A STUDY OF ATTITUDES TOWARDS CORPORAL PUNISHMENT AS AN EDUCATIONAL PROCEDURE FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT

by

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ABSTRACT

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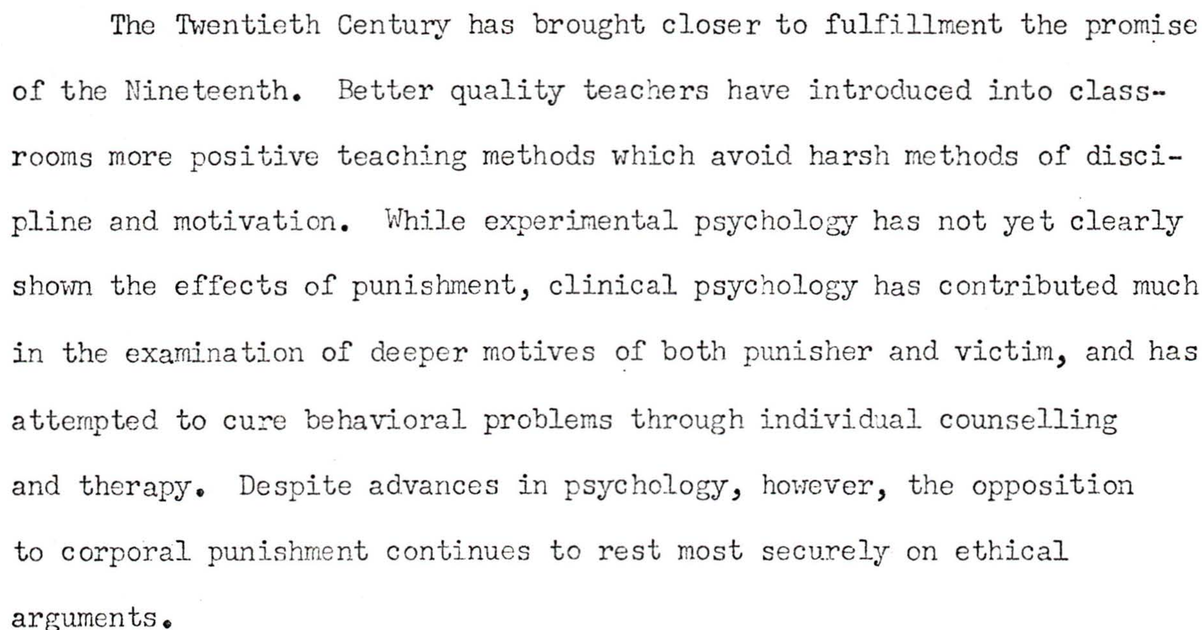
This thesis is an attempt to help clarify the issue of corporal punishment in schools by looking at the historical development of the attitudes which are currently held. The views on corporal punishment of influential educational thinkers from the earliest times to the present have been presented and analysed. Also the degree to which these views were a reflection of, or contrast to, the attitudes of the time has been noted. It was shown that the arguments against corporal punishment could be broadly classified into motivational arguments (it doesn't work) and ethical arguments (it is morally wrong).

The educational legacy of corporal punishment from earlier European societies provided a time-worn acceptance closely bound up with religious and social attitudes. A few exceptional individuals, particularly Quintilian, spoke out in opposition, as did certain Humanists during the Renaissance period, but with little general effect. Early Protestant leaders found support for its use in Old Testament edicts, but organised Catholic Orders in France began to use more subtle methods of motivation which greatly reduced the fear of physical pain as an incentive. Despite occasional protests, England was to accept rigorous teaching methods until well into the Nineteenth Century.

While there was much violence and brutality in that century, more and more of the leading thinkers opposed man's inhumanity to man, and to child. Although Rousseau was the most influential, almost all of the leading educational philosophers of this century opposed corporal punishment except as a last resort. The belief that a child should be motivated to higher achievement and better behaviour through love and interest grew,

along with the stress on more acceptable teaching methods, and an attractive school environment. European schools became a contrast to those in English-speaking countries where change was much slower. But here, too, change was to come through the moral persuasion of educational leaders, the restrictions placed on corporal punishment by official bodies, the general improvement in teacher training and the vast improvement in school buildings and equipment. Among the most influential in changing public opinion were writers of fiction who portrayed the effects of brutality on children.



