SO DEFT A BUILDER

An Account of the Life and Work of Sir Henry Hadow

(part 2)

by

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CHAPTER 8

NEWCASTLE, WALES AND WHITEHALL

"A song for occupations!
In the labour of engines and trades, and the labour of fields
I find the developments,
And find the eternal meanings."

(Walt Whitman)

I

Whether or not Hadow looked forward with Whitman to the advent of an industrial culture, he certainly did not regard the advance of science and technology in the twentieth century with disapproval. He appreciated to the full the immense possibilities for human knowledge and freedom which technological developments opened up,[1] and the interest in biology and chemistry which he shared in childhood with his brother Gerald was sustained throughout his years at Oxford. On 12th February, 1899 he reported to his mother that he was "on all the Natural Science Committees". His election in 1909 as Principal of Armstrong College, Newcastle-on-Tyne, was not, therefore, such an anomaly as may at first appear, particularly since it was the civic wish of Newcastle to further and consolidate the literary tradition of the college. An article in the Northern Echo (25/3/11) emphasized the breadth of the new Principal's academic accomplishments, claiming that he could occupy most of the chairs of the college with distinction.

Armstrong College, which began as a College of Physical Science, maintained by benefactors' donations and subscriptions, had enjoyed since 1873 an annual grant from the University of Durham, of which it was the Faculty of Science. The College had professors of pure and applied mathematics, chemistry, experimental physics, geology and biology; and there were lecturers not only in mechanical drawing, but in Greek and Latin, English History and Literature, French and German. By 1904, when it became officially known as Armstrong College, the institution had the features of a Studium Generale; and in the year of Hadow's appointment there it secured, by the University of Durham Act, power to grant degrees in Arts and to develop more freely and independently on its own lines.[2]

Hadow was by no means a stranger to Newcastle. He had visited the city over a period of some sixteen years as revising examiner for the Oxford Local Examinations. In January and February, 1902, at the invitation of Professor James Dewar,[3] he delivered a course of lectures at the meeting of the Royal Institution in Newcastle on "Landmarks in the History of Opera". His lectures were well received, and he was made to feel very welcome. As a guest at Wingrove House he wrote that he had "spent yesterday in going over the shipyard of my hosts .... I am meeting a lot of interesting people - mostly with scientific or engineering abilities, and all capable and energetic".[4] He returned to Newcastle to lecture on numerous occasions to the Royal Institution and to the Literary and Philosophical Society. His first lecture to this society, on "The Songs of Northumberland" (9/1/05), won him lasting respect,[5] and in 1921, when he delivered an address on"English Satire and English Character" he attracted an audience of 850.[6]

Hadow nevertheless confided to Rhoda Balfour in 1912 that he arrived at Newcastle "an ingrained Tory who knew nothing of the working man's conditions". He began work immediately, with a full University lecture commitment and many extra-mural engagements. In October, 1909, the month of his arrival in Newcastle, he found himself addressing such audiences as the Elswick Institute "on the advantages which Engineering apprentices derive from evening classes in applied science", the Geographical Society "on the erection of a Beethoven monument at Haarlem", the Natural History Society "on the adoption of the year's report", and, on 30th October he delivered his first address at a Labour meeting - "Trades Union people, strike-committee men and all the rest of it.."[7]

He adjusted quickly to his new milieu.

> Such times, he wrote to Rhoda Balfour on 6th February, 1910. We're building up the University with both hands and the trowel in our teeth - six committees in the last week, and most of them for several hours.... But on the whole things are going well and I'm very fit and enjoying every moment of it.

There were some difficulties with regard to discipline in the College, and the students - some 200 'Normal' and about the same number of Engineers - were divided into hostile factions. "The reputation of the place on the score of manners is not what it should be", Hadow observed. "Nothing worse than roughness - they are clean enough and straight enough, but they don't know how to behave."[8] It speaks well for Hadow's disciplinary tactics that he was able to report two months later that

> Almost all my boys and girls say howdy now when I meet them: and the other night when I went and ragged the Union Society for misbehaviour (they had broken up the previous meeting) they cheered me all the way back to my room. They're nice people.[9]

Again, on 8th March, 1910, he informed the Balfours that

> I live not, as you seem to suppose, in Newcastle, but on the outskirts of the wholesome moor - half an hour from the sea-invigorating air - large horizons - everything to make home happy.

Hadow's love of gardening[10] encouraged him to further his knowledge of agriculture, and a friendly association ripened with D.A. Gilchrist, the director of the experimental farming station at Cockle Park, and Professor of Agriculture at Armstrong College, where a Department was established in 1915. A letter from Hadow to a Sheffield citizen who had sought his advice about suitable dressings for different kinds of soil would indicate that he had attained some reputation as an authority

on agriculture;[11] and while serving on the Welsh University Commission (see below, Ch.10) he visited Anglesey with Sir A.D. Hall to assess the agricultural potential of land there.

At Newcastle, Hadow was keen to bring about the infusion of the scientific knowledge of Armstrong College into local provincial life - this indeed being one of the essential aims of the 'Redbrick' Universities. He therefore encouraged the link which had naturally developed, through figures such as Gilchrist, between the teachings of agricultural science and the provincial agricultural advisory service. In 1913 he was elected chairman of a board of four County officials to appoint a Live-Stock Officer who would be based at Armstrong College to serve the Board of Agriculture for advisory dairy purposes.[12] This valuable connection between university and provincial authority was unfortunately severed after the second world war.[13]

Armstrong College prospered exceedingly under Hadow's enthusiastic guidance and was also fortunate in its President, Earl Grey, who was succeeded in 1916 by Sir Hugh Bell. By 1912 Hadow was able to report that four new chairs and four new lectureships had been established since the reconstruction of 1908-9; and on 9/12/12 he informed Graham Balfour with some satisfaction that

> A year ago our Christmas bills left us with a temporary overdraft of £10,000 odd. This year, with a £2,000 increase in salaries, we shall just make both ends meet.

He also helped in the engineering of a superannuation scheme for staff, and in the founding of a women's hostel, which was opened officially on 7/6/16. In 1915 he was appointed Vice-Chancellor of the University of Durham, and the following year was elected a member of the Royal

Commission on University Education in Wales, a Magistrate of the Northumberland Appeal Tribunal, and Chairman of the British Association Executive Committee, which was responsible for organizing the visit of the British Association to Newcastle in 1916. Meanwhile, he continued, as at Oxford, to address a variety of audiences on a variety of subjects.[14]

No less extraordinary than the range of subjects with which Hadow dealt was his apparent mastery of the material, whatever it might be. As an illustration of the breadth of his competence may be cited two widely different but equally successful addresses: his lecture before the English Association (20/11/14) on "The Use of Comic Episodes in Tragedy", with Edmund Gosse in the chair and A.C. Bradley in the front row,[15] and an address he delivered on behalf of the "poor little half-starved Technological College" at Doncaster, to earn it more local support.

> I got up, Hadow wrote to his sister (13/2/21), and delivered a stirring and impressive address full of the most recondite technical terms, on the debt owed by the Coal industry to Geology, Chemistry and Physics respectively (Briefed, of course, by my admirable mining professor, but I got through without any notes). And after the meeting, when they were asking me to come again, one of them enquired whether I took any interest in the Arts side, or whether I was wholly a scientist..[16]

Perhaps Hadow's most remarkable achievement at Newcastle was the parallel integration of University and City, Science and Humanities. The split between science and 'traditional' culture, which was to lead C.P. Snow to the alarming pronouncements of "The Two Cultures"[17] was recognised by him to be a danger, not so much for the separation of intellectual life which it entailed - this being inherent in the division of the need to achieve harmony and truth over the whole range of knowledge without in any way obstructing specialization. Whilst insisting that

> Any man's education would be extremely one-sided and imperfect, if it did not teach him to have sympathy with the scientific attitude to the world and training in scientific method,[18]

he urged that

> ...the object of every University is the pursuit of Truth, and in this house of Truth are many mansions...[19]

The most important work of the university, he argued, was "to fulfil the intellectual, spiritual and cultural life of the country".[20]

That Hadow saw this fulfilment as the permeation of University knowledge and thought throughout society as a whole, is apparent in his own untiring efforts to overcome the prejudices which restricted certain forms of knowledge to certain classes of society. The contribution of technology in providing a spring-board for the release of the intellectual energy of the working man was acknowledged by him in a warm tribute:

> A generation ago - in the time of Dickens and Charles Reade - it may have been true that men were blunted and materialized by the constant pressure of their daily occupations: it is certainly not true now. The spread of education, the growth of freedom and comfort, have opened and quickened their minds, and today you will find no keener or more critical audience than in a workman's club or in the institute of a pit village.[21]

Again, in giving evidence to the Archbishop's Commission on War Problems (asa Diocesan representative) he asserted that

> ...the North East has an unaccountable passion for lectures. The surest way to arose (sic) such an audience to interest and attention is to tell them not that a course of action is advantageous or politic, but that it is just, and interest and attention are given in exact proportion to the degree in which the speaker pitches his standard high.[22]

As a lecturer for the Workers' Educational Association - in 1916 he was elected chairman of the Joint Committee of Durham and Newcastle for arranging tutorial classes - he was frequently called upon to address such audiences. His sister, Grace, was a well-known participant in educational activities for workers, particularly after she took over the leadership of a subsection of the Welfare Department of the Ministry of Munitions in the spring of 1917. A letter to her friend Helena Deneke, dated 18/11/17, describes one of her lectures:

> ...Parenthetically it may interest you - it interested me a good deal, and surprised me almost equally - to know that a lecture in Nature Poetry (no lantern slides - no nothing to help it down) drew an audience of 500 munition workers - men and women - on Friday night and I never talked to a more responsive one. They were quite a rough type, and my heart was in my boots when I began, especially as I had been told the employer's point of view - expressed with some force - was that no sane person could expect factory hands to listen to stuff like that. And they came to such an extent that there was no standing room. How's that for the working man and woman after a hard day's work![23]

Hadow shared in his sister's personal experience of the problems involved in the development of the new independence and status which had accrued to the worker during the war. As Fisher recorded, "Where war demands of all equal sacrifices, it was felt that to all should be accorded, so far as might be, equal opportunities."[24] While in the country as a whole the employer's ideas of what was necessary for the worker were being revolutionized, Hadow expressed his faith in the humanism of "the personal relationships between employer and employed which had been lost during the nineteenth century". These, he declared, "were to be brought back when the war was over, and although there would be a great many difficult economic problems to be solved, he believed

that, when we had tried the economy which treated both employers and employed as human beings these would be swept away".[25] Hadow looked to Sir Hugh Bell, President of Armstrong College and Chairman of Bell Bros., the Teeside firm of iron-masters, as an ideal exponent of his ideas of the relation between employer and employed;[26] but he was sympathetic to many of the complaints made by the workers, as his correspondence with Grace reveals.

In May, 1917, he was appointed by the Bishop of Durham to a diocesan committee which was to report to the Archbishop of Canterbury on the attitude of the Church to the conflict of Capital and Labour, as illustrated by the industries of the North-East. A letter to Grace of 6th May reveals the initial difficulties which were experienced in establishing the scale and nature of the Report - "In the whole North East of England there isn't a pitman, of any position or authority, who goes to Church" - but the Committee established, with the cooperation of the Miners' Federation, a system of receiving evidence from a cross-section of industry, "working men at one meeting, employers at another, and so on".[27] This diocesan report, which strongly influenced the formation of the Church's Christianity and Industrial Problems, 1918, led to Hadow's election to the Archbishop's Reconstruction Council in March, 1918, and to the Commission on War Problems the following May.

Hadow was also much concerned at this time about the veiled hostility which existed between the schools of the North-East and Durham University. The schools, he explained to Graham Balfour, in a letter of 17/3/17, recognized that Armstrong College amounted to

something in applied science, but turned their back on the University in general.

> So I said let us set up...(a) joint committees, one for Classics, one for Mathematics, one for English, and so on, and tell the schools to elect their own representatives who are to serve with the university dons as colleagues. First thing, to get the dons to agree (for it meant giving the schools a certain voice in University education). That proved easier than I expected. Then I issued an invitation broadcast among the schools (secondary of course) to come to a sort of conference today and elect their committees. That was touch and go for it meant formally asking them to come and cooperate. Result over 200 of them turned up today. In spite of difficulties of travelling they sat (between them) from 10.30 till 5.30, elected their committees from schools all over the area (I saw to that), discussed procedures and educational questions and intentions and all sorts of things, and went away with warmer feelings towards Durham than they've ever had. Of course, it's only a start...

By the end of the year Hadow had instigated the formation of a "Secondary Schools Council" of twenty four members, representing the schools, the Local Education Authorities, and the University, to meet and discuss all matters of common policy.[28] H.A.L. Fisher, whose attention had been engaged by a scheme to merge the examination questions of the various Newcastle schools to give greater uniformity to the School Certificate,[29] ("quite like the old days of H.B. George and the Oxford locals", Hadow confided to Grace) expressed official approval of the Council. He himself set up a "Secondary Schools Coordination Council" at the Board of Education, of which Hadow was elected Durham representative.[30]

II

The importance of the arts in stabilizing the unity of a community was urged by Hadow, most particularly with reference to music. Addresses such as that on "The Needs of Popular Musical Education" (Barnett House, 1918) proposed the general refinement and enhancing of life through the restoration of music to a place not only in common education, but in the everyday round. "It is arguable," wrote Hubert Foss in 1937, "...that Hadow's greatest influence in music was exercised in the cause of creative art in the years when he broke away from being a Classical Tutor at Oxford and became Principal of an almost entirely scientific university at Newcastle-on-Tyne."[31] Certainly Hadow encouraged every form of musical endeavour in both the University and the City, although, somewhat typically, he contented himself with giving his support to already established musical institutions and musicians.[32] He was elected President of the Armstrong College Choral Society, which, owing to the training of W.G. Whittaker (successively Instructor, Lecturer, and Reader in Music), attained a very high standard of achievement. It was due to the combined efforts of Whittaker and Hadow that Music was accepted as one of the subjects for the ordinary B.A. degree at Armstrong College; and as early as 1910 Durham University followed the example of Oxford the previous year and conferred on Hadow the Honorary Degree of D.Mus. Valuable Music Libraries were established both at Armstrong College and for the Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society.[33]

At the root of Hadow's attitude to personal culture was his consciousness of man as Citizen - a consciousness which enabled him to respond so positively to the strains and challenges of the society in which he lived. The dictum that "Knowledge is power, but it is not the knowledge of how that power should be used",[34] was implicit, both in Hadow's own cultivation of a humanist philosophy and in his efforts to subject all branches of education and training to a total moral purpose. "Indeed", he declared in 1922, "the essential value of a man's education may well be determined by what, in later life, is his scale of spiritual values".[35] In speaking to the students at Batley Continuation and Technical Schools on October 14th, 1919, he pointed out that

> ...they were not only craftsmen, workmen, they were also citizens; and a very important part of their education was that which constantly taught not only a particular art or craft, or the skill by which their living was going to be earned, but that kind of wisdom, if they were able to attain it, by which they were going to bear their part in the civic life and activities of their country. He urged that they should study English and Imperial history, and that they should commune as far as they could with the great minds of the past, doing everything to enlarge their horizons, to keep them from narrowness and pettiness of view, to make them unselfish and kindly."[36]

The study of recent history, above all with reference to a "clear and well-balanced account of its social phenomena" was particularly recommended by him, as was the study of local tradition, which would "centre the patriotism of young people in their own area".[37]

Hadow's conviction that "No lukewarm patriot has ever made a good internationalist"[38] led him to argue in favour of the production of a book comparable with Rene Bazin's "La Douce France":

> Now what I suggest is a school book on England of the same kind, with a map of England, map of the British Empire, various sections of all of them with simple cheap illustrations, (1) on the English country, its beauty, etc., (2) what England has done for liberty, (3) what England has done for good government, and after that, what England has done for discovery and adventure, for industry and commerce, for literature and art, and so on ..... I believe that if a scheme of this sort could be carried out it would sell all over the country provided, of course, that it was generously and dispassionately written. The schools want it, the adult schools and continuation schools will want it still more, W.E.A. would welcome it, and the Y.M.C.A. would carry it all over the country.[39]

In 1934 Hadow was elected the first president of the Association for Education in Citizenship, founded through the collaboration of Eva Hubback and Ernest Simon of Morley College. Like them, Hadow was anxious that "the schools should provide some basic treatment of the complicated questions with which, as future voters, young people would be concerned," and that "teachers should expressly endeavour, either by means already familiar or in new ways, to inculcate in all young people a sense of responsibility to their town, their country, and, above all, to mankind.."[40]

> Our political mistakes, Hadow argued,"are due not so much to passion or impulse as to a contented ignorance of the points at issue .... No doubt education in citizenship requires most careful and delicate handling ... The danger is less that of partisan teaching, which is as likely as not to produce reaction, than that of breaking into the natural reticence of young people, which may offend the stronger minds, and tempt the weaker to become self-conscious and pharisaic. More can be effected in this matter by influence and example than by any force of direct injunction...." He urged"...the awakening of civic interest by the discussion of actual daily events recorded or narrated by the pupils themselves", and by "..the provision of books which shall deal plainly and dispassionately with the facts of civic life, with the machinery of national and local government, with the administration of the law, with the various proposals for encouraging peace and good-will not only in this country but throughout the world."[41]

Hadow's own volume on Citizenship, compiled from a series of lectures he delivered in Glasgow in 1922, treats the subject from a historical and ethical standpoint, and, by means of apt and varied allusion, posits the need to link education and training for citizenship at all levels.

The extent to which Hadow saw University Education as a fusion of civic duty and individual fulfilment is clearly reflected in his preface to the Sheffield University Students' Handbook of 1922 (See appendix); and the interdependence of university and civic life was further underlined by the recommendation of a committee, of which Hadow was chairman,[42] that University graduates should be systematically recruited for service by Local Government Authorities, preferably by competitive examination. "It is illogical", the Committee held, "that local authorities, who nowadays contribute substantially to university funds, should not secure the full advantage of employing those who have a university education."[43]

Similarly, Hadow held it to be illogical that there should be any rift between the universities and industry,[44] and in both Newcastle and Sheffield Hadow achieved a remarkable integration of University and industrial research.[45] He was particularly aware of the importance of the role the university could play in dispelling rivalries of industrial or commercial interest.

> For one essential feature of University research, he pointed out, is that it cannot confine itself to the interests of this or that firm, this or that particular industry; it is bound to speak in general terms and to make its contribution permeate, as far as possible, the system as a whole.[46]

At Armstrong College this statement was borne out by the contributions of many departments. Notable were the Agricultural Department, with its stations for agricultural experiment at Cockle Park and dairy research at Offerton Hall; the laboratory of Marine Biology at Cullercoats; and the Departments of Mining and Naval Architecture. Conversely, Hadow fostered a keen awareness of the debt the universities owed to industrial support and the munificence of commercial benefactors. The endowment of a post-graduate scholarship at Armstrong College by the Weardale Lead Company in 1916 was declared by him to be "an important and valuable sign of the times":

> There can be no doubt that the value of Scientific Education in England will for many years depend upon post-graduate work and especially on a close connection between College training and the great Industrial occupations.[47]

The extent of Hadow's success in forging this connection is revealed in a letter written at the end of his official life in Newcastle:

> On the whole, looking back, I think it has been a success. It has had its ups and downs, coups and mistakes, but I think that I'm prepared to be judged by it - that it has been as good as I could reasonably hope to do. One of the Municipal old-stagers said to me the other day, 'You've made the College a part of the City', and that, I think, sums it up.[48]

III

The mutual appreciation of University and Industry was facilitated claimed Hadow, "By the great wave of national patriotism which, during the War, made all the men of our nation sink their differences and do their best for the common cause."[49] In other ways, however, the War was not conducive to the prosperity of the College.

In 1914 the College buildings were taken over for use as a hospital. "This", explained Hadow to Rhoda Balfour (19/8/14), "means planting out a College of 22 departments in a city which is not prepared to receive them. The council has backed me up with bribes and has appointed me a committee of one with carte blanche. I have been running through the city like the people in the Psalms and I really believe that I'm going to do it." Indeed, the institutions of the city responded generously, and by October, when the College buildings were providing shelter for over 1,000 patients, the various departments were sufficiently well housed to allow for the usual commencement of lectures. Since College expenses such as salaries and wages were irreducible, this was essential, and Hadow was determined that the academic routine should contimue as normally as possible. While being keen that the College should serve the nation "under continuous and readily acknowledged liability to the claims of the public service", Hadow noted that "the College, through want of access to its own laboratories has been debarred from giving such full assistance as it could have wished to the researches instituted by the Government in connection with the War."[50]

The effort of keeping up the standard of the work of the College in the face of continual physical reorganization of the premises and the absence of staff and students - 49 staff and 220 undergraduates in 1916 - proved a wearying strain for the Principal, and towards the end of 1915, there were signs that Hadow would have welcomed a less hectic administrative round. "I've been on the jump lately", he told Graham Balfour (23/10/15).

> First our hostel got finished all except the furniture, and that meant an agitating time. Then the billeting officers came and turned two of our departments (and portions of two others) out of house and home. This almost amounts to persecution. So I had to trot off and find accommodation for about 200-250 undergraduates with staff to correspond. Got 'em into the Trades Union Hall and the Friends' Meeting House. Don't think that even Kitchener will have the heart to dislodge them from the latter. Meantime, constant addresses (one on the History of the British Navy for Trafalgar Day. What do I know about it?): new set of estimates for the coming year to be made out and sent to the Treasury: new financial policy to be considered in view of the fact that our entry is far the smallest for many years - less than half of last year - and all this time I'm turned on to collect money in Newcastle for the Field Hospital which England is to give to the Russian Government.

In support of this scheme, a gesture of appreciation of "the magnificent heroism displayed by the Russian troops during the past few months", Hadow undertook to raise £2,000 for the provision of twenty beds, to form a Newcastle ward.[51] He also encouraged Newcastle citizens to study Russian, and informed Balfour (23/10/15) that "I've started a Russian class in College and joined it myself to encourage the others." Persuaded as he was that after the war there was bound to be a big movement to promote the application of science to industry and of modern languages to commerce he argued that the study of Russian must be a sound investment.[52] He further advocated the establishment at

Armstrong College of sub-departments of Pure and Industrial Chemistry, and of Russian, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian and Scandinavian languages.[53]

Throughout these first years of the war Hadow devoted much time and energy in support of the City, and worked tirelessly to raise money for the Red Cross and for P.O.W. parcels. He remained firm in his conviction that the College "has maintained its various activities on the clear understanding that they should cease if the needs of the War so demanded, and that in the meantime it was doing the best and most patriotic service in its power by upholding to the best of its ability the claims of education and the cause of scientific research."[54] His front-page article for The Teacher's World (6/10/15) on "The Munitions of Knowledge" gave a lead to teachers and educationists throughout England.

> No doubt, Hadow wrote, a crisis might arise in which we should be so fighting for bare existence that everything else, education included, must be temporarily sacrificed .....but education is far too valuable to be jettisoned so long as the vessel is still seaworthy..... there is a very real sense in which the educational institutions of this country are, as Dr. Sadler has said, National Arsenals.

In response to the suggestion that educational activities should be suspended until after the war he argued that

> This rests on the mistaken belief that an educational institution can be closed down altogether for a time and then started again as if nothing had happened. As reasonably might one suppose that you could put out the furnaces at a great factory and relight them again without additional expense. No doubt has already been suggested, a crisis might arise which required that they should be closed down, but the cost involved is so great that in order to justify it urgency would have to be proved .... For economy does not only mean saving, still less does it mean being satisfied with cheap and inferior work; it means determining how much money you can legitimately spend, and seeing that you get good value for it.
> And when the education of a people is at stake these two aspects are complementary to one another.

Hadow's insistence in this article that "education is one of the most important aspects in the national life" was not far removed from the challenge in the Crowther Report (1957) that education is a form of investment; and his protest against retrenchment in 1921 (see Chapter 12) was to prove farsighted indeed.

It is difficult to assess the weight of Hadow's opinion at this time, although the extent to which his advice and example were sought out may be gauged from the nature and range of his offical tasks in 1916. In March he was appointed Magistrate to the Appeal Tribunal of Northumberland, a function he took on with some confidence, expecting that "a good many of the cases will turn on scientific or agricultural work, and I have some means of getting at the information required." [55] In the event, however, he found the work exacting, and the necessary information sometimes difficult to obtain.[56] Besides his work as Principal of Armstrong College, Vice-Chancellor of the University, and Chairman of the Executive Committee of the British Association, which met in Newcastle in September, 1916, he was serving at this time on a special sub-committee of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education to consider the improvement of scientific training.

In March also came an invitation to serve on the Royal Commission on University Education in Wales.

IV

The appointment of this Commission (conditional to the agreement of the Treasury to make the increased grants to the University recommended by the Advisory Grants Committee), sprang primarily from the desire of the Government to see the central authority of the University strengthened. On April 12th, 1916, the Commission set out

> to enquire into the organisation and work of the University of Wales and its three constituent Colleges, and into the relations of those Colleges and other institutions in Wales providing education of a post-secondary nature, and to consider in what respects the present organisation of University Education in Wales can be improved, and what changes, if any, are desirable in the constitution, functions and powers of the University and its three Colleges.

Far from contenting themselves with the proposal of a few constitutional changes within the general pattern of higher education in Wales, the commissioners, under the informed chairmanship of Lord Haldane,[57] produced a report which, encompassing as it did the rich variety of ends which a national University might seek to attain, in fact "laid the foundations of the present University."[58]

During the two years of the Commission's work - the final report was submitted on 6th February, 1918 - Hadow sat with the Hon. W.N. Bruce, then Principal of Medicine at Oxford, Sir Henry Jones, Professor of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow, Sir Owen Edwards, then Chief Inspector of the Welsh Department of the Board of Education, Sir William Bragg, Quain Professor of Physics at University College, London, Sir Daniel Hall, permanent adviser of the Development Commission, and Miss (afterwards Dame) Emily Penrose, Principal of Somerville College, Oxford.

Hadow's appointment to this distinguished company would appear to have been largely owing to the recommendation of J. Herbert Lewis, a Welshman, and Parliamentary Secretary to Lloyd George. Lewis wrote of Hadow that he "combines Classics with History, Modern Languages with English... and incidentally he is a great musician...described as the best of modern Principals in England ... A charming man with a very rapid brain."[59]

Hadow wrote with enjoyment of his work in the Commission, and it may certainly be supposed that he endorsed the emphasis on "lehrfreiheit" as of supreme value, and that the liberal treatment of the colleges accorded with his views. Sir Henry Jones tells us[60] that Hadow approved "very warmly" of his scheme for the "penny in the pound" rate which was adopted by the Welsh county councils to raise money for the University. This idea was to be again embodied in Hadow's plans for the Sheffield Hospitals (see Chapter 10). Similarly, Sir Henry Jones "seconded.. with the liveliest satisfaction, the efforts of Sir Henry Hadow to make provision for the improvement of musical education in Wales."[61]

Hadow's first achievement in this regard was to persuade the commissioners to review in their Report the position of music in Wales, of which he himself submitted a detailed survey.

> There was no people in Europe, they declared, with whom song was a more intimate means of expression, but hitherto music had moved within narrow limits, and there had been little power of discrimination. The great choral societies could do wonders with Handel and Mendelssohn, but to a large number of Welsh people the whole literature of symphonic and concerted music was virtually a sealed book. Throughout the greater part of Wales there was little or no chance of hearing an orchestra. Only at University College, Cardiff, was there a full music department. There was little extra-mural work. Sight reading in schools had declined.

> To remedy this state of things some proposed a National Academy of Music. Others favoured departments of music in each University College, and it was this latter policy which prevailed with the Commissioners. In order to assist in unifying the general scheme of musical education throughout Wales they recommended the appointment of a Music Director and the formation of a Council of Music of which the Director would be the chairman.[62]

On 22nd November, 1918, the court of the University of Wales met at Chester, Lord Kenyon presiding, and decided to invite Dr. Walford Davies to be the first Director of Music in the University.[63] He was elected to the chair of music at Aberystwyth as from 1st April, 1918; and it may be said with some certainty that both Davies' nomination and acceptance of the post were brought about by Hadow. In his biography of Walford Davies, H.C. Colles related how "When I came into personal contact with him again after the war, it was to hear how Hadow had laid the Welsh Directorate on him as a positive duty which must be accepted", and how Hadow "handed him over firmly enmeshed to Dr. Thomas Jones", who was chiefly responsible for putting the scheme into effect.[64]

Hadow's interest in Welsh music remained alive and keen; it was he who, according to Sir Harry Brittain,[65] engineered the revival of the Chorus of Harps at the Welsh National Eisteddfodau. Moreover, the relationship which was struck up between Hadow and Lloyd George at the Gymanfa at Aberystwyth in 1916 (see below Chapter 2) was expanded. On 9th September, 1917, Hadow wrote to his Mother from Thornton Hough, Cheshire:

> ...We had a most agreeable time at Thornton. Not very much of the Eisteddfod which was half an hour away, but a pleasant and amusing houseparty with some Eisteddfod thrown in. Lloyd George was in great form and evidently enjoyed himself.

> I saw a fair amount of him. On the first evening there was a big dinner party and I had just found my place when a message came that he wanted me to come and sit next to him. So I did, and told him stories, and he asked me point blank how the Welsh Commission was getting on and what I thought of Haldane as Chairman, and I told him quite frankly and we got on like a house on fire. Later on we foregathered over the Welsh Hymn Tunes and discussed the speech in which he pleaded for a better selection......
>
> On his way back from the Birkenhead 'Freedom' he and Sir Henry Jones were in the first motor and Sir Henry complimented him on his speech. L.G.'s rejoinder was 'What does Hadow think?' I was much flattered.

The good opinion which Lloyd George entertained for Hadow resulted, not only in the production of Hymns of Western Europe, (see Chapter 2), but in Hadow's involvement with the War Cabinet.

