allemagne." 1831.

"De l'instruction publique en Hollande." 1836.

(2) Duruy later takes him to task for talking of it as "his" act.

(3) p.171, Vol.I, Oeuvres, 5e série.

further robbed of effectiveness by the intervention of local elections which suspended activity even on the part of some municipalities who had expressed sympathy with his idea. From the historical point of view, Cousin's approach to the centres already named is valuable : it reveals local difficulties, misunderstandings and preconceptions which more vitally concerned the spread of the new education than anything that had, or had not, figured in the legislation. It also shows the minister's solicitude for the lower bourgeoisie, whom false pride and social aspiration often blinded to their own best interests.

For Paris, where the population of each ward brought it under the legal category of a higher primary district, Cousin could ask no better than that the city should extend to every arrondissement the benefits already bestowed upon the VIth. by Pompée's school. This would take time; but he looked to the council to meet the needs of the more populous business wards at an early date.(1) The position in the provinces was less promising. Marseilles was admitting pupils irrespective of age, and had failed to infuse anything of practical utility into its programme. "There are in the royal college special commercial and industrial 3 year courses, under skilled masters, and comprising nearly all the subjects at which higher primary

(1) Letter to Prefect of la Seine, 29th. June, 1840.

should aim. These courses, decreasing in usefulness consequent upon the organisation of a higher primary school, might be transferred to the latter, there to be conducted by the same masters." (1) The rector of Caen had stressed the prohibitive cost of separate buildings, and the advantage of a new type of instruction beginning under the aegis of an existing college. Cousin agrees up to a point, but considers that after the preliminary stages such an arrangement would hamper the development of the new branch. It has no necessary connection with the college; and to run it under the same head would deny it the study and sollicitude it requires. Where a low-grade college was acting as foster-parent, it would be a real advantage were the higher primary department to absorb the college proper. 10 francs per month in fees he considered too high; a proposed reduction to 4 francs brought them too low, too near to free education, thus detracting from the value of free places; 6 francs would be the happy mean. A preliminary entrance examination would ensure adequate grounding in elementary work and render 3 years sufficient for the full course. The staff for certain subjects could be recruited from the college masters engaged as part-time instructors. (2) At Nantes, Cousin objected to the course being too industrial, and

(1) Letter to the rector of Aix academy, 29th. June, 1840.

(2) Letter to the rector of Caen academy, 13th. July, 1840
and 18th. August, 1840.

therefore catering only for one section of the population. Lille, more generous than most other towns, was not only granting free higher primary, but also giving annually 12 maintenances allowances of 125 fr. each for the most promising of its poorer entrants.

From the minister's correspondence the following principles emerge : (a) higher primary instruction should not be free, save for the few bursars contemplated by the act; (b) the schools should be authorised to assume the name "intermediate" where they so desired; (c) they should attain to a level distinctly above elementary, by the free development of studies answering to local needs, keeping in view industry, commerce and agriculture without becoming narrow apprenticeship courses; (d) while giving a general education irrespective of future employment, they might have vocational annexes; (e) the normal course should be 3 years, carefully graded, with entrance and promotion examinations; (f) competent masters from the colleges, where available, could be called in as part-time instructors, thus ensuring adequate proficiency at a relatively low cost. Behind all that lay the conviction, so often expressed by him in other connections, that secondary education was desirable only in so far as it was sound and justifiable on social grounds; and every town which was unable to run a strong college was doing itself a disservice by not diverting its resources to a higher primary school. "If elementary schools in France

had long been in a flourishing condition, we could easily make higher primaries out of them; but we have to create at the same time elementary and higher primary. Under these circumstances it is almost a consolation to have so many irremediably defective colleges, because of the ease with which we may transform them into at least good higher primaries....These are the real intermediate schools which the law created, and which it is for us to organise... We could in a very short time bring them into being by effecting skilfully and courageously, in a hundred poor communal colleges, the painful but salutary transformation which alone can save them from complete ruin with the advent of free competition."(1) In this contention, he was supported by many intimately in touch with the state of affairs in the provinces.(2)

There were special difficulties attendant upon the establishment of this intermediate grade. Apart from the financial aspect, in which commune, department and state were all interested, there was constant danger of such a school deteriorating into direct preparation for wage-earning, especially when apprenticeship was not organised elsewhere. To divert to them considerable numbers by holding out promise of immediate return, Cousin himself

(1) pp.169-170, "Instruction Secondaire....Prusse."

(2) Cf. E.Rendu, a primary inspector, writing on the 1850 act.

J.Willm, an academy inspector, in "Essai sur l'Instruction Populaire".

was prepared, when in power, to have his schools termed 'industrial', 'commercial', 'industrial and commercial', according to local desire - anything but 'college', which would only lead to confusion and increase the number of undesirable and pretentious institutions already sporting the title. Local parsimony and parental eagerness to supplement the family income failed to shake his early faith in the ability of France to supply a replica of Germany's *Burgerschulen*. "The German middle-class schools, somewhat inferior to our second-class communal colleges in classics and the sciences, are incomparably superior to them in religious instruction, geography, history, modern languages, music, drawing and the national literature. In my view it is of the utmost importance to create in France, under whatever name, middle-class schools whose development will be of the most varied, and to reform in that direction a certain number of our communal colleges." But where was the clientèle to come from? No claim is made for a love of education for its own sake by the French parent, comparable to that ascribed to German and Scottish parents of the period. Although the July Monarchy did hold out the bait of bigger fee-paying enrolments as a means of reducing local rates, Cousin never acted as if he saw any hope in that direction. Until higher primary became a symbol of the march of democracy, increased enrolment and revenue here could only mean decreased enrolment and revenue for the colleges - a prospect which few of them

could contemplate with equanimity. The only solution for them was that they should become the purveyors of the new instruction in conjunction with the old, and so retain their sources of income. Cousin was only too ready to see them develop along these lines, in the hope that the new would oust the old wherever it was unhealthy.

Villemain's report established the position numerically in 1840. Out of the communes involved, 161 had complied with the law; 103 others were voluntarily provided with higher primary; 191 free schools were reckoned to be answering the same purpose. There was thus for the whole country a total of 455 - quite an imposing figure, but representing an average per school of only 34 pupils (total 15,215), and not embodying very much directly traceable to the act. We know in fact what the organiser was then prepared to classify as higher primary, and what educationists like Cousin thought of their real worth. On Villemain's second advent to office, the government, impressed by the reluctance of municipalities to shoulder additional financial burdens, made more explicit its recognition of higher primary as an adjunct of the college, and took the initiative by enforcing such an arrangement in certain instances:

"Whereas, in several towns to which art.10 of the act of 28th.June 1833 applies, the separate establishment of a higher primary school has not so far been possible for lack of funds, and primary courses intended to meet in part the legal requirements have been annexed to the communal colleges in each of these towns,

"And whereas, in many other towns to which the said article applies, and in which also there exist communal colleges, no steps have been taken to carry out that article, and it is important that at least provisional arrangements be made for its execution;

We decree as follows:

Art.I. By 1st. September 1842, courses of higher primary instruction shall be annexed to the communal colleges of...(here follow names of 23 towns)

Art.II. The financial arrangements shall be in accordance with the 1833 act.

Art.III. A teacher with the higher primary certificate shall be attached to each of the said colleges, unless the principal or one of the regents possesses such a certificate. This teacher will come under the college principal in the same manner as the regents; these latter may be entrusted with part of the higher primary work.

Art.IV. We shall later pass measures for other second-class communal colleges to which the above arrangements shall equally be applied."

This policy has been characterised as a new departure, a view for which there is no justification whatever. "When a town asks that the higher primary school be annexed to its college, there need be no difficulty. I may even say that such a thing already exists in a great number of communal colleges, and there does not appear to be any necessity for introducing in the text of the act any such detail of organisation." (1) So general was the practice indeed that in 1834 a municipal council deemed it necessary to ask permission for a separate higher primary instead of annexing it to the college. "It is often convenient,

(1) Guizot in the Chamber of Deputies, 30th. April, 1833.

the Minister in Council replied, to annex the higher primary to the communal college; but that is not necessary, and the law imposes no obligation on that score." (1) The regulation of 1841 may seem to differ from the act in the freedom with which teaching may be assigned to the college staff; but the stipulation that one member at least shall hold the higher certificate is retained; and it is certain that the regulation was merely confirming what was the actual practice in all colleges with a small enrolment. The same policy was pursued to the fall of the Monarchy, even royal colleges appearing in the requests for annexation. In many cases, the change had already been made "with good results", and the position was merely being regularised. In one year, as many as 73 applications were granted. (2) By 1843, the 161 communes mentioned above had risen to 222, but the average enrolment was only 28. Commenting upon this situation, Matthew Arnold says : "The lower class of the population remained satisfied with the primary schools; the class above them continued, where the primary school did not satisfy it, to struggle into the communal college" ⁽³⁾ - which we must take to mean the classical side of the communal college, for of course most of the so-called higher primaries were

(1) Avis du Conseil to Meaux, 28th. Feb. 1834.

(2) Bréal, p. 271, "Excursions Pédagogiques."

(3) p. 74, "The Popular Education of France." 1861.

in the colleges.

Between 1842 and 1850 the annexation of higher primary was recognised in some hundred colleges.(1) Nor was the fact deplored by contemporaries, however prone future critics were to censure the legislator for the course which events had taken. "It is an established fact that where there were only poor deserted colleges in which next to nothing was learned, practical primary instruction has been established which now constitutes their strength, life and future, and is a boon to the people."(2) The Council was certainly of the same mind, granting annexation to Vitry-le-François "in view of the fact that the proposed annexation maintains and assures the execution of art.14 of the act of 28th.June 1833, and that this amalgamation of two communal establishments under the same direction can only result in the improvement and success of the higher primary school."

It is not difficult to trace the authorship of the Council's edicts at this time : they breathe the spirit of Saint-Marc Girardin, a member of that body from 1837, and enjoying in letters something like the predominance of Cousin in philosophy. In 1847 he published the conclusions to which his intimacy with the problem had led him.He had conceived the idea of a unified modern system

(1) Eugène Rendu, p.118, "Commentaire de la loi de l'Enseignement, 1850."

(2) A deputy in the discussion of the 1850 act.

in which the intermediate stage, under whatever name, would be strengthened by, and, where required, find its completion in, a higher grade in the colleges. (1) The latter, while preparing entrants for the higher special schools (2) and the more responsible posts in industry, would at the same time furnish teachers for the intermediate grade, and guide its evolution. This is obviously the scheme to which Guizot refers as having been in his mind, and which would have incorporated new higher primaries and reformed colleges. Certain colleges were in fact already performing the first two of these functions. The requirements for entrance to the special schools had during the July Monarchy materially affected the organisation of those royal and communal colleges which found in them a regular outlet for some of their pupils. Such developments, though provided for in a general way by the legislation, had each been sanctioned on request; and Paris not being among the number of applicants, ignorance of their existence led critics of proposed modernisation reforms to characterise as fantastic and revolutionary what had been effected in particular cases under stress of local necessity. La Rochelle is typical. The royal college had contemplated a special school for maritime and

(1) S-M. Girardin, "De l'instruction intermédiaire et de ses rapports avec l'instruction secondaire." 1847.

(2) Ecole polytechnique, école militaire, école navale, école forestière, école centrale des arts et manufactures.

commercial study - a real faculty of nautical science; but students did not materialise to take advantage of this ambitious enterprise. Under Villemain's ministry therefore the college asked and received permission to establish a preparatory section for the navy and Saint-Cyr, offering two years instruction as detailed by the Royal Council. The headmaster and staff were to test the ability of entrants to benefit by the courses, and those below standard had to go through a preliminary two years course in French, modern languages, drawing, mechanical drawing, practical arithmetic and geometry, a survey of general history, and the history of France - all in accordance with the scheme prescribed for higher primary, and under an elementary teacher holding the higher certificate. As a result, returns for La Rochelle would now show three separate schools where before there was only one, thus giving the impression of perfect regularity. But was the actual position very different from the "romantic" irregularity" of some other educational systems? This departmental capital, under the influence of interested parties, initiated technical instruction at a time when only half of the conscripts from the department could read;(1) the Royal Council interfered to keep it on the right lines; its assistance amounted to restrictive conditions; the venture did not live to point the way for later educationists.

(1) Buisson, Dictionnaire de Pédagogie, art. Charente-Inférieure.

The fact that the Council or any member of it was perfectly clear as to what was wanted did not necessarily hasten the appearance of healthy institutions born of experience, or bring into alignment with a national programme those make-shift sections which official nomenclature had endowed with an importance quite out of keeping with their modest achievements. Primary was not ready for a superstructure built by the populace; a section of the bourgeoisie required the substance of such a superstructure, and the government wanted to give them it. But "parental vanity will not have middle-class children in the common school, because the school is for the people, and in democratic societies no one desires to be of the people except in times of revolution." (1) Girardin makes a virtue of necessity by showing how much is to be gained from the association of intermediate and secondary. That was the policy of the day, but it had to reckon with the lure of tradition. Immediately higher primary came under college auspices, it was in the full blast of the classical-modern conflict, without the protection that comes from separate organisation and resources.

Mention has been made of the higher primary school in Paris under Pompée, and the commendation it won from Cousin. Its history forms one of the brightest spots in

(1) Girardin, p.30, "De l'instruction intermédiaire."

nineteenth century education, and is interlocked with government action upon all schools of a post-primary character right up to the Third Republic; yet all it owed to the government was that its projection was the city's response to Guizot's emphasis on higher primary. From the date of its foundation under P-P. Pompée, it continued to prosper, taking the legal programme as the basis of its teaching, but looking to its own resources for the evolution of an organisation consonant with its aims. It produced offspring of its kind, and also proved invaluable as an exemplar to analogous institutions, municipal and private, which were thrown up during a period of great uncertainty. Throughout all the vicissitudes marking the evolution of intermediate in France, the Turgot school (the generic name which it established) remained faithful to its origin, and continued to develop along lines that commended it increasingly to the city of its birth.

It was on Pompée's report of 1836 that the Paris central committee proceeded to found a higher primary school that should be worthy of the capital. He was appointed its first director in 1839 when it was opened as Neuve-Saint-Laurent Street higher primary. The name was altered to Colbert School in 1847, and the following year to Turgot School (École Turgot), the title which it thereafter retained. This rebaptism, traceable to social prejudices, has thrown more than one writer off the rails

in their search for origins.(1)

Beginning on modest lines, it had by 1842 a course of three years with 98, 55, and 11 pupils respectively. The inequality of the entrants drawn from different primary schools having given rise to much difficulty, a preparatory year was added in 1843, in which all would be brought up to a level from which they could embark with profit upon the 1st. year proper. The programme was so devised that each year formed a well-defined body of instruction; pupils therefore who broke off after the first or second session left with a rounded equipment appropriate to their age. The instruction was given by specialists responsible for their subject or subjects in all sections, and assisted in the early years of the school's existence by junior supervisors who shared the teaching duties in writing and singing. By 1850 the four classes were in a healthy condition with 75, 95, 76 and 34 pupils, a total of 280. The director however found himself hampered by the severities of the 1850 régime.

(1) Dr. J-B. Paquier in a work on technical instruction takes Colbert and Turgot to be two different schools. pp.35 and 40, "L'Enseignement professionnel en France," 1908.

Matthew Arnold regards Turgot as quite distinct from the establishment of higher primaries, and therefore as a different approach to the problem of intermediate instruction. p.89, "Schools and Universities on the Continent." 1868.

His talent had carried him to a place on the commission which was to set France's educational house in order under the Second Republic - an honour which earned for him the attentions of the reactionaries. His position became untenable; and he forestalled dismissal by resigning in December, 1852. Being a man of resource, Pompée was not lost to education. Two months later, he was opening a private "école professionnelle" at Ivry, where his success later brought about a fruitful relationship with Duruy, and led to his cooperation in the furtherance of the latter's scheme for 'special' instruction. (1)

Turgot, as Pompée left it, typified the higher primary school as a separate organisation. Already it had few if any equals within the limits of its objective; but it was to develop still further, while those in the same category throughout the country stagnated or were absorbed in other types. The obstacles commonly regarded as obviating their success were not unknown at Turgot; yet there, wise guidance and personal enthusiasm overcame them. Its subsequent history enters largely into our particular study.

Mention must also be made of the Collège Chaptal at Paris, which owed its inception to Prosper Goubaux. He had opened the "pension" Saint-Victor, with pupils following classes in the Lycée Bourbon. Sharing as he did the

(1) Biography by LÉon Chateau.

views of several contemporaries on the necessity for modernising secondary education, he resolved to strike out on fresh lines. Sixty of his 100 pupils were left aside to pursue the studies they desired in the lyc  e; with the remaining forty he started to work out his ideas. Paris was then seeking to implement Guizot's law on higher primary, and welcomed the advances of Goubaux for the city's patronage, after his project had met with scant courtesy from the minister in power. The municipality adopted his school, and in 1844 it became the Fran  ois Premier higher primary. Four years later, under the title Coll  ge Chaptal, it embarked upon a wider scheme resembling that of a first class Realschule. Without breaking entirely with the spirit of the higher primaries or ceasing to turn out similar material in its middle range, it drew closer to secondary, with a client  le from a grade of society somewhat above that frequenting the Turgot type. We shall find it sharing with Turgot the r  le of guide and pioneer in later national experiment.

It is customary to couple with this higher primary movement the manipulation of the secondary curriculum, under the name of enseignement sp  cial, by Vatimesnil under Charles X, Villemain and Salvandy under the July Monarchy. It is to be noted however that such special instruction was not introduced till the fourth year of the regular course, thus leaving intact the period covered by our definition of "intermediate." True, the

higher primary was to live more as a development of the college than as a separate school or a developed elementary school; but that does not alter its fundamental character - a short course from the age of 11 or 12, eschewing the classics and leaning to the practical without becoming technical. As such, it should have remained quite distinct from the movement for a modern secondary curriculum. Individual establishments, through lack of consideration, misapprehension of its true purpose, or limited resources, permitted it by make-shift adjustments to lose its identity in a combination of subjects for the junior sections. This process of dilution and compromise was inevitable in small centres, or centres with small higher primary sections. (1) Though the present-day attitude to the whole question has completely altered, this last difficulty is seen to be inseparable from the rural aspect of the problem, and still calls for special treatment.

(1) According to Villemain's report of 1843, of 19,000 enrolled in the royal colleges, only 340 were in commercial classes, and 227 in annexed higher primary.

What then was the contribution of the July Monarchy to the establishment of intermediate instruction?

That a central government should expect, without slowly preparing the soil, to universalise a comparatively new type of discipline in a relatively short time by a series of edicts from headquarters, might to some appear so contrary to all experience as to foredoom the attempt to abject failure. Yet even though such faith in the efficacy of centralisation were not a French characteristic, this particular display of it would occasion no surprise when we consider the supercilious attitude of the men of July towards all outside their well-guarded ranks. They were not even representative of the middle class as a whole : proclaimed as a régime of reason to hold the mean between an effete theory of divine right and an unbridled sovereignty of the people, they derived their power from an electoral system the arbitrariness of which was patent. All sections of the bourgeoisie might accept them as the makers of wealth and the guardians of property; none below the franchise limit had any reason to belaud their sympathy with democratic reform. For these last were reserved only crumbs of consolation in the shape of a place in the National Guard - a doubtful honour from their point of view, and a source of anxiety to the magnanimous donors when the political skies darkened. As for the populace, Guizot's view was fairly characteristic

of those who remained at the helm till the February Revolution. His increasing flirtation with the Catholic party was dictated by political exigencies; but his assertion that the people, and society at large, must have religion as an alleviative for social unrest was more than flattery of the Church in his wooing of her. He and his co-partners required resignation amongst the disfranchised millions before 200,000 electors had any hope of preserving their political privileges.

It is quite in keeping therefore with the character of the July Monarchy that, while they diagnosed an educational ill, they did not greatly concern themselves with the wishes of the patient before administering treatment. The patient in fact was seldom conscious of any ailment. Few of the populace were likely to embarrass municipal authorities with demands for an advance in primary instruction; their chief concern was to evade the law in those requirements by which it made inroads upon their freedom to hire out their offspring where and when they pleased. The century had passed into the forties before socialist propaganda, abandoning for the nonce the political struggle,

(1) "You need have no fear that the masses will come and ask you to give them instruction, to raise them to a higher moral and intellectual level than they have attained at present... You have called upon the communes to vote certain sums for primary education; well, 21,900 of them have not done so, and the central government has had to exercise its power of compulsion." Guizot before the Chamber,

8th. May, 1834.

concentrated upon the social conditions of the workers. Even then, the great peasant population escaped attention. Had the July Government therefore considered that higher primary was desirable for a goodly representation of the workers (which it certainly did not), and attempted to force it upon them, it could have met with no success in its own lifetime. The clientèle aimed at was in fact the children of the lower middle class, that section which had helped to establish a Liberal government with high hopes for their own political future. These hopes were not realised; but that did not prevent them from aping their masters in the social sphere, and seeking for their children the same educational stamp as the big landed proprietor and the industrial magnate. Hence the government campaign against a uniform post-elementary education as a breeder of *déclassés*. Economic requirements added point to their arguments. Only to a very small extent do pedagogical considerations enter into the case, though they are more prominent in the Cousins than in the Guizots. Nevertheless, on the pedagogical side, all were working in vague generalities, whereas the social aspects of the question created practical difficulties which none could escape, and which took on a particular colour for those who were antagonistic to progressive democratisation.

The political aspect cannot be ignored without creating mystery where none exists. The situation, so it was believed, demanded some type of less pretentious secondary

education, that political disparity might find its counterpart and justification in a disparity of educational equipment. In the attitude taken up by the lower middle class, it may be that they did not fully appreciate the political issue, that being fought out by more direct methods of protest; but even if they ignored the governments advances out of social vanity, the result was the same in the end. Large numbers of them were sufficiently removed from financial embarrassment to entertain the idea of a classical education in a college; but they would have preferred its social advantages at less cost and with less drudgery to their boys. Many countered these inconveniences by the simple process of taking the pupilway in the early stages of the course, without considering the pedagogical implications of such action for the boy or the administrator. When the new higher primary was offered, its utility could not escape them, but neither did its divorce from the college as foreshadowed in its name. The bourgeoisie were the ruling class; the people were socially inferior, and branded with their inferiority the schools they frequented. The lower bourgeois, disfranchised though they were, disdained association with the common people by sharing their education, on no matter how "supérieur" a grade. They would take the new instruction, but on their own terms; and these terms were that no social stigma should attach to it, that it permit them still to consort with those

to whose position they aspired. Such demands could only be met by giving the new instruction through the college.