The Twentieth Century has brought closer to fulfillment the promise of the Nineteenth. Better quality teachers have introduced into class-rooms more positive teaching methods which avoid harsh methods of discipline and motivation. While experimental psychology has not yet clearly shown the effects of punishment, clinical psychology has contributed much in the examination of deeper motives of both punisher and victim, and has attempted to cure behavioral problems through individual counselling and therapy. Despite advances in psychology, however, the opposition to corporal punishment continues to rest most securely on ethical arguments.

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

A Continuing Controversy

Probably no issue has been such a continuing centre of controversy in education as the use of corporal punishment, and no classroom method has as long a history. For thousands of years the rod or its substitute was the emblem of the teacher, yet today few educational leaders support its use, and those but reluctantly.

There is now a general acceptance that corporal punishment for failure to learn is unacceptable. Much of the defence for this view is ostensibly psychological (that is, it is an ineffective motivational device), but on closer examination, the arguments used are frequently a mixture of psychological and ethical. Other arguments are used also: that it is unfair, for instance, in that children do not have equal innate ability so the less able ones are likely to suffer more than the more capable ones. There is also a tendency for there to be a confusion in the support or opposition to corporal punishment for failure to learn, and for unacceptable social behaviour. The issue is further confused by the emotional approach of many writers, or by their particular views of the nature of the child, indeed of man.

This controversy is not a new manifestation. Ever since educational commentators have questioned the methods used in schools, the matter of punishment, particularly corporal punishment, has been controversial. In the first clear objections to it, among Greek and Roman writers, we can find arguments very similar to those used today.

The issue is reported with regularity in the popular press. No other educational problem is likely to receive as much attention or to

excite the public as quickly. In fact, this is part of the problem: it is so quickly confused by emotion, or is made disproportionately important by a sensationalist press.

The problem of use or non-use frequently becomes a very personal one for a teacher or school administrator. While his success is judged on many things, a basic one is his class control or discipline. One way that this can be achieved is through fear, and the traditional instrument of fear has been the rod or its substitute. Despite much protest and many arguments, our schools and society have not yet seen fit to abandon its use altogether.

Previous Investigation

One would think that such a continuing problem and one which so readily excites concern would have received a large amount of investigation, but this is not so. After a lengthy search of all available sources, the writer found only one which could be ranked as a thorough study of the use of corporal punishment in schools. In England, the National Foundations for Educational Research investigated the reasons given by teachers for their use of corporal punishment, the extent of its use, and the reactions of students. The report, published in 1952, also incorporated a chapter on its recent history in England and made certain recommendations.

Some mention is made of corporal punishment in most general histories of education, but usually only in passing. Lluella Cole's A History of Education, Socrates to Montessori (1965) contains the most information, but here, too, the treatment is brief. Two popular or "journalistic" type books had the most extensive treatment, D'Olbert's Chastisement Across the Ages (1965) and Scott's Flagellation, A History of Corporal Punishment (1968). Each of these was a history and discussion

of corporal punishment in general, with a separate chapter on its use in schools. Psychological studies have been of two types: empirical investigations involving pain have been on animals, but on people other types of punishment only have been used; clinical studies have drawn their conclusions from individual case histories and the speculative theories of the investigator. The majority of prominent figures in the history of education have had something to say on corporal punishment, but these have almost invariably been personal opinion based on their attitudes towards children and their own experiences.

The Procedures

This work will be primarily an historical survey of corporal punishment as an issue in education. The emphasis will be on attitudes, but the actual practices will occupy a prominent part. The main body of the investigation will be an examination of notable educational writings to see what development there has been since the earliest times in the approach to the problem. Other contemporary literature will be used to show what the actual attitudes and practices have been, and what forces have been instrumental in bringing about a change from an almost universal acceptance to an occasional use only, of corporal punishment. Wherever possible, the original words of the writer will be used so that the reader may judge for himself the accuracy of the interpretation and the fairness of the comment.

The scope of the study will be to trace the beliefs and practices of the Western World from the earliest times to the present situation in the English-speaking world. Standard divisions of the history of western civilization will be followed. Beginning with the Hebrew and Classical Civilizations of the ancient world, attitudes will be traced through the Middle Ages to the great intellectual and social changes which occurred

in Europe after the Fifteenth Century. The Nineteenth Century, which, in the view of the present writer, was the watershed in the development of educational attitudes and practices, will receive fullest treatment. England as the Mother Country will receive much attention, and Canada itself will be stressed, with the important influence of the United States touched on where necessary.