V

On 12th January, 1917, Thomas Jones, who was serving the newly created War Cabinet Secretariat as Assistant Secretary, recorded

> ...a breathless day beginning with breakfast with Sir Henry Jones at 8.30 at the Thackeray, then a hunt for Hadow at two Clubs and a failure to find him...[66]

Hadow was at this time serving on the Committee on the Civil Service Examination for Class I; and in September, 1917, came an invitation from the Prime Minister to report with Sir Henry Jones on Morale and Propaganda on the Western Front.[67]

Colonel Henry Gibbon, of the 4th Cavalry Division,[68] had impressed on the Government the need to convince the soldiers in the desolated area in France of the validity of the war. He confided at the Workers' Conference in Oxford in the summer of 1917

> that they rather feel that the ideals with which we set out - to free Belgium and Europe - have become a little obscured, and they are a little bit inclined to think that the Government have got something behind which they are not quite certain about..[69]

In an attempt to alleviate the boredom and discomfort of the soldiers ("Of course there is fearful - I won't say excitement - perturbation under heavy fighting, but the rest of the life is increasingly dull and the men get very weary"), Gibbon had delivered lectures on subjects such as the ethics of discipline, "trying, wherever I go, to keep our ideals in front of them, so that we can carry on to the end." But by the summer of 1917 he was anxious that steps should be taken to ensure that the troops were given greater support and encouragement from home, and on 16th September W.G.S. Adams (Secretary to Lloyd George) wrote to

Hadow that

> ...Gibbon and I both felt that it would be of great value, as one of the first steps, to get Sir Henry Jones and the Master of Balliol to see with their own eyes the state of affairs and hear also from the surviving peasants their story. Gibbon who has been out since 1914 and through the whole business will act as guide. There must be found an adequate scheme for bringing home the facts in every town and village if possible in the country. The desolated area far more than the shell-wrecked area is the most damning witness of the thing we are fighting to finish. My own feeling is that not only must we get certain select men back from France who can speak with authority and understanding of the workers here, but that also we must get select 'elders' and fathers and mothers of the people who will be sent to see for themselves and to come back with the vision in their eyes.[70]

Hadow and Jones, as representatives of the 'elders', were, in the event, the only emissaries,[71] but Adams was satisfied with his choice:

> ...You will find Jones and Hadow a most delightful pair. Hadow, though seeming a bit dry, is full of life, very swift mentally, really very sympathetic, and has gained a great influence in the North East of England. He will be invaluable in the work of putting things into operation.
>
> I think it would be as well to let them hear as much as possible about the mental state of the rank and file at the Front. Both Hadow and Jones are very much alive to the psychological side of things. Hadow is, I believe, a musical genius, but is not one of those people who believes in getting talented performers to do the entertaining, but is seized with the far sounder idea of making others 'play up' and recognizes, as few do, the power of getting people to sing and raising their spirits. I merely tell you this to let you know something of the man. You can speak absolutely frankly to them about things, and I am sure you will feel when they come that you have made two very good friends.[72]

At the end of Jones' and Hadow's stay in France (September 24th - 28th) Gibbon informed Adams that

> They have seen much. They have seen what a German invasion means, but they have not had burned into their souls the cold brutality of the German government. There was no chance of their realising the hopeless dejection of those who lived for two years under the iron German rule.

Indeed, a letter from Hadow to Grace (1/11/17) would indicate that the soldiers themselves had not appeared as cheerless as Gibbon had portrayed them:

> ...A rather embarrassing letter from the General in command of the 4th Cavalry Division. I forget whether I told you that when we dined there someone opened our baggage in its tent and sewed up the arms and legs of our pyjamas. By some unlucky accident the General has found out about it and has written to apologize - explaining that it was meant for somebody else. I wish he hadn't.

Nevertheless, Hadow and Jones did embody many of Gibbon's suggestions in their report, particularly with regard to encouraging the W.E.A. and other educational institutions to lecture to the troops on moral and ethical issues. (The Y.M.C.A. Gibbon maintained, was "too materialistic to do much in that line"). The report, which was prepared by 1st October, also advocated "rather less dark cloud and rather more silver lining" in the reports of the Press, more generous acknowledgement of the achievements of the British Army, and encouragement of the troops by sending them messages of support and lecturers who would "avoid rhetoric, invective and sarcasm" and whose object would be "not to show brilliance but to carry conviction."[73] Hadow was himself invited to address the meetings to be organised throughout the British Isles by the War Aims Committee to promote greater interchange of sympathy between the munition workers etc., at home and the troops from the locality who had been sent abroad.[74] A.L. Hetherington, the Secretary to Sir William McCormick at the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, offered to undertake the secretarial work for this provincial organization.[75] Thomas Marlowe, the editor of the Daily Mail, was keen to interview Hadow as soon as possible after his return from

France,[76] and Adams informed Gibbon on 3rd October that "The P.M. and Sir Edward Carson both saw Sir Henry Jones and Hadow yesterday and things are moving.."

Lloyd George, it would appear, was greatly impressed with Hadow's contribution to the report. On 28th December Grace received the intimation that

"L.G. has sent up my name to his gracious."

Notes to Chapter 8

1. "The Problem of the North". Broadcast from Sheffield, 15/5/28.

2. See C.E. Whiting, The University of Durham, 1932, p.205 and John Henry Gee, "The University of Durham", Official Handbook to Newcastle and District, Andrew Reid, Newcastle, 1916.

3. Professor of Natural Philosophy at Cambridge; Professor of Chemistry and Honorary Director of the Davy-Faraday Research Laboratory of the Royal Institution.

4. Letter to M.L.H., 12/1/02.

5. He was invited by Kenneth Curwen to write the introduction to W.G. Whittaker's volume of North Country Ballads, Songs and Pipe Tunes, 1921.

6. Letter from C. Parrish, Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society, to A.P. Derrington, 20/3/69.

7. See letters to Graham Balfour, 4/10/09 and to Grace, 24/10/09.

8. Letter to Graham Balfour, 15/11/09.

9. Letter to Rhoda Balfour, 6/2/10.

10. An interest he shared with H.A.L. Fisher: see letter from Mrs. Mary Bennett (Fisher's daughter) to A.P. Derrington, 30/6/69.

11. V.C.8, 79, 10/12/20.

12. See letter to Graham Balfour, 13/6/13.

13. See Eustace Percy: Some Memories, London, 1958, p.214.

14. See, for example, Armstrong College Principal's Report, Session 1915-16, 2980K, Galley 15.

15. Letter to Balfour, 22/11/14.

16. Cf. letter to Balfour, 13/6/19: "The appointment (to Sheffield) has passed every stage unanimously....but when it came to the Senate...the question was seriously raised whether I should give the Arts side of the University a fair share of recognition. I was, it appears, too exclusively a scientist."

17. C.P. Snow: The Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution, 1959.

18. Newcastle Chronicle, 7/9/16, reporting on Hadow's address to the British Association on "Science and the Universities". The British Association met in Newcastle from September 5th - 9th, 1916. Hadow was a Vice-President, and Chairman of the Newcastle Executive Committee.

19. "The Universities and Industry", Broadcast, 14/7/30. Reprinted in The Listener, 23/7/30.

20. Address to the Coke Ovens Managers' Association, Sheffield, 22/10/19.

21. "The Problem of the North", broadcast from Sheffield, 15/5/28: first of a series of talks entitled "England's Green and Pleasant Land".

22. See Library of Lambeth Palace, London: Church Council on War Problems, April, 1918, Report of Proceedings, p.72.

23. Helena Deneke, Grace Hadow, O.U.P. London, 1946, p.78.

24. H.A.L. Fisher, An Unfinished Autobiography, London, 1940, p.94.

25. Newcastle Chronicle, 13/1/19, reporting on an address delivered by Hadow to the Byker Brotherhood on "Morality and Economics".

26. Hadow encouraged his sister to persuade Sir Hugh Bell to deliver an address on this relationship at a conference in Oxford in the summer of 1918. See H. Deneke, ibid., p.77.

27. Letters to Grace, 17/6/17 and 29/7/17.

28. See letter to Grace, 2/12/17.

29. See P.R.O. Ed. 24/1963, 14/5/17.

30. See letter to Grace, 24/6/17.

31. J.H. Foss, "W.H.Hadow", Music and Letters, July, 1937, Vol.XVIII, p.237.

32. These included the Newcastle and Gateshead Choral Union, the Harmonic Choral Society, the Free Church Choir Union, the Glee and Madrigal Society, the Northumberland Amateur Orchestral Society, the Newcastle Symphony Orchestra, and several Chamber Music groups. Dr. Henry Coward, Edgar L. Bainton and George Dodds were amongst the musical personalities familiar to Newcastle at the time.

33. See letter to A.P. Derrington, 14/3/69, from the Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society, and C.E. Whiting, op.cit., p.250.

34. The Spectator, editorial, 30/3/62.

35. See Citizenship, Oxford University Press, 1923, p.191.

36. See newspaper cutting dated 24/10/19 at Worcester College, box 6.

37. See *Citizenship*, ibid., p.199, and *Hampshire Advertiser and Independent*, 18/10/24.

38. *Hampshire Advertiser*, ibid.
cf. Edmund Burke: "To be attached to the sub-division, to love the little platoon we belong to in society, is the first principle (the germ as it were) of public affections. It is the first link in the series by which we proceed towards a love of our country and of mankind".

39. See letter to R.W. Chapman (Oxford University Press), 11/10/20, V.C.7, 628.

40. D. Hopkinson, *Family Inheritance*, London and New York, 1954, pp.128-130.

41. Preface by Hadow in *The Citizen*, by Mrs. H.A.L. Fisher, 1927, pp. V - VII.

42. A Departmental Committee appointed by the Ministry of Health to report on the qualifications, recruitment, training and promotion of local government officers, 1930.

43. See *Birmingham Post*, 31/3/36 and *Times Educational Supplement*, 4/4/36.

44. "The Universities and Industry", ibid.

45. The *Newcastle Daily Journal* (16/1/17) gave an account of a meeting of the Council of Armstrong College at which an important committee was formed to advise the Council and the Faculty of Commerce on all matters connected with business and commercial education. Members consisted of nominees of the local Chamber of Commerce, and representatives of the College staff and of the chief commercial and industrial interests of the North-East cost.

46. "The Universities and Industry", ibid.

47. Armstrong College Report, 1915-6, Galley 10.

48. Letter to Grace, 3/8/19.

49. "The Universities and Industry", ibid.

50. Armstrong College Report, 1915-16, Galley I.

51. See *Newcastle Daily Journal*, 8/10/15.

52. *Northern Echo*, 3/10/16.

53. Armstrong College Report 1915-16, Galley 9.

54. ibid, Galley 1.

55. Letter to Mary Lang Hadow, 20/2/16.

56. Letters (n.d.) May, 1916, 6/5/17.

57. Haldane's experience of higher education in Germany had already influenced developments at Bristol, Reading, Exeter and Southampton. See D.E. Evans, _The University of Wales_, Cardiff, 1958, p.68.

58. Richard Burdon Haldane, _An Autobiography_, London, 1929, p.91.

59. House of Lords Record Office: Lloyd George Papers, Letters D/17/10, J. Herbert Lewis to Lloyd George, 18/1/16.

60. In the unpublished concluding chapter of _Old Memories_, quoted by Sir H.J.W. Hetherington, _Life and Letters of Sir Henry Jones_, London, 1924, p.129.

61. Hetherington, ibid., p.131.

62. Dr. Thomas Jones, address to the Summer School at Harlech, August, 1941. Quoted by H.C. Colles, _Walford Davies_, O.U.P., 1942, p.117.

63. _The Times_, 23/11/18.

64. Colles, ibid., p.118.

65. _Happy Pilgrimage_, London, 1949, p.119.

66. Thomas Jones: _Whitehall Diary I, 1916-25_, ed. K. Middlemas, London, 1969, p.20

67. House of Lords Record Office: Lloyd George Papers F/79/32/8, Section 22. Telegrams and correspondence from W.G.S. Adams to Hadow, Worcester College, Oxford.

68. Gibbon had been Chaplain of Balliol before the war.

69. Lloyd George Papers: F/79/32 Section I.

70. Correspondence at Worcester College.

71. Neither A.L. Smith nor Gilbert Murray were able to accept the invitation to join Hadow and Jones. (See Lloyd George Papers Jones to Adams, 18/9/17)

72. See Lloyd George Papers, ibid, section 21. Letter to Gibbon, 24/9/17.

73. See Lloyd George Papers, ibid, for copy of the Report.

74. ibid. Adams to Hadow, 13/10/17.

75. Hadow to Adams, 3/10/17. Hetherington assisted Hadow in bringing about the Army Order of 9/12/18. (See Chapter 9)

76. Letters 1/10/17 and 8/10/17, Cecil Harmsworth to Hadow (Worcester College).

CHAPTER 9

ARMY EDUCATION

"La guerre est une chose beaucoup trop sérieuse
pour qu'on la laisse aux militaires."

Aristide Briand

In a letter to Grace Hadow of 1st January, 1918, congratulating her on her brother's knighthood, Graham Balfour remarked that

> They can't well give Harry any more unless they give him also a 48 hour day. And I sincerely hope he will make a real effort to reduce his work, not to increase it.

Initially it appeared that 1918 would indeed bring Hadow, if not less work, no great addition to his burden.

> Tomorrow, wrote Hadow to Lady Bell on 4th February, I go through the painful ceremony of being unfrocked. My term of office as Vice Chancellor comes to an end and I shall no longer be able to go about the streets looking like a medieval magician. In some ways I am sorry, in others it will be a relief. Some cynical gentleman at Oxford once said that the day on which the two Proctors went out of office and their two new successors came in 'made four people happy': and there is something in it. I believe the real reason to be that no man likes work and every man like dressing up.

Perhaps the temptation of dressing up in a costume "entirely military, boots and all"[1] proved irresistable, for on 30th June, Hadow wrote that he had accepted "the biggest job that I've ever had to do": an invitation by Basil Yeaxlee, Secretary of the recently formed Universities Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association, to go to France as Director of Education on the lines of Communication. Hadow's appointment was announced in The Times of July 9th.

The Y.M.C.A. had organized lectures for the British Armies since the beginning of the war, when the association was wholly dependent upon its own regular staff of hut workers and upon local resources. Particularly valuable were the afternoon classes for boys

under nineteen who had stated that they were older in order to enlist.[2] From January, 1917, it was possible to implement a scheme of engaging distinguished men to visit France as lecturers: and by the summer of 1918 when the problems of a return to civilian life loomed larger, the need for more systematic teaching had become so apparent that an Army Education Scheme was announced and Active Service Army Schools were projected throughout France. The Y.M.C.A. was asked to provide a system of classes and lectures on the lines of communication: Hadow's task was to organize the scheme, to appoint in each base a sub-director of education and a large staff of professional teachers who would be engaged in England especially for this work.

Hadow undertook the work with enthusiasm and interest, having resigned from his various commitments at home.

> Old Lady, he wrote to Grace on 5th July. There is a feeling of relief about getting rid of these little things - a committee today and a speech tomorrow - and going to do a man's job. I didn't know till now how much I wanted to be in France.

Hadow's letters to Grace at this time reveal the extent to which their affection deepened after the loss of their mother in February, 1917. "Whatever day or hour I sail", he declared, "we share the last meal. My own dear, I think that I love you more every day..."

The crossing to France on 25th July was auspicious - "Bright, windy, clear sky, sea deep blue with white flecks, as good an afternoon as one could desire" - and from his base at the Y.M.C.A. Head Quarters Hadow spent several days inspecting sites for schools and discussing questions with local authorities. One of the chief difficulties to be faced was the amount of sporadic and unorganized effort that had

already started in different places. "It doesn't want to be abolished, it can't be disregarded, and it must be fitted in somehow". On August 10th, however, Hadow reported that

> the work is growing very rapidly, and I'm inclined to think that we shall have some undergraduates of a higher standard than I had contemplated. I found a private the other day who was before the war head of a technological institute in Scotland. He will be useful in his spare time as a teacher.

Hadow continued to spend the greater part of his time travelling from one centre to another, and by 18th August had made arrangements for schools to be built or acquired where they were needed, and had attracted "about a hundred 'dons' ranging from a University Professor to an Elementary School Teacher". This "University" he described to Grace (2/7/18) as extending "from St. Omer (as it were Magdalen) to Havre (as it were Worcester) all along the North Coast"; and in the course of the following two months he gathered around him a staff of eight sub-directors, men of experience in education and administration, who were placed in charge of the chief bases, each having some twenty to forty camps, at Calais, Boulogne, Etaples, Abbeville, Dieppe, Rouen, Havre, and Trouville.[3] At each base was located a central school, with other schools as far as possible in outlying camps. Details of the organization were outlined by Hadow in an address on Adult Education delivered at Southport in January, 1920,[4] in which he entirely effaced his own identity in the Army Education scheme:

> ...Each school when established was placed under the control of a Council, consisting of its own teachers, who arranged time tables, discussed needs, resources, etc., and reported to the Sub-Director at regular intervals: the Sub-Directors reported to the Director, and at rather longer intervals were summoned by him to Conferences in which the educational policy of the whole area was discussed. Shortly after the inception of the scheme a military education officer was appointed at each place to act in liaison between the military and the educational authorities. In this way continuity was secured, not only between the military and educational work but between the Director, who was responsible for the general administration of the scheme, and every centre at which the teaching was conducted.

Apart from scarcity of personnel and materials, the principal difficulty Hadow encountered in meeting the requirements of the various bases was the allocation of the teachers, as they arrived from England, to the area in which they were most likely to be wanted - "an equation with unknown quantities".[5] He appealed to Grace on 18th August for any disabled soldiers who could teach handicraft, and declared himself "open to any number of applications in any kind of subject from Hebrew to Carpentry". For those soldiers in outlying districts unable to reach the classes, Hadow outlined a plan for teaching by correspondence.[6] By 18th August Hadow had also "drafted the general manifesto which is to be sent out as an explanation of ourselves". The aims of the Y.M.C.A. Scheme of Education he indicated as classifiable under three heads:

> (1) To raise and maintain morale among the troops.
> (2) To develop the study of the privileges and duties of Citizenship in the British Empire.
> (3) To prepare for the return to civilian life:-
>   a) By learning again what has been forgotten.
>   b) By carrying on studies which have been laid aside,
>   c) By taking up new studies, e.g. languages, or for those who contemplate a change to out-door life, agriculture, carpentry, etc.
>   d) By acquiring theoretical knowledge of a trade which has been practised.
>
> This showed that our aim is three-fold, partly military, to make men more ready and alert in the carrying out of their duties during the war; partly vocational, to equip them for the occupations and pursuits which they will follow when they return to England; partly, such training of mind and character as may fit them for the larger duties which citizenship of the British Empire entails, and which will be especially insistent during the period which immediately follows demobilization.[7]

This statement almost certainly provided the basis for the Army Order of September 24th, 1918, which similarly "considered education within the Army in its effect both on the present and on the future - the present being mainly concerned with military efficiency and morale, the future with the needs of resettlement."[8]

Hadow enjoyed the work, and thought highly of the two men with whom he had most to do -

> the Rev. John Baillie, a highlander whose people have migrated to Edinburgh where he is lecturer in philosophy in the University: a very nice fellow, well read and competent - and Z.F. Willis, son of a Suffolk Congregationalist Minister, King's College Cambridge, then a schoolmaster and now out here as General Secretary, a vigorous, cheerful, humorous person whose daily prayer, he tells me, is 'Lord preserve us from believing in our own show'.[9]

It is clear, however, that Hadow did believe - and believed intensely, in his 'own show'. In particular he was convinced of the necessity for deepening and enlarging the ethical spirit on which the health of the post-war society would depend. In this matter, too, his sympathies lay with Sir Henry Jones, who wrote in dismay:

> My soul revolts against the present fashion of going off on side or departmental social matters. Town-planning; housing; Poor Law; and so on and so on. These should come in the wake and as the application of ethical and social principles; but these latter are unknown almost. What is being taught about the relation of the State and the citizen, or the limits of the duties or opportunities of either?[10]

Hadow therefore proposed that Sir Henry Jones should write a text-book on Citizenship for the use of the soldiers in France. Jones replied from Wales on 4th July, 1918:

> My dear Hadow, - You have thrown a bomb into a munition factory and there has been the deuce of an explosion; and what's next, I hardly know. For the last fortnight I have been writing hard and slowly but with all my soul. Bosanquet in his latest book has said in effect that moral philosophy is of no use for practice .....What buckles his pack on the back of a German private, I wonder, and keeps him mucking in the trenches, except false notions of 'the good'? ..... I propose to make plain the nature of the good, the good primarily of the State, and especially how its only might and right is to be moral; how all the relations between its citizens are at

> bottom moral; how the State is the end and aim of the citizen, and the citizen the end and aim of the State, just because both are moral and therefore ends in themselves. Here, of course, comes in the essence of Citizenship, so that each borrows everything from the other. I would illustrate all along by reference to the War...[11]

The book, Principles of Citizenship (Y.M.C.A., 1919), was greatly praised by A.C. Bradley as well as by Hadow,[12] whose approval, Jones claimed, afforded him

> a genuine streak of happiness....I do believe the book will do no one any harm, and that there are lots of teachers who should find it helpful....As to what you say regarding the will and the intelligence, morality and knowledge, I am all with you, every word....Right doing is an uncommonly happy way of living.[13]

Another of Hadow's chief concerns on the lines of communication was to ensure that the educational developments which took place under the auspices of the Y.M.C.A. were in harmony with those taking place throughout the Army as a whole. An important achievement in this regard was the framing of a list of about a hundred reference books, which was accepted by the military authorities for standardized use, "thereby securing as far as possible a uniform course of teaching throughout our forces in France".[14] An attempt was made to meet the constant fluctuation of classes by conducting courses of instruction as far as possible at the same rate of progress.

In the summer of 1918, the Department of Staff Duties (Education) was set up at the War Office, and Hadow was appointed Assistant Director - again a civilian appointment not carrying military rank - at the beginning of October, 1918.

The head of the Army Education department was Colonel Lord Gorell,[15] who had met Hadow at his farewell luncheon at the Y.M.C.A. headquarters in Bloomsbury on July 17th, 1918. Looking back to this encounter, Gorell recorded that

> ....I had had a talk with him as to the work as a whole, mainly then with reference to the need of co-operation, and would have been blind not to have recognized at once not merely the breadth of his educational knowledge but also the charm of his mind. In forming the Department I thought immediately and only of him for the civilian post ......his presence at the War Office, in addition to his outstanding distinction as an educationist, would go far towards ensuring that the work of the Y.M.C.A. was unified with that of the Army as a whole - a matter of increasing importance and difficulty. On August 22, therefore, I wrote confidentially to him, explaining all that had transpired since July 17 and inviting him to join the Department.....Hadow was shortly afterwards able to write that he accepted the proposal with great pleasure .... Sir Graham Balfour, Director of Education for Staffordshire, was appointed in Hadow's place, and Hadow became Assistant Director of Staff Duties (Education).[16]

Although Hadow wrote to Grace (6/10/18) that he felt "very raw and tentative" at his new job, he was glad of the opportunity to return to London, more particularly since Grace was then at the Ministry of Munitions. They shared a flat in Kensington for some months, and were thus able to again enjoy the companionship of their years together at Oxford.

Hadow's principal undertaking as a member of Gorell's Department (S.D.8), which gradually absorbed the work of the Y.M.C.A. and assumed responsibility for the whole organization,

> was the task for which the educational experience of such a man as Hadow was essentially required, namely, the drawing up of the best text-books and books of reference in relation to these, and the establishment of standards and certificates of knowledge - in brief, ... an educational system which should yet have in it sufficient elasticity to be adaptable to all the varied opportunities and circumstances of life on active service.[17]

As well as controlling the education of the troops overseas, S.D.8 installed education officers at every military centre in Great Britain and Ireland, secured the co-operation of the Local Education Authorities, and established educational training schools at Oxford and Cambridge, where officers and N.C.O.'s followed intensive courses in teaching method.[18] Hadow extended the idea of the "Army University" which he had organised on the lines of communication, and attempted to bridge over the return to civilian life by arranging for soldiers who had attended courses in France to come back to an English University and complete their studies in less than three or four years.[19] The scheme also provided non-university courses as preparation for a variety of trades and vocations; a comprehensive system of certifying knowledge and qualifications was thus required. As a result of negotiations carried out by Hadow and A.L. Hetherington with the Universities, the Board of Education, and other professional bodies, an Army Order of December 9, 1918 instituted Active Service Army School Certificates

> The difficulties, wrote Gorell, were wittingly expressed by Mr. E.K. Chambers, who once said 'You speak of hoping to get men up to a certain standard: what you mean is an uncertain standard.' It was for that reason that it was thought better to institute new Certificates than to try and work for the old.[20]

The high water mark of the new scheme was the Army Education Certificate, which was discussed by Hadow in a letter to Sir Henry Miles, Vice-Chancellor of Manchester University, when the Certificate was coming under review in 1920:[21]

> .....Each subject of study was arranged in three grades. The Army Education Certificate was awarded on the top grade in English, Elementary Mathematics, History or Civics, and one subject selected out of a list of languages, sciences, etc. It was provisionally accepted by the Universities as exempting from Matriculation (although it was understood to be below the Matriculation standard), partly as a temporary concession for men who had been fighting in the war, and partly to encourage the Army Education Scheme, which really was doing good work.

The little community at S.D.8 was, however, compelled to run a losing race against time. The state of flux which followed the declaration of the armistice made educational arrangements even more difficult than they had been before, especially since the greatest uncertainty prevailed as to the payment of the Army instructors, who were not therefore inclined to refuse demobilization.[22] In a final attempt to wrestle with the forces of disintegration Hadow, with Sir Theodore Morison, who was later to succeed him at Armstrong College, visited the Army of Occupation on the Rhine in Feburary. Hadow's letter describing the trip evokes strangely a feeling of "fin du chapitre":

> .....We came over by a millpond crossing, reached Boulogne about 5.30 and found France as white as a sheet and as cold as 24 degrees of frost could make it...You will understand that I was glad of the leather coat (a gift from Grace before he went to France in 1918), and that even so the motor drive in an open car with a headwind off snowfields was sufficiently stimulating. It was a most beautiful evening - clear star-light.....This morning we went through the documents which we came to see; this afternoon we interviewed the particular potentate (General Downay) whom we wanted to interview; and this evening we shall start for Cologne by what is called a converted Hospital Train. I am interested to conjecture the degree and manner of its conversion...[23]

The interview with General Plumer, who was in charge of operations on the Rhine, resulted in detailed official proposals for the continuance of educational training; but, in the event, although the educational organization was particularly strong here,[24] "no-one was willing to weaken units militarily to provide the necessary instructors out of the number allowed them".[25]

The chief concern of Gorell's Department was now to strengthen the link between education in the army and at home.

Hadow had always been aware of the need to co-ordinate his work in Army Education with the requirements of readjustment to civilian life; prior to his commitment to the Y.M.C.A. he had accepted the chairmanship of "a sort of remuneration Committee at Gateshead, the object of which is mainly to cooperate with Labour Exchange and arrange jobs for soldiers and sailors".[26] He further lent his support to the Ex-Officers' Employment Bureau, and at Armstrong College had organized a scheme for training and qualifying those who passed through the Registry. Armstrong College also offered a short course "for those desirous of becoming teachers under Mr. Fisher's new scheme".[27] Hadow was thus well acquainted with the type of work undertaken by S.D.8 when they instituted a Central Register, by means of which"many thousands of soldier-students were indexed...and at a later date were followed up and told of the civil opportunities for continuing the studies they had begun in the Army".[28] The institution of this important Register was one of the last tasks Hadow carried out with S.D.8; he was demobilized at the end of April. The tribute paid to him by Lord Gorell, who was to become a life-long friend,[29] is revealing:

> Hadowwas as much loved personally as respected educationally, and the calamity of his departure seemed irretrievable.[30]

Hadow's achievement in laying the foundations of an Army Education System which was acclaimed as "one of the most remarkable movements in the whole history of education"[31] was all the more notable in that "it was undoubtedly worked in circumstances of peculiar difficulty .... almost every feature of the situation was adverse to the undertaking except....the will to succeed".[32] Professor John Strong asserted that

"the wonderful success of this great experiment was due in no small measure to his (i.e. Hadow's) tact, adaptability, and breadth of educational knowledge".[33] Although, like so many educational reforms, it was not fully implemented, by May, 1919, the 'vocational' courses it provided had been accepted by the Trade Unions;[34] and, had the bold educational spending mood of the country continued after the war, it may have become an even more vital element in the educational system of the country.

Notes to Chapter 9

1. Letter to Grace, 2/7/18.
2. Ronald Gorell Barnes (Lord Gorell), Education and the Army, O.U.P., 1921, p.23.
3. See "A Short Record of the Educational Work of the Y.M.C.A. with the British Armies in France", London, 1919, p.15.
4. North of England Education Conference, January 9th and 10th, 1920.
5. Letter to Grace, 1/9/18.
6. ibid.
7. "A Short Record of the Educational Work of the Y.M.C.A.", ibid.
8. Lord Gorell, op.cit., p.46.
9. Letter to Grace, 4/8/18.
10. Sir H.J.W. Hetherington, Life and Letters of Sir Henry Jones, London, 1924, p.132.
11. ibid., pp.149-51.
12. ibid., p.259.
13. ibid.
14. "A Short Record of the Educational Work of the Y.M.C.A.", ibid., p.16.
15. See appendix
16. Education and the Army, pp.53-4.
17. ibid., p.55.
18. See "Adult Education", North of England Education Conference, ibid.
19. See Helena Deneke, Grace Hadow, O.U.P., London, 1946, p.85.
20. Education and the Army, p.77.
21. V.C.6, 839, 19/5/20.
22. Education and the Army, p.141.
23. Letter to Grace, 9/2/19.