These bourgeois aspirations received substantial backing from the financial conditions attaching to the institution of new courses. As every commune desiring to have a higher primary school must provide at least the minimum salary fixed by law for the teacher, and as the law did not admit subsidy on anything above the minimum, state funds could assist higher primaries only in the original foundation of the school.(1) To minimise the burden on their resources, municipalities in greater numbers began to request that they should be permitted to instal the higher primary section in the college, a procedure which, as we have seen, was countenanced by the government from the very beginning, but which was^{to} bring its own troubles. Such associatinn with another intellectual discipline which public opinion and practically all the educational world regarded as superior, w could not hasten general acceptance or facilitate the development of the newcomer. Its name was unfortunate as long as it could not mean what it seemed to convey; it shared the stigma that lay upon the special secondary courses grafted at different times on the colleges; its subordinate status denied it in the schools the consideration which its embryonic nature demanded. The requisite staff moreover could not be produced by a stroke of the pen; and

(1) Avis du Conseil, 8th.Nov.1833.

though they had been, the educational sense of the public was not such as to guarantee the necessary local expenditure to secure their services, or house them under favourable conditions. Many of those obstacles were of a kind that no government could charm away; and later governments, more democratic and better supported by public opinion, also succumbed to them; but the July Monarchy brought with it limitations of its own which seem to have been lost sight of by future apologists. Its social preoccupations predetermined the scope of its reform : at its maximum it could make for diversification in the post-elementary curriculum, but could not, and was not meant to, widen the class that was to benefit by that. It is futile therefore to ascribe to the supersession of Guizot's act France's shortcomings in intermediate in the later 19th. century. No marked progress had been made, if by progress is meant the dissociation of intermediate proper from early secondary under conditions which would ensure its free development; and it is on the assumption that the July Monarchy was achieving this, that censure has been levelled at its successors.

SECOND EMPIRE.

The Second Republic, through dissension among the leaders, had ceased to be a reality by the time its constitution was voted (Oct. 1848), and left no trace in education. The government formed on Dec. 29th. was almost entirely composed of men who had held office under Louis-Philippe. De Falloux accepted the portfolio of education, with the backing of the Catholics under Montalembert. The common ground of those in power was the saving of society through the Church's power to teach resignation and respect for authority. It was in pursuance of that policy that de Falloux proposed to shelve Carnot's democratic schemes for elementary, and abandon secondary state monopoly by legalising the establishment of free secondary schools and instruction by the religious orders. At the May elections, 1849, the Republicans lost heavily to the reactionaries, thus preparing the way for Catholic preponderance in the Assembly. But between the two main contending parties, Catholic Conservatives and Republican Democrats, the Prince President gradually made his personal influence felt, and began to move independently. When the Catholic majority on Oct. 1849 ran counter to his Italian policy, he dismissed the Ministry for failing to uphold him, and appointed his own men without consulting the Assembly. De ^PBarieu took over Education. From the end of October, 1849, it was a virtual dictatorship. The men whom the President had gathered round him were there to

do his bidding, and in their campaign of repression, they enlisted the whole police and judicial system. On 13th. Dec., Parieu, while waiting for the passing of an act on education, asked the Assembly that school-teachers be put directly under the prefects. The Royalist and Catholic members attempted to foil this plan to create an army of officials subservient to the President, and only failed by one vote. They retaliated by making known their intention to oppose the Education Bill which the government had delayed to a more opportune moment. The president showed he would brook no opposition; the Catholics took fright, and compromised : they would support Parieu's bill if it was the one they so much desired, namely that drawn up earlier by Falloux. It was passed 15th. March, 1850, and has since been known to history as the 'Falloux Act', though he was not actually the minister in power.

Higher primaries not being specifically mentioned in that act, it is commonly alleged that it rang the death-knell of Guizot's innovation. The implication here is that, given continued legal representation in the educational structure, their success was assured within a reasonably short time. It has been shown that elementary was yet incapable of blossoming into what higher primary required to be, and that, apart from a few isolated cases, any promise of its prosperity lay in the colleges. If therefore the Falloux Act killed higher primary, it must have done so through its action in the secondary sphere.

It should be stated however that higher primary did not in point of fact lose its legal existence in the sense of becoming illegal. Eugène Rendu, a primary inspector, in his commentary on the 1850 Act held that it maintained higher primary, allowing, as far as the 1833 Act allowed, "the establishment, under the name of special, vocational, intermediate, etc., of schools for the many whom a commercial or industrial calling takes beyond primary proper, but who should stop short of a college education." (1) That is borne out by actual events. Though the higher teaching certificate was abandoned, provision was made for endorsing supplementary subjects on the ordinary certificate, (2) and those subjects, specified in the act (art.23), covered the ground of the former higher primary scheme. By a regulation of 17th. August, 1851, that Article was confirmed :

"When the teacher has received the authorisation of the Academy Council, the instruction may further bear, in whole or in part, upon the following:

Practical arithmetic; elementary history and geography; notions of physical science and natural history of every-day use; elementary instruction in agriculture, industry, hygiene; surveying, levelling, mechanical drawing; singing; gymnastics."

Paris never wavered in its development of Turgot; its first director, on leaving, proceeded to set up a private school on exactly similar lines; its second director, under cover of the 1850 legislation, was in the early

(1) p.118, "Commentaire de la loi d'enseignement."
 (2) p.852, Monitor, 1850.

sixties projecting additions to his own curriculum and that of selected elementary schools. If therefore higher primary was not imposed, there was no legal obstacle in the way of municipalities or individuals pursuing it; it was not out of mere toleration, as Duplan avers, that Paris and a few other towns continued to spend money on it, (1) but from a sense of responsibility which legislation by itself had proved incapable of engendering, but did not now render ineffective. In elementary schools with a supplementary year, (and that was what higher primary amounted to there), what difference did it make that that year should cease to be called higher primary, if it continued in being? For a century, it was believed that when Napoleon conferred a monopoly upon the University, there resulted wholesale suppression of existing schools; not till 1911 was it shown that there was no evidence of a single institution having been forced out of existence. (2) Similarly it seems to have been taken for granted that the legislator's failing to specify a particular school category revolutionised the country's educational provision and nullified at one stroke the efforts of twenty years. Of that there is no evidence either; the belief that such must have been the case betrays an inordinate faith in legislation, and an unwarranted trust in labels.

(1) Vol. II. "L'Enseignement Primaire Public à Paris." 1891.

(2) A. Aulard: "Napoléon 1er. et le Monopole Universitaire." 1911.

While admitting the baneful effect of distrust on the schools in general for a few years, we can see that 1850 heralded no such sudden collapse of the substance of higher primary as accepted theories pretend. Religious prejudice flattered the achievements of the July Monarchy in order to blacken the record of the Falloux Act.

The early Second Empire's attitude to primary instruction proper, despite the complications attendant upon the ascendancy of the Church, was in no way different from that of the July Monarchy - it should be kept on a modest level, and serve as a bulwark against ignorance and unrest. The government did show some concern for agriculture through the medium of the primary school;(1) but their principles led them to approach openly the question of intermediate through the colleges. Here again, they were not at variance with the real aims of their predecessors, the conditions imposed by the educational situation, or the social ambitions of the middle classes. Though the

(1) By an edict of 12th. July, 1853, Fortoul set up a commission (a) to indicate those teachers to whom practical instruction in agriculture might be entrusted (b) to formulate instructions to be addressed to them (c) to watch the instruction given in their schools, and propose measures for its success. This interest in the peasantry was maintained under Rouland. On his invitation 6,000 elementary teachers took part in an essay competition on the subject: The needs of primary instruction in a rural community from the point of view of the school, the pupil and the master.

opening years were marred by repression and victimisation of individuals, the reforms issued from an extra-parliamentary commission on which science was too well represented for economic interests to be overlooked.

Apart from reactionary measures of a political and religious character, the reforms, embodied in the arrêté of 30th. August, 1852, were an attempt to remedy those defects in view of which higher primary and special courses had first been conceived, as also to meet charges of ineffectiveness in the lycée advanced science studies. Fortoul claimed that he was legislating for a modern society by granting science equal status with letters, and for the individual by recognising special bents. After three years study in common, the pupils had to elect for science or letters, each division passing through a further three years in which their special subjects predominated, though half of their time was still spent together on literary matter. A final year, while consolidating earlier work, included Logic for all pupils.

Criticism would seem to have done this bifurcation less than justice; for whereas Duruy only postponed the dividing point by one year and yet has been lauded for his understanding, no word of praise is recorded for the original bifurcation scheme. Its promoters have come under general condemnation as a result of their political colour; and their efforts here, as their approach to intermediate,

have suffered from the spirit in which their reform was applied. It was an omnibus scheme, touching our subject because of the claims made for it. It was held that the Grammar Division (the first three years post-primary) gave in itself a complete "French" education of practical value, in other words an intermediate education carrying pupils into posts on a grade superior to the common workman. It proposed to do so however on the following :

- 1st. Year : French, Latin, Greek (2nd. half-year), Arithmetic.
Recitation, History, Geography.
- 2nd. Year : French, Latin, Greek, Recitation, History of France, Physical geography of France, Arithmetic.
- 3rd. Year : French, Latin, Greek, Comparative grammar, Latin prosody, History of France, political geography of France, Arithmetic, Geometry.

The letters subdivision followed with French, Latin, Greek, modern languages, history, geography, and a smattering of the sciences. Suffice it to say that critics predicted, and time showed, a fall in literary standard, due in part to the organisation, but also largely to the avowed policy of the administration.

The minister was particularly optimistic about the science division. Not only was it to prepare for the baccalauréat in science and the higher special schools, but it was also calculated to lead direct to commercial and industrial life.

Too much was being attempted within the confines of this one scheme, had it been the only provision. The Grammar section could not perform the function of a true higher primary school while devoting so much attention to

purely secondary subjects; a science course which was sufficiently theoretical for aspirants ~~to~~ to advanced study could not meet the needs of those passing out to wage-earning. In intermediate therefore, whether on our restricted definition or the wider application of the term as understood by contemporaries, the practical was sacrificed to the theoretical; the shortcomings of the scheme at the top were not compensated by improvement on the lower or middle ranges to which commerce and industry looked for recruitment. New regulations or no, they had to find their practical instruction of economic value elsewhere. The administrator must soon have come to see that, for, contrary to the implications of the abundant criticism, he did not make a clean sweep of other partial solutions. Special courses were maintained, and indeed instituted where none had existed, when the weakness of the official programme made itself felt. In 1862 they figured in 64 lycées and most communal colleges.(1) Those courses should, as already indicated, have left untouched pupils of 12 to 15 years; but their aim was still ill-defined, their organisation irregular, and they therefore in many cases served what were really higher primary pupils. A few higher primaries preserved their identity,

(1) Ch. Jourdain, p.145, "Rapport sur l'Organisation et les Progrès de l'Instruction Publique." 1867. Napoleon's "lycées" became "collèges royaux" under the Restoration and July Monarchy, and again "lycées" in 1848.

without making any progress. In many elementary schools, the 1850 syllabus was exceeded in response to local demand. Geometry, algebra, chemistry, architectural drawing, accountancy, foreign languages, and even latin made their appearance despite the protests of rivals who invoked the law to repress such extensions, expecting it apparently to protect them from their own lack of initiative.(1) The situation was such as is more often associated with English than with French educational development; yet it was no different from what it had been previously. The alleged contrast existed only in the minds of government critics who placed the practical situation as they knew it from experience against the Guizot régime as they imagined it from the legislation, to the inevitable detriment of the former.

It is worthy of note that the régime which has brought upon itself all but unanimous condemnation for its bifurcation scheme embodied in its circulars many teaching ideas that were to outlive their original sponsors : abundant oral work, frequent questioning, shorter exercises; stress was also laid upon national history, the study of social institutions, modern languages as instruments of culture, drawing and gymnastics. The serious study of pedagogy was not however thought of for secondary teachers, and had only made a start in elementary work. Present-day

(1) p.46, Ch.Jourdain, op.cit..

conceptions of a primary normal school are apt to colour our interpretation of France's activity in the multiplication of such schools in mid-century. They had in view not so much the technical equipment of the young teacher for a highly specialised task, as the provision of a modicum of knowledge which would ensure that he knew as much as the elementary syllabus would require him to impart. Even according to contemporary standards in 1862, the training given in them was "meagre and unambitious".(1) Under the 1833 régime, the executive's energy had been mainly spent upon administration : the propagation of schools to combat the total absence of instruction among large numbers of the population left little time or money for pedagogical study. Guizot addresses his homilies not to men who might conceivably be or become experts in a social science and a difficult art, to the external organisation of which political fortune had called him; rather does he figure as a paternal adviser, reconciling teachers to their humble office, pointing them to compensations for social indignities in the idealism with which they might imbue their daily task. Independent teaching associations however were not without their influence, though they also were preoccupied with the spread, rather than the deepening, of education. When the reactionary incubus of 1850 lifted, teachers conferences were resumed in Paris; and from 1854 more attention came to be directed

(1) Jury's report, Class XXIX, (Educational works and appliances), International Exhibition, 1862.

to curricula, classification, preparation work, exercises and analogous questions. M.Rapet, an educational publicist of note and ultimately an inspector general, did much to foster such discussions and make their results available to the schools. General lines of improvement were thus being opened up in anticipation of the day when the administrator might make use of them in cooperation with the teaching force.

Primary and secondary teaching being thus left largely to the caprice of the individual master, it is not surprising that no central authority was in a position to guide those who had chosen new subjects as instruments of culture in their approach to the adolescent.

It is time to revert to Turgot, and trace its development under Pompée's successor.

Emile Marguerin took his licence in 1843, and was entrusted with special courses (rhétorique supplémentaire) in the collège Bourbon at Paris, where he had been a pupil. Family responsibilities prevented him from facing the agrégation, despite his special bent for history and literature; and in 1852, when Turgot fell vacant, he successfully applied for the post, though he was already nominated to a chair in a provincial lycée. The task to which he came was to constitute his life's work; his biography would be the history and influence of the Turgot schools over a period of 30 years. During most of that time, in matters affecting higher primary, Paris and Gréard are synonymous with Marguerin, who was honoured in becoming the confidant and inspirer of the city's first director of primary instruction.

Turgot in 1852 was typical of what higher primary might become in the bigger centres. Paris was already giving free elementary instruction, but fees were charged from the beginning at Turgot - 13 francs per month, covering tuition and all material except text-books. With a view to improving salaries, the rate was increased to 15 francs in 1857, and later to 18 francs.(1) On that income, taking all in all, running expenses were met; the city

(1) In 1883, the school became entirely free.

made itself responsible for the provision and maintenance of the fabric.

In response to the demand of parents, a supplementary year was added in 1856; and from that date, Turgot's influence increased in the development of that fuller intermediate instruction which Guizot, Cousin, Girardin^d and Salvandy had contemplated between higher primary and secondary. This provision for an élite of its pupils was to give Turgot points of contact with every development in non-classical post-primary education, and make its director one of the educational forces of the day. Public opinion was for years uncertain as to the nature or merits of an intermediate and modern curriculum; the administrator, even after conversion to it, had difficulty in defining its scope and spirit; no one had worked out its methods; Turgot was an experimental station under the guidance of one who, being clear about what was ~~ew~~ required, applied his theories, broke down official and popular prejudice, and satisfied employers without abnegating his pedagogical creed. Where Turgot fell short as a full secondary model, Chaptal was available by reason of its higher aims and more wealthy clientèle.

Circumstances permit us a full view of the situation in 1863. The London Exhibition of the previous year had shaken France's confidence in herself as a producer of artistic work, by reason of developments in neighbouring countries, particularly Germany and England, and emphasised

the desirability of investigating the provision made for vocational training. Vocational schools were not lacking; but, having been established under independent auspices, they did not meet the French demand for systematic organisation. The lower grades in particular were poorly equipped, unevenly distributed, and often non-existent in districts which most required them. Paris itself was inadequately supplied; beyond the capital, Lyons, Mulhouse, Douai and Lille were the only cities whose facilities showed any real appreciation of the needs of industry. It was under these circumstances that the Minister of Agriculture, Commerce and Public Works requested that the Emperor set up a commission of inquiry. The Chambers, Administration, Commerce, Industry and Public Instruction were represented; and while the occasion of the investigation naturally made for industry filling the major part of the picture, yet the classification of existing establishments was so rudimentary, their frontiers so indefinite, their designation so misleading, that valuable information can be gleaned from the volumes of evidence regarding higher primaries in general, and Turgot in particular. (1) Marguerin was a witness, as also Pompée and the director of Chaptal; between them they represented the preoccupation for cultural education in face of the

(1) Enquête sur l'enseignement professionnel. 1864.

strong demand of industry for a bread-and-butter schooling.

Furthermore on 14th. May, 1862, the Municipal Council of Paris passed a resolution to the effect that, Turgot having been attended by such excellent results, the city should proceed to open other schools of a similar type; and to prepare for such a step, Marguerin, assisted by a young secondary teacher, undertook a two months investigation in England. His report (1) was in process of compilation at the time of his evidence before the commission, not being presented to the Prefect of the Seine till December, 1864. This contact with England was to prove the inspiration of all Marguerin's subsequent work. He had found a vitality and adventurous spirit of initiative without counterpart in France. According to Gréard, his most intimate associate in all schemes of development, this study of conditions abroad produced a remarkable effect upon his fertile mind; in discussion and instructions to his staff, he was ever reverting to English models and precedents in support of projects which owed to him their establishment on French soil. (2) It is somewhat surprising that no notice should have been taken of this Anglo-French link, appearing as it does at a vital stage in the

(1) "De l'enseignement des classes moyennes et des classes ouvrières en Angleterre." Marguerin et Motheré. 1864.

(2) Gréard: "Education et Instruction", Vol. I, Annexe, p. 400.
 ' ' : Article on Marguerin in "Dictionnaire de Pédagogie", ed. F. Buisson.

rapprochement of school and society. Matthew Arnold visited Turgot and mentions its director's investigation in England, or, as he mistakenly puts it, the secondary schools of London;(1) but he gives no hint of its influence upon him. The report itself did not embody all he had garnered; but it carried important recommendations, most of which were acted upon by the municipal council. It is the work of a practical educationist of long views, throwing interesting light upon the corresponding English position in the sixties, and causing to pale before it in pedagogical interest more pretentious inquiries like that of 1868.(2) Not that Marguerin found the ideal - he would have been less of an educationist if he had; but he left the beaten track, probed the spirit animating a school, weighed up aims and achievements, and from evidence of failure no less than of success, came away better fitted for his own task.(3)

Between those two surveys of 1863, the one of national scope, the other born of the capital's own progressiveness,

(1) p.89, "Schools and Universities on the Continent."

(2) "De l'Enseignement Secondaire en Angleterre et en Ecosse", rapport adressé à M.le Ministre, par MM. Demogeot et Montucci.

(3) The interest attaching to this influence demands that fuller reference be made to the English situation than is possible in the body of this study. Cf. Appendix.

we get a body of valuable first-hand information regarding the fortunes and prospects of intermediate instruction.

It emerges that the extreme weakness of elementary instruction was still an insurmountable obstacle to higher primary becoming the coping-stone of the popular schools, even if that were to become the national aim. Though Turgot's preparatory was not an integral part of the scheme, most entrants had to go through it before they could approach the first year of the course - and this though they often exceeded the normal entrance age by two or even three years. They came for the most part from private elementary schools; but both communal and private come in for criticism on the score of attainment. Yet this was the capital city from which had emanated most of the agitation for more education for the people, in which the authorities had always exceeded the legal elementary minimum, and to which Frenchmen were wont to look for the finest models in the country. Rural schools were worse. Seasonal absence, scattered dwellings, bad roads, strife between the priest and the teacher - all contributed to the sorry result. It was computed that 600,000 children were entirely without schooling; who would reckon, asks Marguerin, the thousands that had been enrolled, but took nothing away with them? Their last year was largely occupied with devotional exercises and study preparatory to first communion, (1) after which it was impossible to

(1) Pompée's evidence.

retain them at school.⁽¹⁾ This state of affairs not only made higher primary a remote possibility among the popular classes, but also vitiated all attempts at equipping the worker for his calling by attendance at evening classes : his time had to be spent on school rudiments; if not, the instruction was futile, because far above his level. The history of the early Mechanics Institutes in England was repeating itself in France.

Turgot had far outstripped its provincial counterparts. Despite alleged political hindrances, its standard was beyond the reach of all but the best equipped cities, unless the communal colleges had ruthlessly discarded classical education and devoted their resources to a modern curriculum. It lay in a manufacturing and commercial district from which it could draw upon a class able to pay moderate fees, and interested in practical instruction. Families in private industries, retail trades, public and private offices, banks, and the more responsible posts in factories

(1) The "Museum" was influential enough for M. Rapet, now an inspector general, to take cognisance of its articles. On 1st. Nov. 1861, he sent the editor a letter refuting figures and conclusions quoted from the Allgemeine Schul-Zeitung, purporting to show the extreme prostration of French elementary instruction. The "Museum" however was not convinced, and quoted as against Rapet the report of the committee adjudicating on the essay competition already referred to in connection with the improvement of rural schools. The successful competitor had already been appointed an inspector before the result was known.

provided the main supply. A few were connected with the heavy industries and wholesale trade, preferring its practical training to the bookish studies of the lyc ee. The working classes proper were represented only by 94 out of 740 pupils, gaining access through the city's free place scheme. The bursaries were awarded by competitive examination among the best pupils from the communal schools; some 300 hundred competed, and the first 40 were divided between Turgot and Chaptal. Only to this small extent therefore, even in Paris, was the higher primary yet a popular development of elementary, and a rung in the democratic ladder.

There can be no doubt about the attractiveness of the school for the lower middle class. The 740 enrolment was already 200 over the capacity of the building, in spite of extensions in 1856. One hundred applicants had to be turned away in 1863; 80 more were waiting till the following session, though there was no likelihood of more than a dozen places being vacant. Demand, if allowed free play, would have raised the enrolment to 1200 in two years.

The character of the studies is best described in Marguerin's own words : "They are general while at the same time leaning to the practical. They are therefore theoretical, for without theory there is no development of the mind - you are reduced to processes, recipes so to speak; but they are not confined to speculative theory. They aim at leading to applications; they do lead there;

they indicate those applications; they touch upon them without becoming involved in them, for that would mean being swamped by them. It is this general and practical character which distinguishes our studies from those of the lyc ee science divisions, where they are more thorough, more extensive, less concerned with the practical side. For the same reason (as also by their limited duration and moderate fees) they are suited to the middle class which the school has in view. One may say that it is experience which has gradually made our syllabus and adjusted it to the needs of our client ele. It is because of that moreover that I consider it sound."

An important feature of the organisation was that all the general subjects were compulsory. Marguerin strongly disapproved of breaking up a school into subsections according to prospective occupation, and feeding them on specialised fare. This was his objection to King's College School - the organisation there lent itself to individual caprice, and the benefits of a general education were lost. General study first, specialisation later - that was his motto. Early specialisation, while limiting a boy's chances in the economic world, failed in many cases to reveal special abilities, and led to mediocre intelligence.

With these principles in mind, it is possible to interpret his syllabus. The subject-matter fell into three groups :

- (1) mathematical and physical sciences.
- (2) graphic arts.
- (3) religious instruction, history and geography, modern languages, literature.

These comprised :

- (1) arithmetic; plane and solid geometry with applications; algebra up to and including the binomial theorem; plane trigonometry; the elements of analytical geometry; plans and elevations.
 elementary physics and mechanics in 2nd. and 3rd. years, amplified in 4th..
 chemistry (organic and inorganic) spread over three years, with the elements of chemical analysis.
 natural history : mineralogy and geology, leading up to their industrial applications.
- (2) architectural design, first from prints and later from models; clay modelling for some pupils along the same lines.
 mechanical drawing up to building plans and machine drawing, treated theoretically and practically.
 penmanship in all styles throughout the whole course.
- (3) religious instruction, historical and dogmatic, showing the development of Christianity, its influence on civilisation, and the relation of religion to the great moral principles.
 history, ancient, middle age and contemporary in broad outline; detailed study of France; constant insistence on economic factors.
 geography conceived in the same spirit.
 literature: composition, appreciation, history of the main periods; sterility avoided by stressing the underlying logical and moral principles; language made subservient to this end, at least as far as French was made a substitute for Latin and Greek.