The study will be subject to the usual limitations of documentary source material, where evidence of past practices is based upon the statements of a few. The loudest voices are frequently those of people who object to current practices, while the majority who accept a situation are silent. Frequently, also, the situation can be exaggerated by those who seek reform. The reader should constantly keep this possibility of distortion in mind as the views of the various authors are presented.

Questions

After a preliminary reading, certain questions were formulated and kept before the writer as the investigation proceeded. These were, of course, questions which were considered to be significant in themselves, but they were also useful in giving the work greater cohesion and clearer direction.

1. Has there been a significant advance in the approach to the problem of corporal punishment since the earliest commentators? That is, have the problem and possible answers changed significantly in the last two thousand years, and if so, in what way?

2. What distinction has been made by each writer between the use of corporal punishment as a stimulation to learn, and as a stimulation to remedy unacceptable social behaviour? Or does he combine or confuse the two?

3. In his support or opposition to the use of corporal punishment,

CHAPTER II

THE ORIGINS: PRIMITIVE SOCIETIES TO THE MIDDLE AGES

For a full understanding of the attitudes towards corporal punishment, like any other aspect of our society, we must go back to the earliest records. Fear of the rod was the educational legacy handed down from the earliest societies to modern Europe. Social and religious attitudes supported it, with only a handful of men speaking against it on the grounds of its debasing effects, or lack of success.

Primitive Tribal Societies

Probably the only generalization that can be made about the use of physical punishment among primitive tribes is that there was no common procedure. Among some tribes of Australian aborigines, for instance, physical pain was deliberately inflicted on the boy as a training for, and test of, manhood (Elkin, 1964, chapt. VII). Among certain tribes of North American Indians, however, the concept of deliberately inflicting pain on children was absent, but among others, beating was a common punishment. Pettit concludes that among primitive societies corporal punishment is rare, not because of the innate kindliness of these people but because it is contrary to developing the type of individual personality they set up as their ideal. He finds ridicule, praise, and reward more common (Pettit, 1946, 161). Flaggellating is common among primitives as a cure for disease and as a sexual stimulant; frequently these latter are masked by religious ritual.

The degree to which religion, sex, the inculcation of obedience and the training for adulthood are sometimes mixed in the culture of primitive tribes is illustrated by the following description of a Hopi

Indian puberty rite.

> The whipping rite symbolizes the Hopi child training pattern. In it the mother of the Kachinas, represented by a masked female figure, holds a large supply of yucca switches while the Whipper Kachinas, represented by masked male figures, apply them to the nude boy supported and shielded by his godfather and his godfather's sister. Both the boy and his godfather stand on a large sand painting which represents the Kachina Mother and the Whipper Kachinas, while a segmented line drawn from the Kiva si'papu southeast shows the road of life with its four phases. Afterwards the Mother Kachina steps on to the sand painting and is whipped by the Whippers and then the Whippers whip each other.
>
> (Thompson & Joseph, 1944, 56)

An important point to be made here is that we cannot state that physical punishment as a motivational or corrective device is "innate" to man. Nor is it possible to have as a theme for this work the evolution of man as a pain-inflicter to a non-inflicter, however likely that appears when we look at later developments.

Another point worth noting for later reference is that Rousseau's contention of the primitive man being punished only by the consequences of his own actions has not been sustained by anthropologists.

Early Civilized Societies

In the texts that touch on the subject, physical punishment is mentioned as part of the methods used in all the ancient civilizations. Of the schools of Sumeria, for instance, Kramer says "most learning was accomplished either by rote or by copying; in the matter of discipline, there was no sparing the rod" (Kramer, 1958, 40). In ancient India, it was provided by the The Laws of Manu (formulated about 200 A.D., but based on earlier works) that "a wife, a son, a slave, a pupil,...who have committed faults, may be beaten with ropes or split bamboo, but on the back part of the body only, never on a noble parts" (quoted by Woody, 1949, 163). In China bad scholars were "not infrequently punished

every day" (Smith, 1899, 79).

While there is much evidence for its use, there does not seem to be any records of the theoretical justification for the use of punishment in education by the people of these times; it appears to have been accepted without question.

The Hebrews

An important exception to this is to be found in the Old Testament. Here the use of corporal punishment is not only justified, but recommended, time and time again.