24. A school in Cologne was secured for general and commercial education, and part of the University of Bonn, together with a model farm, for instruction in Chemistry, Physics and Agriculture. Other schools in like manner were set up in various parts of the area. See "Adult Education", ibid.

25. Education and the Army, p.141.

26. Letter to Grace, 2/9/17.

27. See Times Educational Supplement, 5/9/18, for details of courses.

28. Education and the Army, p.145.

29. Hadow was best man at Gorell's wedding in 1922, to Elizabeth Radcliffe, and always took a keen interest in Gorell's literary work.

30. Education and the Army, p.208.

31. Professor J. Strong: Oration on the occasion of the Conferring of the degree Litt.D. Honoris causa, Leeds, 30 June, 1930. Copy lent by A.P. Derrington.

32. H.A.L. Fisher, Foreword to "A Short Record of the Educational Work of the Y.M.C.A.", ibid., p.5. See also Fisher's letter to The Times 18/1/40 (7e).

33. Professor Strong, op.cit.

34. Grace Hadow, ibid.

CHAPTER 10

SHEFFIELD

"The true pilot must pay attention to the year and seasons and sky and stars and whatever else belongs to his art, if he intends to be really qualified for the command of a ship, while at the same time he must be the steerer, whether other people like it or not."

Plato, Republic VI, 488.

Leaving the War Office also entailed parting from Grace, with whom Hadow shared a brief holiday in the country in early May.

> I still have my eyes full of cherry blossom and the young green and the little warm red houses, he wrote on May 10th. That was a good finish to our chapter. But I can't say how much I miss you...

As was his wont, he threw himself whole-heartedly into his work, discussing College business with Professor Wight-Duff, who had assumed responsibility in the Principal's absence, inspecting the buildings, and endorsing the long-laid plans for a Library and Chairs in Chemistry and Physics. In the meantime he was considering an invitation from Sheffield University to go there as Vice-Chancellor.[1]

> At last it is settled, Hadow wrote to Graham Balfour on 13th June, ...and I am divided between anticipation on the new job and regrets at leaving the old one. No one could have had more kindness than I have received here and it's difficult not to feel like a deserter. But it's a bigger horizon - if I'm not too old for it.

To Grace he wrote of the music festival which was held during the last week of June - a triumphal celebration of the peace.

> I had to wind up the festival and present a cup to some winners. As I came down to the footlights a voice from the top gallery called out 'We're sorry to lose you Sir Henry', and the audience cheered. It was a very kindly and pleasant farewell.

Settling in at Sheffield proved more troublesome than at Newcastle: the north was crippled by transport strikes - "when the railways aren't on strike the trams are, and when the trams are not the taxis are, and at all other times they all are"[2]- and no suitable house could be found. For some weeks Hadow had to accept the hospitality of his old friends the H.A.L. Fishers: their daughter, Mary, later recalled Hadow as "a

sort of lodger in our house".[3] His distinctive high-pitched voice and Gloucestershire burr made a lasting impression on her memory, and her father, she said, always kept a portrait of Hadow in his study. After the family moved to Surrey in November, Hadow took over the lease of the house in Ecclesall. He was to remain at "The Grange" for the duration of his stay in Sheffield.

At the University, Hadow was confronted with all the problems of the post-war situation. The decision of the Army authorities to release teachers and students simultaneously before the general demobilization was a blow, not only to the Army Education Scheme, but to the Universities and Colleges, where "for months a few teachers wrestled with a mass of students".[4] At Sheffield it was essential that new buildings be erected in order to accommodate the departments of Chemistry and Physics; and the recruitment of additional staff, together with the increase in salaries necessary to meet the new conditions and the new cost of living, resulted in an estimated immediate expenditure of some £10,000. The extent of Hadow's difficulties is evident in a letter from Hadow to Sir William McCormick, Chairman of the University Grants Committee, asking for financial assistance:

> If you could authorise me to go ahead up to this sort of figure it would, at any rate, enable us to carry on, but with our present resources we shall next term be simply unable to teach the undergraduates who come into residence. There is not enough bench room for them.[5]

During the session 1919-1920 the influx of ex-service men swelled the number of students to a total of 3,828 of which approximately 1,000 were full-time. Many classes had to be held in duplicate, and all were packed to capacity.[6]

In other ways, too, the University was ill prepared to cope with the flood which engulfed it.

> The University has run absolutely to seed, Hadow informed Grace on 12/10/19. .... And one has to go slow partly because one must not frighten people, and partly because the Registrar seems to have been autocratic, and that can't go on....

Hadow succeeded in persuading W.M. Gibbons, Registrar from 1902-44, to adopt a more flexible attitude towards the students; and after Hadow had interviewed the S.R.C. - having been informed by some of the Professors that it was "in open mutiny" and "a Soviet"[7] - there were no serious disciplinary problems. Dr. Chapman, in his history of Sheffield University,[8] relates how Hadow overcame the "prolonged epidemic of dancing" which caused so much discord between the students and the disciplinary authorities. He regularized the unofficial dances in the form of dancing classes and permitted a considerable increase in formal dances, thus allowing the less acceptable procedures to be discreetly closed down. A letter from Hadow to Gibbons, dated 7/12/30, gives some insight into the skill with which he steered his diplomatic craft:

> Here is a point which you might perpend in the train and let me know your opinion when you come back. The Union Committee want to apply for a Beer and Tobacco licence (not wine and spirits). It argues, and to my mind, very reasonably, that if it cannot supply beer the men will simply go to the public house just beyond, and it may just as well make the profit and ensure the quality. Besides it is very much better on all grounds that the members should be there and not at a public house. Personally, I am in favour of this. I suppose that possibly there are some members of the Council who will oppose it. The matter should, I think come up at Council on Friday as that is the last meeting before the Union opens. It came before the Union Committee yesterday, and the Committee agreed to recommend it.[9]

As Chapman pointed out,

> The students from the services were several years older and in every way more mature than ordinary undergraduates. Moreover, most of them had clear conceptions of their aims and applied themselves seriously to achieving them. For the teachers, therefore, it was a good time, with plenty of stimulus despite the immense amount of teaching to be done... in tune with the general feelings of relief and of great optimism for the future, the whole social life of the University woke up again.[10]

Hadow recognized the urgent need for some proper centre on which the social life of the students could focus, but lack of funds forbad much progress. As late as 1928 the Annual Report of the University announced that

> The problem of the Students' Unions is by no means yet solved; indeed one of the urgent needs of the future is a building as adequately constructed and equipped as those of Manchester, Newcastle and Nottingham.

Nevertheless, a fully equipped gymnasium was opened in May, 1928, and one of Hadow's first achievements as Vice-Chancellor was the purchase of a house valued in the region of £8,500 for £3,000, the vendor (Mr. Frank Atkin) generously consenting to allow the balance to appear as his donation to the University.[11] The house ("Tapton Cliffe") was adapted to provide a much-needed hostel for women. More hostels were needed - Sheffield had as yet only two - but this was as much as Hadow was able to provide. Indeed, his whole term of office as Vice-Chancellor was bedevilled by financial frustration, anxiety and discouragement. As Chapman pointed out,

> The post-war slump in trade came early in Sheffield, it was prolonged and, compared with many other parts of the country, severe....The slump affected all local supporters of the University, whether private persons, industrial concerns, or the City Council and its Education Committee.[12]

The Director of Education for the City was Percival Sharp, who, as it happened, followed Hadow from Newcastle.[13] Sharp was not always congenial, nor was he always amenable to negotiation. However, Hadow admired his efficiency as an administrator;[14] and Hadow was, as he himself remarked of Grace to Rhoda Balfour, "very good at keeping other people's tempers". There were nevertheless many hostile

encounters between the City and the University education authorities, particularly over the cost of the courses in technology which were carried out at the Department of Applied Science at St. George's Square and maintained by the Education Committee. Hadow, as keen as ever to bring about "a more organic feeling of unity" between academic life and industrial enterprise,[15] was determined not to give up the technological work of the University, and he gave the fullest support to the Trade Technical Societies. He had to exercise a good deal of persuasion in convincing the Treasury that St. George's Square was as valuable a part of the University as was the "academic" division at Western Bank, that it carried out the technological teaching far more cheaply than it could be done in any other way, and that the presence of technological work did not lower the degree standard of the University.[16] On 4th April 1927 John Bailey recorded in his diary

> a talk with Hadow about Trollope and J. Austen and his unfortunate experience with his Socialist Borough Council at Sheffield, who want to know why the University costs so much more than the technical school where girls are taught typing![17]

Hadow wrote of the Labour victory in November, 1926:

> The first use they made of it was to turn out all the senior aldermen who have built up the city for the last thirty years (all except one who was a Labour Lord Mayor three years ago): the second use was to divide among their own party the Chairmanship, Vice-Chairmanship, and, up to the number of their candidates all the members of every municipal committee. Incidentally they have turned me out of the Education Committee and replaced me by one of their nominees ... I am not afraid of any personal hostility, but these fellows may break a few windows (including those of the University) before they have learned how to govern. To most of them Education is bounded by the Secondary School.[18]

Clearly, Hadow liked to see the administration of human affairs in the hands of educated men.[19] A satisfactory understanding between University and City was, however, reached at last, and prior to his retirement from the University, Hadow wrote to his successor, Arthur Wallace Pickard-Cambridge, that

> The Treasury Grants Committee has just written to say that, in consequence of the new grant from the Chancellor of the Exchequer they can allocate an additional £8,000 a year to the University. This holds for the next quinquennium in the first instance and will probably be renewed afterwards. It enables us not only to meet the condition under which Sheffield Education Committee has undertaken to liquidate our deficiency, but it will give us a considerable margin over for the purpose of making increases in salary which are long overdue and providing for one or two necessary changes as well. We have, through no fault of our own, passed through three lean years in which we were obliged to cut our expenditure down to the bone. I am very glad that you are coming into a regime which will be free from those anxieties.[20]

In view of the uncomfortable financial climate to which Hadow had to adjust at Sheffield, the compass of his achievements was remarkable. He made the most of the still optimistic mood which prevailed during the first year of two of the 1920s, and, in addition to extending and developing the Faculties of Architecture and Medicine, he founded a Chair of Pharmacology - a matter of some importance in the inter-relation between the University and the City.[21] Encouraged by his success, he set about launching an appeal for increase of the University's endowment, and by the end of September he had been promised £67,000. A letter to Grace of 6/3/21 notes the "local fund at about £115,ooo. However, industry and business could not sustain their contributions in the financial doldrums of the later twenties, and the greatest and most personally rewarding of Hadow's achievements

at the University - the establishment of a Chair of Music - owed its final realization to a generous legacy left by the widow of James Rossiter Hoyle, a former Master Cutler, and, like Mrs. Hoyle, a music lover and a friend and neighbour of Hadow.

For some thirty years Henry Coward (afterwards Sir Henry, an outstanding Sheffield personality and distinguished musician) had delivered weekly lectures at the University on Harmony and Composition; but his many duties, including those as conductor of the Sheffield Musical Union, were becoming too pressing, and he resigned his post at the University in 1920. Hadow, encouraged by the report of a recent Municipal official appointment at Manchester, wrote to Percival Sharp on 31/3/20,

> ...do you think it would be possible to attract some young and competent musician to Sheffield, let him do school work for you and University work for us, and take over at the same time such public musical work in the City as might fall to his share and that he might have time to perform? If we could combine between us to offer a decent salary, we might get some young man from the Royal College of Music or the Academy, who would be a real asset both to Sheffield music and to Sheffield musical education. Think this over at your leisure and let me know how it strikes you.

Later in the year G.E. Linfoot was appointed Musical Adviser to the Sheffield Education Committee and Lecturer in Music in the University. He continued, as Coward had done, to direct the choral and chamber music sections of the University Musical Society, and established a University orchestra. By 1923 he was giving three lectures a week, and in 1924-5 added a fourth weekly lecture on the History of Music - thus broadening the course to interest students other than those training to be music teachers.

The year 1926 saw the appointment of the first James Rossiter Hoyle Professor: Hadow's old Worcester College pupil, Percy Carter Buck, then Director of Music at Harrow School and Professor of Music at London University. Hadow's intention was to use Buck's assistance to arouse interest in the formation of a regular Department of Music by means of a series of public lectures; and in October, 1928, F.H. Shera came from Malvern College to take up his appointment as full-time Professor.

Shera, a native of Sheffield, and already known to the majority of those citizens who were interested in music, made his mark at Malvern College as "a man of enormous energy and a genius at inculcating musical appreciation."[22] He proved of great assistance to Hadow in his attempts to encourage musical activity and cooperation both inside and outside the University. By 1930, the year of Hadow's retirement from Sheffield University, Music had been added to the subjects which could be taken for certain degree examinations in Arts; and the Calendar of 1931-32 not only included Music as a Primary Final subject in the syllabus of the B.A. Degree, but also described the proposed course for the degree of Bachelor of Music. As Hadow had envisaged, the course included direct teaching in Harmony and Counterpoint and in Musical History

> concerned rather with tendencies and movements than with persons, recognising the importance (often very great) of composers who do not attain the first rank, and above all showing that Music mirrors as faithfully as any other art or pursuit the general feelings and aspirations of its time.[23]

However, while Hadow had conceived of his music course, not as a means of preparation for a professional career, but as a scheme to give music "its due place in a liberal education", the handbook of 1931-2 noted that

> the inclusion of Music as a Primary Final subject in the syllabus of the ordinary Degree is designed to provide a specialist qualification in that subject for students who propose to teach in Elementary Schools.

Thus, although the work of the Music Department was correlated with that of the department of Education, it was not, as Hadow had hoped, also directly connected with the departments of History, Literature, Philosophy and Languages.

Hadow, confronted at the outset of his career in Sheffield with the fact that his prospects of instituting a Music Department were "not worth considering",[24] concentrated his efforts on getting Music and Art accepted as subjects for matirculation. Sir William Rothenstein, Professor of Civic Art at Sheffield from 1917 until 1926,[25] offered his full support, and Hadow entered enthusiastically into the meetings of the Joint Matriculation Board of the Northern Universities (Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds and Sheffield). In February, 1920, the Senate concurred in his proposal that a Secondary Schools Committee should be formed on the same lines as that which he established at Newcastle. Once again, Hadow sought the official support of H.A.L. Fisher, who addressed the inaugural meeting of the "University of Sheffield Secondary Schools Council" in October, 1920.

> I want to launch the scheme here with flags flying, Hadow had urged him on 18th June, 1920, and it has caught on in the most astonishing way. It is receiving the plaudits not only of the L.E.A. representatives and the School Teachers, but, what is almost incredible, of the Faculty of Arts.

At its inception the Schools Council consisted of nine representatives of the University Senate, representatives of the nine Local Authorities, and elected representatives of fifty-four schools in the area. In inviting nominations, Hadow defined his object as being to give facilities

for the discussion of "those many and difficult problems which concern the frontier line between the secondary school and university education".[26] Fisher, too, deplored the "ragged fringe" between the secondary school and the university, and expressed the hope that a great deal more systematic thought would be brought to all questions dealing with the adjustment of secondary school and university studies.[27]

The first problem to be considered by the Sheffield Schools Council was that of the relation of the School and Higher School Certificate Examinations to the University Intermediate Examination. By the autumn of 1923 representations made to the University Senate resulted in greater recognition by the University of the value of the advanced school examination; and on 22nd October Hadow wrote to C. Cookson of the Secondary School Examination Council of the Board of Education that

> The Sheffield Education Committee has just remodelled its system of Scholarships from school to University, and has decided, I am glad to say, that in future they are to be awarded on the Higher Certificate Examination. I feel sure that you will agree that anything which raises the currency of that examination is on the right lines.[28]

By January the following year Hadow was communicating with Cookson about the recognition of the different school music syllabuses, and in particular that syllabus which, with Arthur Somervell, he drafted for inclusion in the Appendix of the Report of the Consultative Committee to the Board of Education, 1923, on _The Differentiation of the Curriculum for Boys and Girls Respectively in Secondary Schools_.

> It is fair to emphasise, wrote Hadow, that two examining bodies (the Northern Joint Board and the Oxford Locals) have adopted the full syllabus already and that a third (London University) could adapt its scheme without any serious trouble.[29]

In Adult Education, too, Hadow's efforts were unabated. From the outset of his career at Sheffield he displayed that breadth of outlook and diversity of interest which had always characterised his activities. He was keen that his new University should play its part in assisting the restoration of the university life of Belgium, for which he had long felt concern,[30] and which had been stifled by the war. In November, 1919, he served on a mission from the British Universities to visit Belgium and discuss with their State authorities and professors the best means of giving help and of establishing some kind of academic interchange. Hadow informed his sister, Margaret Cornish, that "I have seldom seen so much and never eaten so much in any one week of my life";[31] and the delegate from Oxford, Louis R. Farnell, wrote that

> My colleagues, among whom were Sir Henry Hadow and Professor D'Arcy-Thompson, were men whose intimacy was a gain; and we met many attractive and striking personalities among the professors and officials in Ghent, Antwerp, Brussels and Louvain. We all, I think, received and retain a strong impression of the debt of Belgium's gratitude to England.[32]

The idea of the establishment of an international academic fraternity held great appeal for Hadow, and as a member of the Committee of the Universities Bureau of the Board of Education (from July, 1920), he helped draw up "a plan by which lecturers and professors can be exchanged between British and foreign Universities - including of course the Dominions and U.S.A."[33] He continued to take a close interest in the work of S.D.8, the Department of Staff Duties (Education) in which Hadow had been involved at the War Office, and took an active part in the Imperial Education Conference which was held on June 11th and 12th, 1919,

in the Library of Australia House, to discuss problems such as acceptance by United Kingdom Universities of Overseas Universities' matriculation certificates. Lord Gorell recorded that the conference was attended by "a total of 131 people, every one of whom was a specialist in some branch of education".[34] Speakers included Sir Henry Wilson (Secretary of the Royal Colonial Institute) and H.A.L. Fisher, Hadow presiding on the morning of June 12th, when "technical and commercial education and the coordination of research was discussed, and valuable speeches were made".[35] Hadow himself addressed the Conference in 1927 on "The Place of Music in Education", and in 1924 was very keen to encourage the provision of an "education ship .... to take University students round the world and to give them some first-hand knowledge of Imperial questions". The project, although unsuccessful, excited the interest of Rudyard Kipling, Colonel G.W.W. Lascelles, Sir G.M. Boughey and Sir Charles Bright, then Vice-President and Council Member of the League of Nations Union. Hadow, who had encouraged the formation of an undergraduate branch of the League of Nations at Sheffield University in 1921, was elected a member of the Union in September, 1924. To Gilbert Murray, Chairman of the Union since 1923, he wrote on 10th September that

> I have just come back from Vienna, where everyone is invoking blessings on the head of the League of Nations day and night; it is astonishing to see how the conditions of life are improving and they attribute this entirely, and I have no doubt rightly, to the action taken by the league two years ago.

In Vienna, Hadow gave two addresses on "The Organization of Education in England" at the International Education Conference - "more

like the Tower of Babel than anything you can imagine"[36]- and at the end of October he addressed a Conference of Teachers at Bangor, Maine, U.S.A. on a similar subject.

This trip to America he did not enjoy. Indeed, he informed Grace (9/11/24) that""I have never hated anything in the world so much as I hated America, in spite of the continued attractiveness of my two or three very good friends". He had again enjoyed the hospitality of the Surettes at Concord, and visited Aldrich and Whiting in New York in November.

Shortly after his return to England, Hadow received a telegram from W.F. Massey, Prime Minister of New Zealand, asking him to inspect the country's system of Higher Education. Although flattered and pleased by the invitation, Hadow felt obliged to refuse, for fear that "it might mean a final dislocation of my work".

Despite his manifold commitments, Hadow took care that the concerns of the University were in no way neglected. Although his engagements took him away for a great deal of time, they did also help to make the University more widely known;[38] and Hadow had a remarkable ability to relate the knowledge and experience he acquired through his extra-mural activities to the interests of the University. Like Plato's pilot, he studied the world about him in order that he might better take command of his ship. His wide administrative experience and flexible mental attitude allowed him to adjust to virtually any situation, and not only does the correspondence reveal "a kindliness and warm human feeling, an understanding of the troubles of the ordinary student and the anxieties of his parent, that would have amazed many of those who met Hadow only

casually or on formal occasions",[39] but it also gives evidence of that kind of humour which only a broad perspective on life can afford. The amusement with which Hadow viewed his predicament during the University's Endowment Appeal in 1920 may be taken as typical. "Our scheme is a little complicated", he wrote to Sir Theodore Morison on 12th October, "by the fact that the four Sheffield Hospitals are also on the rampage, and that I am the Chairman of their Joint Committee, but I am trying very hard to solve this problem of dual personality according to the best psychological traditions".[40]

Hadow was elected Chairman of the Sheffield Hospitals Council at the time of its formation in 1919 to meet the mounting annual deficits and shortage of accommodation in the City's four voluntary hospitals after the first world war. Under Hadow's guidance, the Joint Committee, the first of its kind in the country, issued a report as to joint financial policy. A "Penny in the Pound" scheme was introduced, by which, in return for free medical treatment in the hospitals, workers subscribed weekly a penny from each pound they earned and the employers added a third of the sum they raised. The scheme was a great success, although the early years in particular presented many difficulties, some of which are indicated in Hadow's correspondence with Grace. On 8th October, 1921, he revealed how

> ..while I was away in September the Town Clerk of Sheffield intervened in a piece of very delicate negotiation between the Sheffield Hospitals Council and the Ministry of Health with the same kind of result as that of putting a firm and muscular thumb into the wheels of a watch. The Council has stampeded and unless I can get them back at the next meeting they'll forfeit a Government Grant which they can't afford to lose.

And on 6th November

> ..just as I'm getting through the rocks the city of Leeds has come forward with a proposal that we shall cease to control our own hospitals and throw them into a general scheme for Yorkshire which means with Leeds as Capital... and so the whole question is complicated by an inter-urban fund. I am unfortunately the only man in Sheffield who can keep the Hospitals together, and I'm overwhelmed with other work. However, it will come to a solution sometime and somewhere.

In fact, Hadow sustained his activities as Chairman of the Hospitals Council until 1930, while carrying out other committee work of great national importance. His election to Lord Crewe's committee investigating the position of The Classics in Education in 1919 lent weight to his arguments in favour of the study of Greek and Latin in schools (see Chapter 3). Moreover, the question of religious education in schools, traditionally a bugbear in English Education, was still by no means settled; and soon after his arrival in Sheffield Hadow was consulted by the West Riding Education Committee concerning its proposed regulations for Religious Instruction. Hadow advised that, while he was "entirely of the opinion that religion ought to have a definite place in school education.." there should be no instruction which would raise controversial points of doctrine or of organization.

> To bring them into the curriculum would be to emphasise one of the commonest of educational errors - the belief that because such and such a subject is part of the training of an educated man, therefore he ought to learn it at school. These school days are far better spent in providing a broad basis on which superstructures can be reared later on, than in adding to an already overweighted curriculum a subject which, perhaps more than any other, requires mature judgement and wise experience...such further instruction as is given should be in the hands of teachers who are large-minded, tolerant in the true sense, and especially equipped for the purpose.[41]

Hadow's belief that "narrow dogmatic teaching in childhood nearly always provokes a reaction at the discretionary years" remained unshaken, and in 1925 he wrote:

> I was reading the other day a collection of letters written by a schoolboy to his mother. Their two distinguishing characteristics were humble piety and a most sensitive regard for public opinion. The boy was Nietzsche. And I do not think that this is at all exceptional.[42]

At the University he carried out several experiments in religious discussion and debate, culminating in a University Mission in which all denominations were involved.[43] When, therefore, Hadow was elected Chairman of the Commission on Religious Education, appointed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York in 1924

> To enquire into the position of religious education in this country and its relations to the development of national education, in all grades of education, with power to hear evidence and collect information, and to formulate suggestions for the guidance of the Assembly,

he brought to the Committee an already clearly formulated general policy. In drawing up the chapter of the Report which dealt most specifically with religious education in post-primary schools Hadow wrote to Mr. Spencer Leeson, Headmaster of Merchant Taylors' School that

> ..the more I think about our Chapter the more inclined I am to believe that our best solution lies on the lines of dividing school education at 11+ and getting all schools over that age grouped together for purposes of Religious Education whether they are 'Secondary' or 'Central', 'Grammar' or 'Modern'; i.e. getting them the freedom to have such Religious Instruction as is in accordance with the wishes of the parents....Distinctions of denominational teaching should, it seems to me, begin at or after 11+ when the Biblical foundation has been properly laid. If, then, we can secure that all post-primary schools were allowed the freedom now allowed the Secondary we should, I think, go a long way in the right direction...If we can get freedom in the Training Colleges, freedom in the Secondary Schools, and an agreed syllabus in the Primary Schools we can, I think, trust administrative common sense to do the rest.[44]

Although Hadow's proposal of classifying all post-primary education as secondary was thrown out by the President of the Board of Education and Sir Percy Jackson,[45] the recommendations of the Committee eventually brought out in the Church Assembly Report C.A.301 in October, 1929, clearly reflect Hadow's emphasis on flexibility and his advocation that

> teachers in this subject should have special gifts, and if possible, special training, and that no teacher should be placed at a disadvantage in regard to his ordinary work by being unable or unwilling to take this subject.[46]

Perhaps Hadow's greatest contribution to extra-university adult education during his years at Sheffield, apart from the many addresses he delivered to various organizations such as the W.E.A., was through the B.B.C. In Feburary, 1920 the Marconi Company began to broadcast from Chelmsford, and Hadow was duly impressed. On 16th May, 1920, he described to Grace how, after a committee meeting of the Royal Society,

> they took me into an adjoining room where a concert held at Chelmsford was being transmitted by wireless. Black magic.

Hadow is reported to have been present at a transmission by the Royal Society the following month;[47] and he himself began broadcasting in 1924, while at the Southampton Education Conference.[48]

> The broadcast, he informed Grace on 18th October, was carried on an ordinary telegraph wire to Bournemouth and transmitted from there. I have heard two reports of it: one that no word was audible, one that the whole speech was heard quite distinctly. What I like about these scientific inventions is their precision.

In the summer of 1925 Hadow was appointed a member of a committee which met under the chairmanship of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres.[49]

Crawford had held a variety of government positions including that of Cabinet Minister and was much interested in art and music. The committee was to advise the Post-master General and the British Broadcasting Company as to the proper scope of the broadcasting service and as to its management, control and finance after the expiring of the existing licence on 31/12/26. The Report of the Broadcasting Committee (cmd.2599) was published in March, 1926; and on 14th July, 1926, it was announced in the House of Commons that the Government accepted the main propositions of the Crawford Committee and proposed to set up by Royal Charter a British Broadcasting Corporation, which was to come into existence on 1/1/27. Although Reith was the only member of the Board of the B.B.C. to give full-length evidence before the committee, he did, according to Lord Briggs, sometimes regret that he was not himself a member, describing the Crawford Committee in his autobiography as being "like a Royal Commission".[50] Indeed, the Report as a whole reflected the concern of Lord Reith "to give a conscious social purpose to the exploitation of the medium".[51] They recognised that broadcasting could be an active force, not only in the drive for 'superior entertainment', but in the diffusion of knowledge and the promotion of education, although at the time many regarded the wireless as "a toy, as a phantasy, even as a joke".[52] The concern of the B.B.C. to play its part in the creation of a more "educated democracy" was even more clearly reflected in the report published in April, 1928, under the joint auspices of the B.B.C. and the British Institute of Adult Education, and entitled New Ventures in

Broadcasting. Lord Briggs, wrote that "It was not a coincidence that .... Sir Henry Hadow, who was chairman of the Board of Education Committee which produced one of the most striking official educational documents of the interwar years .... should also have been chairman of the B.B.C. Committee";[53] and Reith maintained with justice that "this report might equally well have been entitled 'New Ventures in Education'."[54]

Although Hadow appeared to seek a position of neutrality as chairman, he expressed in the preface his conviction that education and entertainment are not necessarily incompatible, and pointed out that even commentary on a British football team visiting Madrid could invoke "the desire for enhanced interest and for wider knowledge". Hadow showed great interest in discussions concerning a "wireless university", calling on Dr. Cyril Burt to advise on the psychology of listening and lecturing techniques.[55]

> The Hadow Report, wrote Asa Briggs, provided a kind of charter for people who were already interested in the possibilities of broadcast adult education. It maintained that broadcast adult education could supplement existing work in adult education without supplanting the voluntary or public agencies which were already in the field. Among its main recommendations were the setting up of 'listening groups', formal or informal, to discuss BBC adult educational programmes, the launching of a 'weekly educational journal', and the creation of a representative Central Council for Adult Education, supported by Area Councils representing local opinion and local organizations.[56]

Hadow's sister Grace, then Secretary of Barnett House, Oxford - an institution which she built up to provide a centre of information on social, educational and economic matters - was elected to the interim committee which hammered out the constitution of the new Central Council; and by 1935 Great Britain had seven area councils represented on the Adult Education Advisory Committee for the BBC.[57] The recommendation

of the report on New Ventures in Broadcasting that "a weekly, illustrated, educational journal should be planned and directed by those responsible for educational broadcasting" resulted in the launching of The Listener, with R.S. Lambert as its first editor; and several special pamphlets, including the Board of Education's Adult Education Wireless Listening Groups (Pamphlet 92, March, 1933) and the BBC's Wireless Discussion Groups (1935) enforced the dictum that "broadcasting should be a stimulus to public discussion and not a substitute for it".[58] Although the majority of papers expressed approval of the New Ventures report, regarding it as a "document of deepest interest",[59] an article in Electrical Industries (23/5/28) referred to "Insidious Education". The Hadow Committee, it was claimed, were "splendid people....but top heavy"; and the Report was described as "a grave little tome, rather given to exhortation. We have an uncomfortable sensation, after reading it, of having attended a revival service. They do try so hard to save our souls". Nevertheless, the influence of the Report on the work of the BBC was far-reaching. Professor Briggs observed that

> The replacement of Districts of England, a series of talks for rural schools, by Our Village, a dramatized series popular both in village and city, was a sign that Hadow's ideas had begun to change schools broadcasting itself.[60]

Of even greater importance in the education world was Hadow's chairmanship of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education, in which capacity he exercised to the full that depth of thought and breadth of administrative skill which his years of varied experience had brought him.