Outside these three groups, the school provided special commercial instruction, spread over the three years of the ordinary course, and constituting a practical training of immediate value, comprising elementary notions of

commerce; book-keeping and accountancy; exchange and arbitration.

Group 3 was Turgot's "humanities". Not that Marguerin denied the sciences cultural value. He considered them however to be comparatively limited in this respect. Mathematical ability he found to be no guarantee of sound judgment, logical reasoning, orderliness and precision; nor did he find that mathematical study cultivated those qualities; in his view it was of low transfer value. For the making of the whole man, for the general ideas entering into the cultivation of mind and character, he looked to religion, history and literature.

The physical sciences were at this period delayed till the 2nd. year; but having found in England confirmation of his theory that they could be taught with profit to fairly young pupils, Marguerin was soon afterwards to introduce them in the first year. Economic geography, political and industrial economy, common law were also to make their appearance under the same inspiration. Levasseur, on the director's invitation, framed the schemes of work.(1) The ambitious titles of those subjects are somewhat terrifying unless we bear in mind the modest aims of the English models which Marguerin was following. In addition, accountancy was developed with the collaboration of the Ecole Supérieure de Commerce and given over to specialists,

(1) p.761, Vol.II. Levasseur, "Histoire des Classes Ouvrières."

the resultant scheme later being universalised through the *enseignement secondaire spécial*; freehand and mechanical drawing were worked up into a carefully graded course based on models; and Spanish was introduced at the request of some commission agencies. Special mention should also be made of the initiation of word study by decomposition and grouping into families, a method which was also to gain a wide vogue.

The commission as a whole seemed anxious that manual work should figure more largely in the schools controlled by the Ministry of Public Education. Both Marguerin and Pompée were averse to this as far as higher primary was concerned, though their arguments were not to hold the field for long. They dreaded it as an encroachment of the purely vocational school upon the general training at which they aimed, at the same time emphasising material difficulties. Where were the trained instructors and the additional accomodation to come from? What could they jettison to make room for it? What form of manual work should be favoured from among the many possible? Marguerin conceded that it might be made a healthy pastime out of class hours in boarding establishments.

Aims and methods at Turgot demanded a mixture of text-book and oral instruction, the text-book for precision and consecutiveness, the oral to impart life and interest. But the text-books did not exist; neither did the staff for that matter, and Marguerin realised that syllabuses and

circulars were nothing without teachers ready to break with tradition and devote themselves enthusiastically to the new instruction. (1) Pompée had grasped the importance of staffing. Marguerin went far and wide in his search for men who had either given evidence of progressiveness or could be moulded into the type required. Specialisation permitted the school to draw upon the part-time service of teachers attached to other institutions or even connected with industry; secondary masters, former pupils of the higher special schools, primary teachers, and later, special secondary teachers - all figure in the lists, bringing their varied contributions, but imbibing the spirit of the new movement and becoming part of an organism. Lequien, Régnier, Tronquoy, Bareswill, Terrien, Francoeur in the earlier days; Michel, Depaul, de Montmahou, Félix Hément, Vanier, Pillet, Morin, Porcher and others were or became men of standing in their own line, and successfully backed up the director's efforts. The latter's understanding, encouragement, and inspiring collaboration are acknowledged by some of them in prefaces to their treatises, while he himself was joint-author of several in history and literature. By 1858 there was in print a series of 11 volumes entitled "Cours Complet d'Enseignement Industriel." under the general editorship of Marguerin; 11 more were in the press; the contributors were all associated with

(1) p.87, Marguerin and Motheré.

the development of Turgot as an intermediate centre.(1)

This activity of Marguerin and his circle in the provision of literature embodying new methods and subject-matter induces one to regard them as the lineal descendants of the Oratorians and Port-Royalists. The advent of the political educationist, heralded by La Chalotais, had shifted the emphasis from religion to national development, variously interpreted by different parties and sects, but now the only real bond of sympathy between different agencies. In the general advance, lesser partners contributed by experiment in a way impossible to the vast and cumbrous machinery of the State. As the Oratory and Port-Royal, devising means and methods, widened the curriculum and made a notable contribution in text-books,(2) so the Turgot group became a breeding-ground for fresh ideas, an experimental station for the application of theories, a training school for a modern type of master, and the source of a stream of text-books which fertilised the whole domain of primary and secondary education. What

(1) The epithet "industriel" will occasion no surprise in view of the difficulty experienced in choosing an acceptable designation for the instruction envisaged. "Primaire supérieur" fell a victim to parental vanity; "intermédiaire" was felt to be too vague; "spécial", first abandoned in favour of "professionnel", was shortly to be revived by Duruy in the form "Secondaire spécial". Marguerin favoured "industriel" because of its applicability: industrie agricole, commerciale, manufacturière; l'industrie du bâtiment, des transports, etc..

(2) Cf. Chap.V. "The French Tradition in Education." Barnard. 1922.

the lycée and college had failed to assimilate when it came in rudimentary form from a minister of Public Instruction, a batch of schools, untrammelled by tradition, and under personal guidance, adopted and developed to a point at which it had more chance of being universalised by the central authority.

"In the education of a people which, by common agreement, is better endowed with keen intelligence than the power of sustained energy, little has been left to will-power." (1) Marguerin sees danger in an educational system reacting upon the national genius which begot it without any effort to counteract national weaknesses. His theory finds partial expression in the disciplinary methods he adopted. The legal punishments, under a regulation of 7th. April, 1854, were (1) a bad mark. (2) confinement to school with extra work during part of the interval. (3) confinement to school with extra work during part of the weekly outings. (4) temporary expulsion from class or study and summons before the headmaster. (5) cancellation of leave to visit relatives. (6) censure before the whole school. (7) detention in isolation with extra work under the supervision of a master. (8) expulsion. Marguerin did not avail himself of those penalties. In a note of a later date to Gréard, he outlines his policy thus : "Discipline is so securely established that it cannot now be threatened. The reason

(1) p.88, Marguerin and Motheré.

is that the system leaves little to the master's whim, has recourse to no violent or humiliating action, renounces over-elaborate regulations and the futile multiplication of tasks. It is based almost entirely on purely ideal penalties involving no actual punishment, and on rewards conferring no privileges. The pupil suffers the disgrace of a penalty; he enjoys the honour of a reward. The sanctions are as follows. Each boy is given a weekly placing according to the number of credits gained, the penalties being deducted, but still showing in the record-book. This record, with appropriate comment and explanation, is remitted to the parents every Saturday. The pupil is placed each month according to his credits, the order of merit being read out by the headmaster and then posted up; the desk he occupies corresponds to that placing. If the penalties reach a certain total (varying according to the division), the pupil is told that he is wasting his time and proving unworthy of the sacrifices made for him. Should he continue as before, he is censured before the school. After a second censure, the position is put before his parents, who are advised to take him away so as to avoid official expulsion....If applied with skill, the system is effective without punishment other than the rewriting of exercises or the repetition of preparation." (1) Certain tasks were permitted however ~~if~~ in exceptional circumstances; but for Marguerin they were

(1) p.154, Vol.I, "Education et Instruction." Gréard.

as much a measure of the master's shortcomings as a sign of the pupil's depravity. That the less gifted might retain their self-respect, the credits had reference not only to merit, but also to progress and conduct. Turgot's achievement in this connection can best be assessed by recalling that school rebellions were not unknown at Paris long after they had become a memory in England.

In 1861, the director, whose interest in the pupil and his family was not confined to school days, instituted an 'Association amicale des anciens élèves de l'Ecole Turgot.' Its basic principle was the moral obligation laid upon all beneficiaries of the school to contribute to its wider usefulness by interesting themselves in the after-careers of all going through it. Former pupils connected with commerce and industry were to use their influence in the placing of out-going students - some 150 per annum. Marguerin was always distressed at the amount of human energy and ability running to waste through misfits in the world of business. An understanding between school and family could largely rectify this tragic loss, and obviate much vexatious disappointment. The school made it its business to study individual tastes, abilities and family circumstances, thus fitting itself to act as the parent's guide and friend. The Association Amicale was therefore the natural complement of the day-school; and it served its purpose admirably, for employers soon learned that Marguerin's confidence in Turgot's products was not

misplaced. But could such intimacy be maintained between pupil and teacher, school and family, school and industry, without a complicated organisation outwith the resources of most institutions? The initial difficulties held no terrors for Marguerin, and he saw no reason why they should for others; as a result of application and sustained interest, the additional duties became part of the day's work, and the system functioned smoothly without any undue burden upon the administration.

Thus Turgot developed naturally and harmoniously, eschewing on the one hand classical training and on the other the vocational exercises of the trade school, and attaining a standard far above that required for Guizot's higher primaries to be pronounced successful. Not the least of its services, in the eyes of him who fashioned it into a living organism, was its salutary influence upon private establishments with which it competed, and whose varied methods had failed to invest intermediate instruction with any well-defined character. It opened the door to innumerable callings for which the training of the lycée was unnecessary. Commerce and manufactures absorbed the greater part of its output, particularly in clerical, banking and commission work; the bulk of the remainder were divided between industrial arts, building, civil engineering, railway offices, etc.; a few found their way to the Ecole Centrale, the Ecole des Beaux Arts, or the écoles des arts et métiers. This last however was not

greatly favoured by the director, who had no intention of making Turgot a mere preparatory school for technical institutions. It was primarily a link between elementary training and the community, not between the elementary and the higher schools.

Turgot's success is attributable to a combination of factors - material, social, pedagogical - which it might have been difficult to find elsewhere in France; yet initiative and resource stand out prominently as the features distinguishing it from the sickly growths of the provinces. Critics, looking to Germany's array of Real-schulen, peevishly censured the French legislator for not endowing his country in similar fashion, forgetting that the German system was organised out of local foundations, not imposed lock stock and barrel from headquarters. Montjean of Chaptal, less engrossed than Marguerin in the pedagogical aspect, attributed the capital's success to the superiority of municipal over state action; the interminable delay and sluggishness of the latter paralysed all it touched by its pretentious desire to regulate everything to the last dot. Marguerin would have subscribed to that. The school must have freedom of action in the selection of staff, modification of syllabus, adaptation to local peculiarities; the head must be free to pursue his task as an educator, and not be expected to perform the duties of two or three specialised functionaries.

"Given freedom of action, a man can accept heavy responsi-

bilities:

not otherwise." But Marguerin's conception of the educator prevented him from over-emphasising mere externals. For him all patronage was good, whether of municipality, chamber of commerce, trade union or private benefactor. The prime desiderata were harmony of methods and objectives; balance of general and practical, that is cultural and utilitarian; faith and pride in the work. With grand scale organisers, rearing their imposing edifices out of nothing, he had little sympathy. "I have no confidence in cut-and-dry systems, in huge symmetrical structures; I start from what is, and in that I seek the means of fresh progress." There were those who would have relegated his cultural education to the colleges, ~~ret~~ retaining higher primaries for technical work, with theory thrown in. His answer was that schools of a hybrid character could be planned on paper, combining theory and apprenticeship in any proportion required; but though much could be done on a small scale along these lines, it was a different matter to universalise it. He would have concurred heartily in Horace Mann's conviction that "where anything is growing, one former is worth a thousand re-formers."

We have dwelt at length upon Turgot not only to show the real educator at work, but also because it enters into the warp and woof of public intermediate organisation from Marguerin's day onward. It permits us to appreciate the magnitude of the task confronting the political educationist.

He had scarcely broken ground. His disappointment, and that of his critics, merely betrayed the extent to which his powers had been over-estimated. His method of approach was dictated by a practical situation buttressed by prejudice and tradition, yet violating the most elementary principles of good business. In the communal colleges, force of circumstances had introduced commercial, industrial, "special" and "French" courses, where in some cases they claimed two, three or even four times as many pupils as Latin did; yet on the last the financial and teaching resources were lavished, leaving the moderns to languish in mediocrity. No attempt was made to train capable masters; the modern instruction was committed to teachers who found it irksome and even derogatory to their dignity. The new schools therefore must wherever possible be quite distinct from existing institutions until they had won their spurs. Mulhouse would not have made the progress it did if its intermediate had remained associated with its college. Had Turgot been a wing of a lycée, would it have created methods, books and masters, gathered collections, made sets of models, built extensive laboratories and amphitheatres? It was not a solution of the apprentice problem, as the Ministry of Commerce and Public Works would have liked to see it, for it refused to do the work of a trade school; it did not yet populate its benches with the cream of the communal schools, as the Ministry of Public Instruction would at times have

liked to claim for it; it was the local response to a local need, designed and nurtured by men of insight; they were the real "creators", though the political system might place the laurels on other brows. When the statesman could legislate for democracy without misgiving; when the standard of living rose; when economic pressure had multiplied technical schools and defined their province; when classical training was recognised as no less special than any other; then would higher primary come into its own, and Turgot become less exceptional. It was no less exceptional even under the July Monarchy; yet later treatises read as if the 264 public higher primaries registered in 1840 had been so many Turgots. Turgot in fact was a direct stimulus to all educationists and sociologists who realised that so far, the government lagged behind public opinion, or at least economic opinion, in its amplification of the function of the school.

Matthew Arnold, referring to the national effort to be made shortly by Duruy, characterised the situation thus :
"As one may say of flogging, that the set of the modern spirit is so decisively against it that it is doomed, whatever plausible arguments may be urged on its behalf; so is the set of the modern spirit so definitely in favour of the new instruction that M. Duruy's creation, whatever reasons may be given why it should not succeed, will probably in the end succeed in some shape or other. The current of opinion is indeed, on the Continent, so wide

and strong as to be fast growing irresistible; and it is not the work of authority. Authority does all that can be done in favour of the old classical training; ministers of state sing its praises; the reporter of the commission charged to examine the new law is careful to pay to the old training and its pre-eminence a homage amusingly French. (1).....in the body of society there spreads a growing disbelief in Greek and Latin, at any rate as at present taught. I remark this in Germany as well as in France." (2)

We have seen however that for Turgot, and any with similar ideals, there was danger in the fact that economic stress entered largely into this movement. That economic necessity was susceptible of argument which would appeal to many for whom general culture meant little. Marguerin, as an opponent of uniform post-primary education, would find strong support; when the same Marguerin began to explain that he desired to educate for adaptability rather than for skill in a specific calling, the number of his followers would appreciably diminish. The balance which his objective demanded between vocation and a full life, when compared with the colleges, swung in favour of

(1) The words referred to were : "It is impossible to exaggerate the social importance of the classics. It is they that have for centuries ensured the intellectual supremacy of France."

(2) p.94, "Schools and Universities on the Continent."

vocation; tested by the standards of a trade school, the full life would have seemed to be his chief preoccupation. He appreciated the need for trade schools; but he had strong convictions as to when they should begin deepening innate differences by developing special aptitudes. His general instruction was assigned a nobler function than the general instruction commonly coupled with bench work in his day and for long afterwards; and such vocational training in Turgot as led to wage-earning in a specific capacity was so far directed mainly towards clerical work. It is evident moreover from the place assigned to it that Marguerin was yet far from the standpoint of a Kerschensteiner, for whom specialised vocational training holds the same cultural possibilities as academic studies, or that of a Dewey denying any ultimate distinction between vocational and cultural, physical and mental. In general methods also he differed from the latter. His admiration for the teaching in English secular schools stopped short of approval of it as a form that might be generalised - it demanded of the teacher qualities to be found only in exceptional cases; yet in this teaching can be discerned the germ of the project method. Marguerin, with all his freshness of outlook, was sufficiently faithful to the French school tradition to cherish formal knowledge formally imparted, and refuse to regard it as a by-product of spontaneous class-room discussion.

With all that, the fact remains that when Duruy came

to the ministry in 1863, Marguerin had already shown that the divorce between the school and society was not of the nature of things - a truth sensed by many before him, applied by a few, but by none more clearly grasped or effectively demonstrated than by the director of Turgot. "In the general wants and wishes of a period, the Idea as the necessary and the coming idea is felt beforehand and darkly seen; but in positive and concrete form it is the creation of creative individuals." (1) It does not detract from the honour to couple with his name that of Pompée and Goubaux.

(1) Krieck : "Philosophie der Erziehung", quoted by Thomson, p.196, "A Modern Philosophy of Education." 1929.

VICTOR DURUY.

Duruy's work as a minister of the Second Empire was so truly that of an individual and not of a cabinet, that it demands a separate chapter. The strange contradictions that hang about his administrative career can only be reconciled by an understanding of the political fortune which brought him into public life.

For the coup d'état to be a complete success, Napoleon Third required that the nation as a whole should be won over to his dynasty. All were to feel grateful to him for benefits received : manufacturers for new fields of industry, peasants for a ready market, artisans for work in abundance and increased purchasing power. Before he could proceed with that programme, the governmental and administrative machinery had to be so overhauled as to guarantee power and security to the country's benefactor. The constitution of 14th. January 1852 and later measures "interpreting" it conferred upon the Emperor free and unfettered authority, permitting him to absorb completely the functions of the executive. He governed by a vast system of centralisation - ministers, prefects, subprefects, mayors, police, army - through which he imposed his will upon the country. The ministers swore fidelity to him, were excluded from the legislative body, and worked their own departments without joint cabinet responsibility. The

prefect was the emperor on the spot. The mayors were appointed at headquarters, and need not even have been municipal council members. The Chamber had no initiative or power of amendment in legislation, and their president was appointed by the ruler. The real work was done by a Council of State whose president, again the Emperor's choice, represented it in the Chamber and the Senate. The Senate could propose measures; but by reason of its composition, it exercised its powers in the interests of the head of the State. To complete this stranglehold, the Press was effectively muzzled and public meetings were banned.

The first eight years therefore of the Empire were a strange mixture of "severity and favours, under which all classes were alternately harassed and caressed." (1) The Church and the University, remaining outside the immediate supervision of the government, must be won over. The first was secured by concessions; it was the task of Fortoul from 1851 to 1856 to subdue the latter.

Having combed out all undesirables and set the machine going under approved management, Napoleon could turn to making the country prosperous and contented. He encouraged big enterprises, chiefly by the development of credit. The impulse given to railways under Louis-Philippe had slackened, and in 1851 only 3,627 kilometres of line were

(1) Albert Thomas, Chap. X, Vol. XI, Cambridge Modern History.

in use. These were held by 18 different companies, which made for expensive working and defective service. The government succeeded in reducing them to six, extended their concessions, guaranteed a minimum interest; and by 1858 France had 16,207 kilometres of railroad. This, together with the organisation of Postal and Telegraph services, greatly benefited trade and industry. Manufacturers enjoyed numerous other advantages : measures on patents, partnership, bankruptcy, licenses, guild monopolies - all made for expansion. The bourgeoisie were induced to make business their sole preoccupation, forgetting politics and the wholesale suppression of political liberty; they were fully occupied making money and participating in the pageantry which the ruler encouraged. Their adherence to the dynasty therefore could not be in doubt.

The artisans caused more concern. Great masses of workers had gravitated to the north, Alsace, and the Loire valley. A 10 to 40% increase in wages was more than balanced by an increase of 50% in the cost of living; and it required all the vigilance of the police and the administration to smother feelings of resentment and republican propaganda. Various favours were conceded by the government; but when it was forced to go further than it thought safe, as in the legalising of Friendly Societies, the restrictive conditions attached were such as to minimise the dangers of class war and socialism. Beneficence

never went without close supervision. Intimately connected with the desire to have all at work and out of mischief, while at the same time enhancing the prestige of the ruler, was the grandiose scheme of public works initiated in Paris and copied in the provinces.

There was a spirit of enterprise abroad; France was regaining her ascendancy. So it seemed, but not to the social moralists. This acquiescence of the bourgeoisie in political tyranny, their subordination of all else to material gratification, boded ill for the moral wellbeing of the nation. Besides, the government was spending relatively little on agriculture, though the rural classes were its principal supporters among the people. A good market for his wheat was all the peasant asked; he was getting that, and therefore occasioned his rulers little anxiety. Beneficence was reserved for those requiring to be pacified. Not enough was done to advance scientific farming; many small holdings were amalgamated under big owners; the land was losing labour and capital, that the large towns might be further extended and beautified.

In 1857 Napoleon was at the height of his power. The whole country appeared submissive, rejoicing in the general good fortune. But this was not to endure for long. By the end of the following year the Emperor, through his Italian policy, had united all sections of the Catholics against him. Two years later, considering the time propitious for an open avowal of his Free Trade leanings,

and desiring to ingratiate himself with England, he concluded a trade agreement with that country which alienated Protectionists and manufacturers in general. With Catholics and Protectionists, once his best friends, now opposing him, Napoleon began to see the disadvantages of absolutism : he was made answerable for blunders, and his dynastic dreams were in danger of being shattered. This was the genesis of the liberal measures which, though as yet quite illusory, first appeared in the decrees of 1860. Senate and Legislative Assembly received new powers of debate and publicity. This concession opened the way to demands for the full restoration of parliamentary government which the declining prestige of the emperor had increasing difficulty in withstanding. The unnatural calm which had prevailed gave place to heated debate on all matters, home and foreign, with a decided bias against the régime itself. The election of 1863 having increased the Liberal opposition to 35, Napoleon made changes in his cabinet, mainly with a view to directing that opposition's activities against the government qua government, and diverting them from the régime. He saw fit to bring in as Minister of Education a man without public political attachment, a member of the inspectorate whose historical work had attracted his attention. This explains the presence of Victor Duruy, a democratic reformer, in a ministry which was as yet quite unprepared to grant the concessions being clamoured for in and out of parliament,

and which was to remain adamant until 1868, when foreign policy had so aggravated the situation as to force reforms from a much harassed ruler. By then, however, the play of party was in full swing, and the following year saw Duruy superseded. All along he had appeared more as an opposition member than as a supporter of the government in office.

Enjoying, as he did, the confidence of the Emperor, and being able to act independently of his colleagues, Duruy found his greatest enemy to be the general view taken of the country's finances. Government supporters and Opposition were alike ~~x~~ convinced that absolutism as it was developing would lead to bankruptcy. Glory abroad, favouritism at home, great public works - all these were costly. Napoleon's manipulation of the budget and his supplementary loans were severely testing financial stability. There was a regular annual deficit of about 100 million francs; by 1861 the floating debt had touched 1000 millions. Business men were growing anxious; and the business man's anxiety is readily transferred to the educational administrator. Within limits, Duruy's enthusiasm triumphed over difficulties; but he was ploughing a lonely furrow. Surrounded by the outward signs of prosperity, he had oftentimes to beg his way.