> My son, despise not the chastening of the Lord, neither be weary of his correction. For whom the Lord loveth he correcteth; even as a father the son in whom he delighteth.
>
> (Proverbs, II, 11-12)

> Who so loveth instruction loveth knowledge; but he who hateth reproof is brutish.
>
> (Proverbs, XII, 1)

> He that spareth the rod, hateth his son; but he that loveth him, chasteneth him betimes.
>
> (Proverbs, XIII, 24)

> A fool's lips enter into contention, and his mouth calleth for strokes.
>
> (Proverbs, XVIII, 6)

> Chasten thy son while there is hope, and let not thy soul spare for his crying.
>
> (Proverbs, XIX, 29)

> Judgements are prepared for scorners, and stripes for the backs of fools.
>
> (Proverbs, XIX, 29)

> Foolishness is bound in the heart of a child; but the rod of correction shall drive it from him.
>
> (Proverbs, XXII, 15)

> Withhold not correction from the child; for if thou beatest him with a rod, thou shalt deliver his soul from hell.
>
> (Proverbs, XXIII, 13-14)

> A whip for a horse, a bridle for an ass, and a rod

for a fools's back.

(Proverbs, XXIX, 15)

For whom the Lord Loveth, he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth.
If ye endure chastening, God dealeth with you as with sons; for what son is he whom the father chasteneth not?
But if ye be without chastisement, whereof all are partakers, then ye are bastards, and not sons.

(Hebrews, XII, 6-8)

The logic of the Hebrews' attitude is quite simple: the child, and the man, must be saved from damnation. Any punishment now is quite small compared with what he could suffer later. He who fails to punish the child for his wickedness is doing the child a grievous wrong, and is therefore sinful himself. We should note, too, that the lack of wisdom is also looked on as being sinful.

Probably this attitude comes, at least in part, from the desire in the patriarchal society for the elder to maintain his authority, where that authority was the main agent for social stability. But these are the words that not only justified the use of physical punishment on children for over a thousand years in Christian communities, but ordered it to be used. The words were accepted with but few exceptions; it is only in the last two hundred years that there has been a growing body of opinion that differed. Curiously, the gentleness of Christ towards children (Mark, X) was usually ignored.

The justification for beating is motivational: the child will be prevented from doing wrong by punishment and will be spurred into a moral and devout life. There does not appear to be any distinction between sin and failure to learn; if anything, failure to learn was regarded as a sin.

If the Old Testament attitude towards corporal punishment seems harsh by modern standards, we should note that in Deuteronomy (XXI, 18-

21) a man with "a stubborn and rebellious son" is commanded to stone him to death.

In Talmudic times this doctrine seems to have weakened.

> Only those pupils should be punished in whom the master sees that there are good capacities for learning and who are inattentive; but if they are dull and cannot learn they should not be punished. Punish with one hand and caress with two.
>
> (The Talmud, quoted in Cubberley's Readings, 1920, 42)

The recognition of individual differences is of interest, as is also the commendation to encourage rather than force. There is no suggestion, though, that inattention is anything other than the deliberate waywardness of the child.

Ancient Athens

Most authorities agree that punishment was severe in the schools of classical Athens, though some argue that the poverty and servile status of the masters and their frequent incapacities of age or other infirmity would restrict their authority and power (see Woody, 1949 , 301). Probably, as in most other times and places, discipline varied according to the temperament of the master and the child, and the conditions under which they were working. In a society where education was a private contractual matter, rather than one regulated by an officialdom in state or church, there was likely to be even greater variation.

Plato (427 - 347 B.C.) gives a typical description of the time: "if he [the child] obeys, well and good; if not, he is straightened by threats and blows like a piece of wood" (Plato, Protagoras, 1953 edition, 324).

Plato's comments on the usefulness of such practices is curiously modern: "the free man should learn no study under bondage. And while enforced bodily labours do no harm to the body, study forced onto the

mind will not stay there" (Plato, The Republic, 1961 edition, 536). Here we see a confusion that is to re-occur. It is wrong for a citizen to suffer the indignity of force; it is not efficient to use force for intellectual growth. There is a confusion between what should be (ethics) and what will be a successful teaching method (motivation).

The alternative to punishment given in The Republic is almost a direct quote from a modern educational methods textbook. "Train your children in their studies not by compulsion but by games, and you will be better able to see the natural result" (Plato, The Republic, 537). In The Republic, Plato seems to think that the mere presence of good things, pleasantly presented, will lead to the love of, and right attitude towards music, gymnastic, mathematics, and of course, life. In such a situation, punishment becomes unnecessary.