Notes to Chapter 10

1. Hadow was also offered the Provostship of Worcester College. (See J.F. Lys, An Account of Stewardship, 1944. Private circulation)

2. Letter to Grace, 28/9/19.

3. Mary Bennett to A.P. Derrington, 30/6/69.

4. Ronald Gorell Barnes, Education and the Army, O.U.P. 1921, p.111.

5. V.C.6, 175. 22/1/20.

6. See A.W. Chapman, The Story of a Modern University, O.U.P. 1955, p.298, and V.C. Letter Books. Report to the Universities Bureau of the British Empire, session 1919-20.

7. Letter to Grace, 19/10/19.

8. op.cit., p.299.

9. V.C.8, 45. (7/12/20.

10. op.cit., p.299.

11. See letter to Grace 18/4/20; 25/4/20.

12. op.cit., p.339.

13. See letter to Balfour 13/6/19 (Post script).

14. Letter to Sir Henry Miers 18/12/20. V.C.8, 116.

15. Letter to Albert Senior, 15/11/23. V.C.14, 452.

16. Letters to Sir William McCormick, 22/1/21 and W.B. Riddell, Secretary of the University Grants Commission, 8/3/21. V.C.8, 260 and 571.

17. John Bailey, Letters and Diaries 1864-1931, John Murray, London, 1935.

18. Letter to Grace, 13/11/26.

19. Letter to Grace 10/12/27.

20. V.C.27, 905, 30/7/30.

21. V.C.6, 293. Letter to W.B. Riddell, 13/2/20.

22. See Ralph Blumenau, A History of Malvern College, London, 1965, p.105.

23. Letter to Professor Mawer, 12/9/22. V.C.12, 324. See Appendix VII.

24. Letters to J.H. Wragg, 15/9/21, V.C.9, 453.

25. See Chapter 7

26. Yorkshire Post, 11/10/20.

27. Sheffield Telegraph, 11/10/20.

28. V.C.14, 282, 22/10/23.

29. V.C.14, 839, 21/1/24.

30. See letter to Balfour 10/10/14: "We have decided to admit without fee any student from a Belgian University who wants to come".

31. Letter to Margaret Cornish, 1/2/19.

32. Louis R. Farnell, An Oxonian Looks Back, London, 1934, p.330.

33. Letter to Grace, 2/10/21.

34. Gorell, op.cit., p.174.

35. op.cit., p.177.

36. Letter to A.L. Hetherington, 30/9/24, V.C.16, 160.

37. Letter to Grace, 15/11/24.

38. See A.W. Chapman, op.cit., pp.302-3.

39. ibid.

40. V.C.7, 650, 12/10/20.

41. Letter to I.H. Lawe, Secretary to the Consultative Committee, Education Department, Wakefield. 31/3/20. V.C.6, 612.

42. Letter to Storr-Best, 28/4/25. V.C.17, 413.

43. Worcester College: letter to Margaret Cornish, 13/5/24. Report of the Sheffield University Committee on the Mission held in the University from February 11th to 17th, 1924. (Copy lent by A.P. Derrington)

44. Letter to Spencer Leeson, 21/12/28, V.C.25, 15.

45. Letter to Leeson, 27/3/29, V.C.25, 340.

46. Letter to I.H. Lawe, op.cit.

47. See letter from the Librarian of the Royal Society to A.P. Derrington, 21/8/69.

48. See Southern Daily Echo, 16/10/24; Hampshire Advertiser and Independent, 18/10/24.

49. For an account of the members of this committee see Asa Briggs, The History of Broadcasting in the United Kingdom, Vol.I., 1961, p.330.

50. J.C.W. Reith, Into the Wind, London, 1949, p.99.

51. J.C.W. Reith, Speech to the Retiring Directors and the Governors-designate, 16/12/26. Recorded in Asa Briggs, op.cit. p.7.

52. Report of the Broadcasting Committee, p.4.

53. op.cit. Vol.II, 1965, p.186.

54. ibid.

55. See Yorkshire Evening News, "Everyman's University", 10/4/28; Glasgow News, "A Wireless University", 10/4/28; Daily Telegraph, 7/4/28; The Daily Mail, 7/4/28; Sheffield Independent, 9/4/28.

56. op.cit., p.219.

57. See Wireless Discussion Groups, BBC, 1935, p.5.

58. ibid., p.6.

59. Birmingham Gazette and Express, 9/4/28. See also The Times, 7/4/28; Morning Post, 7/4/28; The Daily Telegraph, 7/4/28; The Daily Mail, 7/4/28; Sheffield Independent, 9/4/28.

60. op.cit., p.186.

CHAPTER 11

THE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE

"The brilliant chief, irregularly great
Frank, haughty, bold - the Rupert of Debate."

Bulwer Lytton, The New Timon, 1846

Hadow had been elected a member of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education in 1913 as successor to Sir Michael Sadler, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Leeds,[1] and he assisted in the formation of the Interim Report on Scholarships for Education, which was issued in 1916. After an intermission due to the War, the Committee - a senate of twenty-one members representing various elements of the educational world of England and Wales[2] - was re-constituted. Hadow was one of those consulted by the Secretary of the Board of Education, L.A. Selby-Bigge, concerning a proposal that the Committee should be varied to a permanent structure of fourteen members with an ad hoc annexe of seven members appointed for each separate reference.[3] Hadow was in favour of the proposed change.

> ....The old committee was too large to be really efficient: when it examined witnesses half the people found that their questions had been anticipated when their turn came, and when it discussed results it became too much like a debating society....
>
> I'm not sure whether I am still a member of the Committee. If so I think that I had better go off: at any rate for the present. I'm on Lord Crewe's Classical Committee which so far as I can see is going to meet fairly frequently and I don't think that I can manage to attend two - especially as I have a young and active-minded University which takes up a lot of time. Might I therefore slip out unobtrusively at any rate until the Classical Committee has finished its job?[4]

The constitution of the Committee was not altered, but far from being permitted to "slip out unobtrusively", Hadow was persuaded to return as Chairman on the condition that proceedings should be delayed as long as possible "so as to run clear of Lord Crewe's Committee".[5] The first meeting of the Consultative Committee did not therefore take place until the end of 1920; but "it met as a new body, eager

for work".[6] The setting for these meetings was

> ...a long and lofty room, with high and richly carved oak wainscoting; heavy stucco - work upper walls and ceiling; double doors, with carved pediment in centre. Long table centre, along the length of the room: Sir Henry Hadow in the chair, at the fireplace: on his right the Secretary, on his left J.G.A.: a dozen other members of the Committee, masculine and feminine, seated down either side of the table.[7]

The Board almost immediately confronted the Committee with two subjects on which it required advice:

1) Whether greater differentiation is desirable in the curriculum for boys and girls respectively in Secondary Schools?

2) What use can be made in the public system of education of psychological tests of educable capacity?

The results of the Committee's enquiries on the first reference were set out in a report, signed in September, 1922, _Differentiation of the Curriculum for Boys and Girls Respectively in Secondary Schools_; the report _Psychological Tests of Educable Capacity_ appeared in 1924. In both cases, the Committee received a large volume of oral evidence and a number of memoranda from informed witnesses and experts, and Hadow overcame the problem of manoeuvring his somewhat unwieldy team by appointing sub-committees to deal with particular sections of the reports. Especially useful to the Committee in outlining and clarifying central issues for the focus of its deliberations was Dr. John George Adami, who, by nature of his unique qualificiations - C.B.E., M.D., F.R.S. - was able to provide a sound base of scientific and human knowledge. Although Adami disagreed with one aspect of the report on Psychological Tests,[8] he was undoubtedly one of the most active and influential members of the Committee. He was closely associated

with Hadow, not only in the work at Whitehall, but also as a fellow Vice-Chancellor. As the correspondence at Sheffield reveals, Hadow considered Adami's judgement and advice of the first importance, and the Universities of Sheffield and Liverpool benefited immeasurably from the association of these two men.

It is indicative of the spirit with which the members of the Consultative Committee sought to examine the information at their disposal that they were willing to admit the limitations of the tools of their science. In their report on Educational Tests they wrote:

> ...we desire to call attention to one general conclusion.... that any system of selection whatever, whether by means of psychological tests, or by means of examination, which determines at the age of eleven the educable future of children is, and must be, gravely unreliable .... What we desire to emphasise is the waste of capacity inevitably involved in any arrangement under which a limited number of free places is fixed in advance, and only such children are admitted to Secondary Schools as are successful in winning them .... a large number of children who are well qualified to profit by secondary education are excluded from it...[9]

This assertion provides the background to the most famous of the reports made by the Consultative Committee under Hadow's chairmanship: the report on <u>The Education of the Adolescent</u>.

It is evident that the policy to provide some form of further education for all children leaving elementary schools had become a commonplace among educational administrators long before the Hadow Report. Despite the absence of any large-scale developments in education prior to the war, there was, as Hadow had seen at Newcastle, a real demand for education,[10] and the war itself gave new impetus and vigour to those agitating for reform.

> We have been impressed, wrote the Board of Education at the beginning of their Annual Report 1915-16, by the general consensus of opinion that after the War it will not suffice merely to repair the losses which education has suffered, but that improvements and developments of our existing system are essential to the national welfare.

Moreover, there was the presage of "secondary education for all", which was, Lord Eustace Percy pointed out,

> ...bound up with a curious change in the popular meaning attached to the statutory phrase 'elementary education'.... The phrase had ceased to mean a kind of education preparatory to higher studies for those who might be capable of them; it had come to mean a kind of education suitable to all who were to earn their living by manual labour.[11]

The Report of the Board 1911-12 (p.5) recorded that there was

> ...undoubtedly a growing conviction that the value of a secondary education to a child from an elementary school is not limited to children of exceptional ability, nor is it to be estimated solely by the difference which it makes in their wordly prospects or its failure to make such a difference.

In July, 1915, the Times Educational Supplement launched a campaign for a new organization of national education which was to be initiated with the abolition of the "purely artificial distinction between elementary and secondary schools". It at first proposed that elementary schools should become preparatory schools from which, at the age of eleven, all children should proceed to secondary schools for a minimum period of four years,[12] but gradually the plan was adjusted to allow for the idea of compulsory day continuation schools to run parallel to a secondary scheme.[13] The two great principles of H.A.L. Fisher's Education Act of 1918 - compulsory day continuation schools and the provision of advanced instruction in elementary schools - were thus anticipated; but

the post-war slump and the Geddes Report of 1922 set the seal on the abandonment of schemes for compulsory day continuation education.[14] The cause of "Secondary Education for All" was then publicised by R.H. Tawney, the economic historian, who drew up a policy for the Education Advisory Committee of the Labour Party, published in 1922. Tawney reverted to the simplicity of the original plan unfolded in the Times Educational Supplement of 1915, and offered a unified system of administration, asserting that

> ...if education is to be loved, and not merely tolerated, it must be seen, at any rate in outline, as an intelligible whole. It must give a sense of movement, of growth, of continuous progress towards expanding horizons.[15]

The focus on these expanding horizons was, however, distorted and obscured by wavering opinion and unresolved ideas; and when Ramsay MacDonald did take over the Government in 1924, Labour were in no position to pursue their proposed policy, although they did take steps to increase the provision of both secondary school accommodation and of free places. Moreover, Tawney's policy had spread in a diluted form throughout the educational world in general, and the reference to the Hadow committee of which Tawney was a member, was formulated while the Conservatives were still in office.[16] The President of the Board, Edward Wood (later Lord Halifax), had yielded to persistent requests by the Consultative Committee that they should suggest topics for investigation;[17] and by May, 1923, the Committee was preparing to submit subjects for a future report. In October, J.A. White, Headmaster of Bow Central School, proposed

> That in view of the great demand for a comprehensive scheme of full time education beyond the elementary stage - a demand testified not only by the increasing pressure on Secondary School accommodation, but also by the large and growing number of children in institutions such as Trade Schools, Junior Technical Schools, Central Schools, and in establishments such as Clark's and Pitman's, this Committee desires to represent to the Board that an investigation into the possibility of providing various types of full-time education up to the age of sixteen would be welcomed by administrators, teachers, employers and parents generally, and that a report on the subject would do much to enlighten public opinion, and to guide and encourage development on satisfactory lines.[18]

Hadow, according to an agreement made with Wood, had sent the proposal to the Board prior to the meeting of the Consultative Committee at which it was to be discussed. Wood, concerned to avoid serious administrative and political complications,[19] was not happy. He suggested a narrower reference concerning commerical education, and Hadow tactfully tried to get the Committee to contract the scope of White's motion to comply with the President's wishes. The Committee, however, were intractable, and on 29th October, Hadow wrote to Selby-Bigge, urging that they be allowed to deal with White's proposal.[20] The following month the Secretary received a small deputation from the Committee: Hadow, White, Alderman, P.R. Jackson, and Dr. Ernest Barker. It may be conjectured from the minutes of this meeting that Tawney's absence was not without reason:

> Ald. Jackson suggested that an inquiry of this kind would be useful in dispelling the Socialist and Labour war-cry of "Secondary Education for All", and it was important to dispel that notion if possible before the Labour Party came into power; otherwise they would make the attempt and find too late that the philosophy of the project was wrongly based. An enquiry would also have the effect of disposing of shams and perhaps of 'burying the King Charles' head' of The Times Educational Supplement. It was further pointedout that employers were coming more and more to demand in their shorthand typists and clerical assistants a more advanced standard of general education, and the Committee would be able to explore the best means of providing this for children who did not go to Secondary Schools.[21]

The "Secondary Schools" here referred to were so called because they were administered by the Secondary Division in the Board's Office, and came under the "Regulations for Secondary Schools". Other post-primary institutions came under the "Regulations for Elementary Schools". Of the three and a half million children aged eleven to sixteen in 1924, only about 400,000 were receiving post-primary education of any kind, and of these only about a half were in the grammar and technical schools administered under the secondary code.[22]

The conviction that there was ample room for development of a variety of secondary educational institutions without intereference with the existing secondary schools led the members of the Consultative Committee to accept unanimously and with enthusiasm the reference drafted by Selby-Bigge in December, 1923:

> i) To consider and report upon the organization, objective and curriculum of courses of study suitable for children who will remain in full-time attendance at schools, other than Secondary Schools, up to the age of 15, regard being had on the one hand to the requirements of a good general education and the desirability of providing a reasonable variety of curriculum, so far as is practicable, for children of varying tastes and abilities; and on the other to the probable occupations of the pupils in commerce, industry and agriculture.
>
> ii) Incidentally, thereto, to advise as to the arrangements which should be made a) for testing the attainments of the pupils at the end of their course; b) for facilitating in suitable cases the transfer of individual pupils to Secondary Schools at an age above the normal age of admission.

Nowhere in the Hadow Report is there a glimmer of awareness of that disastrous confusion of educational and social ideals inherent in the creation of the secondary 'modern' schools, although Eustace Percy, President of the Board from 1924 till 1929, later expressed his misgivings:

> It seemed to me unwise to lump together all schooling after the age of eleven under the name 'secondary' and thus to stimulate the impossible demand for what is now termed 'parity of esteem' between, for instance, the best grammar schools and such 'country modern' schools as teach no language but English or any chemistry or physics beyond the elements of the craft called 'rural science'.[23]

The Committee was confused, but it was overwhelmingly hopeful; and the idealism which inspired and charged the Report is nowhere more apparent than in the introduction, whose verbal felicity and structural clarity indicate traces of the Chairman's pen:

> The scheme which we advocate can be simply stated. It is that between the age of eleven and, if possible, that of fifteen, all the children of the country who do not go forward to secondary education in the present narrow sense of the word should go forward nonetheless to what is, in our view, a form of secondary education in the truer and broader sense of the word and after spending the first years of their school life in a primary school should spend the last three years or four in a well equipped and well staffed modern school or senior department, under the stimulus of practical work and realistic studies and yet, at the same time, in the free and broad air of a general and humane education, which if it remembers handwork does not forget music, and if it cherishes natural science fosters also linguistic and literary studies.
>
> There are three great ends of human life and activity which we trust that our scheme will help to promote. One is the formation and strengthening of character, individual and national character, through the placing of youth in the hour of its growth, as it were, in a fair meadow of a congenial and inspiring environment. Another is the training of boys and girls to delight in pursuits and rejoice in accomplishments, work in music and art; work in wood and in metals; work in literature and the record of human history; which may become the recreations and ornaments of hours of leisure in maturer years. And still another is the awakening and guiding of the practical intelligence for the better and more skilled service of the community in all its multiple and complex affairs, in a country like ours so highly industrialised and so dependent on the success of its industries that it needs for its success, and even for its safety, the best and most highly trained skill of its citizens.

Surely, no scheme of education has ever had a more lucid and stirring charter - and yet the ideals it proposed were not fulfilled.

The Consultative Committee hoped to replace the "unsatisfactory tripartite division of English education into Elementary, Secondary, and Technical" by a universal system of primary and secondary education; but it could be argued that their reorganization succeeded only in establishing an equally unsatisfactory post-primary triad: 'Secondary Modern','Technical', and 'Grammar'. Moreover, the Secondary Modern Schools themselves incurred a three-fold division, trenchantly criticised by a Modern School master in 1933. In an article entitled Hadowisation: the Three-way Track, Arthur B. Allen described how children were classified into three "streams" - commercial, technical and craft - according to the estimate of their mental ability made on the basis of an entrance examination. Allen queried the psychological validity of subjecting children to commercial or technical training without careful assessment of the degree of personal satisfaction they would find in these pursuits, and condemned the craft "track" as "accepting the retarded pupil at retardation value". Such an acceptance, he argued, "is to kill at birth the whole creative impulse of education". His most distressing criticism, however, seen in the light of the hopes for the Modern School expressed by the Consultative Committee, was that of the failure of the Modern School to equip students for recreation and leisure through a rich acquaintance with literature and the arts. Pupils in the 'commercial' stream were, Allen claimed, deprived of the study of cultural subjects, for which there was no space on the time-table: and in the 'technological' stream, too, cultural and artistic work was at a discount. What then of the "fair meadow of a congenial and inspiring environment?"

The aims of the Secondary Modern School were, it appears, frustrated by the attempt to provide for "the probable occupations of the pupils in commerce, industry and agriculture", and by shortage of funds. The Times Educational Supplement of 25/12/59 displayed, beneath the centenary tribute to Hadow by H.C. Dent (see below) the following letter from a "Bi-lateral Headmaster":

> Sir - The fiction of equal opportunity for pupils in secondary modern schools is accepted as truth by many people. The following conditions exist under the education authority which I serve:
> (1) Staff ratio is less generous in modern than in grammar schools.
> (2) Per capita allowances for books in modern schools are less than half those in grammar schools.
> (3) Per capita allowances for games in modern schools are half those in grammar schools.

This unhappy situation resulted in part from the Hadow Committee's acceptance of the argument that the modern schoolchild was different from the grammar schoolchild.

> There is no question, they declared, that among the pupils of the new post-primary schools the desire to do and make, to learn from concrete things and situations, will be more widely diffused than the desire to acquire book-knowledge and master generalisations and abstract ideas.....We propose to use the term 'practical bias' to denote the emphasis laid in the school curriculum on practical aspects of certain subjects without involving work in the technicalities of any one specific trade or occupation. The aim which we suggest is that, while no pupil in a modern school or Senior Class with a taste for industry, commerce or agriculture should be educated with a view to any one specific calling, he should nonetheless receive such a training as will make it easy for him to adapt himself on leaving school to any occupation in the groups of occupations to which the bias is related.[25]

That Hadow was himself fully aware of the need to ensure that the modern schools be "well equipped and well staffed" is clear: his dismay at the vicious cuts in educational expenditure proposed by the Geddes

Committee in 1921 -

> It is like an economist refusing to cut down his theatre tickets and tobacco, and meeting his expenses by robbing the children's money-box,[26]

sprang from his conviction that

> it was the younger generation that mattered most to a country. We should not relax our efforts to enable them to fulfil their purpose in life;[27]

and his attitude to education as a form of national investment was marked by a persistent concern that each child should reap the fullest possible personal benefit from his schooling. Moreover, while he believed in the possibility of a school system which would function by channelling children into the right courses, he did not regard the engineering of such a system as the comparatively simple feat envisaged by, for example, J.L. Paton, Headmaster of Manchester Grammar, who assured the committee that children could easily be categorized as 'Mentals and Manuals'.[28] In a letter of 30/1/30 in support of an application for a Commonwealth Fund Fellowship, Hadow urged that the proposed topic of research was "one of exceptional educational value at the present time, namely

> the study of relative capacities and interests in those boys and girls who are not destined primarily for an academic career, and for whom, therefore, the new schemes of educational reorganization are especially appropriate ....he (Dr. Pickard) may be confidently expected to produce work of real scientific value in a field which, as yet, is insufficiently explored, and the exploration of which affords some of the most pressing educational problems of the present day.[29]

Hadow's greatest error concerning the proposed administration of the secondary modern schools was perhaps that of allowing them to remain

in the hands of the Elementary Division in the Board's Office, thus demanding of teachers in modern schools less stringent qualifications than those required of grammar school teachers. Certainly the decision was well-intentioned and understandable: it was a matter of reconciling those Local Education Authorities who had the power to administer higher education with the 'Part III' Authorities for elementary education only.[30] Since the members of the Consultative Committee were persuaded that "the abolition or absorbtion of Part III Authorities was not really practical politics",[31] they concentrated their efforts on inducing the rival sets to cooperate with each other, one of their prime concerns being that

> an authority for elementary education only may start a Modern School or Central Class when neighbouring Secondary Schools under the administration of the authority for higher education are not fully used.[32]

Secondary education being perceived as a vacuum in which there was ample room for all-round expansion, the possibility that the existence of the grammar school could threaten the development of the secondary modern did not occur to the Committee. Nevertheless, they did suggest that

> consideration should be given to the question whether it might not be a desirable objective of educational development that provincial Authorities for education should be instituted, in which the Authorities for elementary education only and the Authorities for higher education should both be ultimately merged.[33]

This recommendation was dismissed, partly because the system of Part III Authorities and of optional powers of combination of Counties and County Boroughs appeared to be working well,[34] and partly because of the belief that the traditional independence of local administration

and the extraordinary differentiation of adjoining areas would not allow a satisfactory fusion of interests.

> I do not believe, declared Sir Graham Balfour concerning an earlier proposal to form large provinces for Higher Education only, that Counties would readily submit to be ruled by one another's Chairmen, and still less by one another's officials. A similar proposal was once I believe made of forming the smaller colleges at Cambridge into several groups. A don of one of these colleges received the suggestion with a shudder and said, 'It reminds me of the Roman punishment for parricide', in which, you may remember, the criminal was put into a sack with an ape, a dog, a cock, and a snake, and was thrown into the Tiber .... a proposal to have a central provincial body for Higher Education, leaving Elementary Education only to each County and County Borough Authority, would have been even more distasteful.[35]

In 1943, however, a Government White Paper announced that

> an arrangement whereby in a country area some of the stages of a child's education are entrusted to one Local Education Authority and others to another is a barrier to the establishment of proper unity in educational organisation, the disadvantages of which have been progressively realised since the Act of 1902.

Under the Education Act of 1944 administrative counties and county boroughs became the only local education authorities, and these were reduced in number to 146 covering England and Wales. The Part III Authorities ceased to exist.

The role played by Hadow himself in the formation of the policies set forth in the 1926 Consultative Committee Report is not easily defined. F. H. Shera's comment that "In neither the theory nor the practice of education was Hadow a specialist"[36] is well-grounded enough, if by "education" we are to understand "school-teaching". "I should always prefer University to School work", Hadow once confided to his mother, "as being much more in my line";[37] and his

introduction to A.W. Bain's The Modern Teacher (London, 1921) makes plain his ignorance - however wittily confessed - of the contending methods of school teaching and classroom procedure. But his grasp of the general principles of education was too strong not to be felt, and he had, to use his own phrase, "torn the heart out" of all the great books on education. Moreover, Hadow was sympathetic to the concerns and problems of teachers, and gave a measure of support to their request in the early 1920s for greater representation on the various educational boards and councils.[38] As President of the Teachers' Guild from February, 1920, he witnessed the unhappy struggles over salary, status and conditions, and did not consider it beneath his dignity to register in 1923 with the Teachers' Registration Council - of which, incidentally, Lord Gorell was Chairman. Hadow was also admitted a member of the Royal Society of Teachers when Gorell became its inaugural President in 1929. However, apart from the Councils of University and School Teachers who met under Hadow's approving eye at Newcastle and Sheffield to discuss mutual concerns, he did not actively involve himself in the Teachers' Councils, preferring to encourage in his own Consultative Committee a "broad and dispassionate view of policy".

To this end, Hadow made no attempt to impose on the Committee ideas or policies of his own. His, he knew, was a potent team "formidable in both intellect and character"; and his great contribution as Chairman was to keep his colleagues at work in a cooperative spirit, securing, Ernest Barker testified, "happy and friendly marriage of our minds in the pursuit of a common policy".[39] Barker, who was the author of the obituary notice issued by the B.B.C. on the day of Hadow's death,[40] wrote to Grace on 19/4/37:

> ...the newspapers assumed that your brother had laid down the policy of the Hadow Report. That was not his greatness and he would have disclaimed such an interpretation. His greatness was in collecting a generous sympathy, and in clarifying the ideas that were put before the Committee that as I see life, is about the greatest thing a man can do in the position of Chairman and Leader.

Other members of the Consultative Committee wrote with equal respect and affection for their Chairman, Tawney praising him as "an enlightened and public-spirited man".[41] Lynda Grier, Principal of Lady Margaret Hall, noted "the keen sense of humour which often lightened our debates and made rough places smooth"; and her description of Hadow's technique of leadership provides some intriguing insights:

> ....He gave in generous measure his full attention to every suggestion, encouraging those which were fruitful, appreciating with his mastery of English any verbal contribution which pleased him, reading aloud every word of each report as it took shape, pruning, emphasizing, clarifying and shaping.
>
> He identified himself with the Committee and its views, never yielding a point, but seeing where each point fitted. It was said that every member of the Committee except the Chairman claimed to be its author (a little hard on some of us who were never so presumptuous). If he had ever heard the comment I am sure he would have chuckled and accepted it as the greatest possible compliment. By giving each member of the committee his head, within bounds, he got the best from him. Within bounds, for I think no other important documents can have been produced so swiftly. We were all aware that for all his unfailing courtesy he was not a patient man. I only sat close to him once, and refrained from doing so again, for the undercurrent of critical chat on witnesses and at times on members of the committee was disconcerting. Though it was audible to all but his immediate neighbours I think the consciousness of it was general. 'Moonshine,moonshine. - He's said that before, why does he waste our time by repeating it? - Stuff and nonsense; this is quite intolerable.' And so forth. I understand that this was quite a well-known habit, and though it may have quenched the fumbling of some timid souls, there were quite enough able and vigorous ones to press forward with what was important, none of the chairman's commentary being uttered the while.
>
> His celerity was unrivalled. I have never known anyone so swift at siezing points, so skilled at welding them into the main line of argument, so deft a builder...

Although Hadow did not design a new educational structure,[42] he erected on the foundation of the joint wisdom elicited from the Consultative Committee a towering ediface. His preoccupation was above all with the unifying architecture of the report: and he may well have thought his carefully welded structure strong enough to withstand the pressures exerted on it by the conflicting educational and social ideals it contained. His own educational philosophy was in fact almost completely at variance with the predominant fashionable tendencies of educational thought; and is significant that some educational writers[43] have inferred from the language of the reports the influence of the American educationist John Dewey,[44] whose philosophy differed in crucial aspects from that of Hadow.

It would indeed be a fundamental irony to suppose that Hadow, this clergyman's son, and one of a long line of Anglicans, could feel any real sympathy for the stark pragmatism of the Chicago school. Certainly Chicago in the 1920's conjured up images other than those of "sweetness and light".[45] It amounts to be seen to what extent the two men differed, and to what extent Dewey's ideas were in fact embodied in the "Hadow" reports.

Dewey's educational philosophy, which was most clearly formulated in his <u>Democracy and Education</u> of 1918, was an attempt to meet in a peculiarly direct fashion the problems of an age of machine production and collective enterprise. He ejected the metaphysical dimension and transcendent values which had been essential to educational philosophers, and based his theory in the implications of present experience. All reality is conceived as temporal, and education is simply the process of living. "Since growth is the characteristic of life" he wrote,[46]

"education is all one with growing; it has no end beyond itself". Mind is viewed as a "quality of behaviour" and thinking as an actual process, synonymous with doing. He explicitly denied the value of a curriculum based on the attainment of fields of knowledge seen to exist independently of the learner, and insisted that "When education ..fails to recognise that primary or initial subject-matter always exists as matter of an active doing .... the subject matter of instruction is isolated from the needs and purposes of the learner, and so becomes just a something to be memorised and reproduced upon demand. Recognition of the natural course of development, on the contrary, always sets out with situations which involve learning by doing."[47] This belief led Dewey to insist that the educators start from the interests, needs, and range of experience of the child, and advocated the child's participation in "active occupations" intended to correspond with practical concrete experience in everyday life. The authority of the teacher Dewey saw as minimal, limited to guidance, so that the child might have as much freedom as possible to exercise his imagination and inventiveness in pursuing his goals. Similarly, control was considered as a quality of self-realisation. Dewey maintained that in participating in activities with his fellow classmates, the child would learn to act cooperatively and thus become a better citizen.[48]

Hadow's concept of citizenship as the prime factor of nobility in modern man[49] is arguably sympathetic to Dewey's emphasis on cooperation. In his address on "The Place of Humane Letters in Education", the second of three lectures delivered in America in April, 1926,[50] Hadow defined the two main focal points of theories

about the aims of education:

> ....According to the first, the aim of education is the perfection of the individual soul, the cultivation of its faculties for their own sake and in due graduation of absolute value, using the external world, in so far as it does use this at all, chiefly as a means and opportunity of arriving nearer to the ultimate perfection or of rendering clearer our vision of the ultimate truth.
>
> But it is only fair to set against this in direct contrariety the theory of education which emphasizes its practical and administrative aim. According to this second view we are sent into this world not to cultivate our own souls, but to find at once our duty and reward in mystic contemplation, but to help as best we can towards solving its problems, healing its miseries and strengthening its efforts.