Primary instruction, though not yet closely related to the fortunes of intermediate, was to become so eventually by its upward tendency; and we have therefore to glance at Duruy's work in this sphere. It was important in itself, apart from the impetus it gave to future progress. The idealists of the Revolution had formulated the principle of free compulsory primary education. Duruy accepted it as both a duty and a good investment; but while he won over the Emperor, the government would not move beyond his act of 10th. April 1867 which abolished a maximum allotment of free places. He continued therefore to draw 18 million francs from school fees at the rate of 10 or 12 francs per pupil per annum. By personal approach he had the special funds from departmental councils increased by nearly 3 million francs, while the state budget, despite the reluctance of his colleagues, rose from 19 to 24 millions. Further, he persuaded 6,098 communes to grant free education in 8,400 schools by increasing local rates. Between 1864 and 1867, 2167 primary schools were opened with an increase of 227,884 in the school population. The 1867 act led to the establishment of 8,000 city schools and 2,000 more in the hamlets. The curriculum was enriched to meet local needs; school libraries increased from ~~4,866~~ 4,833 in 1865 to 12,713 with 937,000 volumes in 1869; teachers' salaries were considerably improved; the minister, by his candour and enthusiasm, induced many to share the sacrifices he made

to accomplish his designs.(1) If ever a minister entered heart and soul into the work of his department and broke through the red tape of officialdom, it was Duruy.(2) His social~~y~~ philosophy explained the lavish expenditure of energy and goodwill which marked his tenure of office: "When once universal suffrage is in the constitution and sovereignty resides in the people; when we ^{have} ~~ahve~~ free competition in industry, machinery in the factory, and social problems in the workers' daily discussion; we are under the obligation, for the safety of labour, order and liberty, of extending by all possible means the instruction and intelligence of the working classes."(3) If there was the remotest relation between the official schemes for the advancement of education and the desires or needs of the country at large, this was the man to make the most of it.

Duruy's scholastic career had coincided with a period during which two types of instruction, from having simultaneously exercised the minds of educationists, and having neither of them an assured existence, came to be vaguely associated with the filling in of the gap between

(1) Statistics from p.75, E.Lavissee, "Un Ministre." 1895.

(2) "I give you my confidence", he said to the staff on taking over the department, "as if we had grown up together; but I come here knowing my job, and I shall have an eye to everything." p.203, "La Lutte Scolaire en France au 19e siècle." 1912.

(3) Quoted, p.77, "Un Ministre."

elementary and the traditional college instruction. With the spread of industrialism, that gap forced itself more upon the public mind than it had been permitted to do when an agricultural class were the chief sufferers. Had it been possible to bring both types into operation at once under favourable conditions, their distinction would have been clearer - higher primary as an upward movement from the bare elementary, special secondary as a relaxation of the stereotyped classical course. That distinction however was obscured by the irregularity of spontaneous growth; and no government had so far greatly influenced the movement. The more successful the higher primary, the more it resembled special secondary.

Similarities became more striking when any attempt was made to evolve detailed curricula which an administration might impose upon large numbers of schools. In print these could not reflect differences of treatment and atmosphere. The dual line of advance did not meet the French need for uniformity; and so it was not long before the suppression of one or other was being advocated. It was a sore trial for a centralised system to which clarity of purpose was essential for smooth working. Differing degrees of democratic faith, impatience with struggling innovations, dread of revolutionary change, desire for complete renovation - all were reflected in the see-saw policy of the governing power. The administration however had proved so helpless in face of the main

problem, that its interference was felt more in the full classical course than anywhere else. The colleges, as the sole institutions with any stability, had gathered to themselves the fruits of 30 or 40 years of makeshift and sporadic^c growth. Duruy therefore had little choice but to operate upon them when he set about cutting channels for this mass of ill-assorted material. He made no attempt to revive or multiply higher primaries as such, though the position of any that did exist was safeguarded in his act of 21st. June 1865 : "Notwithstanding the present act, headmasters of primary schools founded in terms of the acts of 28th. June 1833 and 15th. March 1850 may continue to give the primary instruction intended by these two acts." This shows his solicitude for tentative efforts in any shape or form; but, democrat though he was, and proclaimed the great forerunner of the Third Republic, the fact that he confined his action to the colleges is a conclusive argument against all who would antedate the true democratic movement by ascribing to the July Monarchy ideals for the elementary school which did not inform legislation till the end of the century. (1)

Duruy was near enough to the schools to know what was being done; as a student of history, he could be relied upon to interpret general tendencies; and for him, a reformed college curriculum would have met current

(1) Twenty years later, in his Memoirs, Duruy attributes the favour with which higher primary was then meeting to its having been made free. (p.257, Vol.I, Notes et Souvenirs.)

aspirations, democratic as well as economic.

In the discussion aroused by the acknowledged failure of the bifurcation, there were those who advocated concentration on higher primaries. Their advocacy however was not always grounded in historical fact. Praise of the July Monarchy had an obvious political motive; and this propaganda, indulged in by noted publicists, has no doubt conferred longevity upon the misconceptions lingering round Guizot's "creation". Even Jules Simon claimed for the 1833 act a democratic faith which its sponsors would have disclaimed anywhere but on the political platform. "Those higher primary schools met the need revealed today by the irresistible, though somewhat confused, demand for vocational schools. It was no fault of the government that they were not more successful in 1833." (1) With that we might agree, though it is permissible to express surprise at his belief in the magic power of a government; but when he goes on to affirm that they "gave disinherited talent a chance to recover status", we are constrained to accord his words only the most limited application. That "disinherited talent" did not reside in the populace. Before higher primary could become a manifestation of progressive democracy, elementary had some considerable leeway to make up. No one realised this more than Duruy, even in 1863 : thousands of communes without a girls'

(1) p.77, "L'Ecole", 1865.

school; no hamlet with a school of any kind; many children debarred by the fixed maximum of free places; many more discontinuing in the middle of the course; lack of adult classes and libraries to make good earlier defects; 27% of all conscripts completely illiterate; 5,000 women teachers earning less than £16 a year, some falling as low as £3; none of them entitled to pension; no male teacher sure of a pension carrying 9d a day.(1)

Without discouraging initiative in primary, indeed while encouraging it by legislating for useful extensions of curriculum (history, geography, agriculture), Duruy chose the secondary field for his approach to the problem of intermediate. The wisdom of so doing can hardly be questioned in face of circumstances, whatever limitations such an approach might carry with it. The legislator of 1833 had professed to endow the country with intermediate through a developed primary; that in practice was to mean a developed primary curriculum dispensed to a middle class through any school which would adopt it. The legislator of 1865 had perforce to recognise that the primary school offered no prospect of success as a medium. His aims were identical with those of the July Monarchy; but while the latter classed its new instruction as primary, ^D Duruy ranged it with secondary, thus rectifying the anomalous character of earlier legislation.

(1) Lavissee, p.61, "Un Ministre." 1895.

The 1861 census showed a population of 37,386,513, three-fourths of which were comprised of rural communes of less than 2,000 inhabitants.(1) Paris and the Seine accounted for one-nineteenth of the whole. Duruy found 18 or 20 millions dependent directly on the land, 2 millions on industry, 1,200,000 in offices, the remainder in the liberal professions or living on private incomes.(2) The 1866 census gave details of profession : agriculture 51%, industry 28%, commerce 4%, various professions allied to those three 2%, that is a total of 85%. 80 lycées, 250 colleges and a small number of technical, commercial, or higher primary institutions constituted the public provision for the country's needs above the simplest manual work. Outside the schools, the legislator had been more concerned with checking the spread of certain literature than with propagating literature in general. There were stamp and colportage duties; press, booksellers, and printers restrictive laws. This left the spread of books largely in the hands of the Church, which quite naturally took a narrow view of its province. Various societies had been formed for a similar purpose, but with little success till after 1860.(3)

We have already referred to timid measures for practical

(1) A.Clément: "Essai sur la Science Sociale." 1867.

(2) p.252, Vol.I. "Notes et Souvenirs."

(3) Cf. in particular the Franklin Society, 1862.

study in science, modern languages and commerce. The lycées had not shown great enterprise : 9 out of 46 in 1842, with only 340 pupils out of 18,697 (1.82%). The communal colleges were seldom qualified to make much of such additions, though 51 out of 312 professed them in that year. (851 pupils out of 46,281 - 2.63%). (1) These numbers had gone on increasing, but without any corresponding improvement in the quality. Duruy had no hesitation in pronouncing the situation thoroughly unsatisfactory. Special teachers had never been trained for those new subjects; they were not nearly widespread enough; where they did exist, they were not successful. 20,000 pupils, according to him, were being nurtured on material and by methods which failed to give industry, commerce and agriculture what they wanted; 10 millions of francs were spent annually on others studying Latin and mathematics in wretched colleges whose yearly output was some 250 poor "bacheliers", each of whom therefore, so he said, was costing £1,600. (2) Such an argument, framed for effect, was obviously false, no matter how meagre the benefit to those not gaining the certificate. Ch. Jourdain gives us a more sober statement in his report covering up to the end of 1865. (3) Every year there were between

(1) p.40, Vol.II. "Education et Instruction." Gréard.

(2) Letter to the Emperor, 9 Oct. 1866.

(3) "Rapport sur l'Organisation et les Progrès de l'Instruction Publique." 1867.

3 and 4 hundred bacheliers in science or letters from the communal colleges. Of their pupils (33,038), more than 5,000 received only primary instruction; 12,000 were taking courses analogous to "special secondary"; hardly 2,500 went beyond Second; 10 or 11 thousand never got beyond the middle forms; only 3 colleges professed Special Mathematics; 60 discontinued classical study in Fourth; 181 had a primary annexe; 236 offered "special secondary", but of these only 79 had by then the full 4 years course.

As a result of his inspection tours, Duruy had more than once advised his predecessor in office that, by seeking to educate for the work-a-day world on Caesar and Phaedrus, the authorities were robbing the people of their time and money. Nor had Rouland remained deaf to his importunities. In 1862 he set up a commission which devised a scheme of study; this was published by Duruy a few months after his advent to power (2nd.Oct.1863), and was used as an experimental programme for two years while he was pursuing inquiries in various quarters. An inspector general was sent to Belgium, Germany and Switzerland to study progress made since Cousin's and Girardin's tours; Marguerin's English report was available; Chaptal, Turgot, Ivry, and the free school at Passy received the minister's personal attention; Pompée and Marguerin figured prominently in committee work; Gréard was already in close touch with Duruy. The outcome was the act of 21st.June 1865 on

"enseignement secondaire spécial", and the array of measures and circulars providing for its application.(1) The revised syllabus appeared the following April.

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- (1) (a) Enseignement secondaire spécial. Décrets, arrêtés, programmes et documents relatifs à l'exécution de la loi du 21 juin, 1865.
 (b) "Administration de l'instruction publique de 1863 à 1869. Ministère de V. Duruy." 1869.

"It was secondaire, because it rose far above the concerns of the primary school; I called it spécialbecause it was to vary according to the dominant interests of the locality....at Chartres, applied chemistry, physics and mechanics; at St. Etienne, metallurgy and dyes; at Lyons, silk making and commercial procedure." p.256, Vol.I, Notes et Souvenirs.

Enseignement Secondaire Spécial, 6 April 1866.

Preparatory hrs.	1st. Year hrs.	2nd. Year hrs.	3rd. Year hrs.	4th. Year hrs.
Religious In French	1 6	1 5	1 4	1 1
Rel. In. French			Rel. In.	Rel. In.
Modern lang. History of France	4 1	4 2	4 4	4 1
Mod. lang. Hist: import- ant periods		Mod. lang. Hist: French & modern	Moral instr. Composition History of Fr. literat. Mod. lang. Hist: contemporary	Moral instr. Composition
Geog: France	1	1	4	1
Geog: general	1	Geog: France	Geog: commercial	Industrial inventions
Arithmetic } Plane geom. }	4	Arith. } Plane geom. }	Algebra } Geom: plans & elevations }	Commerc. & industr. law Rural, indust. & commercial economy
Natural hist	2	Natur. hist. Physics Chemistry	Natur. hist. Physics Chemistry Mechanics Astronomy	Algebra Geom: plans & elevations. common curves Trigonometry
Penmanship Drawing Singing	4 4 2	Penmanship Drawing Accountancy Singing	Penmanship Drawing Accountancy Singing	Physics Chemistry Mechanics

Gymnastics, all through, same hours as singing.

On entering Preparatory at the age of 11 or 12, the pupil was supposed to have had religious instruction, reading, writing, the elements of grammar, the four rules of arithmetic in whole numbers and fractions, and the metric system of weights and measures. These were there consolidated, but the addition of a preparatory at all is again an indication of the general condition of elementary teaching. History and geography were approached methodically; geometry, a modern language and natural history were added. Each year formed a complete whole to meet the case of those leaving before the end of the course. The general and indispensable figured in the earlier years, science increasing in importance as the pupil rose up the school. The scheme was not expected in entirety from any one school; while general subjects were compulsory to preserve unity, management committees were to pick and choose from vocational matter according to local needs. Methods would require to be as distinctive as the syllabus, the aim being totally different from that of classical study. The practical requirements of business, industry and agriculture would constantly be kept before the pupil; his observation and judgment would be developed; the cultural would not be lost in the practical. It will be seen that drawing was regarded as a key subject. Detailed instructions were issued for each branch. The common law for example of the 3rd. year was interpreted

to include public and private law, the administrative organisation, army, taxes, legal and judicial systems, marriage, inheritance, property, buying and selling, lending and borrowing, partnership, citizenship - in short, a body of knowledge affecting the everyday life of the ordinary citizen. The 4th. year equivalents of this section were designed more for those specialising in some particular line. The minister, while not considering it possible or expedient "to put the workshop in the school", favoured the introduction of some form of manual work, so that the hand might be ready for the duties of apprenticeship, as the mind was for the office or the laboratory.

It is not difficult to trace the origins of this scheme. All we have thus far seen of living intermediate development points to the Turgot-Chaptal group as the models. Marguerin and Pompée were on the committee whose duty it was to watch over this "special" instruction; every line of the circulars is an echo of their theories, practices and ambitions, except the manual work perhaps, which was further encouraged by the minister than Marguerin at least would have advised. The minister however did not show how the difficulties emphasised by Marguerin were to be overcome. The services of experts were enlisted in the framing of the individual schemes of work; but even those sources had been already

tapped by Marguerin. (1) He was moreover at the very heart of things as director of Turgot; he was fresh from his inspiring contact with England; and he was engaged on development schemes for the city of Paris along lines identical with "special", which was just a new name for higher primary. Turgot was therefore more in the limelight than ever.

To bring order out of chaos, administrative measures of a comprehensive character were passed. A superior council was set up (26 August 1865) to guide the general development, particularly on the pedagogical side; a management committee was associated with each school (6 March 1866) comprising the mayor, the headmaster, and 5 to 10 other members drawn from officialdom and business, and appointed for three years. It would interest itself in building up a library and collections of specimens; decide upon the particular bias to be given to the curriculum; facilitate visits to farms, factories, etc.; visit periodically classes or examination sessions; draw up an annual report for the information of the minister; watch the after-careers of the pupils; assist in placing according to aptitude and ability; and generally keep in touch with the superior council and the ministry. To enlist the sympathy and

(1) Cf. the work of Levasseur on rural, industrial and commercial economy. He also prepared the geography scheme for 2nd. and 3rd. years, working physical, political and economic into a unified course. p.761, Vol.II. "Histoire des Classes Ouvrières."

influence of the municipality, the mayor should always be chairman. In short, Duruy was attempting to generalise the practice of Marguerin at Turgot. The ideas were Marguerin's; Duruy personified the central authority that would propagate the results of successful reforms; it was for the municipalities to show whether they could copy the capital in more than material things. (1)

Each department had its panel of examiners (6 March 1866) for the award of a certificate testifying to the satisfactory completion of the course, and expected to give a sanction which such study had thus far lacked. Another panel, sitting at the capital of each Academy, examined candidates for teaching recognition in subjects not figuring in the primary diploma. (3 July 1866). A separate "agrégation" was instituted to enhance the status of qualified "special secondary" teachers. (28 March 1866). Private schools offering the new instruction under approved conditions were made eligible for

(1) Michelet does Duruy less than justice, though his strictures are illuminating : "The notables with which M. Duruy filled his local committee are not reassuring. He will have them retired officials or soldiers - in other words slaves to obedience and red tape. I should have more faith in retired business-men, the doctor, the chemist, somewhat unlettered farmers - much more independent than the merchants who are often enslaved to their customers, bowing and scraping before the bourgeois." "Nos Fils". 1869.

building-grant and subsidy on the same terms as private secondary schools under the 1850 act.

Duruy appreciated the necessity for "a new spirit, new men." (1) On the science side particularly the need was felt for instruction in methods, and the building up of a central institution closely in touch with industrial and agricultural developments. The government which had unanimously passed Duruy's bill was not prepared to vote the necessary funds; but the town of Cluny came to the rescue when the minister called for a special Normal school. It gifted to the state its old abbey and a sum of £2,800 for the acquisition of that section of the property which had been alienated; the departmental council (Saône-et-Loire) added £4,000 for repairs and modifications. The proposal was to feed this Normal from the cream of the primary Normals, then 83 in number. The two best students from the 3rd. year of each were to compete for entrance to Cluny for a further two years training (3 years for the agrégation). The minister contrived to find 20 state bursaries; the councils general were ultimately providing 90 of 800 fr. each; others were financed by railway companies and private individuals; some money was borrowed from lycée budgets; the Muséum laid out an experimental garden; the science faculties gifted apparatus which they possessed

(1) Letter to the Emperor, 6th. August, 1863.

in duplicate; industrialists gave specimens of raw material illustrating manufacturing processes; books were gathered from public libraries; casts and prints were procured from the Louvre - all at the instance of the minister. Only when Cluny was actually functioning did the government give any assistance, the 1869 budget carrying a grant for Cluny of £8,000. (1)

The motive behind Duruy's project was the endowment of at least the non-commissioned officers of the industrial army with a general education which would cultivate intelligence and serve as a foundation for technical training. "Modern industry lives as much by science and art as by traditional processes; let us labour therefore to develop the intelligence and purify the taste of our future industrialists." (2) In attempting this, Duruy was accused by some of his colleagues of trespassing upon the domain of Commerce and Public Works. The Finance minister refused ample funds. M.Langlais, the reporter on the bill, had pointed out that if even one school were opened in each department, the total cost would be over 2 million pounds - and what of the lycées depleted of their clientèle? Duruy's full scheme, established independently of existing schools, would have taken four times that amount.(3)

(1) p.96, "Un Ministre."

(2) Letter to the Emperor, 6th. August, 1863.

(3) p.267, Vol.I, "Notes et Souvenirs."

Only in a few places (Mulhouse, Cognac, Pontivy, Alais, Mont-de-Marsan, Napoléonville, and the annexe to the Cluny Normal) was it found possible to set up institutions wholly given over to the new instruction. Elsewhere, though the country was 'clamouring for it', (1) it had to suffer the indignity of borrowing a share in the buildings and administration of traditional instruction, with all the attendant difficulties in establishing and maintaining it. Yet it now had much to commend it. It enjoyed the sanction of an act whereby it could be organised immediately after completion of the primary course, instead of being made to keep in line with classical for the first three years. It led to a certificate which, it was claimed, was a better guarantee of efficiency and usefulness in business than the baccalauréat ever could be. It was a bridge for promotion from primary to administrative posts. It required only four years, whereas the baccalauréat meant 7 or 8. It was as cheap as the lower grades of secondary (£8 - £10 per annum for day pupils, £40 - £45 for boarders.) It was better adapted for a certain type of student than purely cultural education; for, as Duruy caustically remarked, the vanity which made all and sundry flock into classical, did not ensure their success in it. Duruy himself claimed that it was "democratic and liberal, one of its results being

(1) Letter to the Emperor, 13th. Sept., 1863.

to allow the Brethren of the Christian Schools to break through the narrow confines within which their statutes held them. The study of Latin and Greek being forbidden them, they could not rise above primary proper; but there was nothing now to prevent them from giving 'special' instruction; and they did give it. The candidate heading the list for the Ecole Polytechnique in 1870 was one of their pupils." (1) In so far as it was taking the place of Guizot's higher primary, it went under a badge which flattered the vanity of the uninitiated, notwithstanding that badge was no passport to the favour of those for whom the classics and mathematics constituted the only secondary study worthy of the name.

No stone was left unturned to induce its adoption by local authorities, and even to have their colleges converted into purely "special" schools. Duruy personally conducted a campaign among them. (2) Gréard was sent on a similar mission.

What were the results in figures?

Enrolment in "enseignement spécial" :

1865 : Lycées : classical courses.....24,441.

 special ' ' 5,002.
(i.e. 1 in 6 was special)

Colleges: classical courses.....15,943.

 special ' ' 11,880.

(1) p.257, Vol.I, Notes et Souvenirs.

(2) Letter to the Emperor, 9 Oct.1866.

(i.e. 1 in every $2\frac{1}{2}$ was special)

Total classical, lycées & colleges, ... 40,384.

' special ' ' 16,882.

1876 : Lycées : classical courses..... 27,500.

special ' ' 8,696.
(i.e. 1 in every 4 was special,
an increase of 73%)

Colleges: classical courses..... 14,992.

special ' ' 14,012.
(i.e. 1 in every 2 was special,
an increase of 18%)

Total classical, lycées & colleges..... 42,492.

' special ' ' 22,708.

(Calculations based on Gréard,
pp. 254-257, Vol. 2, Education et Instr.)

Taking lycées and colleges together, while classical enrolment increased only 5.22% in 11 years, (3,059 more in the lycées, 951 less in the colleges), special for the same period increased 34.51%. The increase of 73% in the lycée special was spread over all types of these schools, as statistics for the 17 largest show an increase of 64%. Even so, they are below the average. Those larger schools would attract a strong teaching personnel offering sound instruction on the old lines over the whole course, and thus putting up a stubborn resistance to innovation. Such a deduction gains support from the fact that the colleges, admittedly weak in classical attainment, had by 1865 greatly outdistanced the lycées in the movement away from the narrow curriculum. When

classical instruction fell short of the coveted social benefits associated with it, modern studies more readily commended themselves to the parents. It was of course one of the stock arguments against such modern subjects, in France as in other countries, that until a technique was built up which would make their cultural value available to the school, it would be unwise to permit them to usurp the place of tried favourites. The weaker the classical side therefore, the less forceful this argument became.

Of the 17 lycées already mentioned, 4 lay in important seaports (Bordeaux, Brest, Marseilles, Nantes), but the increase there in special was only 3.69%. It would appear therefore that foreign trade did not exercise any great influence so far on the modernisation of the curriculum. Indeed commercial instruction, relatively to industrial, was to remain weak throughout the whole century. (1)

Full statistics are not available for free schools over the same period; but Gréard gathered information regarding the number of schools offering special instruction. In 1865 it figured in 369 institutions (278 secular, 91 ecclesiastical). By 1876, 48 (~~47~~ 34 secular, 14 ecclesiastical) were exclusively special secondary; 405 (285 secular¹⁴, 120 ecclesiastical) were

(1) p.185, "L'Enseignement Professionnel en France."
JN J-B.Paquier. 1908.

partly so. There was thus an increase of 84 schools, without taking into consideration its increased import- in those already providing it.