This attitude in The Republic is quite in contrast to The Laws. Either Plato changed his mind, is inconsistent, or we must interpret The Republic as an ideal, and The Laws as a more practical approach.

> And of all the animals the boy is the most unmanageable inasmuch as he has the fountain of reason in him not yet regulated; he is the most insidious, sharp-witted, and insubordinate of animals. Wherefore he must be bound with many bridles; in the first place, when he gets away from mothers and nurses, he must be controlled by teachers, no matter what they teach, and by studies; but he is also a slave, and in that regard any freeman who comes in his way may punish him or his tutor and his instructor, if any of them do anything wrong.
> (Plato, The Laws, 1953 edition, I, 644)

Other than this brief comment in The Republic, as Mahaffy says, there were "no eloquent protests against corporal punishment" in the Greek world (Mahaffy, 1881, 39).

Aristotle (384 - 322 B.C.), for instance, did not believe that education could be pleasant or easy: "Now obviously youths are not to

be instructed with a view to their amusement, for learning is no amusement, but is accompanied with pain" (Aristotle, Politics, 1943 edition, VIII, 5). Indeed should the child depart from desirable behaviour, he should be "disgraced and beaten" (Aristotle, Politics, VII, 17).

The Spartans

The Athenians were probably somewhat typical of most of the ancient Greek cities. But a notable exception was the more primitive, harsh and extremist society of Sparta. This society has provided an ideal for the efficient and obedient military state down to this century. Beatings were not only to promote obedience, but also to harden the body and soul, all in the service of the state.

The fullest picture of this is given in Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus, traditionally regarded as the founder of the Spartan system. These people regarded the sufferings of physical pain without protest as an integral part of courage, one of the most desirable aspects of manhood.

> Of these [youths], he who showed the most conduct and courage was made captain; they had their eyes on him, obeyed his orders, and underwent patiently whatsoever punishment he inflicted; so that the whole course of education was one of continuous exercise of a ready and perfect obedience.
> . . . .if they were taken in the fact of stealing, they were whipped without mercy, for thieving so ill and awkwardly.
>
> So seriously did the Lacedaemonian children go about their stealing, that a youth, having stolen a young fox and hid it under his coat, suffered it to tear out his very bowels with its teeth and claws and died upon the place rather than let it be seen. What is practised to this very day in Lacedaemon is enough to gain credit to this story, for I myself have seen several of the youths endure whipping to death at the foot of the altar of Diana.
>
> (Plutarch's Lives, 1950 edition, 62-64)

Here we have the same confusion we will see so often between ethics and motivation. Whereas many of the authors whom we look at

protest beating as debasing as well as preventing learning, the Spartans are typical of so many early, and indeed more recent, peoples in believing the opposite: it is right and noble for the man or boy to suffer deliberately inflicted pain; it will also spur him to greater efforts. Here, too, we have flagellation in a religious situation. As Diana, or Artemis to the Greeks, was, among other things, the goddess of fertility, we can assume that this ritual had its sexual purposes in training for the adult role.

The Romans

There are a number of references to the use of corporal punishment in Roman schools by such people as Plautus, Horace and Juvenal. Usually they describe the schools as places of regular beatings with the scutia, a leather strap, the ferula, a rod, the flagellum, a whip of a number of knotted strands, or the virga, a birch-switch (Monroe, 1913, 86). These are the instruments which have been used, with modifications and variations, down to the present.

For a picture typical of the time we can turn to Martial (40 - 104 A.D. ?).

> What right have you to disturb me, abominable school-
> master, object abhorred alike by boys and girls?
> Before the crested cocks have broken silence, you
> begin to roar out your savage scoldings and blows.
> (Martial, Epigrams, 1919 edition,
> IX, 68)

> Let the Scythian scourge with its formidable thongs, such
> as flogged Marsyas of Celaena, and the terrible cane,
> the schoolmaster's sceptre, be laid aside, and sleep
> until the Ides of October.
> (Ibid., X, 62)

Can we not feel here a contempt for the teacher who uses such methods for instruction? Perhaps one of the chief victims is the teacher who suffers disdain in the eyes of other men.

But one of the most influential men in the history of corporal punishment was also a Roman. Quintilian (35 - 95 A.D. ?) is the first practising schoolmaster whom we have considered. On the matter of corporal punishment he has no reservations whatsoever.