While he took care to insist that both of these ideals, "the ideal of self perfection and that of active service ... must affect in some measure the content of any educational system", Hadow professed himself "to be on the whole an adherent to the second". Moreover, it is clear that for Hadow as for Dewey the purpose of education in citizenship is the nurture of a social morality. In his introduction to The Modern Teacher, (ed. A.W. Bain, London, 1921), Hadow gave much attention to the article on Citizenship,

> ...which Dr. Boyd well defines as 'the right ordering of our several loyalties... The work must be delicate, gradual, tentative, for it deals with instincts which are often abashed by shyness or checked by undue insistence. In early years there should be little or no direct instruction, rather the creation of an atmosphere through history and literature, and the encouragement of unselfishness.... The relation between man and State is not material but moral, and morality is a widening circle whose radius is knowledge and whose centre is love.

Hadow's insistence that "all teaching is nurture" - "'Educat nutrix', says Varro, from whose sentence our name of Education is derived"[51]

is in keeping with Dewey's biological train of thought; and Dewey's opposition to early specialization as a deprivation of the child's inalienable right of choice in life is also reflected in Hadow's pronouncements:

> A school education cannot provide more than a general basis on which more specific forms of study can be superimposed. One of the dangers with which our present educational system is confronted is that of over specialization in the early years. We are so anxious to get immediate results to show as early as possible some tangible proof of knowledge gained or skill acquired that we tend to force the capacities of young people, as a gardener forces his fruit and flowers out of season and often with the same disastrous results.... The test of a secondary education is not what a boy knows when he leaves school, but what he is capable of doing ten yearsslater, and that capacity is far better stimulated and developed by a general education in the early years than by any attempt to concentrate during that period on specific kinds of knowledge or acquirements.[52]

For Dewey as for Hadow the school's immediate aim is to broaden and enrich present experience, and to interest the child in learning and to foster in him the capacity for further learning throughout life. But there is an important divergence of opinion with regard to the role of the school as the agent of preparation of the child for adult life and more advanced knowledge. Dewey explicitly denied that education was in any sense a preparatory process, advancing instead "the idea of continuous reconstruction of experience, an idea which is marked off from education as preparation for a remote future".[53] The school is to become a microcosm of society, but selecting only its best features and balancing its conflicts. Cooperation, understanding of the significance of social activities, and development of the experimental attitude, would, Dewey maintained, lead to considerable modification of the students' attitudes and to the subsequent transformation of "the more recalcitrant features" of contemporary society.

It is difficult to imagine the success of such an educational enterprise in a social climate which had long nurtured and encouraged the growth of a rich variety of educational schemes, and even tolerated a few exotic imports. The Bryce Commission wrote in 1895:

> In dwelling on the need for a systematic organization of Secondary education we have more than once had occasion to explain that we mean by 'system' neither uniformity not the control of a central department of government. Freedom, variety, elasticity are, and have been, the merits which go far to redeem the defects in English education and they must at all hazards be preserved.

This decree with its divergence from Dewey, is echoed by Hadow in the very passage which at the same time most reveals his respect for those ideas at the root of Dewey's educational theory:

> A landmark of the first importance was passed in the latter part of the eighteenth century, when Rousseau shifted the centre of gravity in education, and instead of imposing it on the child as a scheme from above, began with the investigation of the child's mind and worked outwards from that. In other words he began at the end not of the teacher's desk but of the pupil's desk. So far as we can assign any discovery to anyone he may be said to have discovered what learned people now call the psychological method in education, which begins by endeavouring to find out what the boy or girl is good for, taking it for granted that they are all good for something, which I entirely believe; but that, which I also entirely believe, they are not all equally good for the same things and that, therefore, different educational methods must be adapted to fit their different requirements...If therefore, we are ever tempted to depreciate Rousseau and to call him a sentimentalist and other hard names, let us at any rate remember that we owe very largely to him the freedom and flexibility of our present education.[54]

Similarly, the following paragraph, at first sight a tribute to Dewey's idea of "continuous reconstruction of experience", reveals an underlying incompatibility with Dewey's thought:

> Most children are notoriously indifferent to natural beauty, unless it be that of a flower or a shell which they can gather for themselves: it is by practice and experience and the knowledge that comes from both that the eye grows more sensitive and the mind more receptive of its message...It follows that those occupations which most demand skill and courage and trained experience are the most likely to develop the whole character and in it the sense of beauty.[55]

"Occupations", "practice" and "trained experience" almost evoke the most famous of the Deweyite slogans, "learning by doing"; but the realm which is connoted by "the sense of beauty" belongs to a dimension of philosophy which is beyond the reach of Dewey's pragmatism. Dewey greatly underrates the importance in man's life of emotions, spiritual values, and creativity. Despite his qualitative division between "instrumentalities" and intrinsic "worths", he has, apparently, no concept of art for art's sake, nor of the impulse to self-expression of the composer, and the creative element in all art forms. If Dewey went far in his recognition of the value of youthful spontaneity, Hadow went further in his recognition of the fact that "the release of powers should not be any more than a presupposition of education".[56]

While Dewey anchors his educational philosophy in human power, the power of the democratic community, it is clear that Hadow's philosophy is moored in a deeper cosmic dimension. At school he had begun to absorb the intellectual vigour and inquiring spirit of the Greek tradition in the study of classical literature, and his own intellectual development betrayed that twofold tendency of Hellenic civilization: "one passionate, religious, mystical, other-worldly, the other cheerful, empirical, rationalistic, and interested in acquiring knowledge of a diversity of facts".[57] This influence was sustained throughout Hadow's life, and pervades his writings on Music and Education alike.

The most direct influence on Hadow's mature philosophical attitude was probably that of his friend, Sir Henry Jones, who, through his teacher Edward Caird, inherited an unwavering faith in the general principles of Hegelian thought. Most significant in Hadow's case in the feature of interpreting the world in terms of spirit; a feature which has already

revealed itself in Hadow's musical thought. However, Hadow's reverance for patient investigation and respect for natural law was not always in keeping with Hegel's sweeping generalizations, and in a lecture on "The Philosophy of Lord Haldane"[58] Hadow revealed his indebtedness to Hermann Lotze, Haldane's teacher at Gottingen, and "the perfect expositor of a lucid, moderate and high-minded metaphysic":

> If I may add a word of personal testimony it would be that in my early days of philosophical study there was no guide to whom I was more indebted than Lotze: his Logic and his Mikrokomos opened new avenues of approach, and if they did not go the whole length of the journey at any rate set the traveller well upon his way...We in Oxford had a taste for logic and a great predilection for Ethics but we had inherited a formal metaphysic which we regarded with some misgiving, and our knowledge of psychology at that time was practically negligible. We read the Ethics and the Republic, and knew them well, being rightly taught to regard them as the basis of all sound philosophic thinking: but for the rest our necessary equipment was slight. It is true this narrowness of equipment had its partial compensation. We were young and ardent, much given to disputation in debating societies and across College fire-places, we thought things out for ourselves and canvassed with dispassionate freedom every question that came within our purview. But most of our guides in those days were too much addicted to the critical method; we seized upon this gleefully, worrying our subject like the puppies in the Republic, and thus while we sharpened our teeth on the great classics we did not, I think, make full use of them for purposes of nourishment.

Although British empiricist philosophy held no great appeal for Hadow - he was too conscious, perhaps, of the infinite overshadowing us to embrace wholeheartedly its love of exact definition - he entered enthusiastically into the debates of the Philosophical Society, there attracting the attention of the Balliol philosopher T.H. Green;[59] and he did support the position of truth as the essential prize of philosophical inquiry, a position which was irreconcilable with the distinctive proposition

of John Dewey, that inquiry is itself the basis of logic and theory of knowledge. Furthermore, Hadow's concept of education as a means for the perfection of the individual 'soul' and as an enrichment of the spirit of public service had little in common with Dewey's process of "continuing reorganization and reconstruction of experience".

Hadow's ideal education was one which would open the portals to "that vast domain of discovery and research which is set on the conquest of nature" but whose pathways would be dominated always by "a large and sympathetic view of human nature".[60] In discussing the interaction of the two aims of education he described - the aim of self perfection and that of active service - Hadow admitted that

> it is clear that in proportion as we emphasize the former of these two ideals, in such proportion shall we magnify the place which should be occupied in education by the culture of humane letters. For the functions of these is above all things to bring the soul into direct contact with the best and the noblest thought of all ages and in such a way to afford it that training and that discipline by which its highest attributes would be best developed ...for those who are going to follow active pursuits, who are preparing for practical careers, there is still much opportunity for training in the humanities".[61]

While the double thread of Hadow's educational philosophy was not woven into a constant texture - the two strands varied in their degree of strength and prominence throughout his writings - it was drawn from the fabric of English pedagogical tradition and classroom practice, and was often in direct contrast to Dewey's doctines. As has been observed, "On the whole, the English were too pragmatic to be pragmatists";[62] and while there is evidence of considerable affinity with Dewey's thought in both The Education of the Adolescent and in the subsquent report on The Primary School (1931),[63] many of Dewey's principles were unacceptable to the Consultative Committee. The extent to which Hadow himself rejected

the notion of a "child-centred" classroom is revealed in an address which he significantly entitled "The Claims of Scholarship".[64] In this lecture which, not surprisingly, created a considerable stir,[65] Hadow suggested "as part of a remedy for our inaccuracy in middle life, that young people should receive a great deal more of pure verbal memory training". He praised his own preparatory school for its emphasis on narrative from memory,[66] and argued that paraphrasing

> which means the habit of putting our own bad English in place of the author's good English, has been really detrimental to us. It insufficiently develops what is one of the most valuable intellectual assets of the small child. It is no use trying to bring out their reasoning faculties entirely at that age. The strongest power that they possess is the power of assimilation and of remembering what they have assimilated.

The Consultative Committee, although equally unable to accept the implications of Dewey's philosophy, went considerably further than Hadow in adopting and recommending Dewey's methods where these were not in conflict with their own pedagogical principles. There is much evidence of the great ferment occasioned in England at that time by the "project" method and other techniques elaborated by Dewey's disciples; and in the report on The Primary School the committee disclosed that

> We see that the curriculum is to be thought of in terms of activity and experience rather than of knowledge to be acquired and facts to be stored. Its aim should be to develop in a child the fundamental interests of civilised life so far as these powers and interests lie within the compass of childhood....what is needed, therefore, is a new orientation of school instruction which shall bring it into closer correlation with the natural movement of children's minds.

Of course such statements as this could equally have derived from the work of other influential educationists, and in their report on Infant and Nursery Schools (1933) the Consultative Committee professed

reliance not only on Maria Montessori (who attended one of the Committee's meetings to explain her ideas and her material), but on Froebel, Pestalozzi, Margaret McMillan and Gesell. However, Dewey was also acknowledged, and Susan Isaacs, who owed her inspiration largely to Dewey, was named as a particularly important witness. The significant fact is, that whatever the actual source of the Committee's "terms of activity and experience" they are strongly in keeping with Dewey's ideas, and strangely out of keeping with the Committee's principles, which were, indeed, those of the English pedagogical tradition:

> the aims of education do lie beyond the child, and are not to be discovered by studying him: the curriculum consists of independent bodies of knowledge, subjects which have their own nature and discipline, and it is the business of education to introduce the child to these.[67]

Here, perhaps, is the crucial weakness of the three Hadow Reports which dealt with the proposed reorganization of English education.[68] In subjugating methods which properly belonged to one philosophy to the service of a quite conflicting set of principles and values the Committee complicated that confusion of aims and ideals which led to the awkward social comparisons between the 'grammar' and 'secondary modern' schools. As R.R. Rusk observed: "Philosophy formulates what it conceives to be the end of life; education offers suggestions how this end can be achieved".[69] The ideas behind the kind of classroom procedure which Dewey advocated could attain no power in a social system characterized by stratification of classes and by diverse forms of education between which there could be no "parity of esteem". What was needed - and what the Consultative Committee no doubt intended - was

> a skilfully organized, interlocking, intellectually and morally efficient system of carefully graded schools ... each school a separate organism with its own character and life, but feeling too - with profound conviction - that it is part of a national educational service, and therefore that it has to regard the collective interest of the whole as well as its own private interests.[70]

But the catchery of "equal opportunity for every child"[71] presented the Committee with a dilemma which was to perplex many later educationists. The "broad common foundation" of universal education proposed by the Consultative Committee[72] was not unlike this uneasy suggestion by Brookover and Gottlieb, writing in 1964:

> Although a classless society is impossible, conditions may be set up to prevent rigid class distinctions, so that differences between the classes remain relatively invisible and ease of mobility from one class to another is maintained. All youth who are able to acquire the necessary skills should also have the opportunity to move into any social position they choose. Such an equality of opportunity requires a provision for universal acquisition of the skills, habits, and sentiments common to all levels of society. This is one of the functions of mass education.[73]

For Hadow, who held that

> To abolish the distinction between grades of ability, even if it could be done, would be dearly purchased if it involved the obliteration of the different kinds,

there was no question of <u>Equality</u> in education: and it may have been for this reason that Sir Thomas Jones discouraged Lloyd George from inviting Hadow to be President of the Board of Education in 1917, on the grounds that Hadow, although "versatile and quick", was "not a good democrat".[75] Hadow argued for a rich educational variety rooted in the unity of a vital social culture. His elucidation of the role of music in this general cultural scheme will be the topic of the next chapter.

<u>Notes to Chapter 11</u>

1. Public Record Office, Ed. 24/1224, 29/14/13.

2. The Consultative Committee included representatives of the Universities, of Public Elementary and Infant Schools, of Secondary Schools, of Technical and Commercial Schools and Colleges, and of Teachers' Training Colleges. There were also representatives from L.E.A.s, industry and commerce, and organisations of teachers and educational administrators. (See Ed. 24/1225)

3. Public Record Office, Ed. 24/1224. Correspondence: Selby-Bigge to Wood, 11/2/20.

4. See V.C.6, 432 (2/3/20) and 459 (5/3/20). Hadow to Selby-Bigge.

5. Public Record Office, ibid; and letter from Hadow to Grace, 7/3/20.

6. Ernest Barker: "Memories of the Consultative Committee", in Marie Adami's <u>J. George Adami: A Memoir</u>, London, 1930, p.170.

7. ibid.

8. In a reservation published in the Report, Adami objected to the inclusion of standardised scholastic tests under the heading of "psychological tests of educable capacity".

9. <u>Psychological Tests of Educable Capacity</u>, p.62.

10. See "Some Account of the Recent Development of Secondary Schools in England and Wales", Board of Education, 1927, p.17.

11. Eustace Percy: <u>Some Memories</u>, London, 1958, p.95.

12. <u>Times Educational Supplement</u>, 3/8/15, p.97.

13. Cf. articles of 7/9/15, and 8/3/17.

14. For an account of the demise of the Continuation Schools, see J. Dover Wilson: <u>Milestones on the Dover Road</u>, London, 1969, pp.90-94.

15. "Secondary Education for All", p.76.

16. During the debate on the education estimates in July, 1924, Edward Wood said: "...almost the last thing that it fell to me to have the opportunity of doing before the late Government left office, was to give what I conceive to be a very important and valuable reference to the Consultative Committee". (176 House of Commons Debates, 5th Series 1182-3, 22nd July, 1924)

17. Public Record Office, Ed. 24/1227: deputation to Edward Wood by members of the Consultative Committee, prepared by Barker and signed on 6th March, 1923, and Ed. 10/220: correspondence: Wood to Hadow, 20/3/23.

18. Ed. 24/1226. Minutes of the 26th Ordinary Meeting of the Consultative Committee, 25th-26th October, 1923.

19. Ed. 10/220: letter to Hadow 20/3/23, and Ed. 24/1226: memorandum 22/11/23.

20. Ed. 24/1226.

21. ibid., Memorandum 22/11/23.

22. See A.L. Hutchinson: "The Village College and the Hadow Report", Presidential Address to the Association of Educational Officers, July, 1962. (Lent by A.P. Derrington.)

23. Eustace Percy, ibid., p.101.

24. _The Journal of Education_, April, May, June, 1933.

25. _The Education of the Adolescent_, p.23.

26. See _Sheffield Independent_, 7/2/21.

27. _The Times_, 7/10/32.

28. Public Record Office, Ed. 10/147, "Summaries of Evidence", Paper No. P.14(ii).

29. V.C.27, 8.

30. Under Part III of the 1902 Education Act, municipal borough councils and urban district councils with 1901 population figures exceeding certain limits, were made local education authorities for elementary education.

31. Letter from Hadow to R.F. Young (Secretary of the Consultative Committee), 2/11/25. V.C.18, 412.

32. _The Education of the Adolescent_, p.164.

33. ibid., p.165.

34. See Sir Graham Balfour, _Educational Administration_: Two lectures delivered before the University of Birmingham, February, 1921.

35. ibid.

36. Dictionary of National Biography, 1931-40.

37. Letter to M.L.H., 4/11/23.

38. Public Record Office, Ed. 24/1228. Correspondence: Hadow to Fisher 18/2/20 and 18/6/20. Ed. 24/1227: Hadow to Percy, 12/5/25.

39. Letter from Ernest Barker to H.C. Dent, 21/9/59. (Copy lent by A.P. Derrington.)

40. B.B.C. Reference Library, 3rd News Bulletin, 9/4/37.

41. See letters to H.C. Dent concerning a centenary tribute to Hadow, T.E.S. 25/12/59.

42. See R.J.W. Selleck: "The Hadow Report: A Study in Ambiguity", Melbourne Studies in Education, 1972, p.143.cf. The Plowden Report, Children and their Primary Schools, 1967.

43. See, for example, J. Lawson and H. Silver: A Social History of Education in England, London, 1973, pp.387 and 398.

44. In 1894 Dewey became Professor of Philosophy at Chicago University, where he founded a progressive school. In 1899 he published The School and Society, which, like the later Child and the Curriculum, had a direct bearing on the problems of the classroom.

45. See below, Chapter 3.

46. Democracy and Education, London, Macmillan, 1958, p.62.

47. ibid., p.217.

48. ibid., p.26.

49. See Collected Essays, p.262.

50. The Rice Institute Lectures, reprinted in Collected Essays, pp.238-289.

51. See Introduction to The Modern Teacher (ed. A.W. Bain), 1921.

52. "Adult Education": a paper read at the North of England Education Conference, Southport, January 9th and 10th, 1920.

53. op.cit., p.93.

54. "Some Landmarks in Education": address delivered at Birkbeck College, 1927. Reprinted in Collected Essays.

55. Broadcast talk from Sheffield entitled "The Problem of the North" (the first of a series, England's Green and Pleasant Land), 9/5/28.

56. Martin Buber, Between Man and Man, London 1947, p.88.

57. Bertrand Russell, A History of Western Philosophy, London, 1962, (first ed. 1946), p.41.

58. The Haldane Memorial Lecture, Birkbeck College, London, 22nd May, 1931.

59. See letter to M.L.H., 23/10/04.

60. "The Place of Humane Letters in Education": lecture to the Rice Institute, Houston, Texas, 8th April, 1926. See Collected Essays, p.269.

61. ibid. p.261.

62. R.J.W. Selleck: English Primary Education and the Progressives, 1914-1939, London and Boston, 1972, p.114.

63. See W.H. Burston, "The Influence of John Dewey in English Official Reports", International Review of Education, vol.7, no.3, 1961, pp.311-325.

64. Presidential Address delivered at the inaugural meeting of the Twelfth Annual Conference of Educational Associations, University College, Gower St., 1/1/24.

65. See letter to G.R. Richardson, 18/3/24, V.C.15, 277.

66. See below, Chapter 1.

67. W.H. Burston, op.cit.

68. The Education of the Adolescent, 1927 (signed Oct.1926): The Primary School, 1931 (signed Nov.1930): Infant and Nursery Schools, 1933, (signed July, 1933). There was an intervening report on Books in Public Elementary Schools, 1928 (signed July, 1928), whose terms of reference excluded any further investigation into the proposed reorganization.

69. The Philosophical Bases of Education, London, 1956 (1st Ed., 1928), p.6.

70. M.E. Sadler: "England's Need of Commercial Education": the King's Weigh House Lectures to Business Men, 1901.

71. C.P. Trevelyan, President of the Board of Education, at the Scarborough Conference of the N.U.T., 23/4/24:
"All children ought to have an advanced education: all children ought to have an equal chance".
J.L. Garvin, Fifth Shaftesbury Lecture to the Conference of the National Federation of Christian Workers, 5/5/24: "I see no promise, except in the principle of equal opportunity for every child".

72. The Education of the Adolescent, p.74.

73. W.B. Brookover and D. Gottlieb: A Sociology of Education, New York, American Book Co., 1964, p.178.

74. "Some Landmarks in Education", Lecture delivered at Birkbeck College, London, 1927. See Collected Essays, p.299.

75. See Whitehall Diary (ed. Keith Middlemas), Vol.I, 1916-25, London, O.U.P., 1969, p.12.

CHAPTER 12

Music and Education

"Since singing is so good a thing
I wish all men would learne to sing."

William Byrd, Preface to Psalms, Sonets, and Songs of Sadnes and Pietie, 1588.

I

> Just beyond were the new school buildings, expensive pink brick and gravelled playground inside iron railings, all very imposing, and mixing the suggestion of a chapel and a prison. Standard Five girls were having a singing lesson, just finishing the la-me-doh-la exercises and beginning a 'sweet children's song'. Anything more unlike song, spontaneous song, would be impossible to imagine: a strange bawling yell followed by the outlines of a tune. It was not like savages: savages have subtle rhythms. It was not like animals: animals mean something when they yell. It was like nothing on earth, and it was called singing. Connie sat and listened with her heart in her boots, as Field was filling petrol. What could possibly become of such people, a people in whom the living intuitive faculty was dead as nails, and only queer mechanical yells and uncanny will-power remained?[1]

D.H. Lawrence's penetrating exposure of the failure of twentieth century civilization to cope with the forces of industrial life has an application far beyond the colliery town of Tevershall, and far beyond the nineteen twenties. If technology has set in motion an accelerating increase in the "standard of living", supported by public investment in school education as a means of securing the growth of professional skill and the efficiency of mechanism, it has done much to destroy that cultural richness which was once the natural heritage of the English village; and nowhere is this destruction more apparent than in the musical life of the community. Despite the hopes expressed by Cecil Sharp in 1907 that every country village would once again become "a nest of singing birds",[2] those singing birds have remained singularly absent from both the public house and the classroom.

Sharp's optimism is very understandable, however, in view of the quite remarkable popularization of music which took place in England during the early years of this century, and which promised to contribute

significantly to the growth of a vital cultural background. In this movement Hadow played an important part, not only by means of the lectures and addresses which he gave at every opportunity, and which have been mentioned in previous chapters, but through his membership and support of various schemes of musical organization throughout the country.

Hadow was particularly concerned with the work of the Provincial Competition Festivals which he admired because, like those of the older Musical Festivals which survived the first world war - the Three Choirs Festival of Gloucester, Worcester and Hereford, the Welsh Eisteddfodau and the Irish Feis Ceoil - they drew most from local resources and appealed most directly to local sentiment.[3] As President of the British Federation of Musical Competition Festivals, which was incorporated in 1921 "to offer the whole scheme of Festivals an opportunity of working in unity with the greater efficiency which unity brings and under better financial conditions than have prevailed hitherto",[4] Hadow was able to encourage the formation and training of village orchestras and instrumental classes, and the provision of conductors and lecturers "competent to give human and interesting primary education on matters musical".[5] The Secretary of the Festivals Federation, H. Fairfax Jones, recorded after Hadow's death how

> For seven years he never failed to respond to the almost daily calls we made upon him, and his prompt response and definite opinions gave us a foundation on which I hope we shall always build .... We can thank the Providence which made him President of the Federation during its formative years.[6]

The Festivals Federation was strongly backed by the Federation of British Music Industries, which offered the hospitality of its rooms at

117, Great Portland Street, and itself appointed a special committee to help investigate ways and means of promoting musical education throughout England. Sir Hugh Allen, Sir Charles Stanford, Sir Alexander Mackenzie, Sir Arthur Somervell and Frank Roscoe were amongst those who here exchanged ideas with Hadow; and he was also anxious to give full consideration to the work of such bodies as the English Folk Dance Society, The Folk Song Society (which published music),[7] The Church Music Society, and The British Music Society, an institution founded shortly after the war by Eaglefield Hull to extend the knowledge and encourage the performance of music by British composers. Members included such diverse figures as Bernard Shaw, E.J. Dent, Adrian Boult and E.H. Fellowes. Hadow was excited by the prospects of this society, which, besides holding an annual conference in London, had monthly meetings in most of the larger towns of England, gave many opportunities for lectures, organized concerts, started local music libraries, and issued a periodical bulletin. However, despite Hadow's attempts to gain wider support for the Society, its expenses exceeded its receipts, and it was not able to survive into the thirties.

The benefactor to which Hadow chiefly looked for financial aid was the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, whose music sub-committee, guided by Sir William McCormick, (of the University Grants Committee) was keen to encourage the organization of musical life throughout the country. Dissatisfied with existing endowment schemes,[8] the Trust was induced by Hadow to institute a scheme of music prizes to enable English composers to get their works published. "It is, I believe", wrote Hadow to his mother on 8/10/16, "the most useful thing that I have ever done in my life". He served almost continuously as one of the three adjudicators

appointed annually to judge the works submitted;[9] and it was with some pride that Hadow pointed out to the Trust's Secretary, Lt.-Col. J.M. Mitchell, on 31/1/23:

> I am glad to notice that Boughton's Immortal Hour, which but for the Trustees would still be accumulating dust in a cupboard, has just reached its 100th performance in a London theatre.[10]

The Carnegie Trust was also responsible for the publication of Vaughan Williams' London Symphony (the revised version of which was first performed at one of the British Music Society concerts), as well as encouraging the work of many other musicians who were to become well-known: Edgar Bainton, Granville Bantock, Frank Bridge, Herbert Howells, Ivor Gurney, George Dyson, J.B. McEwen, Gustav Holst and Arthur Bliss among them. Philip Napier Miles, Hadow's friend from Oxford days, enjoyed a certain amount of success with his opera Markheim, which received an award from the Trust in 1921.

At the request of the Carnegie Trustees, Hadow had prepared a report on English Music before the end of 1921. He insisted, however, that it be regarded as unsuitable for use by the general public, his many duties having prevented him from making the report as up to date and as comprehensive as he had intended.[11] Moreover, his principal recommendations with regard to policy had already been put before the Trust prior to the publication of the report. By 1920 he had persuaded the Trustees to grant £2000 to the new National Federation of Musical Competition Festivals, and to offer assistance by way of guarantees to orchestras, chamber music groups and dramatic companies touring the smaller towns. Owing to Grace Hadow's demonstration through her work

at Barnett House that "Oxfordshire people do want to read",[12] and her foundation of a Rural Community Council which offered villagers a mobile lending library (originally comprising books contributed from the Y.M.C.A. War Libraries and contained in a veteran van) and sponsored lectures on subjects ranging "from pigs to music",[13] the Carnegie Trustees contributed generously towards the national movement to form Rural Community Councils in every county. Hadow was particularly active in drawing Mitchell's attention to the musical side of the work of Barnett House - "packed audiences for classical concerts: Miss Deneke lecturing on the Carnival with illustrations etc." - and grants were made to help with various aspects of music and drama.

Perhaps of greatest importance was Hadow's inducement of the Carnegie Trustees to finance the publication of the Tudor Music manuscripts which had been discovered in the British Museum, the Bodleian, and the other great libraries. Hadow was convinced of the significance of the work of the English sixteenth century church composers, not only through the research work of such scholars as Barclay Squire, Fuller Maitland, H.B. Collins and Godfrey Arkwright, but through the practical presentation of it given by Sir Richard Terry at Westminster Cathedral, where Hadow frequently attended services, especially in Holy Week.[14] Under the auspices of the Trust, an editorial committee consisting of Terry, P.C. Buck, Alick Ramsbotham, Syliva Warner and E.H. Fellowes was appointed to prepare a scholarly library edition of ten volumes, supplemented by a popular edition of excerpts at cheap prices for the more convenient use by choirs and choral societies. By December, 1921, works representative of Taverner, Tallis, Byrd, Philips, Weelkes, Gibbons and Tomkins were available in octavo, and the first two

folio volumes (Taverner and Byrd) were in the hands of the engravers. Hadow was untiring in his efforts to promote the popularity of the work, and is reported to have exclaimed:

> They call William Byrd the English Palestrina; I shall not rest till Palestrina has been called the Italian Byrd.[15]

To Mitchell he pointed out that

> What we have to emphasise is the importance of the music and its inaccessibility hitherto. About these there can be no question at all. If we emphasise the word 'discovery' we shall only challenge librarians and curators to reply that they did know of the existence of these things, but could make no use of their knowledge.