The figures for the Academy of Paris are full, and shed light upon the general situation. (1)

By 1880, "special" had been introduced into the lycée Charlemagne at Paris, and all the departments of the area except the Seine, affecting 24 colleges and 5 lycées. Leaving aside Charlemagne, it claimed 2094 pupils out of a total of ~~6699~~ 6699 (31.26%). In this total, the lycées only accounted for 424 with a population of 2433, whereas in the colleges, classical and special were practically equal (1715 as against 1670). Over the period covered by the general statistics above (1865 - 1876), special in the Paris Academy colleges had risen 6.28%, while classical had fallen 4.43%. From 1865 to 1880, special in the lycées rose 6%, classical dropped 8.7%. The same relative position for lycées and colleges is found to hold good from the time when figures become available (1854). By 1886 Charlemagne's 129 special had increased to 278; the new instruction had been organised in the lycée Janson de Saille, the lycée Lakanal and the college Rollin, these three showing 244, 185 and 40 pupils respectively. Meantime the schools of municipal

(1) Statistics drawn from pp.46-51, Vol.II, "Education et Instruction", Gréard.

origin already noticed were making marked progress along their original line of development. That development was already assured without any impetus from Duruy's act; but their instruction, irrespective of any name attached to it, automatically brought them within the ambit of the new legislation. Chaptal in 1880 had a full complement of 1284; the propagation of the Turgot type had proceeded according to plan, though the first addition was not effected till a quarter of a century after Cousin had emphasised the need for it : Colbert in 1868, Lavoisier in 1872, Jean-Baptiste Say in 1873, Arago in 1880. At this last date those Turgot schools housed 3350 pupils, supervised by Marguerin as general director. For the same year Gréard gives 5993 special pupils in free schools. Adding together therefore Chaptal (1284), Turgot and offshoots (2066), Charlemagne (129), free schools (5993), we get a total for Paris in 1880 of 9472 as against 16,967 in classical (7369 public, 9598 free) - that is about one third in special. Our earlier figures for all lycées and communal colleges in 1876 show 22,708 special to 42,492 classical - again about one third. The movement was there progressing evenly over the whole country, though it is noteworthy that the Paris level owed little to the lycées, and a great deal to the Turgot group. Even so, the position in Paris was nearer to Duruy's ideal project, in that such a large proportion of special was under independent

organisation.

It would seem that Matthew Arnold's prognostication on the special secondary schools was not fulfilled. (1) He agreed with the correspondent of the "Museum" that "to find a population for these new schools is the difficulty, as the rich class of people waiting to use them is small, and the large class of people wanting to use them is poor." Pompée had no such fears about their future. "If the commissioners recall the outcome of the bifurcation in 1852 in the lycées; if they remember the preponderance of 'scientifiques' over 'littéraires', they will realise the strength of the current carrying the people, in France as in Belgium, towards school reform." (2) Arnold, though appreciating the general drift away from classics, was inclined to attribute Duruy's reform to the demands of a few rich industrialists with ideas on education. The economic factor therefore bulked largely in his estimate of the prospects. But after all, the class which Duruy's reform actually touched was already in the lycées and colleges; they had not to be canvassed for outside the schools; they were already paying stiffly for their education; their presence in growing numbers in "special" classes was no sign of further sacrifice by parents, nor a manifestation of democratic progress. Rather was it an episode in the

(1) p.94, "Schools and Universities on the Continent."
 (2) Evidence before the Commission, 1863.

ancient-modern controversy, though Duruy's special secondary confined its action to the intermediate range. In so doing, it took cognisance of the leakage along the classical course, cut the scheme to suit the purses of those who were being shed by the way, and sought to make a social acquisition out of what had been abortive classical growths. Arnold's miscalculation arises from his interpretation of the function of "special" : only to a negligible extent was it indicative of democratic progress. The error in the interpretation of Guizot's higher primary has always been of the same nature.

It would be a mistake to attribute the same weight to all the figures we have cited. Undoubtedly they betoken substantial progress towards sound differentiation in the Paris area; but as certainly they did not mean much in most of the provincial regions.(1) Many of the colleges there were performing the function of a

(1) This is now realised in some quarters, and leads to a more critical view of legislation. "I have felt that it would be impossible to attempt to realise the force of written laws - without living under them - and that a partial interpretation of the effects of regulations would be more inadequate than the regulations themselves. The following pages can only be put to their full use by those already acquainted with the subject, who will know better than I do with what limitations they are to be taken." H.E.Matheson in Board of Education Special Reports, Vol.18, 1907.

primary, higher primary, secondary and special secondary all in one, making this or that adjustment to meet the desires of parents. They could not pretend to a unified course; and in view of their hap-hazard methods, the elaborate schemes emanating from headquarters must have appeared quite ludicrous. Two or three subjects at most was all they could attempt out of the imposing array, and these had to be entrusted to teachers without training in them, and as often without interest; for the state could not transform the teaching body by the mere formulation of edicts, and those qualified would be for years too few in number to make much impression. Collections and libraries did not materialise; the patronage scheme fizzled out; one or two notables were often instrumental in forming an opposition party; more than one municipality which had responded favourably at first did not translate its good wishes into action.(2) It may have been true in a sense that by 1867 the cause of "special" was won;(3) but that victory rested much more upon the favour shown by the population than upon the quality of the instruction which the schools in general could yet provide.

Criticism was not lacking, even where special was most successful. The government were accused of planning

(1) Bréal: "Excursions Pédagogiques."

(2) p.44, Vol.II, "Education et Instruction." Gréard.

(3) Jourdain:p.150, "Rapport sur l'Organisation et les Progrès etc.."

to extend the régime of uniformity and centralisation;(1) the classical schools were jealous of the public favour shown to a development calculated to reduce their budgets by capturing their fees; not being specially endowed, the newcomer was taxed with filching the resources of the older branch; its very name was regarded as a usurpation.

The difficulties inherent in the problem can best be appreciated by a closer glance at the application of the scheme under the most favourable conditions, that is in the Department of the Seine, and particularly in Paris.

Of 7493 pupils spread over the period 1866 - 1880, ~~691~~ 691 (9.22%) had come from classical courses to take up special; the others had passed in directly from primary, though, as we have seen, only in an insignificant

(1) Cf. criticism by the "Union" newspaper of 4th.Sept.1865 and the reply of the French Home Office - quoted in the "Museum" of 1st.Dec.1865. One extract from that reply is interesting for its reference to the status of special secondary and the regularising, rather than creative, character of Duruy's work. "The department of Public Instruction, to which belongs the task of improving the course of study designated 'spécial', in the 264 classical schools where it existed before the act of 1865, and in the many primary schools where it has either been, or may yet be organised by the municipal authorities....."

proportion from communal primary. For the bulk of them therefore, special secondary was not a haven after failure in classical. For one reason or another they were rising from primary to special, not dropping from classical to special; but it has again to be emphasised that this does not mean the acquisition to post-primary of thousands who, but for the existence of special, would have left school with nothing but elementary training. Their social status would have taken them to secondary courses, had these alone been available.

The parents of that same number were classified as follows according to occupation:

173.....2.31%.....in liberal professions.

845.....11.28%in public administration.

191..... 2.55%in callings of an inferior order.

4284.....57.17%in agriculture, commerce, industry.

832.....11.10%of independent means derived from
agriculture, commerce, industry.

1168.....15.59%insufficiently defined.

68% therefore of those families were in that particular category of society which special professed to aim at. Did agriculture, commerce and industry claim the out-going pupils to the same ex^tent?

Of 5825 pupils from the lycées and colleges in the Academy of Paris between 1865 and 1880 :

194	.. 3.33%	.. continued study elsewhere.
210	.. 3.61%	.. went into higher government schools.
231	.. 3.97%	.. went to various occupations.
298	.. 5.12%	.. went into administrative offices.
43	.. .74%	.. went into liberal professions.
2566	..44.04%	.. returned to agriculture, commerce, industry.
2283	..39.19%	.. were not traced.

The colleges taken separately showed 55.08% returning to agriculture, commerce and industry.

Comparing parents' occupation with that of outgoing pupils:

	Households.		Recruits.
Agriculture	.... 1083	...	949
Commerce	.... 1526	...	1131
Industry	.... 650	...	486

or taking the colleges separately:

Agriculture	.... 947	...	850
Commerce	.... 920	...	846
Industry	.... 483	...	375

(Statistics from pp.54-58, Vol.II,
"Education et Instruction.")

Special secondary was therefore giving to agriculture, commerce and industry almost as many recruits as it gathered from them. It is questionable whether this could yet be accounted to it as a virtue, though it is

used as an argument by its advocates. The level of special was still such that "bacheliers" had no reason to fear competition from those following it; the certificate introduced by the act was far below the baccalauréat; society moreover was yet to be persuaded of the worth of that certificate; it carried the privilege of one year's military service, but, without amplification, it did not share with the baccalauréat the right of entrance to the higher schools or the more important professions. Where else then could the holders of it go but into agriculture, commerce, industry, or very minor administrative posts? Their^{ir} numbers, moreover, were remarkably small; and here we touch a problem not confined to, but particularly prominent in, intermediate education - the leakage at all stages in the course. Neglect of this aspect invalidates the statistics of all brief surveys in comparative education. Economic conditions take their toll of the adolescents in school, unless attendance is enforced to the end of the course. Education not being compulsory even in the primary, the administrator had recourse to the Turgot concentric circle curriculum, whereby the inconvenience of annual leakage was mitigated. From the point of view of a pupil leaving at the end of a session, it had undoubted advantages, yet this partitioning of the course concealed the unity running through it and weakened the incentive to complete it. The social

sanction of a certificate enjoying general repute would have helped to counteract this short-sighted policy; but the time for that was not yet. Not the least of Marguerin's good offices at Turgot had been to hold out to pupils the prospect of better employment as a reward for prolonged schooling. He did not wait for the administration to develop confidence in a certificate; he acted from the outset as an intermediary between pupil and employer, granting references on personal knowledge of pupil and family. Yet even at the Turgot schools the leakage was disconcerting to the theorist with lofty ideals.

	Oct.1875	Oct.1880	Oct.1885
Entering	786	929	1262
Taking 2nd.year ..	476	581	779
' 3rd. '	193	283	288
' 4th. '	69	87	68

(p.186, Vol.II, "L'Enseignement primaire public à Paris." E.Duplan. 1891)

Of 2977 pupils, only 1836 proceeded to 2nd.year, 764 to 3rd.year, 224 to 4th.year. (1)

(1) In the lycées and colleges of the Academy of Paris, 1866-1880, of 5825 pupils in special secondary:

915			left after Preparatory.
1746	'	'	1st. year.
1695	'	'	2nd. year.
1145	'	'	3rd. year.
324	'	'	4th. year.

(p.59, Vol.II, "Education et Instruction."

We are therefore prepared to find that the success of special secondary, as attested by the numbers enrolling, takes on a different face if ~~guaged~~ by the numbers completing the course. The scheme, as a national instrument, could scarcely be said to operate after the second year of the legal curriculum. And what of the certificate? Whether we now regard the acquisition of a leaving certificate as a valid educational test does not very much matter : it is a valid test as a measure of the success attending the full application of Duruy's reform; it emphasises once more the close dependence of a country's education upon its social and economic development, however much a central authority may imagine it can influence that relationship by quick methods.

From 1865 to 1880, 2130 candidates appeared before the Paris examiners.

Origin.	No.presented.	No.passed.	%Pass.
Religious institutions(10)	459	198	43
Colleges,Academy of Paris(24)	440	124	28
Turgot schools	329	119	36
Various	329	66	20
Chaptal	230	68	30
Lycées,Academy of Paris(6)	145	29	20
Lycées,other Academies	90	26	29
Colleges,other Academies	87	16	18
Free secular institutions	21	7	33

(pp.60-61,Vol.II,"Education et Instruction")

Not only was the total very small; but the state schools did not show to advantage, either in the interest

taken in the certificate, or the results attained by those presented. This position was typical of the whole country. In 1876 there were 22,708 "special" pupils in the lycées and colleges; two years later 1358 were presented and only 580 passed. Thus of the total enrolment, about 6% were proceeding to the certificate examination, and 2.6% were passing; the proportion of passes to presentations was 30%.

To keep those results in true perspective, we must bear in mind that the story of full secondary is not without disillusionment. It enjoyed assets which many would have ^{ga} regarded as sufficient guarantee of the success of any instruction, and which special secondary envied : traditions, prestige, social influence, means, scholarship, with all the confidence that these engender. On it had been and were being nurtured what some today are not too modest to dub "the best educated youth in Europe." In 1865 the classical population of the lycées and colleges was 40,384. (1) The average annual award of baccalauréats (science, letters and law) between 1855 and 1865 was 6268. (2) Thus only 15.5% of pupils enrolling were gaining the coveted award. Of these, only 30% rose above the bare pass mark. (3) The proportion of passes to presentations was just about the same as for special secondary.

(1) p.257, Vol.II, annexe XVI, "Education et Instruction."
 (2) p.39, Vol.IV, do..
 (3) p.188, Vol.IV, do..

Discredit was also to attach to the special teaching diploma. In terms of the act, it was accepted in lieu of the baccalauréat as a qualification for running a special secondary establishment, being granted to Cluny students successfully completing the Normal course, and to others after examination by the panel at the chief town of their Academy. In 12 years (1868-1880) the Paris panel examined only 69 candidates, 24 of whom passed - 2 passes per year. Elsewhere the numbers were somewhat better. For the three years 1878, '79, '80, the total presented throughout the whole country was 273, 65 of which were Cluny students; 166 passed, 47 of them from Cluny - an annual average per Academy of 12 presentations and 7 passes.(1)

The special Normal itself was not to continue long on purely "special" lines. The director, M.Roux, put up a strong case for the introduction of manual work, and ultimately got Duruy's consent. Later, however, and contrary to the minister's better judgment, Roux introduced Latin as an optional subject in the annexe, and was soon boasting that they had secured 3 passes out of 4 presentations at the baccalauréat. The model school itself thus succumbed to the social attraction of the secondary certificate. Similarly the Normal gradually deserted its distinctive function. The entrance

(1) p.63, Vol.II, "Education et Instruction."

examination weakened instead of confronting competition from free institutions; the level of the graduates suffered accordingly; holders of the certificate found themselves passed over in appointments in favour of "bacheliers"; they turned for employment to primary and other schools. (1) "There came a time when Cluny was sending teachers to all manner of institutions except those for which they had been trained." (2)

In short, the state had failed to exert upon the movement the influence to which it aspired. A number of good teachers had been produced; theoretical ideas had been somewhat clarified by the discussion which the campaign aroused; yet the country at large had moved sluggishly along a course determined by economic factors and old prejudices. There was no general desire in high places that reforms of this kind should progress speedily. Failing that desire, administrative machinery could easily paralyse local ambitions. (3) The civil service retained all its former attraction; ancient letters were

(1) pp.47-48, "L'Enseignement professionnel en France." J-B.Paquier.

(2) p.44, Vol.II, "Education et Instruction."

(3) In 1864, the workers in a factory desired to open a library by monthly subscription. An influential committee took up the work, and lodged an application for authorisation with the Home Secretary. More than a year later, no reply had been received. p.88, "Histoire du Mouvement Social en France." G.Weill. 1924.

not dethroned; bourgeois inertia did not make for progressive local authorities; some of the outstanding features of the scheme lay in abeyance because the average period of schooling did not suddenly leap up in response to a minister's enthusiasm. To the conservative educationist, Duruy was a utilitarian engrossed in immediate ends; to the industrialist with no cultural ambitions, he had not gone far enough in his practical instruction. In his efforts to cater for an important section between these extremes, his action was limited by scanty national resources; exhortation failed to make good that shortage from municipal taxation, so that the country could not be said to have been ready to follow him. His colleagues had predicted the early ignominious failure of an act which they never took very seriously;(1) and as events proved, they shared the sentiments of a not inconsiderable portion of the public. Yet as far as a central authority could translate tendencies into administrative action, Duruy had prepared the way for the Third Republic. It might be said that he had fashioned the first generation of it. Over it there was to sweep a wave of patriotic fervour, adding life to existing legislation and calling forth new measures of far-reaching import.

(1) p.94, "Un Ministre." E.Lavisse.

THE THIRD REPUBLIC.

After the disaster of 1870, though the political problem seemed to take precedence over all others, yet that problem to a great extent found its solution in the general demand for an armed and educated nation. The middle and working classes were alike willing to defer sectional aims in order to hasten the establishment of stable government, the sine qua non of success in their wider objectives. The National Assembly therefore was able to organise the Republic, and the new Constitution was applied in 1876 by the election of a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies. Republicans thus had the workers as their allies; and one of the main planks in the platform of the latter was free, compulsory and secular education. While all the left saw in education the sure foundation of the Republic and the strongest bulwark against clericalism, the demand for it was intimately bound up with notions about the issue of the Franco-German struggle. Rightly or wrongly, the idea that German schooling had won the war drew together parties divided on other issues, but all equally fervent in their desire to recover national prestige and security. The public, indifferent to pedagogy proper, could appreciate the argument that,

as German officers had utilised their knowledge of French while French officers were ignorant of German, and as the German army had moved with precision by the intelligent use of maps while the French staff had committed gross blunders, something required to be done about the national schooling. The bitterness of defeat became tempered with the passing of time, and the cooling of patriotic fervour was reflected in the gradual relaxation of the demands made upon the country in military service; but the enthusiasm for education, supported as it was by other and broader considerations, was maintained, and led to a vast programme of extension in the eighties. Everything conspired to favour such extension. The natural wealth of the country was feverishly developed in the anxiety to be rid of the war indemnity. Agriculture was fostered by a system of tariffs, subsidies, credit facilities, and specialised instruction; industry benefited by the intensive development of mines and machinery; the road, rail and canal systems were extended to meet the new demands made upon them. It augured well for the future that the stimulus towards this progress came from the country itself at a time when the National Assembly was yet preponderantly monarchical, and could not be said to be leading. By 1879 the success of the Republicans in the constituencies made it imperative to bring

governmental principles more into line with the democratic spirit prevailing; and from that date legislation affecting social activities became more responsive to popular demand. The harmonising of the two may be said to be symbolised in the reversal at the end of the century of the Dreyfus verdict.

International events therefore played a part in the modernising of the secondary curriculum. Educationists had to do something to meet the clamour for modern languages, science, geography, gymnastics; and though the battle of the classics continued to rage in academic circles, the moderns were in a manner swept into partial possession of the field by popular enthusiasm for tangible results. Under these conditions, Duruy's modest 'enseignement spécial' had thrust upon it a dignity and elevation which necessitated a fresh approach to the question of intermediate. By successive stages (1882, 1886, 1891) special secondary developed into a six years course with a status all but equal to that of the traditional secondary, and a baccalauréat to which only the Faculties of law and medicine remained closed. In the first of these reforms, an attempt was still being made to build a five-years course upon an introductory three years which would at the same time serve as a finished intermediate training. This arrangement however satisfied neither those who regarded special instruction as purely intermediate and practical,

nor those who desired it to develop into a modern course on equal terms with classical. The latter faction were to win the day; but their victory served to bring into greater prominence those pupils whose circumstances and aims took them away at the age of 14 or 15. They constituted in fact the bulk of those already classed as special secondary. By 1880 the communal colleges showed 14,012 in special against 14,992 in classical, the lycées 8,696 against 32,000;(1) but statistics quoted earlier have shown to what extent the first two years of the course accounted for those numbers. To retain special secondary as the sole alternative to classical after the elementary school meant that vast numbers were to embark upon a fairly ambitious curriculum which they had no intention of completing; the nature of that curriculum made it unnecessarily expensive; the crowded ranks in the junior stages would be sacrificed to the select few who could remain to the end. In short, this development of special secondary, which was quite contrary to the spirit of Duruy's reform, solved in theory the vexed controversy of higher primary versus special secondary by drawing them further apart, and so emphasising the need for both. Henceforth, in towns able to maintain the two types, there could be no question of the existence of

(1) G.Weill, p.181, "Histoire de l'Enseignement Secondaire."

the one permitting the municipality to regard the other with indifference. Higher primary, organised on a national scale and conferred upon those who were well above the poverty line, would mark a step towards an educated democracy; special secondary, consolidated by sound teaching along chosen lines and dignified by social^{ia} sanctions, would be a much-needed advance towards secondary differentiation. Though not yet regarded as successive stages in a unified system, with facility of transfer from the lower to the higher, national requirements clearly demanded them both.

Theoretically, the same was true throughout the whole country; but in practice, the maintenance of both in small centres was sure to prove a difficult proposition. Yet even when the Duruy scheme was being offered in its original and simplest form, there were those who viewed the situation as calling for higher primary and special. The provincial primary school in general was giving only the elements of reading, writing, grammar and ciphering; the college offered ancient and modern letters, and various branches of the sciences. Between these were only a few municipal and private establishments, secular and ecclesiastical, a prey to all the disadvantages of competition, without effective control, guarantee of efficiency, or regularised schemes of work. The social class still unprovided for, while

not constituting an intellectual élite, was nevertheless the core of society - small proprietors, tradesmen, retail dealers, etc., who had attained to a certain standard of living and were called upon to fill an important niche in social life. They were still sufficiently near to the peasants and the artisans to understand their needs and outlook, and they therefore exercised considerable influence over them. Only nominal authority resided in the rich; for the lower middle class controlled political opinion in the constituencies. They alone could counteract the aggressiveness of the nascent trade unions. Sound education was essential if they were to rise to their responsibilities. From moral and financial considerations, they hesitated to send their families to the towns for education; when they did patronise the college, they in most cases deserted them before the third year. As a result, they received either no post-elementary instruction at all, or an ill-assorted smattering of material divorced in the main from their eventual mode of life; hence the difficulty experienced in rural districts in getting people capable of taking non-commissioned rank in the army, or serving as juryman, mayor, town-clerk.(1)

The sociologist found this educational gap reproduced in society, and deplored the resultant lack of

(1) Félix Pécaut: p. 79, "Etudes au jour le jour sur l'Education Nationale." 1879.

national unity.

By 1878 some forty schools had assumed or resumed the name higher primary; but not all of them were worthy of it.(1) The facilities provided at Paris by that date gave quite a wrong impression of the general position. There were now four boys higher primaries; another followed two years later, while in 1881 came the Sophie-Germain higher primary for girls. No comparable provision was yet being made in the provinces. Where the type was clearly defined, as in Paris, it was applicable only to populous industrial and commercial centres. The problem of rural areas had still to be faced. Nor was it much consolation to remember that many of the establishments passing as secondary were no better than intermediate schools : their curriculum was not suitable for a short practical course. Further, any progress made along the lines of the 1833 and 1865 acts had left untouched the question of public intermediate education for girls, Duruy's projects for secondary courses having succumbed (except in the capital) to lack of funds and bitter clerical opposition.

Such considerations conspired with a more democratic outlook in the political world to bring higher primary once more within the ambit of government action. That same policy which aimed at a wider diffusion of

(1) Félix Pécaut, *op.cit.*, p.93.

elementary instruction by making it free and compulsory, also favoured strengthening its influence by a regularised system on the higher grade. The country was now ready to give it a warmer reception, was indeed in several municipalities taking the initiative; industry appreciated its help; the spread of democratic principles more than cancelled out any reservations that still lingered in the minds of a conservative upper middle class; educationists were convinced that diversity was imperative if wide benefit was to be reaped from educational expenditure.(1)

With Gréard as director of primary in the Seine, and working hand in hand with Marguerin, Paris kept its lead in the extension of intermediate facilities. Gréard was ever stressing the basic distinction between the rival branches. "Primary instruction has its limits. At bottom it comprises, and can comprise, only that of which no one can remain ignorant and be a man, that which it is indispensable to know in order to be a useful man. Taken at its widest, it admits, and must admit, every development which contributes towards strengthening that fundamental knowledge, linking it

(1) Cf. Gréard, p.119, Vol.II, "Education et Instruction":
 "La diversité s'impose aujourd'hui à notre éducation, si l'on veut éviter qu'à force de vouloir tout êtreindre, elle arrive à n'embrasser plus rien."

up with its applications, making it subserve at the same time moral culture and vocational skill. Anything beyond that will miss its aim. The needs of its clientèle moreover define and limit it.....hence in some districts higher primary simply bears the very expressive name supplementary.It is in this spirit of practical wisdom that there have been established additional courses of 1, 2 or 3 years, seeking to prolong the elementary school, and derive from elementary studies all possible benefit in conformity with local resources, family interests, and individual capacity." (1)

Higher primary was not the transition from elementary to secondary, but from elementary school to vocation, giving the pupil those practical notions susceptible of utilisation in the majority of industrial and commercial careers. It must be short, and therefore had to shed all ornament, keeping constantly in view practical utility, yet without neglecting the moral and intellectual sides.