In May, 1921, he prepared a paper on the Carnegie Tudor Music Edition which Barclay Squire presented at the International Music Conference in Paris, and his lecture on the occasion of the tercentenary of Byrd's death is as felicitous in expression as it is warm in tribute.[16]

Other musical scholars were taking up the same message. W.H. Grattan Flood announced in 1925 that

> No event in musical history is more important than the discovery of our lost Tudor compositions .... It is not too much to say that anyone who, thirty years ago, had estimated our Tudor composers at their true value would have been received with incredulity and in all probability with ridicule.[17]

The success of the Carnegie publication was to some extent revealed in the fact that, while in the introduction to the <u>Studies in Modern Music</u> (1892) Hadow had written,

> The record of our national music, once among the most glorious in the world, has been virtually in abeyance for the past two centuries.... We want to realise once again that distinctive National Art of which the capacity is still latent in the heart of the country,

in English Music (1931) he applauded the music of Vaughan Williams, Holst, Bax and Walton, as reflecting

> ...the development of folk music, the discovery of the Tudor classics, and the influence on both of new musical idioms and resources, indicating the advance we have already made and the auguries which it gives of a more extensive progress in the future.

However, after the appearance of the final Folio volume in 1929 (fifty separate pieces for church performances having been completed in 1926), the Trust was unable to finance the production of further volumes. Hadow was dismayed, most particularly because of the omission of Tye, on whom he had hoped Godfrey Arkwright would contribute a volume;[18] but the Trustees were persuaded that they ought not to devote so large a proportion of their funds to any single cause.

II

The next musical publication which the Trust sponsored was indeed of an entirely different nature: that of the Report of the Cambridgeshire Council of Musical Education on Music and the Community (1933). Hadow's voice as a member of the committee responsible for the production of the report is clearly sounded, above all in the richly evocative introduction, which echoes, often almost exactly, 'key' passages in Hadow's lectures and essays.

> The principal aim, the introduction to the report acclaims, is to establish a general musical culture which all alike, in their several degrees, can turn to account. Music, in short, is treated as a department of humane letters, not restricted to the needs of stage or platform but open to all who can learn to listen and understand.

The assertion that "music is a language like English or French or German" and should be treated "as seriously as we treat literature", is that made in Hadow's Rice Institute lectures;[19] and the insistence that music "cannot be translated into the terms of another medium .... its meaning is intrinsic, intimate, determined by the principle of its own structure and the euphony of its own style" brings to mind both Hadow's dissertation on "The Balance of Expression and Design in Music" and his declaration to Philip Heseltine that, in matters concerning methods of musical education, "my principal enemy is the pernicious habit of interpreting music through concepts".[20] That Hadow had always been suspicious of a narrowly programmatic approach to musical interpretation is evident.[21] Moreover, a manuscript which has been preserved at Worcester College, Oxford, offers a clear exposition of Hadow's ideas concerning musical education in schools, and reveals unmistakable evidence

of the influence of these ideas on the Cambridgeshire Committee. Entitled "The Place of Music in Post-Primary School Education", and dated 1926, it opens with the central notion of the Cambridgeshire report, that

> The aim of music teaching considered as part of a school curriculum should be rather the cultivation of a taste than the acquirement of a proficiency: it should lay the foundation for intelligent study and enjoyment of music in after life.

The principal points emphasised in both documents are that

(a) The pieces of music chosen for school study "should be short .... simple, melodious, and easily remembered. But in no case should they fall below a recognized standard of excellence in their kind".

(b) "The practice of class singing should begin as early as possible and be continued through the whole course of the school life .... The development of the corporate spirit is one of the prime objects of education".

(c) "The course should be graded and consecutive; it should be founded on good voice-production; it should aim at the correlation of eye and ear ... it should throughout follow and encourage the natural love of music with which almost all children are endowed."

The suggestion of the Cambridgeshire Committee that

> Both notations should be adopted: the Tonic Sol-fa first, because it is the easier for young singers and because it encourages and strengthens the sense of tonality; the Staff Notation after, and closely overlapping, because it is the current and accepted alphabet of our musical language,

is also in keeping with Hadow's opinions on this subject.[22]

With regard to the teaching of music to children in elementary schools Hadow was less outspoken. He wrote on 9/3/22 to a correspondent

seeking advice, that

> I know nothing whatever about the teaching of music to young children; I had never any connexion with it or studied the methods of other people in the matter.[22a]

He did, nevertheless, support the Dalcroze Society as its President, recognising that the system of eurythmics, through its training in coordinated movement and development of the sense of rhythm, laid a sound musical basis.

> There is little doubt, wrote Hadow, that Rhythm is the earliest aspect of music which appeals to children. It is, through the whole of our life, the pulse by which the vitality of music can most readily be measured.[23]

He also argued that

> Our whole appreciation of poetic form is greatly enhanced if we can approach that difficult and elusive subject from the side of musical tones and rhythm. To give one tiny instance: I once took a very intelligent French Pupil through the first book of Paradise Lost and found it very difficult to persuade him that the work was written in verse until I called the piano to my assistance.[24]

It was this insistence on approaching the study of music as "a fruitful branch of humane letters" which was Hadow's particular contribution to music in education, and which was most resoundingly presented in the lectures he delivered under the auspices of the Rice Institute Lectureship in Music in Houston, Texas, on 7th, 8th, and 9th April, 1926. Here maturity of judgement and experience combine with concinnity of thought and style in an argument so powerful that it still reverberates today. At the Fourteenth Symposium of the Colston Research Society in Bristol, 1962, Dr. H. Lowery, referring to Hadow as one of the "great musical educators", pleaded for an "acceptance of

the ideals in education advanced by Aristotle and Plato", on the grounds that these are "as vital now as.....2,000 years ago, indeed, possibly more so due to the unprecedented advance in the externals of civilization".[25] He echoed Hadow's argument that "while discrimination and maturity of judgement only come with the growth of years, it is much more likely to be a gradual exercise if founded on a solid tradition of excellence".

Rosamund Shuter, in The Psychology of Musical Ability (1968), also emphasized that

> Perhaps the most fundamental aim of all music teaching is developing the love of the beautiful in music. It would seem a basic requirement for a music teacher to feel confident in the power of music to attract and in the child's capacity to respond.[26]

Hadow carried this conviction to a point of conceding that "appreciation could best be taught not by refusing to let people hear second rate music, but simply by putting the very best music in their way.[27]

III

Although less interested in the psychology of music teaching than, say, Percy Buck,[28] Hadow recognised no less clearly that the concerns of art are intuitive and subjective, that its knowledge is a vision which must be lived and experienced, and that the teacher can be no more than an agent of enlightenment. Hadow's interest in courses of musical instruction therefore focussed on those schemes which encouraged the growing awareness of the student by bringing him into contact with music of a type suited to his level of attainment and understanding, and by developing his capabilities by means of systematic ear-training and explanation of musical form. "As with great sculpture", he asserted, "music should always be taught from the living model".[29] He was at first wary of the gramophone, but came gradually to appreciate its obvious practical uses in allowing a wider audience access to an ever increasing quantity of recorded music;[30] and he took much interest in Percy Scholes' attempt to use the pianola as an instrument in musical appreciation. Indeed, Hadow himself composed one pianola roll in the "Running Comment" series edited by Scholes and published by the Aeolian Company, for use on their "Duo-Art Piano", an instrument which reproduced individual performances of pianists. A British Committee, which included amongst its members H. Wood, A.C. Mackenzie, Landon Ronald, H.P. Allen, J.C. Bridge, and C.H. Kitson, promoted the use of this method of musical study in various English public schools and the system was widely used in America.

Hadow entertained much respect for the American musical appreciation movement and he frequently exchanged notes and ideas with Arthur Whiting, Richard Aldrich, and Thomas Whitney Surette.[31] Like Surette, Hadow encouraged the work of the University Extension Delegacy, and he had established a strong connection with the extension department of Oxford University before Surette's appointment there in 1909.[32] Walter Raymond Spalding, the Music Professor at Harvard, stayed with him in August, 1920; and Hadow was British President of the Anglo-American Conference on Music held in Lausanne in August, 1929, attended by some 400 educationists.[33] However, it is significant that Hadow's own contribution to the literature of music in education had a uniquely English bearing.

Songs of the British Isles, published by Curwen in 1903, was the direct outcome of Hadow's attempts to improve the standard of music which was heard in schools. On 4/5/02 he told his mother how

> On Friday night I preached to the Teacher's Guild on British National Songs. Not a lecture, but an attack on the absurd little songs which children are taught to sing in primary schools, and an appeal to substitute national melodies instead. Grace sang for me and had a first rate reception.

The address was indeed received with enthusiasm and applause, the chairman praising it as "one of the most fascinating lectures ever heard in this room".[34]

Although Hadow was not in favour of the prescription of song books by the educational authorities, believing that it was "best in the long run to allow freedom of choice",[35] he evidently saw the need for a book which would provide teachers with a ready selection of songs of educational value, and with a standard of excellence by which to judge further material. He therefore set about editing a number of traditional

songs and instrumental tunes. Despite some unfortunate attempts to adapt or alter the words of songs to fit certain ideas as to what was suitable for the young - as in the case of "Gossip Joan" changed to "Song of the Loom", Moore's "Believe me if all these endearing young charms" replaced by a "Wanderer's Song", and the "Flight of the Earls", which appeared, somewhat astonishingly, as "Evening Song" - the accompaniments displayed both good taste and good sense. Arthur Somervell, with whom Hadow was to achieve much in improving the standard and value of school music examinations, and who was then the recently appointed Inspector of Music in Schools and Training College, was quick to advocate the use of the book.[36]

Songs of the British Isles also enjoyed some success in the public schools, where many of the music masters were known to Hadow;[37] and the review in The Times of 2/10/03, although not uncritical, was sufficiently favourable to promote Hadow's reputation as a musical educationist to be reckoned with. Some eighteen months later the School Music Union was formed. This society had for its object the advancement of music in secondary schools for girls, and included in its ranks Hadow (as President), Sir Alexander Mackenzie, Sir Frederick Bridge, Sir Edward Elgar, and Sir Charles Stanford.[38] However, despite this administrative backing, and the fact that in October, 1904, the Board of Education requested Hadow to compile a list of folksongs for use in schools - a task he undertook "on condition that Arthur Somervell revises it as he likes"[39] - little headway was made. On 30th May, 1920, Hadow wrote to Grace:

> I'm lecturing to Sheffield schools on 'School Songs' shortly. Do you remember our joint entertainment on that subject at Oxford years ago? That lit a candle which is not yet put out.

The report of the Consultative Committee to the Board of Education on Books in Public Elementary Schools was also optimistic. While it pointed out that "the supply of suitable books of songs and musical games for infants and for young children between the ages of eight and ten was rather scanty and frequently of poor quality", it conceded that "for older children there is an abundant supply of song books with words, books of exercises in sight reading, and copies of sheet music by good composers". The committee accounted for the fact that "the level of proficiency in sight reading was much lower in many schools than it ought to be" from "failure to provide separate class books in music ... chiefly due to the cost of such books". Music publishers, they claimed, should advertise their productions more extensively among teachers; and, if they could lower their prices, the problem would be all but solved.[40]

IV

There were certainly indications of a profound change in the attitude of educationists towards music as a non-vocational pursuit. From being thought of as an accomplishment for young ladies, or as Hadow put it, a "reluctant substitute for cricket, all the more bitter because it carried the suspicion of an unmanly preference",[41] music was beginning to be thought of as a subject of definite educational value. In the public schools eminent musicians like David at Uppingham, Peppin at Rugby, Beachcroft at Clifton, Thatcher at Charterhouse and Spurling at Oundle were gaining the respect accorded to the other masters, and Basil Johnson was eventually deemed eligible for admission to the Common Room at Eton.[42]

"The principal girls' schools too are coming into line", Hadow informed Surette in 1922.

> I saw the other day a selection of most interesting compositions, some fully scored, by the Sixth Form of St. Paul's Girls' School, London, where Holst is music master. There could not have been any of this sort of thing ten years ago. I am, therefore, entirely hopeful.[43]

Indeed, sufficient headway had been made by the early 1930s in establishing a place for music in the general school curriculum for Hubert Foss, the head of the music department of Oxford University Press, to claim that

> The idea that music is something for the specially musical has died of inanition: the more creative idea that it is important for everyone as an educational factor as much as a means of self-expression - in the regular sides of life, mark you - has now taken its place.[44]

The Cambridgeshire Report, he declared, revealed

> the meaning of the change of music's place in education during living memory .... For it is wholly concerned with the unmusical members of the community, with non-vocational training, with the ideal of the better man, and not only the better musician, as its goal.[45]

In connection with this document he hailed Hadow as "perhaps the greatest educational factor of our day".[46]

Music in the schools could not flourish, however, unless it were rooted in the richer cultural environment of the wider society; and it is ironical that at the very time when Hadow's life-long efforts to spread the liberalising influence of music were at last appearing to bear fruit, there began that relentless alteration in the structure of society which confronted the educator with new and complex problems. People, while most in need of that intelligent possession of their humanity which Hadow hoped would be transmitted through the cultural activities of the educational and artistic organizations he served, found themselves increasingly deprived of the kind of village or community life in which those organizations could most effectively function.

"I do not believe", wrote Grace Hadow in 1928,

> that the contribution of rural England to our national life lies in any form of urbanization, but rather in developing on definitely rural lines, essentially rural qualities. The recent movement for adult education in rural areas has a special interest of its own, and seems likely to prove of permanent value in our national life, because it springs out of village conditions as they actually are. Under all diversity lies our common patriotism, our common local needs, our intimate knowledge of each other .... the old traditions of village unity remain....[47]

Not, however, for long. That growing confusion in civilization, which D.H. Lawrence with his poet's vision had already discerned in the

industrial community, had begun in earnest. While the derelict country villages and industrial areas of the 1930s emptied their restless population into the cities, much of Hadow's hard work in encouraging rural and provincial cultural activities was undermined. The fate of the British Music Society was symptomatic.

Music was burdened with a new and unforseen dual function. Radio sets, which the "New Ventures" Committee[48] had seen as instruments of culture, meant to provide the average man with access to personal growth and instruction, were relegated to providing a diversion from the addiction to mechanism, from the new tedium of time. As a kind of perpetual "wall paper in soft motion",[49] music was no longer an expression of individual vitality; it became indeed a psychological aspirin, a soporific drug to lull the victims of the depression - and the later victims of supermarkets. On the other hand, music had to meet the need for a common vessel to contain the "spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings" which could no longer find an outlet in the forgotten folk-songs of pre-war village life. It is this role of music which has been most obviously exploited by commercialism.

The growth of a commercial "pop" culture and its intrusion into the life of the adolescent in particular has been most effectively described by David Holbrook. In _English in Australia Now_ (1972), he has this to say:

> I believe that 'pop' culture is no genuine democratic development, but rather an ersatz form of pseudo-culture purveyed by a small group of impressarios whose attitude to the public is dictatorial and authoritarian, whose major interest is commercial, and whose concern for the public is nil. These individuals are, above all, concerned to make it impossible for any real alternatives to develop .... The result is cultural pollution on a grand scale, unprecedented in the history of the world. And it is bringing rapid and disastrous dehumanization, especially in those countries where cultural and intellectual standards are weak.

Although Holbrook has perhaps over-simplified things in blaming 'pop' so exhaustively for the decay in artistic taste, and though he has been somewhat indiscriminate in condemning it out of hand in all its manifestations, it is important to bear in mind that behind the "strange bawling yell",

> "You got me hung up,
> Yeah, you treat me like dirt",

there lies a vast financial complex and commitment. Somehow records must be cut, contracts drawn up, names like 'Thud', 'Eros', 'The Good Rats', assigned. And an examination of the 'pop' lyrics does give substance to Holbrook's anxiety.[50] Take, for instance, "Many Times Jimbo" from Terrible Tunes Inc. (1968):

> "You never wash away the stain
> By standing in the rain
> You'll only rust your chain and
> I told you so, told you so
> Many times Jimbo
> Look out for Limbo
> Oh, no
> You there in the garden
> What was that you ate
> Don't expect a pardon
> Just accept your fate..."

and "Rain":

> "Filter the rain
> A soft movement comes near
> Hide in the dark
> Amongst a storm of rain
> Photographs of years insane
> Driving years
> For our sincere
> People smile at high tide
> Covering years they had cried..."

The "absurd little songs" of which Hadow complained to Grace came nowhere near the hideous grotesqueness of these lines. Indeed, it is perhaps as well that in "pop" the words are frequently not really heard

at all. The emphasis has been more and more on the development of sound techniques which rely for their effect on distortion, electronic overtones, exaggerated use of the echo chamber, and so on. One remembers Hadow's warning in 1925:

> We (for the first time in history so far as I can tell) are actually taking pleasure in ugly sound....instruments and combinations of instruments which are actually evil in tone....I am very much afraid that...we may lose a precious gift of musical sensitiveness to which a very great part of artistic pleasure is due...I think there is a danger of our having too much noise and not enough selection.[51]

The output of pop is now massive. According to one writer,[52] the various record companies in Britain in 1973 between them issued something like a hundred pop 'singles' a week. But all this pouring out of disques has no more to do with music than building taller buildings in New York has to do with architecture, or Billy Graham getting more people through the turnstiles has to do with Christianity. As Kierkegaard observed, "Everyone in whom an animal disposition is predominant believes firmly that millions are more than one; whereas spirit is just the opposite - that one is more than millions, and that every man can be the one." Music by its very nature relates to the one rather than to the millions. It reflects the fundamental truth that only in living individuals is life there, and individual lives cannot be equated or dealt with quantitatively in any way. Pop music is in this regard more often than not non-music, comparable with those coffee-table non-books which do not need to be read at all. The role of photography in pop, the coruscations of brilliance and low lights of the discotheque are of the greatest significance. It is the eye, not the ear, which hungers and is given sustenance here.

The fragmentation of musical life in England, and the neglect of the mainstream of musical culture in favour of a generally hackneyed and shallow form of entertainment is not surprising. Pop is made attractive by its very banality in a world characterised by a confusion of political and spiritual tensions. What is surprising is the fact that, even if the prism has been shattered, the colours are still there, and much that is truly creative and vital continues to be accomplished in both "serious" music and within the sphere of pop itself. If this vitality can be unified, if successful links can be established between what the majority of young people regard as "their" culture and what they have still to possess, the multiple associations that express the richness and variety of our society may yet find in music the beginnings of a common culture. As Stuart Hall and Paddy Whannel have observed:

> In some way difficult precisely to define, the vigour of popular art - whether communally or individually made - and the relevance of serious art are bound indissolubly together. So that when we look at the new media - especially those where fragmentation between popular and serious is not yet complete (like the cinema) - we are showing a proper concern, not only for the moments of quality in the popular arts, but for the condition and quality of imaginative work of <u>any</u> level and thus for the quality of the culture as a whole. It is this care for the quality of the culture - rather than the manufacture and manipulation of levels of taste - which is the ultimate <u>educational</u> responsibility we try to focus here.[53]

Hadow's precepts concerning the role of music in education offer much guidance as to possible means of securing a greater "quality of imaginative work", and many of his ideas have been insufficiently considered. Educationalists have not, for example, properly investigated

the psychological and socialising effects of music indicated by Hadow in his three fold address on "The Place of Music in Life", nor has there been any assessment of the extent to which the musical receptivity of children may be inpaired by their subjection to the wholesale non-selective output of questionable music now exuded by the media.

To Yeats' cry:

> "How but in custom and in ceremony
> Are innocence and beauty born?"[54]

we have yielded no response; we have abdicated our concern for the celebration of beauty and creativity; and the result is an impoverished culture, already inadequate to the avalanche of turbulent experiences engulfing our society, and fast losing its symbolic content in the tedious violence of "Starsky and Hutch" television and the insipid cliches of pulp literature and the public-house juke box.

> Let us, wrote Hadow, shake off the mental indolence which shrinks from the trouble of a decision; let us form our judgement by a study of the great Masters and apply it to a generous appreciation of the Art of our own day; let us find our pleasure where it is purest and most enduring, and it will be added to our reward that we should share in the winning of a national cause.[55]

This is a plea to which we should pay considerable heed.

Notes to Chapter 12

1. D.H. Lawrence, Lady Chatterley's Lover, Penguin Books, 1961, p.158. (First edition, 1928)

2. Cecil Sharp, English Folksong: Some Conclusions, 1907.

3. See British Music, Carnegie United Kingdom Trustees, Dunfermline, 1921, p.11.

4. See V.C.10, 160. Circular of 5/12/21.

5. The British Music Bulletin, Vol.IV, April, 1922, p.76.

6. Letter to Grace, 21/4/37.

7. These two societies amalgamated in 1932 as the English Folk Song and Dance Society.

8. Bodleian Library, Oxford: Fisher Papers, Box 8A: Private Diary, November 1917-1918: "..The funds for the Libraries mainly gone on bricks and mortar; the organs have encouraged a very inferior race of church organ builders". (Dinner conversation with McCormick, 25/7/18)

9. Granville-Bantock, D. Godfrey, H.P.Allen, Bax, Vaughan Williams, and Gustav Holst all were members at one time or another of the adjudicating panel.

10. Letter to Lt.-Col. J.M. Mitchell, 31/1/23. V.C.13, 78. Subsequent to the publication of the opera by the Trust, the Birmingham Repertory Company brought its production of The Immortal Hour to the Regent Theatre, where it was given this long run.

11. See Eighth Annual Report of the Carnegie Trust, p.19.

12. Helena Deneke, Grace Hadow, London, 1946, p.88.

13. V.C.8, 368, to Mitchell, 7/3/21.

14. E.H. Fellowes, Memoirs of an Amateur Musician, London, 1946, p.127. See also correspondence to M.L.H.

15. H.C. Colles, William Henry Hadow, The Musical Times, May, 1937, p.405.

16. See Collected Essays, "William Byrd, 1623-1923".

17. Early Tudor Composers, London, 1925.

18. V.C.8, 950. Letter to Mitchell, 24/5/21.

19. See Collected Essays, p.276.

20. V.C.14, 799, 16/1/24.

21. See letter to Balfour, 20/1/1896.

22. V.C.5, 668, to John McAdam, 24/10/19.

22a. V.C.10, 606.

23. Preface to Jaques Dalcroze, Rhythm, Music and Education, London, 1921, p.V. See also Report of Conference of Educational Associations, 1932.

24. Introduction to A.H. Peppin, Public Schools and their Music, London, 1927, p.21.

25. "Music in Education": Proceedings of the 14th Symposium of the Colston Research Society, Bristol, 1962, p.4.

26. p.252.

27. The Times, 9/8/33.

28. See P.C. Buck, The Scope of Music, (1923) and Psychology for Musicians (1944).

29. Report of the Twelfth Annual Conference of Educational Associations, London, 1924, p.315.

30. cf. letters of 21/5/21 (V.C.8, 924) and 2/3/25 (V.C.17, 101).

31. See Chapter 4

32. The Oxford University Vacation course of August, 1907, arranged by the Extension Delegacy, and focussing on aspects of German education, included Lord Haldane, Donald Tovey, Ernest Newman, R.R. Terry and Hadow.

33. See the School Music Review, 15/9/29, p.118.

34. The Musical Herald, 1/6/02.

35. ibid.

36. ibid.

37. Hadow's school friend Basil Johnson was music master at Rugby before becoming Precentor of Eton (see letter to M.L.H., 18/3/06), and many of the Organ Scholars at Worcester College during Hadow's time there later took up school music. Notable were P.C. Buck at Harrow, B.J.F. Picton at Fettes, R.S. Thatcher at Charterhouse and R.O. Beachcroft at Clifton.

38. See the Musical News, 7/5/04 and the Musical Herald, 1/6/05.

39. Letter to M.L.H., 30/10/04.

40. See p.48 ff.

41. Introduction to A.H. Peppin, Public Schools and their Music, Oxford, 1927.

42. See Hubert Foss, Music in my Time, London, 1933, p.205.

43. 16/6/22, V.C.12, 137.

44. op.cit., pp.203-4.

45. op.cit., pp.208-9.

46. op.cit., p.210.

47. Article on "Rural Adult Education", reproduced in Helene Deneke, Grace Hadow, pp.102-7.

48. See Chapter 10

49. Radio broadcast by Professor George Steiner, 17/9/74.

50. See in particular English for Maturity, University Press, Cambridge, 1961.

51. Address delivered in the Parry Room, Royal College of Music, 27/5/25, and printed in the R.C.M. Magazine, 1925, under the title "The Direction of Music".

52. Ken Barnes, Twenty Years of Pop, London, 1973.

53. The Popular Arts, London, 1964, pp.84-5.

54. "A Prayer for my Daughter" (Michael Robartes and the Dancer, 1921).

55. Studies in Modern Music I, p.68.

CONCLUSION

"In a word, what is Man altogether, but one mighty inconsistency."

Letter from Alexander Pope to
John Caryll, 14 August, 1713.

On 18th November, 1928, Hadow wrote to his sister Grace, with whom he had long planned to live after his retirement:

> I have to say something which will bring you a sorrow, and God knows how I hate the thought of that. But it must be said.
>
> I have grown very fond of Edith Troutbeck and have told her so. I can't bear to think how this will hurt you, but I feel that when I leave Sheffield (there is no question till then) I ought to go to her....My own happiness at winning Edith's love, and it is a great happiness, is dearly bought by bringing sorrow to you.

Hadow's marriage to Edith Troutbeck,[1] who had been a close friend since they met in Switzerland in 1896,[2] took place on 2nd April, 1930, and the couple settled at 13, Belgrave Road, London, to a life which offered Hadow easy and frequent access to the library and pen. Here he wrote his two excellent little surveys on <u>English Music</u> (1931) and <u>Wagner</u> (1934), and contributed essays to H.J. Foss's anthology <u>The Heritage of Music</u> (1934) and to Turberville's <u>Johnson's England</u> (1933). The hectic rhythm of the Sheffield years gave way to a more leisured pulse and to a less strenuous round of social activity. Hadow's services as an adviser to national bodies was still in demand and it was under his leadership that the "Report on the Qualities, Recruitment, Training and Promotion of Local Government Officers" was produced in 1934. He was then invited to a committee of the Council for Regulating the Religious Education of the Church of England; "but", he informed Grace (10/6/34), "I have had enough of committees and respectfully declined". Two years later he succumbed to illness. The only report of his state of mind as his life drew to its close is one of serenity and composure:

> When I last saw him shortly before his death, wrote H.C. Colles, I told him of the prominent place which was given to the music of William Byrd in the Coronation Service. He murmured, 'Good: that's very good'.[3]

Hadow died on 8th April, 1937, his wife having predeceased him on 15th March. Grace was with him at the last.

The references made to Hadow in the writings of his contemporaries are surprisingly few; and Mrs. Fisher's allusion to "our old friend Sir Henry Hadow" in the introduction to her husband's <u>An Unfinished Autobiography</u> (London, 1940) indicates some unfortunate omissions in the book. Fisher himself referred to Hadow in a letter to Grace (13/4/37) as "the happiest and most enviable of my friends", and their careers had much in common. Indeed, Lloyd George would have offered Hadow the office of President of the Board of Education had Fisher refused the post in December, 1916.[4] Hadow, however, had no wish to take advantage of the several opportunities he later had to stand for the presidency, and his support of Fisher was strong and unwavering.[5] It was he who suggested that Fisher should present the proposals of the 1918 Education Bill to the public in a series of provincial tours,[6] believing with Lord Haldane that people were "not yet informed of the heavy task of a Minister of Education";[7] and in 1922 he urged Fisher to ignore the opposition of the N.U.T. as "a monstrous piece of ingratitude".[8] Some further indication of the extentto which Hadow was devoid of petty rivalry is found in his attitude to the almost simultaneous publication of his book on <u>Citizenship</u> and that of Fisher's <u>The Common Weal</u>. Both books were the outcome of lectures delivered in Glasgow under the auspices of the Stevenson Trust. Hadow's lectures were given in the spring and

autumn of 1922, Fisher's the following year. When sending his friend Gorell a copy of Citizenship, Hadow remarked that "I have beaten Fisher by a short head, but am very much afraid of the decision when it comes to the weights".[9] To Fisher himself Hadow wrote,

> I have just spent a delightful evening with The Common Weal. The difference between your book and mine is that you are sitting inside the house and I am on the door step. All the way through yours one gets the feeling of first hand knowledge not only of books, but of things, and it gives you a great weight and importance...[10]

Where there are accounts of the effect Hadow had on others, the reports are often contradictory. While Lord Gorell, for example, emphasised Hadow's self-effacement, Sir Andrew McFadyean recalled:

> My mental picture of him shows him walking rather rapidly from one end to the other of the platform in the Hall of Worcester, with his hands behind his back and a notebook held there....What I do remember with complete clarity is the way in which, certainly without consulting any notes, he would suggest that a passage in the Republic should be compared with something, for instance, 'in the Theatetus at 105D; you'll find it towards the bottom of the left hand page'. If there was a little vanity in that display of local memory it was harmless and endearing.[11]

Both the pencil drawing of Hadow by Rothenstein (1920) and the portrait of him by L. Leslie Brooke (1917-18) convey the impression of an austerity tempered by keen sensitivity; and the reach of Hadow's personal charm is indicated by the reminiscences of Sir Harry Brittain and Sir Bertram Long, who were able to recall him, in 1969, with surprising vividness.

> Indeed I can see him now, wrote Sir Bertram Long, with his 'square' well back on his head - and he had a very high forehead - his hands behind his back but beneath his gown striding along at no inconsiderable pace. I well remember that he affected a very fine check suit, such as was normally associated with Newmarket Hunts. In his case his obvious indifference to the uses of press or iron served to dissipate that impression. It was said that often he felt, or his scout told him, he should visit his tailor, his visit consisted of putting his head round the door, and saying only 'this suit as before! Good morning'.[12]

It would appear, however, that Hadow's tendency to extend to more intimate surroundings the mannerisms which made him so forceful and engaging as a lecturer resulted at times in an impression of formality and coldness. Dr. A.W. Chapman's description of Hadow's "rather terrifying way of conducting an interview" is a case in point:

> Taking his visitor into the big Council Room next to his private office, Hadow would seat him at one end and, himself going to the other, would march backwards and forwards the whole time, talking at the top of his voice. A very different picture, however, emerges from his letters. Learned, witty, and delightfully phrased as they are, even when dealing with the most ordinary matters, they also reveal a kindliness and warm human feeling, and understanding of the troubles of the ordinary student and the anxieties of his parent, that would have amazed many of those who met Hadow only casually or on formal occasions. [13]

The recording of a talk by Hadow on Schubert, given for the B.B.C. in 1928, affords evidence of the sheer momentum of Hadow's speech, which may have overawed some people. Words are rapped out with the relentless precision of a ticker-tape, and would in fact become monotonous were it not for the musical variation of the vowels, a cunning use of the rising cadence, and a curious high-pitched intonation which reveals traces of a rich Gloucestershire burr. Hadow's quickness is grasping the essential point, be it of an address, a discussion, or an interview, led him at times to react in a fashion which could be taken to be abrupt, impatient, or even rude. His eagerness to make use of every available minute of time was mistaken for discourtesy by some witnesses to the Consultative Committee, who were not accustomed to the chairman's somewhat alarming rate of thought and expression, and who were taken aback by his

questioning.[14] H.C. Dent described how Hadow

> shot sixteen questions at me in as many minutes. The barrage left me breathless, him unaffected: without a pause he went on to grill my fellow witness in similar fashion.[15]

But while the members of the Committee also admitted that Hadow was "not a patient man", they nearly all were in accord with Barker's view that "We were a body of good friends and Hadow was the cement of our friendship".[16] As Lynda Grier pointed out, Hadow's impatience was no deterrent to those who were "able and vigorous";[17] and it is interesting that Hadow's friends - men like Graham Balfour, Bruce Richmond, and Lord Gorell - were themselves imbued with anunusual degree of energy and vitality. Great men, indeed, appear to have admired and like him. His encounters with men of note, beginning with his interview with Brahms, were singularly successful; and the poet W.B. Yeats thought so well of him as to present him with the original holograph of "The Lake Isle of Innisfree".[18] There are also inconsistencies, even contradictions, in Hadow's writings: but they are absorbed as merely contrasting colours in a more durable fabric. As Colles observed, "he never confounded scholarship with mere acquisition of knowledge".[19] Far from being a crude mass of information, his scholarship was a habit of mind, a mould not impressed from without, but fashioned from within. The "ideal of self-perfection and that of active service" were woof and warp not only of his educational philosophy, but of his life in general. The same double thread is apparent in what is known of his personal as well as his public life, and gives that essential unity to his work and being which is one of the manifestations of greatness. He expressed above all the indomitable joyfulness of knowledge which is informed by the power of combination, by singleness of vision, by a spirit of beauty.

The value of Hadow's writings today lies in the extent to which they reveal to us a mind which had thoroughly mastered its perspective.

Notes to Conclusions

1. Second daughter of John Troutbeck (1832-1899), Precentor of Westminster, musical educationalist and translator.

2. See letter to M.L.H., August 23-30, 1896.

3. The Musical Times, May, 1937, p.406.

4. Thomas Jones: Whitehall Diary I, London, 1969, ed. K. Middlemas, p.12 and Obituary in The Times, 11/4/37.

5. See Letters to Grace, 24/6/22, 13/2/26, to Miers, 17/1/22 (V.C.10,261) and to Rothenstein, 9/11/22 (V.C.12, 726).

6. British Journal of Educational Studies, Vol. XVIII, No.8, Oct.1920,p.269.

7. Bodleian Library, H.A.L. Fisher Papers, Box 5, letter to Mrs. Fisher, 16/5/17.

8. ibid. Box 1-2, letter from Hadow to Fisher, 18/5/22.

9. Letter to Lord Gorell, 19/11/23 (V.C.14, 469).

10. Letter to Fisher, 11/3/24 (V.C.15, 233).

11. Sir Andrew McFadyean, Recollected in Tranquillity, London 1964, p.34.

12. Correspondence from Sir Bertram Long , 21/7/69, to A.P. Derrington. See also Sir Harry Brittain, Pilgrims and Pioneers, 1946, p.23.

13. A.W. Chapman, The Story of a Modern University, 1955, p.303.

14. Letter to H.C. Dent from Evan T. Davis, 23/9/59. Copy lent by A.P. Derrington.

15. Times Educational Supplement, 25/12/59, p.771.

16. Letter to Dent, 29/9/59.

17. Letter to Dent, 16/10/59.

18. Lord Gorell, One Man, Many Parts, 1956, p.12. Hadow first met Yeats in 1916, at tea with the Rothensteins at Oakridge, but there is no further mention of him in the surviving correspondence until August, 1924, when, with G.K. Chesterton, Augustus John, Sir Edwin Lutyers and Sir Compton MacKenzie he was invited by Dr. Oliver St. J. Gogarty to attend the festival of Aanoch Tailteann in Dublin.(See letter to Balfour, 30/4/1916.) See letters to Grace, 14/6/24 and 6/8/24 and Sir E.M. Compton MacKenzie, My Life and Times, VI, 1963, p.39.

19. The Musical Times, May 1937, p.404.

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The Malvernian

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Music and Letters

The Musical Times

The Musical Standard

The Music Student (Magazine of the Home Music Study Union)

Newcastle Daily Chronicle

The Oxford Times

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Newspaper Library, Colindale.

Other material has been lent by Miss Enid M. Hadow and by Mr. A.P. Derrington of De La Salle College, Manchester, who have been most generous in their assistance and encouragement.

<u>APPENDICES</u>

I	Hadow: Family Tree.
II	Glossary of those of Hadow's friends most frequently referred to in the text.
III	Music of W.H. Hadow.
IV	Musical Examples.
V	Extract from "The Musical Gazette", Dec. 1899.
VI	Introduction to the Students' Handbook, Sheffield University, 1922.
VII	Letter to Professor Mawer, Liverpool University, concerning the establishment of a Department of Music.
VIII	Selected correspondence.

APPENDIX I

APPENDIX II

Selective Glossary of Hadow's Friends

BAILEY, John Cann (1864-1931)

Literary critic and essayist. Educated at Haileybury and New College, Oxford (M.A. 1887). Barrister-at-law, Inner Temple, 1892. Deputy-Editor of the Quarterly Review, 1907-8 and again 1909-10. Chairman (1912-15) and President (1925-26) of the English Association, Chairman of the National Trust, 1923-31; Warton Lecturer of the British Academy, 1919; Clark Lecturer, Trinity College, Cambridge, 1921; Taylorian Lecturer in the University of Oxford, 1926; Fry Lecturer to the University of Bristol, 1927. Publications included Studies in Some Famous Letters, 1899; The Claims of French Poetry, 1909; Poets and Poetry, 1911; Dr. Johnson and his circle, 1913, Milton, 1915; the Continuity of Letters, 1923; Walt Whitman, 1926; Prefaces to the Novels of Jane Austen, 1927. He also made many important contributions to the Times Literary Supplement, which were, in the tradition of the Times, anonymously published. In 1900, he married Sarah Lyttleton, hence acquiring brothers-in-law of exceptional distinction.

BALFOUR, Sir Thomas Graham (1858-1929)

Author and educationist. Educated at Marlborough and Worcester College, Oxford, where he was contemporary with Hadow. In 1885, he was called to the bar by the Inner Temple, but he found the practice of advocacy uncongenial. For some years he travelled extensively, and in 1891, after the death of his parents, he accepted the invitation of his cousin Robert Louis Stevenson, to make his home in Samoa. On Stevenson's death in 1894 he returned to England, married Rhoda Brooke, in 1896, and settled in Oxford. His Educational Systems of Great Britain and Ireland appeared in 1898 and attained widespread recognition; and his Life of Robert Louis Stevenson, published in 1901, established Balfour's reputation as a biographer. From 1899-1902, he served the Delegacy of Oxford Local Examinations as Assistant Secretary and in 1903 was appointed Director of Education to the county of Staffordshire, where, until 1926, he administered his office with remarkable efficiency and enthusiasm being a pioneer of both school gardens and school libraries. He served as Chairman of the Association of Directors and Secretaries of Education, 1908; as a member of the Committee on the Position of Science in Education, 1916-17; of the Reconstruction Committee on Adult Education, 1917-19; and of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education, 1926-29. He succeeded Hadow as Director of Education on the lines of communication in France in 1918-19. In 1907, Balfour received the honorary degree of M.A. from Cambridge University and in 1924 that of LL.D. from the University of Birmingham. He was knighted in 1917.

BARNES, the Lt. Hon. Ronald Gorell. Third Baron Gorell, C.B.E., M.C. (1884-1963).

Author of several novels and volumes of verse, editor of the Cornhill Magazine, 1933-39, and partner in the publishing house of John Murray. Educated at Winchester, Harrow, and Balliol College, Oxford, he was on the editorial staff of the Times, 1910-15. Concurrently with his literary work he led a busy official life, and was much in demand as a Chairman of Government Committees of investigation. His work as Deputy Director of Staff Duties (Education) at the War Office, 1918-20, gave him an abiding interest in education. From 1922-25 he was Chairman of the Teachers' Registration Council, and was President of the Royal Society of Teachers from its inauguration in 1929 till 1935. Among his many other public appointments, he served as Chairman of the Imperial Education Committee (1918-22); Chairman of the Miner's Welfare Committee, Board of Trade (1921); President, National Council for combating Venereal Diseases (1920-22); Under-Secretary of State for Air, 1921-22; Deputy President, Victoria League, 1922-24. He was elected an honorary member of the National Union of Teachers in 1925. Hadow was best man at his wedding in 1922 with Elizabeth Radcliffe.

FISHER, Rt. Hon. Herbert Albert Laurence (1865-1934)

Historian and politician. Educated at Winchester, New College, Oxford, Paris and Gottingen. First Class Classical Moderations (1886), Literae Humaniores (1888), M.A. 1891. President of the Board of Education, 1916-22; Fellow of the British Academy, 1907, President, 1928; Fellow of the Royal Society, 1920; Trustee of the British Museum; Hon. LL.D., Edinburgh, 1913; Hon. D.Litt., Sheffield, 1918; Hon. LL.D. Manchester, 1919; Cambridge, 1920; Liverpool, 1928; Oxford, 1929; Member of the Royal Commission on the public services of India, 1912-15, and Commission on the public services of India, 1912-15, and of the Government Committee on alleged German outrages, 1915; Vice-Chancellor of Sheffield University, 1912-16; British Delegate to League of National Assembly 1920-22. Publications included several biographies and books on history and politics.

MILES, Philip Napier (1865-1935)

Patron of music and an amateur composer of considerable consequence, the greater part of his work being for the stage. His one-act opera 'Markheim' received an award from the Carnegie Trust in 1921, and four years later the University of Bristol gave him the honorary degree of LL.D. Miles studied in Dresden and in England under Parry and Dannreuther, and probably first met Hadow at Dannreuther's concerts at Orme Square. He married Sybil Gonne in 1899.

RICHMOND, Bruce Lyttleton (1871-1964)

Entered New College, Oxford, from Winchester in 1890; M.A., 1895. He was called by the Inner Temple in 1897, but his legal career was cut short when in 1899 he was engaged as Assistant Editor on the staff of The Times. He held that appointment for sixteen years, and was editor of the T.L.S. from 1902 till 1937. A lover of music, he was a member of the Council and Executive Committee of the Royal College of Music. He married Elena, daughter of William G. Rathbone, in 1913, and was knighted in 1935.

SOMERVELL, Arthur (1863-1937)

M.A. Mus.Doc. (Cantab.) Musical composer, and Principal Inspector of Music to the Board of Education and the Scottish Education Department, Whitehall. Educated at Uppingham School and Kings College, Cambridge. He married Edith Collet in 1890, and was knighted in 1929. His publications included choral and orchestral works, songs, and educational material.

WEIR, Archibald Alfred Egles (1859-1935)

Author. Educated at Westminster School and Worcester College, where he was contemporary with Hadow. An amateur bicycling champion, and a founder member of the R.A.C., he also paid much attention to various branches of small husbandry. His publications included The Historical Basis of Modern Europe, 1886; A Students Introduction to Critical Philosophy, 1906; The Anthropological Point of View, 1924; Self, 1926; Others, 1927; Our Single Life, 1928.

APPENDIX III

MUSIC OF W.H. HADOW

Published:

Sonata for Pianoforte in G sharp minor (Augener and Co. London) 1885.

String Quartet in E flat (Novello, Ewer and Co., London and New York) 1886.

Three Songs for Baritone or Mezzo - Soprano to words by L. Uhland:
"Das Reh"; "Die Kapelle"; "Nachtreise"; (Weekes and Co. London) 1883.

Three Songs: "To Althea" (R. Lovelace); "O Captain my Captain" (W. Whitman);
"The Lore of Love" (G. Malcolm), (Novello, Ewer and Co. London) 1884.

"Music When Soft Voices Die": Song to words by Shelley
(Novello, Ewer and Co. London and New York) 1884.

"When I was in Trouble": Anthem (The Church Choralist No.72)
(J. Curwen and Sons, London) 1888.

"The Soul's Pilgrimage": Sacred Cantata (J. Curwen and Sons, London) 1888.

"South Cerney": English Hymnal No.359 (Oxford - at the University Press;
London - Henry Frowde, Amen Corner) 1906.

"Demeter": Lyrics and incidental music to a masque by Robert Bridges
(Clarendon Press, Oxford) 1905.

"Cupid and Campaspe": song to words from Lyly's Campaspe
(Sydney Acott, Harris and Co. Oxford) 1908.

First Album of Five Songs: "Bright is the Ring of Words" (R.L. Stevenson);
"The Blossom" (Blake); "Memories" (A. Symons); "The Lark now Leaves
her Watry Nest" (Davenant); "Where Shall the Lover Rest" (Scott)
(Sydney Acott, Harris and Co. Oxford) 1897.

A Second Album of Five Songs: "A Song of the Four Seasons" (A. Dobson);
"Irish Peasant Song" (L.I. Guiney); "A Red, Red Rose" (Burns);
"Of a' the Airts" (Burns); "Coronach" (Scott)
(Sydney Acott, Harris and Co. Oxford) 1899.

Six Songs: "While the West is Paling" (W.E. Henley); "The Milkmaid"
(A. Dobson); "Pack Clouds Away" (T. Heywood); "Under the Hill"
(M.P. Turnbull); "The City Child" (Tennyson); "The Rose and the
Nightingale" (P.J. Bailey) (Sydney Acott, Harris and Co. Oxford;
Joseph Williams Ltd., London) 1904.

A Fourth Album of Songs: "Shepherd's Song" (M. Pease); "The Maiden"
(M.E. Coleridge); "The Weaver" (M. Pease); "Life of Life!"
(Shelley); "Chillingham I" (M.E. Coleridge); "Chillingham II"
(M.E. Coleridge) (Sydney Acott and Co. Oxford) 1912.

Unpublished:

"Who are these like Stars Appearing": Hymn for Soprano, Tenor, Chorus, Strings and Organ. (Exercise for the Degree of Bachelor of Music). New Bodleian Music Library, MS. Mus. Sch. Ex. C93, 1890.

Trio for Pianoforte and Strings in G minor. Performed at the Oxford University Music al Union (O.U.M.U.) 1887, 1888, in London, 1890, and at the Musical Artists' Society, London, 1900. (See Grove's Dictionary, 1906)

Sonata for Violin in A minor. Performed at the O.U.M.U. in 1886, 1887.

Sonata for Violin in F. Performed at the Musical Artists' society in 1891. MS at Worcester College.

Sonata for Clarinet in A, 1897. MS at Worcester College.

Sonata for Viola in B minor. Performed at Oxford (by Ludwig Straus and Hadow) May, 1889, London 1890.

A violin Sonata played at Gloucester and at the O.U.M.C. 1892. (MS and records of performance lost.)

Andante and Allegro for Violin and Piano. Performed at the O.U.M.C.

"The Winds Unfold": song performed at the O.U.M.C. 1886.

Two Romances for Pianoforte and Violin in F minor and G major. Performed at the O.U.M.U. 1888.

Several hymns and anthems. The MSs of a "Harvest Hymn" and an "Easter Anthem" are at Worcester College.

Edited:

Hymns of Western Europe, Selected by Sir H.W. Davies, Sir W.H. Hadow, Sir R.R. Terry, London, 1927, Humphrey Milford.

Songs of the British Isles, London, 1903, Curwen and Sons.

Ex. 1

Andante.

pp

f

cresc.

dim.

Ex. 2

Ex. 3

cresc

dim

f

dim

dolce

3 3 3

Ex. 4

Ex. 5

Allegro moderato.

poco cresc

poco cresc

Ex. 6

Adagio

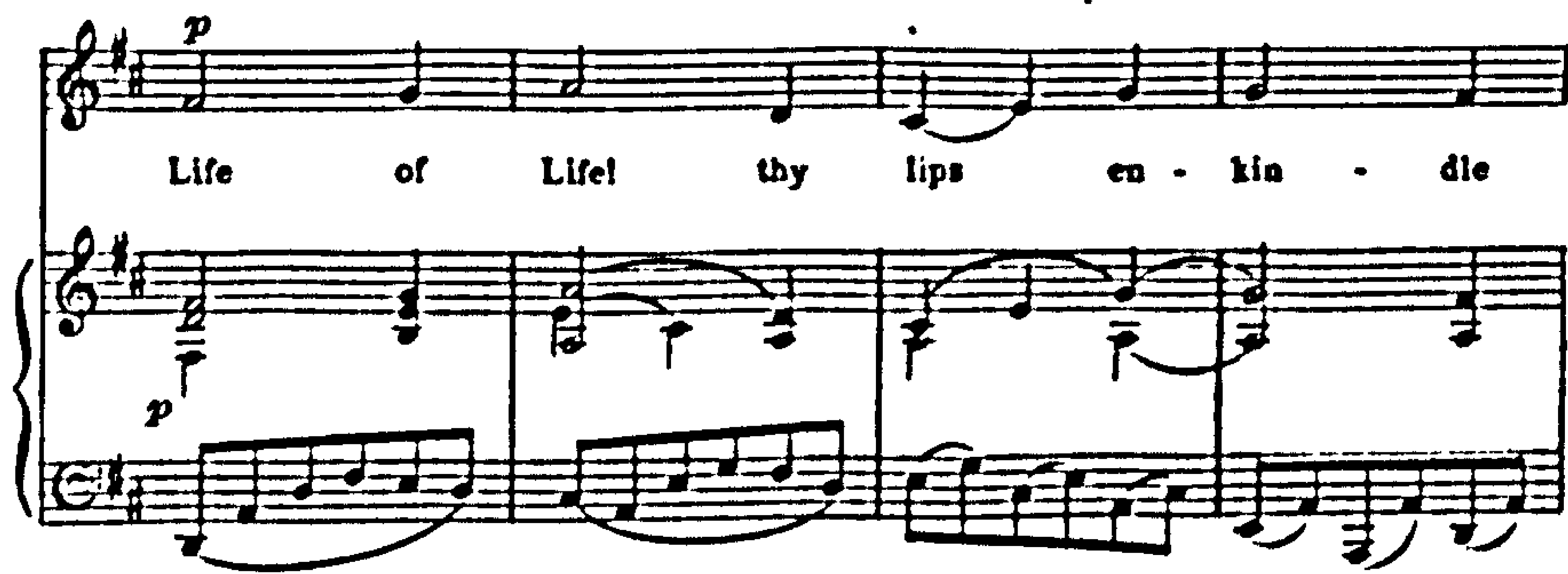
cresc

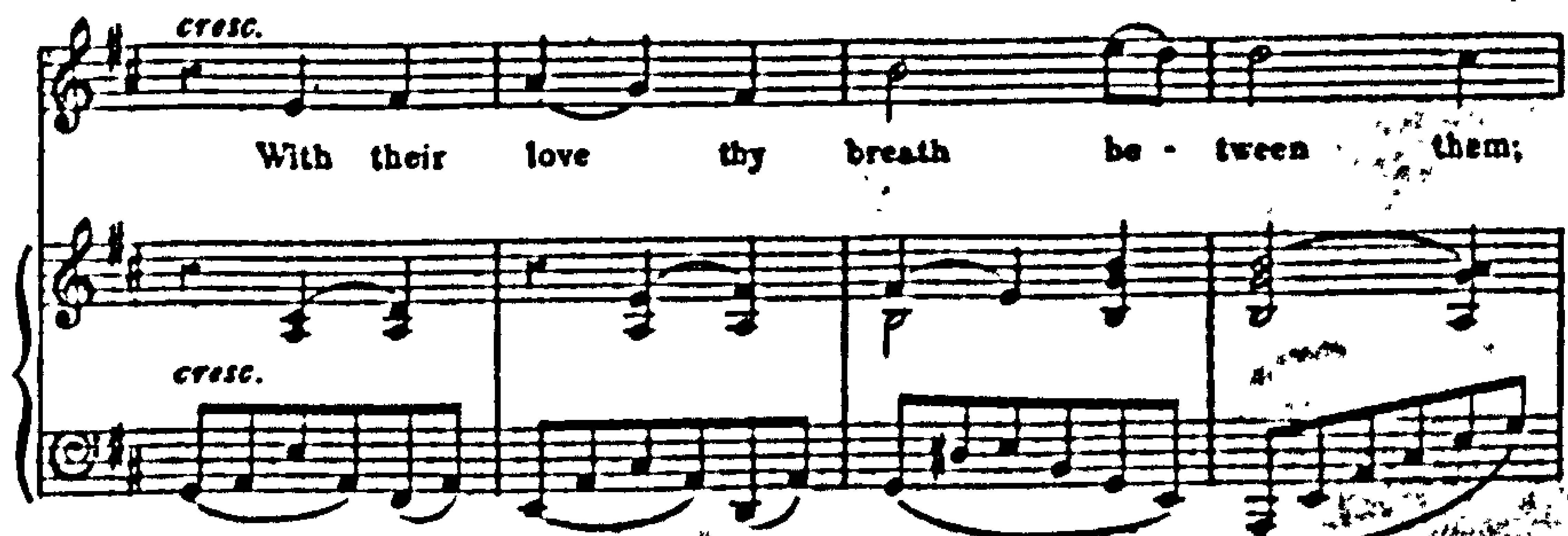
dim

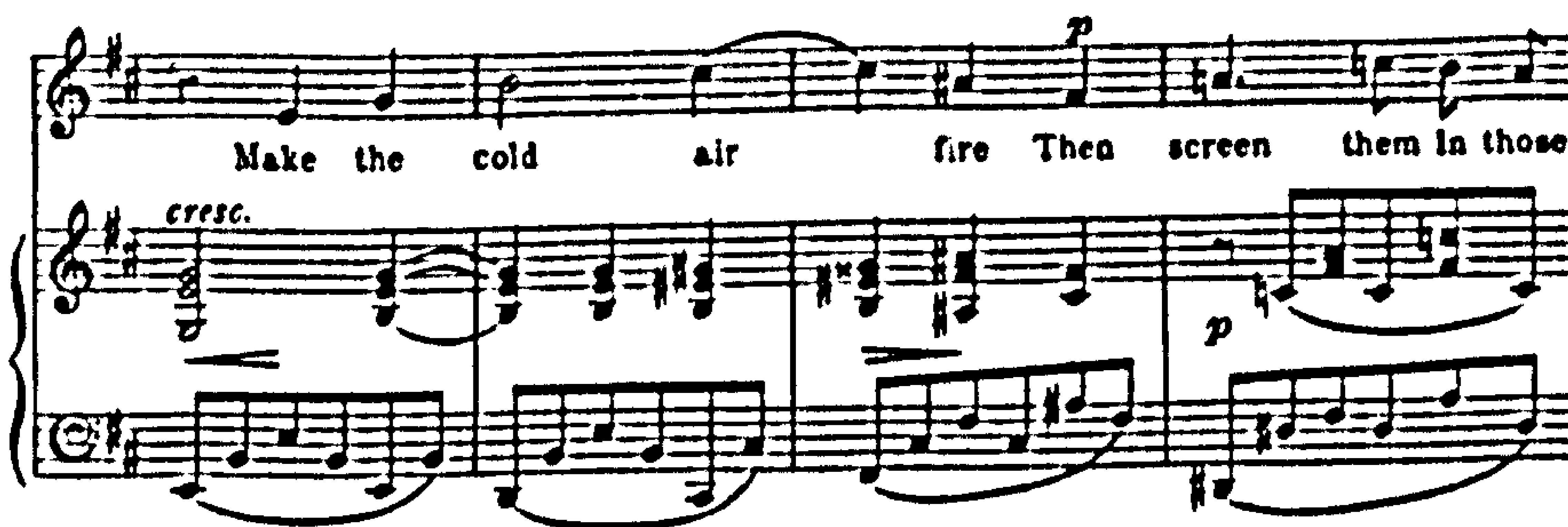
cresc

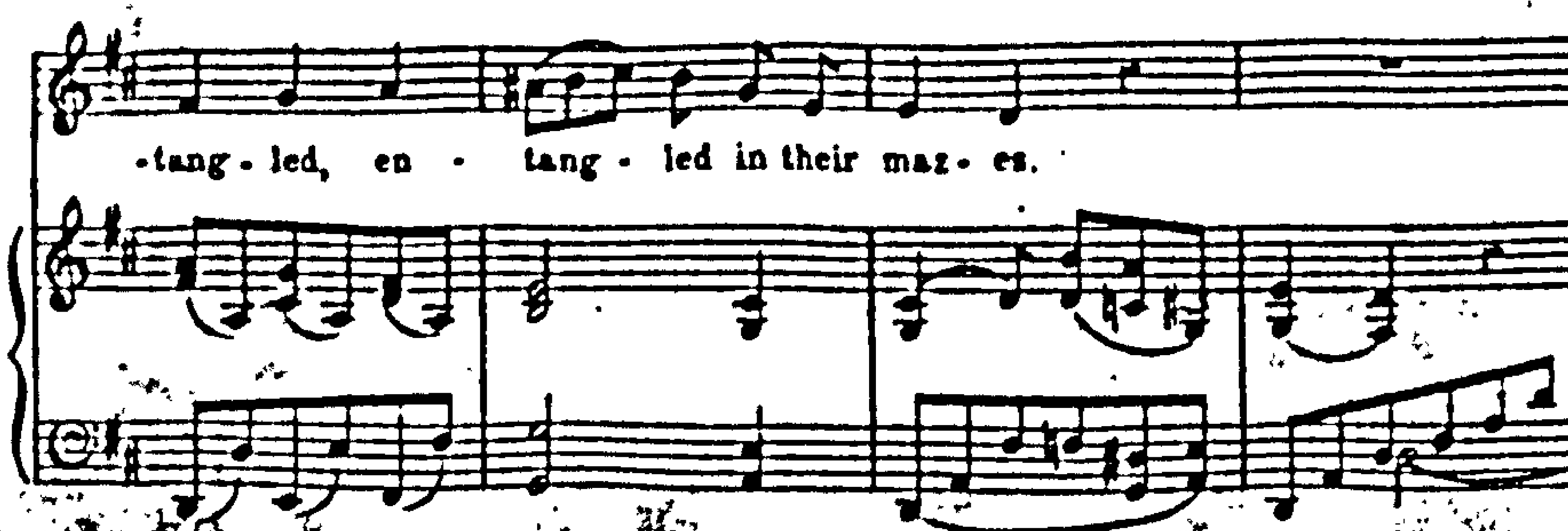
Ex. 7

Ex. 8









Ex. 9

mf

E - - - - leu lo - - - - - -

ro Ne - - - - - - - ver, oh!

ne - ver.

ff

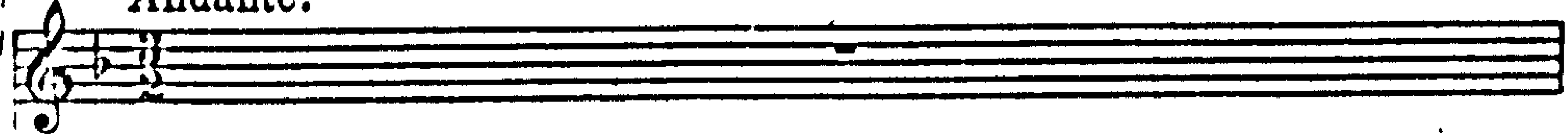
Ex. 10

Bright is the ring of words.

Words by R.L.STEVENSON.

Andante.

VOICE.



PIANO.

mp

Bright is the ring of words when the right man rings them,

dim.

Fair the fall of songs when the sin - ger sings them,

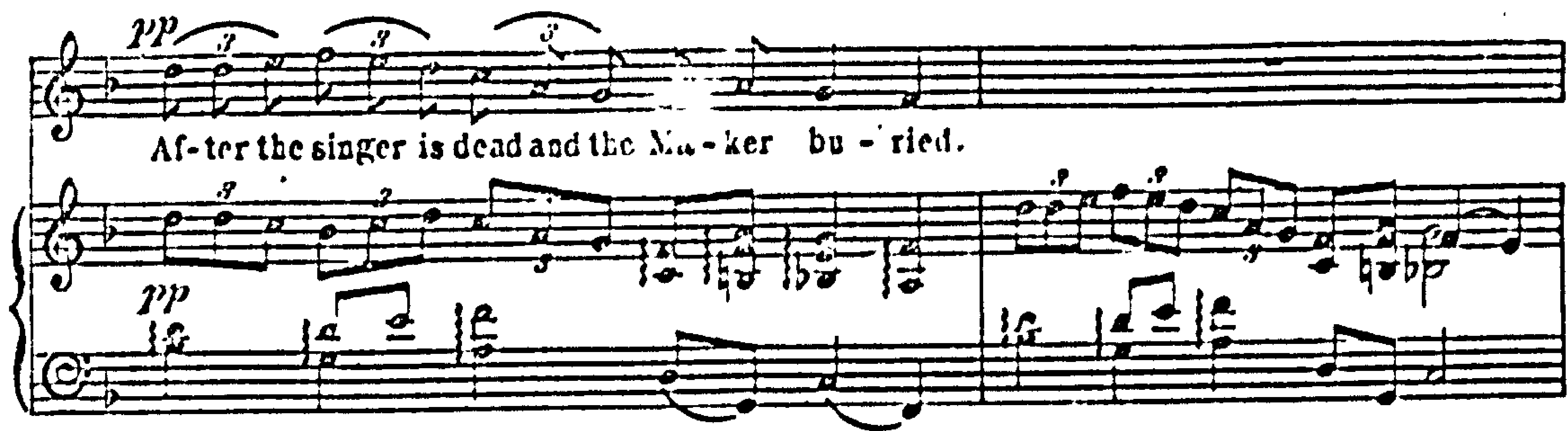
dim.