The Turgot schools already noticed were helped out by less ambitious schemes : a commercial course for girls in the populous 3rd. ward (1876), and between 1876 and 1881 commercial and industrial courses on the same model - 17 for girls and 26 for boys. These were of a hybrid character, reflecting the prominence given

(1) L'Enseignement Secondaire Spécial, 1881.

to economic advancement in a time of national recovery. Those same interests were of course fostered by the institution of various trade schools, which however lie outwith our particular province.

Paris was to come nearer to being educationally a microcosm of the whole country than it had been hitherto, for higher primary reappeared as a recognised category in the national system. The 1878 budget bore 100,000 francs for its encouragement; those of 1879 and 1880 provided for bursaries, to be awarded by competition. In the latter year 114 were granted, 66 being for full boarders. A décret and an arrêté of January 1881 determined the conditions of state aid to public and private higher primary schools.

Prior to this (11th.Dec.1880) there had been passed, under the joint auspices of the Departments of Education and Commerce, the act on Ecoles Manuelles d'Apprentissage, which classified them as public primary schools, and also covered such supplementary courses as provided vocational training. This close association was maintained in the national type school set up at Vierzon by décret of 9th.July,1881. The official policy therefore was an intimate connection between higher primary and apprenticeship. "In higher primary, which at the moment is enjoying a fresh impetus, all the more fruitful in that it is spontaneous, we have a really popular and practical instruction. It must remain on

the one hand primary, and on the other vocational, that is, remain bound by its origins to the elementary school, and train apprentices for speedy wage-earning. But the higher primary will be justified only if it can accomodate itself to the locality. It must above all lead the pupils towards those callings for which their milieu destines them."(1) F.Buisson, in his report to the commission presided over by Gréard six years later (1887), was still working along the same lines, emphasising the vocational aspect which would progressively increase in importance until in the last half year, it would monopolise the school time.

It can be seen that higher primary was now frankly approached from the elementary angle, leaving secondary to work its own field, and opening up new possibilities of expansion which, though not strictly popular in scope, yet envisaged a much wider section of the population than had hitherto been embraced by legislative enactments. Considerable difference of opinion however still prevailed regarding the relation to apprenticeship. Alliance with it was not maintained in the scheme of organisation. A regulation of 1881 provided for separate budgeting for apprenticeship schools, thus breaking their connection with the

(1) Jules Ferry, Report to the President, 1881.

Education Department, and bringing them under the Minister of Commerce. Gréard and others considered this divorce prejudicial to both branches, with the result that the organic law of 1886 reverted to the 1880 arrangement. The Minister of Commerce protested; an inquiry was held, but resulted in the maintenance of the condominium. Agitation however was fomented; relations between the two departments became strained; and finally the Finance Law of 26th. January 1892 provided once more for separation. Those higher primaries which were markedly industrial or commercial were to be assigned to the Ministry of Commerce under the name 'Ecoles pratiques de commerce et d'industrie.' A mixed commission set about classifying the existing schools; later foundations were to be grouped according to their proposed curriculum. (1) Certain inducements - substantial grants, freedom from University inspection, etc. - seemed to favour adoption of the apprenticeship type; and some saw in this a blow at the legitimate influence of the minister of education. The Education Department however does not seem to have suffered unduly; and in any case the will of the municipality was the final arbiter. In 1892, the date of the official termination of the condominium, there existed 176

(1) The segregation was not complete; circumstances led to the continuance of joint responsibility even in the case of some new schools.

higher primaries with 21,000 pupils; by 1906 there were 336 with 42,500 pupils. Over the same period apprentice schools increased from 13 to 55 with 11,000 pupils. (1) The movement was therefore preponderantly in favour of the more general type of curriculum, no doubt because of the considerable measure of vocational provision made in it, and also because of the fact that the higher primary became the feeder of the Normal schools.

Higher primaries as such had regained legislative recognition by appearing in the act of 13th.Oct.1886. The décret and arrêté of 18th.January 1887 embodied what has substantially remained their organisation to the present day, so truly are they the answer to national needs, and so consistently founded upon the experience of the pioneer schools already noticed. A sketch of this organisation as at present in force will obviate repetition, and at the same time permit us to see the work of Marguerin, Gréard and Duruy perpetuated in present-day facilities of national scope. (2)

(1) Paquier, p.75, "L'Enseignement professionnel."

(2) Cf. décrets & arrêtés of 18th.Janr.1887, 18th.Aug.1920, décret of 18th.Aug.1927, arrêtés of 7th.Feb.1925 & 28th.Janr.1929.

For their organisation at different points during the Third Republic, vide:

"The French System of Higher Primary Schools", by R.L.Morant, in Board of Education Special Reports, Vol.I, 1897.

"The Primary School System of France", F.E.Farrington, 1906.

"The Education & Training of the French Primary School Teacher", B.of E.Special Reports, Vol.18, 1907.

etc..

Higher primary instruction is given in the higher primary school or in supplementary courses. (cours complémentaires.)

The school has normally its own headmaster and building, but annexation to an elementary school may be granted. The course must extend to 3 years.

The staff meets quarterly to discuss school matters, and a record is kept of their deliberations.

The instruction comprises : morals; civics and notions of political economy and common law; French language & literature; modern languages; national history and the elements of general history; geography; practical arithmetic, mental arithmetic, algebra and geometry; elements of physical and natural sciences; practical notions of hygiene; writing, shorthand, typewriting; drawing, mechanical drawing, modelling; singing; gymnastics and, for boys, military exercises; theoretical and practical instruction with a view to industry, commerce and agriculture; for boys, manual, laboratory, agricultural and horticultural work; for girls, domestic science, child nurture, housewifery.

Each school selects its course or courses in conformity with local interests.

Instruction is common to all pupils in the first year; but those aiming at the special sections may be excused such subjects as will not figure later in their

special programme. This first year coordinates and completes the subject matter of the elementary "cours supérieur." (1) General instruction essential for all citizens and all callings preponderates; yet already the future needs of pupils are kept in view, and every effort is made to create a taste for agricultural, industrial and commercial occupations. Literary and science subjects claim 16 hours out of a total of 31 per week.

From the second year, special sections may be organised, in accordance with local needs, for agriculture, industry, commerce, seamanship, housewifery, etc.. The pupil's selection is decided by his own preference, the bent he has shown during the first year, and the desire of his parents. The general section retains prospective candidates for primary examinations (Normal schools, école d'arts et métiers, mécaniciens de la flotte, postes et télégraphes, voirie, ponts et chaussées, chemins de fer, contributions, douanes, marine), in addition to any desirous and capable of being ultimately transferred to a college or a lycée. In most cases, numbers do not permit of the special sections being self-contained : they are therefore taken together for all common matter - about 15 hours

(1) Elementary is graded into (a)élémentaire, 7-9 years; (b)moyen, 9-11 years; (c)supérieur, 11-13 years.

per week in 2nd. year and 10 in 3rd. year. With the approval of the staff in committee, pupils in one section may arrange to take certain subjects in other sections. Apprentices, workmen, clerks, etc., may be admitted as part-time pupils to these section classes. A section may be organised (in schools or supplementary courses) preparatory to the Normal school. For this purpose the general course is adapted by exempting from certain subjects, (1) adding the theory of music, and leaving a few hours for private study. The instruction here continues up to the standard of the Normal entrance examination. The aim is to have these Normal courses judiciously spread over the country - two or three in each department within easy reach of teaching candidates.

All special courses are sanctioned by the Minister, on the application of the managers, with the concurrence of the Academy inspector and the municipal council. The curricula are drawn up by the Minister in council. With these limitations, timetables and staff duties are arranged by the headmaster in consultation with the teachers, subject to the approval of the Academy inspector.

(1) Shorthand and typewriting in 1st. year; common law, political economy and hygiene in 3rd. year, these being included later in the Normal syllabus.

Pupils seeking admission to higher primary must (a) be aged 12 on the 31st. December of the current year; (b) hold the elementary certificate(1), or have been successful in the bursary competition; (c) have spent one year in the "cours supérieur" of an ~~wlwmwnter~~ elementary school. An average mark of 45% must be attained in any one year before proceeding to the next. Each pupil has a record card showing all quarterly marks, with observations by headmaster and teachers on his work, progress and conduct. It must be produced when changing school or going up for the final examination. Two certificates are available : (a) the brevet élémentaire, which must be taken by all going to the Normal. Candidates must be 16 years of age. The standard is not constant at the various centres, nor as a rule very high.(2) (b) the certificat d'études primaires supérieures, or brevet d'enseignement primaire supérieur, in which the standard is higher. It covers the work of a complete course, including the practical; but as the specialised work of higher primary leads to the entrance examinations of various professions and institutions, this certificate is not regarded as of much service and therefore attracts comparatively few entrants.

~~Up till 1924~~-----

(1) It only covers ^{ed} the "cours moyen" of elementary.

(2) [^]p.326, "Comparative Education." ed.Sandiford. 1918.

Supervisors (surveillants) must participate in the teaching during at least five hours per week. Assistant teachers may be called in for special subjects; secondary and higher teachers may give part-time service for certain lessons or lectures; a "professeur" holds the "brevet supérieur" and the special teaching certificate for higher primary, or a diploma recognised for certain subjects. He is appointed by the minister, while "instituteurs adjoints" for less advanced work are appointed by the prefect.

There should be a room for each division, and others specially designed for drawing, library, laboratory, museum, gymnasium and workshop. The

The State pays the salaries of the regular staff, provides a certain number of scholarships, and may make grants towards buildings, furniture, apparatus, and salaries of special teachers. Such state grant is contingent upon the municipality giving a guarantee with regard to its legal obligations. All instruction being free, the scholarships (state, departmental or communal) take the form of boarding allowances, maintenance grants, or private family boarding allowances.

A committee of managers is attached to each school, composed of :

(a) ex officio : the rector, academy inspector, primary inspector, headmaster or headmistress, mayor or his representative, president of the chamber of commerce,

president of the chamber of agriculture.

(b) a municipal councillor elected by his colleagues.

(c) 1 teacher from the general section and 1 from each special section, elected by their colleagues.

(d) members representing regional interests catered for by the school, appointed for 3 years by the rector on the proposal of the academy inspector.

(e) a doctor similarly appointed.

(f) 2 representatives from the F.P. club.

(Paris has its own scheme for the personnel of the management committee.)

The committee meets at least twice a year, and minutes are kept. Its function is to safeguard the material interests of the pupils; advise on assimilation of curriculum to local needs; interest itself in out-going pupils; promote visits to factories, etc., residence abroad, and exchange of pupils; advise on boarding fees; send one or more of its members to visit the school and report at least twice a year.

The higher primary school having become fairly complex in organisation, there are signs that the Superior Council is less inclined to leave it the degree of freedom which it once enjoyed; and since 1920 the Rector or the Minister intervenes in matters which were wont to be left to the local authority.

The special sections have passed through many vicissitudes, and even yet are marked by a variety for which

no official scheme could provide. Agricultural instruction naturally got no direct guidance from the pioneer work in Paris; indeed Marguerin for one was very sceptical about the results of formal instruction in this branch. A Duruy décret of 12th. February, 1867 provided for it in primary schools and Normals, but led to no appreciable advance. Even the act of 16th. June 1879 making compulsory in those same schools elementary notions on agriculture failed to effect a great deal, the weakness being attributed to the fact that schemes of work had been left to the departmental councils. More guidance was given to teachers by the issue in January 1897 of official instructions based on the investigations of a commission. These were shortly followed (May 1898) by a ministerial circular on analogous schemes for higher primary and supplementary courses. As a result of experience the programmes became more definite; and by 1906, 222 schools were providing about 1 hour's instruction per week. (1)

Considerable importance is now attached to this branch, consequent upon the failure of other ventures, such as Farm Schools. These Farm Schools exemplify the danger of general education being crowded out when too closely in contact with the calling which it subserves. Though

(1) p.89, Paquier, op.cit..

in 1852 there had been over 70 of them, their number in 1911 had dwindled to 7 or 8, and was still on the decrease. Even the best of them could scarcely be dignified with the name school. "The theoretical teaching, which occupies about one third of the time, is very elementary, consisting of primary school subjects, a little science, some surveying and book-keeping, and a 'complete' course in agriculture and horticulture. The pupils, who must be over 15, are admitted by examination in reading, dictation and arithmetic; the tuition, board and lodging are free, and the instruction extends over two years.....

According to a student with whom I spent an hour, the out-door work is too long and too hard, teaching is only in vogue when no work can be found on the farm, and there is little to be learned which he did not know before.....It is more than hinted that the tenants of the Farm Schools have looked upon the pupils more as labourers than as subjects for instruction." (1)

Small farmers in fact preferred to send their sons for training to bigger farms, where they could at the same time earn a wage. Balzac's country doctor of 1829 might have lived a long time among the peasants without changing his verdict : "I could see that I should

(1) R.B.Greig in Board of Education Pamphlets, No.25, "Farm & Agricultural Schools & Colleges in France, Germany & Belgium." 1912.

have no influence over them except through immediate self-interest and well-being. All peasants are sons of doubting Thomas : they must have facts in support of words." (1)

On the industrial side, the elementary school after 1882 should have provided a certain foundation for the practical aims of higher primary. Official measures of that date and 1885 made for a wider curriculum by adding "the elements of the physical and natural sciences; their application to agriculture, hygiene, industrial arts; modelling, manual work; the use of common tools for boys; needlework for girls." But the law was almost everywhere ignored(2); nor could it be otherwise until steps were taken to find and fashion the required type of teacher. The experience of the Turgot schools however was available along this line immediately higher primaries began to spread; programmes were there ready-made; it only required the fructifying influence of the new enthusiasm for them to find their application in an ever-increasing number of centres. The primary legislator had been too optimistic; he was prescribing on paper for a national primary scheme on a scale which could only be applied, and that gradually, to those schools that blossomed into higher primaries.

(1) Balzac : "Le Médecin de Campagne."

(2) Paquier, p.107, op.cit..

As for commercial instruction, though it had enjoyed a measure of recognition through the activities of those primarily interested in its fruits, the Ministry of Public Instruction here saw a useful higher primary side-line, particularly in the interests of small businesses in less populous areas. It therefore made its official appearance in 1893 through a circular which, in accordance with principle, introduced it in the second year. Again the model was the Turgot school, amplified by the findings of a commission with national terms of reference.

The system was now complete in all essential features, and was defined thus towards the end of the century :

"The ultimate purpose of the French government in creating a state system for these higher primary schools is to assist the local authorities (by means of substantial grants for salaries) to establish and maintain out of local rates in every district of the country, public schools with no fees for instruction, which shall place within the reach of every really intelligent child who can afford to postpone wage-earning for 2 or 3 years after leaving an elementary school, the means of obtaining :

(a) a continuation and completion of the subjects it has learnt in the elementary school;

(b) a practical acquaintance with such branches of

knowledge literary, scientific, and general, as bear directly on the various occupations in life in some one of which he or she will afterwards be engaged;

(c) such general hand-and-eye training and workshop practice, as will engender habits of manual industry, increase dexterity and develop taste, and at the same time both halve the labours and double the fruits of that necessary apprenticeship (in the true sense of the word) at the workshop, the warehouse, the shop counter, or the counting house, for which it is meant to be not so much an alternative as a preparation.

"Being day, not night schools, and in many cases boarding schools, they are obviously not intended, like the evening continuation classes, for the great mass of the rank and file of the working classes, who must have the day hours free for earning wages immediately on leaving the elementary school; but rather for the élite of these, the more capable intellectually and the better placed pecuniarily - those, in fact, who will become the foremen of industry and commerce - those who, if their skill, inventiveness and taste are improved, can do more for the industrial, commercial and agricultural prosperity of the nation than almost any other class of society." (1)

(1) R.L.Morant: "The French System of Higher Primary Schools," in B.of E. Special Reports, Vol.I, 1897.

The supplementary course (1) is an embryo higher primary arrested in growth through lack of local material. A number of pupils, having completed the elementary course, receive additional general instruction with a dash of vocational matter. The school, while rendering service to agriculture, is in the main a feeder of urban activities, and may draw its pupils from quite an expensive area. The "cours" is dependent upon local supply; and when, by special arrangement, it has carried a pupil to the door of the Normal school, it may be said to have reached the limit of its capabilities. Its chief interest on the vocational side lies in agriculture for boys and domestic science for girls. The teacher in charge must have the brevet supérieur. The rules for admission, grants, managers, etc., are as for the schools. It is at best a makeshift; equipment is usually lacking for practical work, and more often than not, one teacher is called upon to do the work of two or three specialists. Its place is assured however from the fact that something is necessary for a certain number after the elementary stage in innumerable places which cannot afford a higher primary school. In 1920, an endeavour was made to endow such courses with something of a unified

(1) First recognised in 1881; finally established as belonging to higher primary by the décret and arrêté of 18 Janr. 1887, in application of the act of 30 Oct. 1886.

character, it now being realised that there were limits to the increase of higher primary schools, and that the adapted course had become an essential feature of the system. Till then, it had scarcely been distinguishable from the "cours supérieur" in elementary; it had moreover drawn its pupils entirely from the school to which it was attached, and was permitted only to those schools which had a separate class for their "cours supérieur". But such schools are rare in rural areas; the décret of 18th. August 1920 therefore permitted centralisation in one supplementary course of pupils from two or three neighbouring schools, irrespective of the organisation they had individually been able to provide at the top of their elementary. The normal length of the course had been one year. The new regulation laid down no time limit, but advised that there should be at least two graded divisions. At the same time it encouraged the adoption of markedly vocational instruction, which had so far been greatly neglected through lack of apparatus. The Superior Council was in doubt as to whether the new demands made upon these courses could be adequately met by elementary teachers, or whether they called for a new qualification between elementary and full higher primary. They had to be satisfied with stipulating that supplementary appointments should be reserved to the pick of the Normal

graduates. The Council's concern is understandable when it is remembered that those "instituteurs" would be expected to prepare candidates for entrance to the Normal school, and adapt their teaching to one or more sets of local conditions for the general run of their pupils : in the words of the circular, they would have to be "men of initiative, anxious to make themselves conversant with local needs, attached to their district and its inhabitants real educators, conscientious and experienced, passionately devoted to their profession, athirst for knowledge and progress."

It follows of necessity that, contrary to French custom, considerable latitude is allowed in schemes of work for such courses; but if, as is now desired, they can be raised to a distinct category, that freedom will probably be curtailed. At present, the early higher primary syllabus provides the material from which their instruction is compounded; much ingenuity is expended upon the problem of reconciling diversity of pupils' requirements with a one-teacher staff; yet the conditions are just such as have accompanied the spread of higher primary from the very beginning.

The following are the higher primary time-tables in force.

Boys Higher Primary Schools.

Time-Table:First Year.

Subject.	Hours per week.
Literary & Scientific.	
Moral instruction	1
French language	4
Modern languages	3
History	1
Geography	1
Arithmetic & algebra	2
Geometry	1
Physics	1
Chemistry	1
Natural sciences	1
Total	<u>16</u> hours.
Various.	
Drawing & modelling	3
Manual work	4
Writing	1(a)
Typewriting & shorthand	3(a)
Singing	2(b)
Gymnastics & physical exercises	2
Total	<u>15</u> hours.
Grand Total	<u><u>31</u></u> hours.

The Time-table for Girls is the same, except for manual work, in which they have 6 hours.

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- (a) optional.
(b) 1 hour optional.

Boys Higher Primary Schools.

Time-Table:2nd. & 3rd. Yrs.

	Genrl.		Agric.		Industr.		Commerc.	
	<u>2nd.</u>	<u>3rd.</u>	<u>2nd.</u>	<u>3rd.</u>	<u>2nd.</u>	<u>3rd.</u>	<u>2nd.</u>	<u>3rd.</u>
Common.								
Morals & civics ...	1	-	1	-	1	-	1	-
Notions of law & political economy	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	1
French language ...	4	4	2	2	3	3	4	4
Modern languages ..	4	4	-	-	-	-	4	4
History	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Geography.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Arith., algebra, geometry.....	3	3	2	3	2	2	2	2
Physics	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Chemistry.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Natural sciences & hygiene.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Drawing & modelling	3	3	1	1	5	5	-	-
Singing(1hr.option- al).	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Gymnastics	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
			<u>a</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>a</u>		
Total.....	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>20</u>

Special.

French	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
Commercial geogr...	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Applied maths.....	-	-	1	-	1	1	1	1
Mechanics	-	-	1	1	1	2	-	-
Technology.....	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	1
Industrial electr- icity....	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-
Agricul. chemistry.	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
Accountancy.....	-	-	1	-	-	-	3	3
Agriculture.....	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-
Typing & sh.hand...	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3
Writing	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Manual & practical.	4	4	9	9	12	12	1	1
			<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>11</u>
Grand Total.....	<u>28</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>31</u>

a. Over 4 hours workshop exempts from gymnastics if desired.

Girls Higher Primary Schools.

Time-Table:2nd. & 3rd. Yrs..

Common	General		Commerce		Domestic	
	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
Morals & civics	1	-	1	-	1	-
Notions of law & political economy ..	-	1	-	1	-	1
French language	4	4	4	4	3	3
Modern languages	4	4	4	4	-	-
History	1	1	1	1	1	1
Geography	1	1	1	1	1	1
Arith., algebra, geometry	3	3	2	2	2	2
Physics	1	1	1	1	1	1
Chemistry	1	1	1	1	1	1
Natural sciences & hygiene	1	1	1	1	1	1
Drawing & modelling ..	3	3	1	1	3	3
Singing(1 hr. option- al) ...	2	2	2	2	2	2
Gymnastics	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>18</u>
Special						
Commerc. geography ...	-	-	1	1	-	-
Applied maths.	-	-	1	1	-	-
Technology	-	-	1	1	-	-
Domestic economy	1	1	-	-	1	1
Accountancy	-	-	2	2	-	-
Typing & sh.hand	-	-	4	4	-	-
Writing	-	-	1	1	-	-
Practical (a)	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	-	-	<u>12</u>	<u>12</u>
Total	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>13</u>
Grand Total	<u>31</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>31</u>

 (a) Laundry, dress-making, fashions, cookery,
 housework, garden, farm, child-nurture.

A few notes, particularly with reference to the general section, will help to characterise the instruction and elucidate obscurities in the bare time-tables.(1)

Morals, civics, common law, political economy.

1st. Year : The simplest duties of the individual; then familiar social relationships; later, general social obligations. The teaching will appeal to daily experience, avoiding abstraction and verbalism. Positive good, rather than negative evil, should form the substance of instruction.