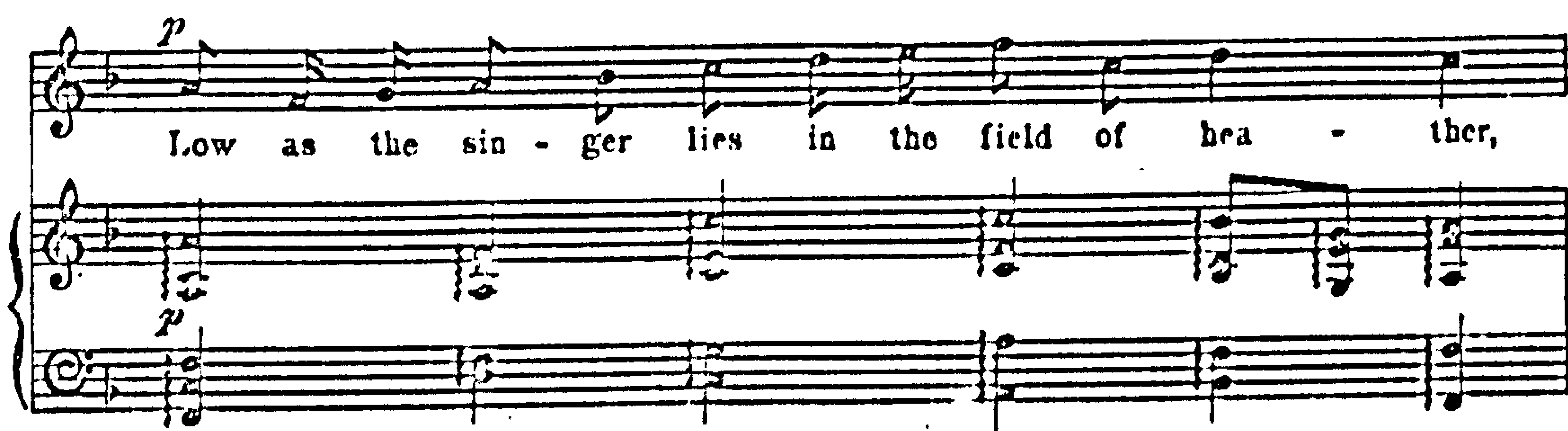
p

Still are thy carol - led and said, on wings they are car - ried,

p

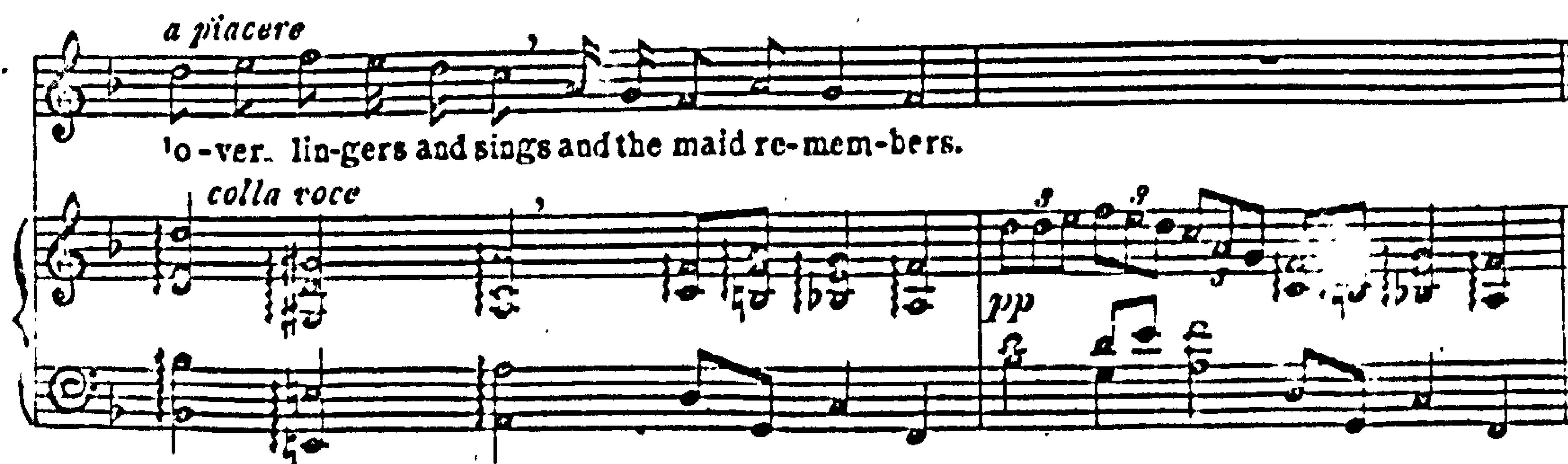
sf


pp
Af-ter the singer is dead and the Ma - ker bu - ried.
pp


p
Low as the sin - ger lies in the field of hea - ther,
p

dim.
Songs of his fash - ion bring the swains to - ge - ther,
dim.

pp
And when the West is red with the Sun - set em - bers, The
dim.
sf


a piacere
lo-ver lin-gers and sings and the maid re-mem-bers.
colla voce
pp

habitually spoken in England? Hungarian?" Another look of suspicion, but there is no trace of irony in the tone. "Not Hungarian? German then?" "Not that either?" "Indeed, only English?" And it is evident that we have sunk a little in his estimation. On this question of language the oldest views seem to prevail. I remember an old country curé who once sat next me at Budapest and informed me that Englishmen spoke a dialect of French—a dialect, he added, which he found some difficulty in understanding. Yet it may be rejoined that we are little better. We have grown out of our forefathers' belief that all Continental nations would understand English if you spoke it loud enough; but we should be hard put to it if we were asked to enumerate the languages of Hungary and still more if we were required to tell them apart.

Our profession of nationality has aroused the interest of the band. The cimbal is once more in tune, the violins are lifted from the table where they have been lying among cigars and glasses of Pilsener, and, with a friendly nod to our interpreter, the leader marshals his force and begins afresh. Our feelings may be imagined when, in place of another rhapsody, we hear Yankee Doodle, followed by a couple of music-hall songs, that have floated on some ill wind to Ronacher; and thence, through the streets of Vienna, into Hungary itself. The worst is that the musicians are evidently conscious of offering us a special pleasure, they turn furtive glances in our direction, they watch for our expression of acknowledgment and delight. Nothing is further from their thoughts than the idea that we should prefer Hungarian poetry to English doggrel; and they heroically do violence to their own principles in order to give us an appropriate welcome. It may be stated at once that the whole fault of this lies with foreign tourists. For a decade past they have been over-running the country and demanding that the bands should play not only German and English music, which is a crime, but bad German and English music, which is an enormity. For the Hungarian melodies and the Hungarian musicians have grown up together; they are part of the same stock; they are of one family and one kindred. The quick, eager, nervous playing is absolutely unsuited to German thought or bluff English manhood: it is wedded to a style of its own from which no divorce should be sanctioned. And when it is added that the Hungarian music is magnificent, while the foreign music comes at best from the ball-room and at worst from the off-scourings of the streets, it will be seen that a heavy responsibility rests with visitors who are not only denationalising the art, but vulgarising it in the process.

Yet the process goes on unashamed. I possess a copy of a "Sentimental Journey" in Hungary by an Austrian gentleman called Wenig, who expresses the tourist's point of view with extreme candour. Nothing seems to have moved him so deeply as the performance, by a native band, of a song from Von Suppé's "Boccaccio." "Ein deutsches Lied im fremden Lande!" he cries, "Ich sprang freudig überrascht empor dem schwarzhaarigen braunen Zauberer die Hände zu drücken"—and so forth. We mock at the English traveller who demands a beefsteak and the "Times" in an Italian village, but, at least, he is not doing any harm, only inuring himself to disappointment. But these men get what they want, and get it at a sacrifice which in another generation's time may be irreparable. At Budapest the case is still worse. There the most famous bands play at restaurants during dinner: a fact which, if once realized, requires no further comment. Even their truest and most genuine musicans, men like Berkecs, Rádics Béla, and Bánda Marciz, have submitted in some degree to the prevailing influence, while others, not less gifted, have deliberately degraded their talents and have descended from the level of the artist to that of the street conjuror.

There is, however, one consolation left. With scarcely an exception these men still play their own music in their own unapproachable fashion—their visits to Spindler and Waldteufel are episode, forgotten as soon as they are over—and then once more the sallow faces light up and the dark eyes glow, and the great tragic strain rises as though the impertinences of Art had no existence. The two styles, in short, are kept entirely separate, and the taint of the one has not yet infected the other. The tawdry music annoys for the few moments of its duration, but the few moments are soon past and one returns again to the gold and the jewels.

For see, the musicians are once more in readiness, and the opening notes strike true and passionate as at first. It is surely some sorrow of disappointed love that the strings are uttering: some overwhelming disaster that has swept across a life and left it desolate. Now they rise into a cry of denunciation, now they fall to a low broken murmur, now they surge onward in an impetuous torrent of reproach. And when the storm has burst, and the sad tender melody follows, the leader comes slowly down, playing the while, until he stands at our side and sets the music floating round us like an atmosphere. It is not music but enchantment; the violin pleads and whispers and entreats, the air is full of voices, the melody surrounds and penetrates us until it is breath of our breath and lip of our lip. We are oblivious of all except the charm, the strange potent influence that is binding us to its will: every tone and cadence finds an echo in our own thought, every note has a summons which we cannot choose but obey. At last it recedes again, softer and more remote, fading back into the land of dreams from whence it came; there is a moment of spell-bound silence; and we start from a trance to hear the Csárdas leap into sound and scatter our visions with its joyous dance-measure. And so the evening wanes, and the company begins to disperse, and we, rather shamefaced as Englishmen who have been betrayed into unwonted emotion, pass out to sober ourselves under the cool night and the quiet stars.

W. H. HADOW.

IN A HUNGARIAN COFFEE-HOUSE.

A LONG, low, irregular room, the walls painted a dull green, the vaulted ceiling rudely frescoed with skies and flying birds. On either hand are ranged the little white tables, which one never sees except in a coffee-house; each surrounded by a circle of guests, each bearing an appropriate array of glasses and a match-box with an economic receptacle for cigar ends. The whole place is full of men: officers from the garrison, employés of commerce or the law, casual visitors on a voyage of discovery: there must be over a hundred in all, and the only woman among them is Madame, dark-haired, buxom, and affable, directing her noiseless army of waiters from the counter.

To the Hungarian middle-class the coffee-house is generally the centre of social life. Men use it for making appointments, for paying calls, for all the commonplace of daily intercourse: and the abundant evening's leisure is spent pleasantly enough in talk that alternates with the click of the billiard balls, and the rustle of innumerable journals. To-night, however, there is better entertainment than the most artistic cannon or the most eloquent denunciation of British policy: and talk itself is hushed, as the musicians at the far end of the room take up their instruments and prepare to begin. A few more rapid orders are given, a few silent figures flit across with beer or slivovitz or tumblers of strange-coloured "grog," and then everyone turns comfortably in his chair and settles himself to listen.

The band consists of some eight or nine performers: a few violins, a 'cello, a double-bass, a clarinet, and, of course, the cimbal. Its leader,—here as always, a violin player,—stands in the middle: the rest sit watching him, ready to follow every change of tone or tempo that he may choose to prescribe. Now and again, one catches a short sharp word of command, some injunction as to [illegible] expression, but for the most part all [illegible] is [illegible], and the players pass from phrase to phrase and even from melody to melody, as though they were improvising in concert. They are, indeed, the Rhapsodists of musical art, drawing for inspiration upon the rich store of national ballad, and trusting for method to a free tradition, or an impulse of the moment. Very few of them can read; none of them play from note; the whole character of their music is direct, natural, spontaneous, giving voice to a feeling that speaks because it cannot keep silence.

They start very softly, so softly that one can hardly catch the opening sounds, and then of a sudden the music swells and rises with a passionate intensity that strikes to the heart like a cry of pain. It is some ballad of past suffering and oppression, some echo of "old unhappy far-off things," so expressive, so poignant, that in a moment the tragedy has become intimate and personal. There is no stranger experience than to hear one of these preludes for the first time. The effect is totally unlike that of other music: there is little sense of metre, little even of rhythm; the long wailing notes have become words, the quivering scale-passages have become gesture, and one can no more appraise or criticise than one can think of style when some orator at white-heat of revolution is calling men to the barricades. Here is something which never stops to consider whether it is artistic, which pays no heed to our æsthetic canons and laws, a pure outburst of emotion as irrepressible as a river in flood. Even our cold Western natures are stirred almost beyond control, and it is easy to imagine what answer would rise to the appeal when the time is big with crisis and men's hearts are burning with the memory of wrong.

The prelude ends on a throbbing minor cadence, and the music passes into a plaintive, caressing melody, sad, like so many Hungarian tunes, but without despair, without defiance, crying not for vengeance but for redress. The form is of the simplest; a plain melodic stanza, free of ornament, perfect in curve and shape, and strongly marked by two characteristic features of Magyar idiom, the sharpened intervals of the scale, and the graceful rhythmic figure that flutters and poises through every bar.

There is an astonishing charm about these folk-songs: something strange and exotic in the phrase, yet something beneath the phrase which touches us on the side of our common humanity. No other nation could express itself precisely in this manner, for every land has its own language in music as it has its own language in speech, but the joys and sorrows of mankind are much the same, and they have usually found their simplest utterance in national melody. And so in hearing the tunes of another people we gain a double pleasure—a pleasure which is only lost if the language be too remote for our comprehension. Fully to enjoy Hungarian music demands no doubt a sympathy which can pass a little beyond our western limits—we must prepare ourselves for a new phrase and for idioms that are not our own—but, that once conceded, there is no national art in Europe which has more power to move and to delight.

Again, the music draws to an end, leaving us soothed and quieted after the storm of passion from which it emerged. The leader stands for a moment with his bow on the strings; his forces turn to him in ready expectation; there is a hasty word of direction, a look of intelligence, and off they plunge into a wild dance-measure that whirls and eddies in a very rapture of unrestraint. The hammers skim across the cimbal like swallows over a stream, the violins are racing the wind, faster and faster they fly, faster again and faster yet, until one grows breathless and exhausted by the bare effort of listening. Surely no one, even in Hungary, can dance to a tune like this; no muse of the many-twinkling feet could press so unruly a following into her service. And yet if it were not for the sheer physical impossibility, the call is simply irresistible; a bright vivid melody with a flicker of semiquavers across the cadence, clear and strong in accent, entrancing in rhythm, a melody to quicken the pulse and set the blood leaping in the veins. One has no time to wonder at the dash and brilliance of the playing, at the precision of attack, at the tone that never loses its quality; one is conscious only of swift movement and tingling nerves, until at last the music flashes to its close, there are three triumphant chords, and all is over.

After a short pause for recovery, one of our party who has a little Hungarian, goes up and asks permission to inspect the cimbal. A courteous gesture invites us to follow him and in another moment we are all examining the queer trapezoid-shaped box, with its strings of steel wire twisted in and out like basket-work, and its padded hammer notched in the shaft to fit the performer's finger. They say that it is an easy instrument to learn, but this seems hardly credible; the strings look bewilderingly alike, and the higher octaves are tuned to a scale that has no name and no classification. [illegible] it must take a good deal of [illegible] to attain the dexterity of those [illegible] arpeggios. Struck lightly, the strings [illegible] something of a pianoforte quality; a [illegible] blow brings out a resonant metallic [illegible] which is admirably suited for filling [illegible] and giving it body and substance. It is for this reason that the cimbal has allotted to it the lion's share of the accompaniment. The clarinet and half the violins play in unison with the leader, the second violins add such harmonies as lie within their compass, and all the rest is an arrangement of "Basso e Cembalo" like that of the old Italian concerti.

The chief defect of the cimbal is the heavy strain which renders the strings constantly liable to slip and flatten. In this matter it is as bad as the lute, "which," says Matheson, "if a man possessed it for eighty years he would have spent sixty in tuning." And though enterprising makers have enriched the instrument with borrowed luxuries—pedals, dampers—I have even seen one with the indignity of a key-board—yet nothing has yet been invented which can obviate its characteristic fault. A single performance is sufficient to set it out of pitch, and then the music must needs stop while the player wrests the pins and taps gently on the offending notes and gradually coaxes the strings back into compliance. Yet after all the defect has something human about it: a scene of a quarrel and reconciliation, a moment of bad temper passing away into fresh sympathy and agreement. These men look upon their box of wires with a feeling as personal as that of a violinist for his Stradivarius, and a relation so close is lightly purchased at the cost of a few vagaries.

Our curiosity satisfied, we turn back and find the waiter hovering by our table, evidently anxious to converse with the strangers. His first question: "Are we German or Hungarian?" is a little startling, and we notice a look of suspicion on the part of our friend who has been endeavouring with modest success to act as interpreter. We answer that we are English, and the statement, passed audibly through the room, at once draws upon us an embarrassing amount of attention. Even Madame leaves her calculations for the moment to bend a look of enquiry on the remote foreigners, and we find ourselves surrounded by something like an audience as the waiter again returns to the charge. "England we suppose is a very long way off from here?" "Yes."—Though our conjecture of twelve hundred miles is received with polite incredulity.—"And what language, now, is

APPENDIX VI

Introduction to the Students' Handbook, Sheffield University, 1922

One of the chief impressions which a student feels on first entrance to the University is an enlarged sense of personal freedom. The external regulations which surrounded even the later years of school life are in some measure loosened and are replaced by fresh opportunities of initiative and of self government. But enlarged freedom means enlarged responsibility: a free community is not one which has no laws, but one which because it has a share in law-making has therefore the greater need to be law abiding: and in this way membership of a University is a training-ground for the wider citizenship which is to come after it.

Your responsibility is twofold. First to yourselves, who have come here to gain the best equipment that the University can give and whose future welfare may largely depend on the use that you make of the resources which it puts at your disposal. Carelessness and indifference, whether in the classroom or the playing field, are the negation of life, the voluntary surrender of the purpose for which mankind exists. Second, and more important, to the community of which you form a part. All through your years of residence you are helping to make the tradition of the University, to determine its place among the great institutions of the country, to build its policy and to enhance its reputation. Teachers, administrators, students are all contributing to this end. It can be accomplished only by unswerving loyalty and untiring cooperation.

This does not mean that in every act of daily life the end should be kept consciously in view of the means scrutinised to see how far they conduce to it. There is no surer sign of ill-health than a constant enquiry into symptoms: the principles of human life are most efficacious when we have learned to take them for granted. But it does mean that the chief impulse of your undergraduate career should be the same devotion to the University, and to your share in it, that you feel towards your family or your native land. The day's work includes many activities - intellectual, social, artistic, athletic - give to each its due place and do your best with them as they arise.

physical pleasure from a concert: that is no more than to say that the sound of music is physically pleasant. But it is equally true that admiration grows as knowledge grows; not only that the trained ear detects beauties which to the untrained are non-existent, but that the trained intelligence can follow the structure of a melody or a madrigal or a fugue or a sonata in exactly the same way, and to exactly the same purpose as it can follow the stanza of a lyric or the plot of a drama. Nor is it only a matter of artistic form - though if that were all it would be enough. The significance of good music is as real as that of good poetry, you cannot translate one into the other. Palestrina into Dante or Bach into Milton, but each has its own inherent and spiritual truth.

The second error is due to historical reasons which have already passed away. During the Elizabethan age we were supreme in music: at the Restoration we still held an honourable place: then came two hundred years of bad tradition in which we allowed ourselves to be overcome with foreign influence and treated it with irrational contempt because it was foreign. In the sixteenth century Dowland could be compared, on equal terms, with Spenser, in the eighteenth Handel and Buononcini were the Tweedledum and Tweedledee of Byron's epigram. It is no wonder that our musicians, attacked by popular disdain, huddled together for self-protection and defended themselves behind a zareba of technical terms. Now the whole of that unhappy warfare has ceased. Music is once more taking its due place in the life of the nation, and all educational institutions can bear their part in its advance and development.

A University department of Music should, at full growth, employ the services of (1) a Professor (2) at least one full-time lecturer, and (3) such part-time assistance from Musicians in the city as will

on occasions be found necessary. At first, however, it may be possible to restrict it to a Professor with such external help as he requires. The number of teachers will clearly depend on the extent of ground covered and this may well begin within comparatively narrow limits and extend as opportunity arises. The minimum of equipment should be (1) adequate classroom accommodation which as far as possible, should be isolated from the rest of the University. The music, preferred by Othello, which 'cannot be heard' is not here in question, and due care must be taken to prevent the music students from interrupting the work of other departments, (2) a pianoforte, several black-boards ruled in staves, and a gramophone, (3) a departmental library consisting of a small number of selected books on the history, grammar, and aesthetics of music, and a large number of scores by the great composers. The choice of the former should be subjected to a rigorous scrutiny, for in no field of human knowledge is there so wide a difference, as in music, between the best criticisms and the worst: the latter should be in the first instance chosen for purposes of historical illustration and extended year by year until it includes all the compositions that can reasonably be wanted. To these resources should be added, as soon as may be, the cooperation of the University Choral Society, of the University Orchestra (a great deal can be done, as a start, with strings and piano) and of an adequate team for the performance of Chamber Music. The recent experience of Dr. Walford Davies in Wales would here be of great service.

The work of such a department is roughly twofold.

(I) The direct teaching which should find a place in the time-table and be tested by examination. This, as has already been suggested, is primarily for the use of students who want to attain some serious knowledge of music, but not necessarily to become professional musicians. The great difficulty

in sketching its course is that of determining how much knowledge can be taken for granted at the outset: a good working scheme would be to presuppose the syllabus accepted by the Joint Board for School Certificate, to work through the first year on the syllabus of the Higher Certificate, and to build upon that a more elaborate scheme, varying according to the ages and interests of the class, for the last years of the University course. The whole work should be correlated with the departments of History, Literature, Philosophy, and when needed, Languages and Education. There should be no separate Faculty of Music, the members of the Staff should take their place in the Faculty of Arts.

As example of the direct teaching which can profitably be given in such a department the two following illustrations may be offered. (a) Musical History. Until recent years the Histories of Music were mostly confined to the biographies of great composers, treated as isolated phenomena with no reference either to the general course of social history or even to their own immediate predecessors and disciples. Some of the biographies were interesting, some of the criticisms were just, but it was not History. In a University department this could be replaced by a far broader and more intelligent treatment of the subject, concerned rather with tendencies and movements than with persons, recognising the importance (often very great) of composers who do not attain the first rank, and above all showing that Music mirrors as faithfully as any other art or pursuit the general feelings and aspirations of its time.

(b) Counterpoint. In most music-schools it was the practice (and it is still so in some) to teach counterpoint to beginners by a system of *a priori* rules and classifications on a method which became obsolete in the seventeenth century and with themes in semibreves that had no system

and no meaning. The University department, with a free hand, can sweep away all this antiquity. Modal counterpoint, like the figured bass in Harmony, should come at the end, not at the beginning: to students of the present day the first name in counterpoint is Bach and the first lesson should consist in taking a chorals of Bach, writing it out in as many staves as there are voices, analysing it and explaining the movement of the parts. In this way the whole subject becomes vitalized and can be made attractive and profitable to men who regard the text book with aversion and its legislation with resentment.

(II) Indirect influence. Every University should have a flourishing Choral Society and the nucleus of an orchestra. Of both these the Professor of Music should be in charge: determining the repertoire, arranging the practise, constantly on the watch not only for talent but for interest. Again, he can render excellent service by giving, either to his class or to the public, occasional lectures on topics of musical importance. For example, whenever a special concert or opera is given in the city he might prepare the audience for its reception by an hour's critical analysis, placing the work against its historical background, describing the structure, drawing attention to the various themes, and warming into real appreciation the apathetic indifference of the usual concertgoer. In addition to these there are many musical activities which, to a man who knows his subject and cares about it, will reveal themselves in the course of experience.

The above sketch is no more than a bare outline, to be filled successively with varying detail as the course of music advances. For its effective realisation everything depends on the personal element,

more than in any other form of University study because there is less good tradition, and the best advice that can be given is to choose the right man and give him, within necessary limits, complete freedom to settle his home and determine his syllabus. But the basis of it all is the firm conviction that music is not only a possible but a valuable element in general culture, and that the need of its more systematic study will be increasingly felt as the years go on.

APPENDIX VIII

Extracts from Correspondence

a) Letter to Graham Balfour from Baireuth, August 16, 1889.

You must come here someday. It is utterly unlike anything else in the world. Italian Opera is a child's toy - a musical box with figures - in comparison: even Fidelio and Don Giovanni are thin and shadowy beside these three. It is the most magnificent combination of effects that any theatre ever contained: splendid acting (Coquelin came out of curiosity to see one performance and now refuses to go) stage-management which is perfect and scenery which is almost so; everybody playing up as if they loved it and as if der Meister were still among them.

And (as) for the music - I can't write about it coherently. I never heard Wagner before - those London performances - even under Richter - give one no idea at all of the effects at which he arrived and which he hit unerringly and triumphantly at every stroke. The difference made by the concealment of the orchestra is enormous: the whole thing is softened, subdued, blended until the loudest crash of brass ceases to be noisy and becomes impressive.

I can make no comparison between the three operas: they are too divergent in scope and character. Parsifal is pure sacred music in Acts 1 and 3; and Act 2, (which struck me much more on second hearing) is as great in its way as the Inferno. Nothing ever filled me with such horror and pity as its opening scene. Tristan of course is one white-heat of passion from beginning to end. The excitement is almost too intense - climax after climax - and one loses all power of analysis or criticism and simply goes headlong down the torrent. I would defy Diogenes to sit unmoved through the great Love Duet, or to watch Tristan's death without feeling 'choky'. It is as pure as flame and as resistless. Meistersinger again is genuine comedy with a dignified and noble background of Burgher life - that manliness and uprightness in which it always seems to me that German painting reaches its highest point. And the Music in its way is quite as superb as in the other two. Of course the emotions to which it appeals are lighter and more superficial; but it never misses, and there is never a cheap effect or a vulgar phrase from the first note to the last. It is not madness but deliberate reasoned sanity which leads me to say that there has been no man like Wagner since Shakesp 'are died. I don't mean to say that Beethoven isn't greater as a Musician or Goethe as a poet; but this man is everything. His genius is as wide and as varied as the sea: he answers every mood, he can touch every noble emotion in Human life:- it is not a spectacle but an experience. No doubt there are occasional failures in his earlier work:- I find some of Walküre dull and some of Tannhäuser commonplace: but in these last operas he has attained his full strength and there is no more doubt or hesitation. Only, to judge him you must hear him under his own conditions. To estimate him from an imperfect performance is like criticising the Sonata Pathétique after hearing it on a barrel organ.

We have met various people: - Richter, Armbruster, Pauline Kramer (I wanted to get an introduction to Malten but it didn't come off) Grove, Manns, Henschel and a host of others. And yesterday the Stainers, Lloyd, and I called at Wagner's house and had the honour of an interview with his daughter. Today we are off to Regensburg: then through Munich to the mountains: whence

we come back via Salzburg to make the amends honourable to Mozart...

(Returning for Gloucester festival in September) I wonder how it will sound after this.

b) Letter to Professor William Rothenstein, 20th July, 1920. (VC7,289-92.)
Principal, Royal College of Art, S. Kensington and Professor of Civic Art, Sheffield University.

By the way, when you are writing you might let me know if you can, approximately, when we shall have the pleasure of seeing you here in the autumn. I want to know, not only to get some lectures arranged, but for a more selfish purpose - to have a great talk with you about Matisse's Chapeau de cuir, and all that it seems to me to stand for. I think that I could have made something out of it, though nothing with which I could very much sympathise, if it had not been for the laudatory articles which were distributed about the room and which seem to me to praise it for just the qualities that it lacked.

I am really rather distressed at being out of sympathy with so many artists whom intelligent people regard as great. I have a great liking for much of the new poetry, and much of the new music, and where I do not like it I can put my finger on the point where the artists and I are at variance. This, of course, means that one's sense of appreciation is steadily widening, because where one disagrees with an artist it nearly always (not quite always) happens that the artist has got the best of it. That, at any rate, is what I find in the two arts of words and tones, with which I am most familiar. By analogy, I expect that the same thing is true with modern painting and modern sculpture, but here, with me, the proportion is reversed. I like a very little of it intensely; with the vast majority I am so bewildered that if you told me it was a practical joke I should accept that as a solution - and the worst of it is that to discuss these things with an expert nearly always appears to take the form of an attack, and very probably an ignorant attack. Now I do not want to attack anybody: I want to find out what they are driving at (so far as my eyesight and intelligence will serve), how much of it is deliberate reaction and defiance (both of these seem to me to be bad art, because they have some other end in view than the pure service of beauty), and how much of it is a genuine attempt to reach beauty in a new and interesting way. I think, for instance, that I understand something about significant line - at any rate, it suggests some definite analogies to me in melody and in the measure of verse - but surely one pays for too high a price for this when it means representing the human frame as distorted or diseased; that is, to me, frankly, a blasphemy which no excuse in the world can condone. And then, again - but I am making this letter far too long. What I want is to talk the whole thing over with somebody who will be sympathetic with my shortcomings, and who will understand, even if he disapproves of my point of view. It is very disheartening to find a whole lot of people interested and enthusiastic about something, and oneself outside in the passage.

All kindest rememberances to Mrs. Rothenstein and the family,

Yours ever,

W.H.Hadow