2nd. Year : The organised nation; international relations, legal and moral; description of the institutions permitting the state to achieve its ends; their moral values.

3rd. Year : Law and political economy will furnish a basis for moral teaching.

French.

(a) Reading and repetition.(2 hours)

The work is based on two types of text - short extracts for detailed study (1 hr.), and complete works to develop a taste for reading.(1 hr.) The first provides the material for "lecture expliquée" and repetition;

(1) Cf. full curricula published by Librairie Vuibert, Paris (1931); also ministerial instructions, 26 July, 1909 and 30 Sept. 1920.

the second is partly class, partly private study.

(b) Grammar, vocabulary, spelling.(1 hour)

Grammar should be learned inductively from texts, and be bound up with notions of style, thus contributing to the pupil's apprenticeship in composition. Only oral analysis is authorised, and then with a minimum of the simplest terminology.

In the extension of vocabulary, while family grouping by origin may be useful, all pedantry must be avoided and the most made of grouping by meaning.

Correct spelling is all-important, both for itself and as a discipline.

(c) Composition.(1 hour)

The subjects to be treated should be carefully graded in difficulty, with close affinity to the pupil's experience. Without crushing out individual treatment of a title, the teacher should first study it with the class, indicating possible sources and methods, so as to guide personal effort. Nor is it afterwards sufficient to correct individual work : collective class work should solve problems in the art of writing. By prescribing one essay per fortnight, one hour in alternate weeks can be given to collective preparatory study, and one to collective criticism.

Modern Languages.

The material is drawn in widening circles from

realities familiar to the pupil, grammar being limited to the requirements of the very simple matter used. Since 1925, the use of the mother tongue has been adopted, the reform or direct method being confined to the first two years, diversified by short interludes in French.

History.

It should keep in view the comprehension of political and social facts. The number of names and events will be strictly limited, and chosen for their representative value. Observation and reflexion should be encouraged. Concrete documentation is essential. Salient points will be fixed by résumés.

Geography.

Geography is to be treated in the same spirit as history - no dry nomenclature; material chosen judiciously to characterise a country and explain its activities; concrete aids; pupils associated with the building up of documentary material.

Mathematics & Science.

The objective will best be attained by abundant practical exercises on real data, plenty of graph work, precision and clarity within a narrow field.

Handwork.

Handwork.

(Boys) 1st. Year : 1 hour cardboard & plaster work.

3 hours wood & metal work.

2nd. & 3rd. Years : wood & metal work,

replaced in whole or in part by

gardening in season.

(Girls) A course in Domestic arts and crafts.

Singing.

1 hour compulsory : one and two-part songs.

1 hour optional : elementary theory & exercises.

Drawing.

The proportion and nature of the technical drawing introduced varies with the different sections.

Technology.

This subject is prescribed for all the special sections. Industrial technology comprises in the first place the raw material and the tools used in the workshop; then the following questions, which are equally of interest to agricultural and commercial sections : mining and quarrying; manufacturing industries; food supply; clothing industries; building and furnishing. The commercial section under technology has one hour as for industrial, and one hour on merchandise, with special reference to the district : origins, varieties, duties, current prices, despatch, delivery, etc..

Collections of raw material, manufactured goods, pictures, lantern slides, etc., are indispensable. Classwork should be supplemented by visits to factories, warehouses, etc. particularly in the 3rd. year. These should be carefully prepared for, and completed later if need be by further explanation. Each pupil writes an account of the visit, with sketches where necessary.

Handwork in Special Sections.

The 'industrial' practical work aims at enabling the pupil, at the end of his schooling, to adapt himself readily to his special line. The managers decide what machine equipment should be installed beyond the ordinary wood and metal material.

Commercial sections receive training in applied cardboard-work : cartons, files, binding, etc.; letter copying and reproduction; methods of despatch.

Such have been the aims directing the development of public intermediate, as far as it can lay claim to an identity distinct from college instruction. How has it fared, and what contribution has it made to the life of the nation?

Just as, throughout a considerable part of the 19th. century, the name which a school adopted did not classify it with any precision, so the numbers of higher primary schools at different periods give no indication of the standard attained. With that reservation, the progress may be gauged by the following statistics.

In 1874 there were 39 officially recognised schools. Round about 1880, of the nine departments in which Cousin had specially interested himself forty years earlier, five could not yet report the existence of any higher primary provision. The other four, whether in schools or courses, were educating:

		Public		Free
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
La Seine	3808	280	2730	851
La Seine Inférieure	818	443	-	15
Le Rhône	351	436	-	18

~~Le Nord~~ Public + Free : 1300 boys, 500 girls.

These were spread over 26 boys schools, 12 girls schools, and a certain number of courses. (1) It meant that for

(1) Statistics gathered from "Dictionnaire de Pédagogie".
ed. Buisson.

the nine departments, even reckoning the noteworthy contribution of Paris, as also all free agencies, only 1 in 60 primary boys, and 1 in 227 primary girls, were proceeding to higher primary. Moreover the large proportion of free institutions in la Seine showed how far the movement was spontaneous rather than state-inspired.

Progress accelerated after the introduction of free primary instruction in 1881. By that date however, Paris was already providing 1,492 free places, having decided on 12th. Dec. 1879 to increase the scholarships by 600 annually so as to attain complete gratuity in three years time. The city had therefore really forestalled the new act. The rules for entrance had now to be revised, as the number of applicants exceeded the number of available places.

In 1884 there were for the whole country 15,000 in boys public schools, and five years later, 17,500. (1) 1890 saw a sudden increase in the state primary budget owing to the transfer to the government of all primary salaries. (2) This permitted standard scales of payment,

 (1) Ribot, "La Réforme de l'Enseignement Secondaire." 1900.

(2) State primary budget	1889	- 86,016,880 fr.
	1890	121,488,778 fr.
Communes	1889	71,956,078 fr.
	1890	56,580,247 fr.
Departments	1889	17,907,315 fr.
	1890	nil for salaries.

(p. 314, "Comparative Education." ed. Sandiford. 1918.)

and ensured that teachers would not be deterred from accepting posts in rural districts, at least on the score of niggardly treatment.

The position now was :

(a) under condominium of Education & Commerce :

32 boys schools with 4 years course.

13 girls ' ' 4 ' '

2 boys courses of 2 years.

1 girls course ' 2 '

(b) under the Education Dept. :

172 boys schools.

64 girls '

332 boys courses.

123 girls '

Enrolment:Boys: 20,141 in schools.

9,329 in courses. 29,470.

Girls: 7,068 in schools.

4,031 in courses. 11,099. (1)

The supplementary courses, already figuring so prominently, were, in spite of their most inadequate equipment, to play an important part in the struggle to provide higher primary without incurring undue expense.

In the last decade of the century, there was a decided slacking off in the rate of progress. Between

(1) p.112, "L'Enseignement professionnel." Paquier.

6,483	communes	with	population	100	to	3,000.
1,147	'	'	'	3,000	to	10,000.
144	'	'	'	10,000	to	20,000.
87	'	'	'	20,000	to	50,000.
22	'	'	'	50,000	to	100,000.
15	'	'	'	100,000	and	over.

(1)

Nor ~~were~~ the number of boys schools to increase very rapidly

1923-24 : 288 boys schools with 3 to 5 yrs. Course.

214 girls ' ' 3 to 6 ' '

688 boys supplementary courses.

624 girls ' '

4 mixed ' '

1316 with a total of 1891 classes.

in schools

Total enrolment[^]: 39,193 boys.

45,992 girls.

Total staff : 3,705. (2)

From these figures it emerges that of the courses, only 575 were up to the 1920 standard of organisation, according to which each should have two divisions.

(1) p.124, "L'Enseignement professionnel." Paquier.

(2) p.170, Educational Yearbook. ed. I.L.Kandel
(International Institute of Teachers College,
Columbia University.) 1926.

Since 1906 girls schools had practically doubled; but the state had a big leeway to make up here, owing to the relatively late development of girls' post-primary, and the great extent to which ecclesiastical schools had been left to purvey it.(1) It is admitted that the proportion of schools to courses is too low; but even with a substantial increase, much would still be required of the courses. The official estimate is that 3,000 are necessary, with a strengthened personnel and improved equipment; and that at the same time there is an urgent call for 187 more schools, of which 150 might be annexed to lycées or colleges.(2) Post-war financial conditions however are far from holding out any hope of the early realisation of such a programme.

By 1929 boys schools had increased to 308, girls to 223.(3) In the supplementary courses there were 27,325 boys, 34,575 girls; in the schools 37,722 boys, 28,228 girls.(4) Against that, there were 174,099 in public secondary schools(5), and 3,644,881 in public

(1) The 50th. anniversary of secondary education for girls was celebrated in June, 1931.

(2) p.155, Yearbook 1926, ed. Kandel.

(3) Statesman's Yearbook.

(4) p.826, The Year Book of Education, 1932. ed. Lord Eustace Percy.

(5) Instruction du ministre, 15 July 1930.

PRIMARY SCHOOLS. (1) Thus 1 in 21 of the primary pupils was proceeding to secondary, 1 in 26 to higher primary of some sort, and 1 in 55 to an organized higher primary school.

... ..

In the seventies, the higher primaries of Paris were sending 75% of their output to commerce, industry, banking, public and private offices (2), a fact used as an argument against the contention that such schools only increased the number of déclassés, and favoured the spread of socialism. The national system, by reason of its diversity, was to touch the economic world at many points. In 1890, of 12,830 outgoing pupils, 67% were placed in agriculture, commerce and industry; 20% went home to follow the same callings in the family business; 9% went into schools, railway offices and other state services. (3) While continuing the moral and intellectual training of the elementary school, higher primary was giving at least an initiation into a kind of knowledge which could be used later in the workshop or the technical school; its general instruction

(1) Reply by the Minister to a Deputy, 12 March 1930.

(2) p. 251, "L'Enseignement Primaire à Paris et dans la Seine, 1867-77."

(3) p. 112, "L'Enseignement professionnel." Paquier.

led up to teaching and teacher-training, minor public services, light trades which were sufficiently general in character to dispense with purely technical preparation. Yet even for these, a certain amount of specialisation was essential. In providing for that, higher primary safeguarded general instruction by postponing specialisation to the second year, while even there it was only part-time.

Later statistics give more detail, and show the importance which the Normal school contingent was assuming.

Outgoing pupils 1897 - 1904.

	1897	1898-1904 average	1897 %	1898-1904 %
Teaching	713	804	8	9.3
Normal Schools ...	537	666	6	7.5
Technical ' ' ...	644	703	7.3	7.1
Agriculture	64	44	.7	.5
Industry	1870	1157	21	13.1
Commerce	1130	1587	12.7	18
Banking	218	182	2.5	2.1
Railways	156	156	1.8	1.8
Administration ...	328	402	3.7	4.5
Agriculture(home).	712	690	8	8
Industry(home) ...	613	538	7	6
Commerce(home) ...	712	481	8	5.5

(Statistics based on pp. 117-118, Paquier.)

1906 : Outgoing pupils from 66 girls schools spread over 32 departments.

		%
Teaching	247	12
Normal schools .	520	24
Technical ' ' ...	91	4
Industry	33	1
Commerce	206	9
Administration .	129	6
Dressmaking	263	12
Housekeeping ...	652	30

(p.212, Paquier.)

Now that technical schools were making appreciable headway, at least in the interests of that class of society for which higher primary was providing, there was less call to justify higher primary by its direct economic contribution; yet this justification still seemed necessary, for there were those who now taxed it with producing only "fonctionnaires", or with being a mere avenue to the Normal school. They would have transformed it into apprenticeship pure and simple. Their motives were mixed, the chief being the desire for simplicity and uniformity of type. They failed to appreciate the needs of semi-technical occupations for which general intelligence is a prime requisite. Moreover, the time not being ripe for the suggestion

that the baccalauréat should bar the way of the would-be elementary teacher, where were the Normals to be recruited from, or the candidates for the "brevet supérieur" who did not go through these Normals? If from the elementary schools, then primary teaching qualifications were to lapse to the depressing level which had for so long prevailed; if from special schools, further differentiation was called for, which only large cities could have met. The degree of differentiation already attained was a marked advance, the minimum consonant with any regard for the needs of the community, yet perhaps the maximum advisable for teaching recruitment. Today indeed the feeling is growing that the Normals do not cast a sufficiently wide net; that it would greatly benefit elementary education and national unity if the teachers were recruited for training from college and lycée, the main stream of public education. (1)

An investigation in 1910 brings us within reach of the present-day position without the confusing factors of the war and post-war finance.

(1) Cf. article "Les Écoles Normales" in "Le Temps,"
 21 Nov. 1932.
 also p.161, Yearbook, 1926. ed. Kandel.

After-school Careers of 10,551 higher primary boys.

		%
To other primary schools	696	6
' secondary schools	353	3
' primary Normals	962	9
' primary teaching(as teachers or surveillants)....	225	2
' technical schools	1073	10
' minor official posts(state, department or commune)....	707	7
' railways(mainly desk-work)	197	2
' clerking & book-keeping	2463	23
' factories or farms as workmen or apprentices	1279	12
' banks	497	4
' family business in industry ...	537	5
' ' ' commerce ...	659	6
' ' ' agriculture... ..	903	9 (1)

The higher primary school is thus "shaping those men who, under the direction of leaders from the Universities and Central Institutions, will constitute the cadres of the economic and administrative armies." (2) Is it doing so, even with the assistance of supplementary courses, to an extent commensurate with the relative

(1) Quoted, p.113, "Nationalism and Education." Reisner.

(2) Ministerial Instructions, 30 Sept. 1920.

claims of practical vocations? Given the post-primary provision made out of public monies, is a reasonable proportion of that expenditure being diverted to the education of pupils whose prospective callings can be classified as non-professional? The answer cannot be in doubt, though the remedying of the situation (and that not only in France) will be one of the main educational problems for many years to come. Progressive thought today is giving a foremost place to the curriculum; the unseating of the classics has only been a prelude to serious consideration of secondary study even when divested of its rigid character. Its shortcomings cannot be concealed unless we close our eyes to several relevant factors : the occupational distribution of society, the connection between vocation and school leaving age, the wastage all along the secondary line. These alone are sufficient to condemn instruction compounded of matter and pursued by methods whose justification lies in prolonged study and affinity with pursuits of a non-practical nature. The question which must now claim the concern of educationists and sociologists is not whether 174 thousand secondary pupils is more than the country can afford; but how many of these, by discontinuing the course mid-way, and entering vocations open to them at that early age, would have been better occupied with studies more relevant to the life which awaits them. That question

is one which alike concerns the economic life of the community and the happiness of the individual; it remains even after educationists have solved to their own satisfaction the problem of an intermediate curriculum.

The analysis of the 1921 census sets up the guide-posts by which the course of development must be laid.

Urban population(1) : 18,205,492.

Rural ' ' : 21,004,026.

The working members, male and female, are classified as follows:

Agriculture & Forestry	8,951,099
Fishing	72,450.
Extractive industries	317,607
Manufacturing industries	6,181,441
Maintenance & transport	1,184,414
Commerce & banking	2,253,529
Liberal professions	590,492
Domestic service	847,566
Public services, including army	1,322,006

In agriculture and forestry there were reckoned to be 5,002,641 overseers, 5,245 office staff, and 2,809,723 workers of both sexes; in manufacturing industries, 683,309 overseers, 390,546 office staff, and 3,622,527 workers. (2)

(1) In urban population are reckoned those living in centres of 2,000 or more inhabitants.

(2) p.656, Annuaire Général, 1928. (Larousse)

CONCLUSION.

Our title suggests a finality in education which is not in accordance with experience; yet from the official point of view it may be taken that the first decade of this century saw higher primary established on a reasonably broad basis as France's provision for intermediate instruction. Indeed its development was then such that some again began to regard modern secondary as superfluous, at least in those age grades covered by general higher primary. This modern secondary however was to receive in 1925 the status at which it had so long been aiming : complete equality with classical, and differing from it only in the substitution of modern languages for Latin and Greek (1); so that its early years must continue to lay the foundations of a broad cultural education with a substantial superstructure in view. By 1920, the features of the 3 years course in a higher primary school were clearly enough defined, and the school itself a common enough unit in the national system, for the central authority to contemplate making a distinct category of those courses which did not come up to the minimum requirements of a school "de plein exercice". That designation was therefore dropped; and the Ministry of Public

(1) Décret 13 May 1925.

Instruction began to operate upon the courses pretty much as it had been doing upon the schools during the previous forty years - strong confirmation of the theory that the chief aspect of the problem all along had been not so much to increase the numbers classified under higher primary or special secondary, as to make those numbers mean something from an educational standpoint. The democratic basis of the structure had moreover been broadened, though not so much as one might expect in a republican France which professes to draw its inspiration from the ideals of the Revolution. "When it is recalled that the petite bourgeoisie avails itself generally of the higher primary schools, and in some sections the higher classes of the bourgeoisie to a considerable extent, the amount of social re-alignment brought about through those schools must be very critically estimated. The state offers 545 whole or partial scholarships including board - and, in some cases, an allowance to the family to reimburse it for the lost earnings of the child - to boys in higher primary schools, and 551 such scholarships for girls. These scholarships are awarded on competitive examination, and represent the intention of the state to aid ambitious and gifted youth of the lower social group. However, the total amount of aid so given cannot be regarded as a very considerable amelioration of the

inequalities of educational opportunity." (1)

Such being the position today, it is an obvious anachronism to read the democratic aims of the present higher primary into the legislation of 100 years ago.(3)

"The legislator of 1833 was justified in thinking that a good vest is better than a poor coat. His mistake lay in imagining that people would be persuaded to give up the coat for the vest." (2) In 1850 the alleged obstacle was political prejudice. Under Duruy, if all that was demanded was permissive legislation and a minister's sympathy, then the country's ills were exorcised. But the country under Fortoul and Rouland had not been straining at the leash. All Duruy's powers of persuasion were required for his act on Special Secondary to escape complete failure. Not till the Third Republic did public enthusiasm sufficiently vivify legislation for the State to perform, with any degree of success, its function of propagation.

Even then, the highest hopes were far from being realised. The Ribot commission at the end of the century disclosed once again the regrettable results of excessive centralisation and its concomitants - a mania for uniformity, a propensity for theoretical conceptions to over-ride local experience. The legislation of 1891

(1) pp.114-5, "Nationalism & Education." Reisner.

(2) p.521, Vol.II, "Histoire Critique des Doctrines etc." G.Compayré. 1879.

(3) Reisner's statement however already called for

(3) Reisner's statement however already called for revision by the time his book was published. The scholarship scheme was completely overhauled and extended in 1925 (décret 9th. January, arrêté 27th. February), further facilitating access by gifted pupils to the highest types of education by maintenance grants, fees and boarding scholarships, and providing for transfer from one type of school to another. Psychological tests however did not contribute to the original classification into higher primary, secondary and technical.

In 1927 scholarships were granted to beginners as follows :

2,609 to lycées and colleges.

12,606 to higher primary schools.

988 to technical schools.

In addition, reduction of fees had the previous year been granted to 14,064 children of teachers.

(p.75, Educational Yearbook, 1928.
ed. Kandel.)

had assumed that higher primary would fill the place formerly shared between it and special secondary; that, given "special" developed into "modern", with a baccalauréat of its own, the lower grades of its clientèle would turn to the higher primaries as better suited to their needs. In theory they should have done so. The new modern secondary was a six years course, with literary studies predominating. But the legislator's assumption was belied in the event : higher primaries were not gathering in those for whom the college had ceased to provide a finished course. Partly the fault lay in themselves. The sporadic nature of the interest shown in them had led to very uneven distribution. One department of slight economic importance might have five or six, while another, richer and more densely populated, had none. Yet even where higher primary and college co-existed, the parents' false pride in too many cases still decided their choice. The modern courses were filled with a motley crowd breaking off at all points along the way. Of 8,500 starting every year, only 3,500 carried on to the end. (1) The numbers in classical and modern together were seen to be too high in relation to those in higher primary and purely vocational. 13,000 entered annually upon classical,

(1) p.57, "La Réforme de l'Enseignement Secondaire."
1900.

making with modern a total of 21,500, Ten or eleven thousand completed the course. There were in the écoles pratiques de commerce et d'industrie and the écoles nationales professionnelles 4,000, making with higher primary a total of 25,000. There were therefore almost as many flocking to the colleges every year as were to be found at any given moment in all intermediate and vocational schools. (1) Whether the secondary total, as was often contended, was also too high in relation to population and social organisation, does not concern us here. What is evident is, that the arrears in specifically intermediate education would not be readily made up. Class consciousness quite obviously decreed that, until their outlook changed, a section of the bourgeoisie, seeking instruction up to the age of 15 or 16 years, but insisting on getting it in a college, could only have their wants adequately met by the provision of something like that special secondary which Duruy organised and which his successors had modified beyond recognition. (2)

(1) pp.57-59, Ribot, op.cit..

(2) The décrets of 1902 contemplated the institution of an abbreviated modern course on the lines of Duruy's; but the problems inherent in the two full courses, classical and modern, proved sufficient to monopolise the minister's attention.

Guizot in the thirties had asked more of higher primary than it could perform; if he was not concerned about its function as a lever to raise the elect of the populace, he at least expected great things of it as a relief to the overpopulated secondary courses. Now after a period of neglect higher primary was again being asked to do too much by being prescribed for a section of society which was not, and did not want to feel, homogeneous. Nevertheless those excessive demands made upon it were a clear indication that it had won confidence. The devotees of uniformity, now that special instruction of the Duruy brand was out of the way, could wholeheartedly support it. Its nearest rival was the apprenticeship school; but its function had become clear enough to place it under another ministry to multiply in keeping with local demand. "Technical instruction, commercial and industrial, aims chiefly, without prejudice to its being supplemented by general instruction, at the theoretical and practical study of the sciences, arts and trades with a view to preparing for an industrial or commercial calling. Those schools are technical and industrial in which the theoretical teaching has a practical bias, and the time devoted to practical work in shop or laboratory exceeds 15 hours per week. Those schools are technical and commercial in which the time devoted to banking, accountancy,

financial mathematics and book-keeping exceeds half the total school time." (1)

Intermediate instruction therefore, of the nature by which discerning educationists had identified it for something like a century, was at last firmly established under state auspices. It only remained to propagate it in conformity with ascertained local needs and resources. Snobbishness might rob it of some of its effectiveness; communities might still hesitate between higher primary and an apprenticeship school; concern for their budget might lead them to expect more help from the government than the latter was prepared to give; but the cause was won. Finance and a saner appreciation of education values would be all-important factors in the rate of future progress.

State interest in the nation's educational equipment had increased not only in its financial contribution, but also to a notable degree in the variety of institutions over which that contribution was spread. This may be shown graphically for the field lying between elementary and University standard.

(1) M.Cohendy, quoted by Paquier, p.4.

In this differentiation lies one of the clues to earlier disasters. The vacillating policy of the 19th. century was largely attributable to a central authority, in its desire for regularity, grappling with a set of circumstances not yet amenable to mass action, or sufficiently familiar to be associated with any generally acceptable treatment. Add to that the supplementary nature of governmental participation - its being contingent upon municipal initiative and commitment - and it will be seen that progress in grades outwith the scope of compulsory attendance has been dependent upon economic and social factors much more than upon state projects. The time divisions adopted for convenience in any expensive survey are quite arbitrary except in respect of legislation. They do not correspond to violent changes in the rate of advance, or in the public attitude to education. The legislation has its origin in that supreme confidence in the rational organisation of society with which England and Germany have ever reproached the French - a reproach moreover echoed by Taine and Renan. The more uniform state education was, the further it fell short of the needs created by the industrial revolution and democratic awakening. Today, when the individual bulks more in the aims and ideals of education, state provision may still be regarded as hopelessly inadequate;

yet it has at least succeeded in providing for several important social categories, categories which existed throughout the greater part of the 19th. century, but whose educational needs were slow in winning recognition.

There may come a stage when the economic resources of the nation surpass the willingness of a governing class to spend on any particular social service; and it is held by many that such a point has been reached. They would reverse the policy of waiting upon local demand, by giving supply an opportunity to create demand. That question however resolves itself into one of money; and post-war Europe is an unkindly place for big-scale educational schemes. Nevertheless the stubborn fact remains that the higher primary system, as conceived by the best minds in the scholastic corps, has been only partially applied. Considerations of economy, aided by theories about an école unique, have in recent years encouraged a new approach to the problem of expansion. Although the government does not unconditionally absolve the municipality of responsibility for setting up individual schools (1), a policy of concentration was embarked upon in 1926. From the time of Cousin there had been ^{an} intermittent demand for the suppression of weak colleges, held to be expensive out

(1) Secondary co-education schemes for example are not sanctioned throughout the whole course if the number of girls involved in any one centre exceeds

of all proportion to their contribution in graduates; yet there always ^{was} great reluctance to deal drastically with them. This feeling still exists. Have they not laid the foundation of many a brilliant career? Did not Pasteur himself study at the little college of Arbois? A certain amount of reorganisation, elimination and substitution resulted from the economy campaign round 1925; but the ministry regarded as the most hopeful device the grouping of different types of instruction in one school with a proportion of classes common to all. Till then, when a higher primary or a supplementary course was annexed to a college, it had remained a separate unit for staff, pupils and curriculum, so that the ultimate saving was not very considerable. As at 30th. June 1926, this arrangement ("jumelage") applied to 58 boys colleges, 2 lycées, and 1 girls college. (1) It was now deemed possible to arrange for $13\frac{1}{2}$ or 16 hours instruction per week common to secondary and higher primary. Local circumstances would decide how much could be done along similar lines for technical instruction. This would achieve unity of control, economical and effective use of staff, concentration of apparatus; while the intermixture of categories would carry moral, social and pedagogical advantages. Provision was thus made for such assimilation

(1) pp.202-3, "Le vrai visage de l'École Unique."
J.Mora. 1930.

between the first four years of secondary on the one hand, and the preparatory and first three years of higher primary on the other, the scheme to be applied as from 1st. October 1926 to the lowest year in each category, and continued as they rose up through the school. The common matter was as follows :

Common Instruction.

Secondary : 6th. 5th. 4th. & 3rd. Years.
 Higher Primary : Prep. 1st. 2nd. & 3rd. Years.

	6th. & <u>Prp.</u>	5th. & <u>1st.</u>	4th. & <u>2nd.</u>	3rd. & <u>3rd.</u>
French language & literature	4	4	4	4
Modern language	4	4	3	3
Geography	1	1	1	1
Arith. & algebra	2	2	1	1
Natural sciences	1	1	1	1
Drawing	2	2	1½	1½
Physical exercises ..	2	2	2	2
	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
Total	16	16	13½	13½
	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>

The French language and literature, modern language and drawing were to be as detailed in the secondary programme; the geography likewise, with the proviso that 3rd. year higher primary would in all cases study France and her colonies; natural science for the first three years was as for secondary, and as for higher primary in the 4th. year; arithmetic and algebra, the higher primary scheme for the first two years; for the 3rd. and 4th. years only 1 hour would be common for those two subjects, namely that part of the programmes which was actually identical.

When it is remembered that this amalgamation could be applied to three alternative secondary courses, and was further contemplated for technical, it will be seen that the French ministry had lost nothing of its cunning in the manipulation of curricula and time-tables. By October 1928, the experiment (dubbed "amalgame") was being tried in 8 boys lycées, 1 girls lycée, and 84 colleges.(1) One effect of such concentration must be to deprive higher primary of part of its peculiar character, not so much in the subjects taught as in the method of presentation and the balance between theoretical and practical. Ultimately however, it was a challenge to the teacher; nor is it inconceivable that intimate contact of secondary with higher primary

(1) p.202, "Le vrai visage de l'École Unique." Mora.

might confer benefits upon the former which would outweigh any loss of identity suffered by the latter. Viewed on a wider basis, the situation was not without interest. If higher primary and secondary could now be successfully housed together, come under uniform control, share classrooms and masters, what became of some of the explanations advanced for the failure of its ancestral forms throughout the 19th. century? Were the French not quite so socially conservative, so class-conscious, as we were constantly asked to believe? Had the alternative disciplines so far shed their social stamp as to be chosen from the point of view of the pupil's best interests? Would they be accorded real equality of status in the school and the community? Already in Scotland it is quite clear that the name 'advanced division' is viewed by many as a stumbling block to the unfettered development of the new instruction. A certain social and intellectual stigma tends to attach to it; and from knowledge of individual cases, we should say that authorities have not helped matters by relegating the new classes to buildings discarded as unfit for secondary. Would things be any different in France? In her case it might be argued that higher primary had now established itself; that its worth was proved and the demand for it even embarrassing. Be that

as it may, the result was said to be general confusion of curriculum, methods and masters; and by a circular of 27th. June 1928 the fusion ceased to be compulsory - tantamount to an admission of failure. The individual centre was left to suggest the arrangement which it considered workable; and the 1929 report was read by the adversaries of the 'école unique' as the death-knell of the 'amalgame'. The University as a whole had never approved of it; the government pressed it on the score of economy; but such economy was characterised as sheer extravagance if the school was to be out of harmony with the society feeding it.

Prediction as to early developments is rendered more difficult by reason of secondary having been entirely relieved of fees. This throws a great responsibility upon those charged with the orientation of pupils, for the reduced cost of secondary lowers the economic barrier and may call for readjustment between alternative courses. Other problems already await solution. The relation of the "cours" to the higher primary school is not in keeping with French love of uniformity; the more vigorous of those supplementary divisions may be raised to the status of schools, leaving the weaker to be absorbed as healthy "cours supérieurs" in the elementary grade. The "école unique" movement is complex, and has stirred up age-old

controversies in which the pupil would seem to be the last consideration; yet it is in line with the general tendency towards close affiliation of all grades from elementary to University and Central Institution, and may eventually emerge in a better articulated system than has hitherto been possible.

Will there be a place in all this organisation for the new knowledge with which psychology is providing us? Are such centralised systems compatible with a due regard for individuality? One hesitates to give an answer, for a lofty purpose pervades all French schemes of education, and certain branches of the teaching personnel are admirable; but what of the battery of examinations constantly trained upon them, cramping their every movement, stereotyping matter and method? What of the regiment of inspectors? Guarantees are all very well; yet is there any to compare with a high standard of professional conscience in those upon whom all systems, big or small, depend for their effectiveness? So great is the need for constant readjustment, so slow are old prejudices in dying, so wide the vistas ever opening before progressive theorists, that the inadequacy of national schemes at any given moment would readily fill one with despair but for the conviction that "nations are superior to their systems."

A P P E N D I X A.

Marguerin in England.

At the date of Marguerin's visit to England, the new ideas had been sufficiently ventilated to disturb the classical humanists. The Edinburgh Review, Combe, Hodgson, Whewell, Spencer, Maurice, Dickens, Newman, Huxley, Ruskin and others had all lent their voice to the chorus of protest against the rigid traditional curriculum. The campaign had already given birth to organisations and institutions adding new life and zest to educational activity. Mill Hill, Cheltenham, Marlborough, Rossall, Mechanics' Institutes, Birkbeck Schools, Working Men's College, the Science and Art Department, ventures in the education of women - all showed that the country was beyond the theoretical stage in modernisation. Guide posts in the shape of examinations had been set up for middle-class educationists by the College of Preceptors (1853), Oxford (1857, and Cambridge (1858). Activity for the wider dissemination of the rudiments had been maintained for years, particularly through and by voluntary organisations. A national stocktaking had been carried out in the elementary sphere by the Newcastle Commission; the Clarendon Commission on Public Schools had just been appointed; the gap between these was to be filled up a few years later by the Taunton Inquiry.

Despite all this, the English situation could offer little attraction for the investigator in whose mind 'system' was synonymous with centralisation; hence the summary fashion in which many observers dismissed the whole matter. Marguerin however came with the responsibility of making proposals upon which a city with a manageable field of operation could proceed to fill in lacunae. His interest lay in schools, not in general organisation; and this, together with the special nature of the instruction he had mainly in view, determined the material embodied in his report. Generalisation is confined to pedagogic means and methods of traditional colour; we get no masses of figures; particular institutions stand out in relief. His chief source of inspiration was the Birkbeck secular schools, and several others which, while dealing more tenderly with tradition, had imbibed the same reforming spirit and in some cases were even staffed by men who had come under the influence of Ellis. He singles out for special attention the Birkbeck school at Peckham, the proprietary school at Edgbaston, Birmingham, and the Liverpool Institute Commercial School for boys.

William Ellis (1800-1881) (1), a friend of John Stuart Mill, Professor Hodgson and George Combe,

(1) Cf. Life of William Ellis by E.K. Blyth, 2nd. ed. 1892.

interested himself keenly in contemporary movements for the improvement of the working classes. That interest took the form of teaching, writing and financial assistance, while all the time he kept up his business connection as underwriter, manager or director with the Indemnity Mutual Marine Assurance Co., London. The name 'Birkbeck' was given to his schools in honour of the founder of the Mechanics' Institutes; and the first was opened (1846) in the theatre of the Mechanics' Institution, Southampton Buildings, Chancery Lane, with John Rüntz as headmaster. In this same building, training for prospective teachers in Birkbeck schools was carried on for many years.

In 1846 there appeared his "Outlines of Social Economy" (translated into French 1850), a subject which he was to make his own and which was to figure in all his schools. In a sequel to it (1) he formulates his view of real education: "By education I mean an earnest application of well-selected means to impart to all, such a knowledge of the laws of the universe, especially of their practical bearing upon the daily wants and business of life, as that all may be clearly convinced that their happiness is only to be attained by placing themselves in harmony with those laws; to communicate

(1) p.178, "Questions and Answers suggested by a consideration of some of the arrangements and relations of social life." 1848.

to all, such manual, muscular and intellectual dexterity as may qualify them to gain, extend, and improve their knowledge, and appropriate and apply it; and also to implant those habits of observation, application and forethought, without which the soundest intellectual acquirements are comparatively useless. Such a course of education, persevered in generation after generation, would raise up a people knowing and practising the duties of social life, labouring and economising for their own present and future maintenance, and struggling and contriving for the benefit of all. A people so educated would be inspired, not with the mere vulgar notion of getting on, not with the vain and illusory desire of rising in the world, but with a solemn sense of the sacredness of every duty undertaken, of every contract entered into."

This aim he expressed in various ways at different times, always with emphasis on the well-being of the citizen and the community. He had definitely chosen between this world and the next as the objective in education; yet when viewed as a whole, his theory is far from finding its full application in a technical or commercial school. At the setting up of the Schools Inquiry Commission (before which he was to give evidence) he wrote to the "Museum and English Journal of Education", 1st. March 1865, that if pressed to

distinguish between schools for the rich and the poor, his judgment would be that those for the poorer classes are best which are most successful in fitting them to preserve themselves from destitution; those for the children of the richer classes are best which are most successful in fitting them to preserve themselves, in the expenditure of the wealth which they will have no occasion to earn, from frivolity, profligacy, and indifference to the sufferings and helplessness of others. His "social economy" had a moral interest which he was at pains to elucidate, and which he repeatedly attempted to represent in the title of the subject; but right to the end of his career he was seeking a suitable designation for "lessons on right conduct", "the art of being, and of doing, good." Industry, knowledge, skill, economy, temperance, forethought, respect for property - these he found at the base of all social well-being, and these he endeavoured to inculcate. "The practice of conduct presupposes a science of conduct. It is instruction in this science of conduct which I think ought to proceed *pari passu* with all other instruction." (1)

At the date of Marguerin's association with him, Ellis was engaged on a work to which he gave the name

(1) Letter 29th. May 1871 to the Secretary to the Royal Commission on Scientific Instruction and the Advancement of Science.

Philo-Socrates, and in which he developed his ideas on education and morals. The title was suggested by the appearance of Dr. Whewell's translation of Plato's dialogues of Socrates; but Ellis in his teaching had been practising the Socratic method long before he knew his Socrates, and before Spencer wrote: "the process of self-development should be encouraged to the uttermost. Children should be led to make their own investigations and to draw their own inferences. They should be told as little as possible and induced to discover as much as possible." (1) His method was applied with particular zeal to his favourite subject, social economy, while vivifying the rest of the curriculum.

Such was the man who enthused Marguerin. They had much in common. Though the Frenchman professed doubts about the emphasis on self-interest prevailing in English economic thought, it is questionable whether they were so very far apart even on this point. In any case his enthusiasm for "social economy" led to its adoption in the Turgot schools; and Ellis' "Helps to the Young in their efforts at self-guidance" (1872) was immediately translated into French. On the religious question they did differ: Marguerin failed to see why Ellis should not frankly adopt religion as the sanction

(1) pp. 71-72 "Education", 1859.

of the undoubtedly Christian teaching implied in his theories. Ellis favoured secular instruction; yet he was so obsessed by the social function of the school, that he would rather have placed his child "where he was taught the conditions of secular well-being with what he considered false religion than where he was left to shift for himself in both." (1)

The Peckham school, opened in 1852 for 400 pupils (boys and girls), was the fifth of the Birkbeck type, and the first to be housed in a building specially erected by Ellis. The headmaster was Mr. Shields, a gifted man trained by Rüntz at the Southampton Buildings. The prospectus announced : "The course of instruction in these schools will include reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar and composition, history and geography, drawing, algebra, geometry, vocal music, the elements of physiology, natural philosophy and chemistry. The children will also be instructed in the moral conditions of human well-being. - The girls will be taught needlework." The school was filled to overflowing, and in a few years was extended to house 1000. It retained its reputation even after the passing of the 1870 Education Act, which handicapped private ventures in their struggle for financial stability; but Shields' death

(1) Letter to Dr. Hodgson, 10th. Nov. 1850.

in 1878 was a severe blow to the cause; the supply of teachers failed with the closing of the original Birkbeck school; Board Schools sprang up in close proximity; and the struggle was ultimately abandoned in 1887. Elsewhere those that had resisted absorption in the national movement tended to widen their curriculum, catering for a somewhat higher stratum of society than that envisaged at their inception. This was reflected in the scale of fees, the standard rate of which had been 6d per week.

It is interesting to glance at the characteristic features of the Peckham teaching as seen by Marguerin, apart from its secular aspect and its predilection for "social economy". Speaking generally, "conversational lessons" replaced humdrum bookwork. Arithmetic was more than a conglomeration of mechanical operations. Not that the pupil had to give a scientific exposition of the processes involved; but by skilful questioning he was induced to think about each step, and this initiation into theory brought greater facility in the application of principles at succeeding stages. Algebra was simply a generalisation of arithmetical problems through the use of symbols; without becoming a scientific study, it was a useful introduction to the language of science, familiarising pupils with formulae which might later become instruments in the solution of practical problems. The sciences were approached through incidental talks

rather than partitioned schemes of work : physiology found its chief application in hygiene; botany was a study not in dissection and classification, but in man's relation to the plant world; the industrial aspects of geology and mineralogy took precedence over nomenclature; in physics and chemistry, general principles emerged from simple experiment - a preparation for personal study or more scientific lectures. Grammar and analysis avoided sterile niceties, trained the mind in concentration and judgment, and gave a clearer understanding of the mother tongue; in composition, stress was laid upon logical sequence of ideas and balance of treatment - a rare feature in English schools, and indeed (according to our French observers) in English authors. French had been introduced; and while the desire was that it should develop intelligence, circumstances gave it a commercial bias. It is noteworthy that the secular schools experienced the same difficulty in modern languages as did the French higher primaries, even when they had become comparatively well established : the instruction was committed to outsiders who were not impregnated with the atmosphere of the school, and who therefore failed to make of the subject the instrument it might have become. Geography was taught entirely from bold relief wall-maps, appealing to the mind through the eye; physical received

the attention it merits as the foundation of political and economic geography. History only appeared in the form of stories and short readings, Shields considering it impossible as a real study for young pupils without its becoming a mere matter of dates and names. With this Marguerin did not agree; he considered it possible to observe time sequence in order to make it really history, and still derive from it all that Shields desired.

The general scheme he found admirable for its purpose. Pupils of 14 or 15 years entered upon their life-work with a store of useful knowledge, trained minds and an aptitude for work. They were ready to appreciate those economic questions which none can escape, and had grasped certain principles calculated to protect them from specious argument and blind prejudice. They were made for their day; their feet had been planted in the way of useful citizenship.

The Liverpool Institute Commercial School for boys reproduced many of the best features of the Birkbeck schools. It had 600 pupils divided equally between a preparatory (elementary) and an upper division (13 to 15 years). The fees for the former were equivalent to 21 fr. 85 c. per quarter, and for the latter 26 fr. 25 c.. The school thus provided for modest incomes - £120 to £200 per annum. Textbooks had been

largely replaced by oral teaching, but the lessons here followed a predetermined scheme. The general policy was all that Marguerin could desire - the imparting of useful, practical knowledge which at the same time was handled as an instrument for general intellectual development. They were doing with Milton for example what other schools were attempting with Homer. Innovation had been carried sufficiently far to lend new life to the school, and replace mechanical procedure and memory work by intelligent study, without breaking entirely with tradition where it had stood the test of experience. The energy, enthusiasm and personality of the teachers were again outstanding features.

The rôle of the Birkbeck schools in the advancement of English teaching methods would form an interesting study; for in view of the many forceful teachers associated with them, it seems improbable that their influence should have died with them. Adamson (1) devotes only some dozen lines to Ellis and his foundations, mentioning only the seven in London; but Marguerin gives their number throughout the country as over thirty; their reputation was growing; borrowings from their curricula and methods were frequent; they

(1) "English Education 1789-1902." J.W.Adamson, 1930.

had in his opinion outlived the stage when their sole sustaining power lay in their reactionary relation to current practice; yet with some prescience he doubted their ability to retain their original distinctive character.

This link with France had an interesting sequel forty years later. Higher Elementary Schools in England were first officially recognised by the Minute of 6th. April 1900. It was a compensative measure, the Code having declared that Treasury grant would not be paid in respect of any scholar who had been for one year in the VIIth. standard and was 14 years of age. The Minute therefore recognised a class of elementary schools eligible for a grant of their own, and organised to give a four years course of instruction between the ages of 10 and 15. 39 such schools were set up between 1900 and 1906 in England and Wales; but special stress having been laid on science requirements in their curriculum, they did not show sufficient elasticity or regard for local needs. Administrative changes moreover had led to constant changes in nomenclature between Higher Elementary, Higher Grade, and lower secondary. The Board of Education therefore sought the advice of the Consultative Committee in carrying out new Code regulations pertaining to Higher Elementary, and their report of 1906 was the outcome. (Report of the Consultative

Committee upon Higher Elementary Schools.1906).

R.L.Morant was then Secretary to the Board; his report on French Higher Primary had already appeared; and the English committee's recommendations were obviously framed with their eye on the French system, even to the inclusion of a "livret scolaire". Such are the vicissitudes of educational progress! A group of English private venture schools are instrumental in the development of French higher primary; those private schools succumb to the competition from an English national system; a defect is diagnosed in the intermediate grade of that system, and the reformers in effect prescribe French higher primary as the remedy!

APPENDIX B.

Organisation Reforms proposed by Marguerin for the city of Paris in his English Report.

- (a) Extension of the primary curriculum in a *certain* number of communal schools, particularly in industrial quarters.

This is mainly for the purpose of making possible and profitable, practical adult education, and is supported by reference to (1) the experience of the Mechanics' Institutes, successful in Scotland, a failure at first in England, and subsequently rallying with improvement in the primary standard.

(2) the teaching of the secular schools (3) the high standard of primary in Scotland.

He advises the addition of the elements of geometry, notions of physical science and natural history applicable to every-day life, more attention to mechanical drawing. The geometry is not specifically mentioned in the 1850 act; he defends his proposal by showing that other things sanctioned by that act presuppose geometry. "Drawing is the language of industry."

- (b) Lectures to uncertificated teachers and candidates for the teaching certificate.

The Normal Schools of Battersea, Borough Road and Stockwell would be worth special study if Paris

thought of having its own Normal. The lectures proposed would partially meet the case until regular Normal courses were established. He suggests as an outline scheme 5 evening lectures per week in 5 subjects for six months (Nov. to May), thus giving 24 lectures to each of the following : (1) pedagogy, methods. (2) French language. (3) mathematics (arithmetic and geometry with applications). (4) physical and natural science. (5) history and geography.

(c) Organisation of art and applied science teaching for adults.

"The numerous and complex interests of industry and commerce, the laborious efforts of modern society to create for itself new economic conditions, our country's institutions - all seem to place upon us the obligation to multiply those agencies which help the individual to develop his faculties, make his existence more pleasant and less precarious, and reach with more physical comfort a higher degree of moral dignity." Scotland is cited with Switzerland, Holland and Belgium as small countries which education has endowed with an importance out of all proportion to their population. The Science and Art Dept. in England, building upon the work of the Mechanics' Institutes, has left France behind in the number and importance of educational institutions for the

working classes. The Paris evening courses in general instruction and drawing are either purely elementary, or hopelessly above the students. The Polytechnic and Philotechnic Associations, despite valiant efforts, are not extending their activities, and have not established institutions to outlive the personalities engaged in the work. Turgot and the 4 sister schools already adopted in principle are proposed as suitable centres for more effective evening courses.

(d) Additions to the organisation of Turgot :

(1) extension of its elementary class. Modern English schools get the best results when they have the preparation of their own clientèle at the elementary stage. One preparatory year in Turgot is unable to make good the defects of the elementary schools from which it draws its pupils.

(2) instruction in industrial economy; substantiated by particular reference to Mechanics' Institutes and secular schools.
 Cf. Gréard, p. 282, "L'Enseignement Primaire à Paris, 1867-77." "When, some years ago, the elements of industrial economy were added to the higher primary curriculum, it was not without misgiving. It has been put to the test, and the results leave no doubt as to the success. M. Marguerin wrote in a recent report :
 'History and geography have received really valuable

assistance from industrial economy. Both of them, by admitting economic facts and to that extent discarding the unimportant and inapplicable, have been vitalised. In the relations I have maintained with our F.P.'s, I have noticed that, generally speaking, those who have taken that course show sounder judgment, and are less open to empty sonorous commonplaces masquerading as principles and bearing no relation to reality.' "

(e) Foundation of a girls Higher Primary.

His proposal was backed by what he had seen of the Liverpool Institute girls' school. One of his objects was to spur on existing free schools for girls and clarify public opinion. The Birkbeck schools were mixed; but Marguerin was inclined to think that coeducation was not without its disadvantages, even in England.

... ..