> By that boys should suffer corporal punishment, though it is received by custom, and Chrysippus makes no objection to it, I by no means approve; first, because it is a disgrace, and a punishment fit for slaves, and in reality (as will be evident if you imagine the age change) an affront; secondly, because, if a boy's disposition be so abject as not to be amended by reproof, he will be hardened, like the worst of slaves, even to stripes; and lastly, because, if one who regularly exacts his tasks be with him, there will not be the need of any chastisement. . . . Besides, after you have coerced a boy with stripes, how will you treat him when he becomes a young man, to whom such terror cannot be held out, and by whom more difficult studies must be pursued? Add to these considerations, that many things unpleasant to be mentioned, and likely afterwards to cause shame, often happen to boys while being whipped, under the influence of pain or fear; and such shame enervates and depresses the mind, and makes them shun people's sight and feel constant uneasiness . . .
> scandalously unworthy men may abuse the privilege of punishing, and what opportunity also the terror of the unhappy children may sometimes afford others.
>
> (Quintilian, <u>Institutes of Oratory</u>, 1856 edition, I, III)

The earliness and completeness of this opposition to corporal punishment is notable. Probably no more lucid indictment of it has been made in the succeeding two thousand years.

It is noteworthy that we have the mixture, or confusion of ethical and motivational arguments which we have mentioned before. We should not do it, on one hand, because it is debasing, an ethical stand; but also, we must not do it because it will hinder rather than help learning, even to the extent of turning men from it in the future. There is a third note added here, too: that the use of corporal punishment is often more a reflection of the teacher's character than a considered

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how clearly does each writer distinguish between motivational arguments (it doesn't work) and ethical arguments (it's morally wrong)? Or again, does he combine or confuse the two?

4. To what extent is the use of corporal punishment as a classroom practice a philosophical (or ethical) issue, and to what extent is it a psychological (or motivational) issue, at the present stage of research?

To put these in a more general form, who has supported or opposed corporal punishment in schools, to what extent, and for what reasons?

This study is in no way designed to bring forth any irrefutable proof either for or against the use of corporal punishment, if indeed any such study were possible. It is an attempt to help clarify the issue by looking at the historical development of the attitudes which are currently held.

teaching method.

It is worth pointing out that it is not so much the physical pain that concerns Quintilian, but the shame. The Spartans considered it noble to bear pain and saw nothing shameful in the beating itself, but Quintilian considered it appropriate only to slaves. The rightness or wrongness of corporal punishment, then, cannot be separated from the galaxy of attitudes that make up a society. The harm or good that an action can do largely depends on how the victim will likely react to it. And in large measure, a person reacts in the way his society expects him to react.

One other strong voice against corporal punishment was that of Plutarch (46 - 120 A.D. ?). His attitudes are very similar to Quintilian's in advocating more positive methods of motivation.

> This I also assert, that children ought to be led to honourable practices by means of encouragement and reasoning, and most certainly not by blows or ill-treatment, for it is surely agreed that these are fitting rather for slaves than the freeborn; for so they grow numb and shudder at their tasks, partly from the pain of the blows, partly from the degradation. Praise and reproof are more helpful for the free-born than any sort of ill-usage, since the praise incites them from what is disgraceful.
>
> (Plutarch, <u>The Education of Children</u>, 1927 edition, section 12)

Plutarch also tells us, with admiration, of the methods used by Marcus Cato in the upbringing of his children.

> A man who beat his wife or child laid violent hands, he said, on what was most sacred.
>
> . . . .
>
> When he [Cato's son] began to come to the years of discretion, Cato himself would teach him to read, although he had a servant, a very good grammarian, called Chilo, who taught many others; but he thought not fit, as he himself said, to have his son reprimanded by a slave, or pulled, it may be, by the ears, when found tardy in a lesson.
>
> (Plutarch, <u>Lives</u>, 426)

As with Quintilian, it is not the physical pain that Plutarch is concerned with, it is the indignity.

In Roman times, then, we see a few people who deliberately reject the accepted and traditional practice of controlling and teaching the child through the fear of physical pain. But from all the evidence we have, they were exceptional, and even though Quintilian and Plutarch were read widely, there is no evidence that they had any real effect in their own time on changing the methods of discipline.

The Middle Ages

Flogging was part and parcel, not just of education, but of life generally, in the Middle Ages. To some extent this was a bequest from Rome. "We may take it as certain that English and Western education directly inherited corporal punishment, as it inherited so many other vital characteristics, from Roman Imperial education" (Monroe, 1913, 85).

This may be so, but it was also a reflection of the violence and cruelty of Mediaeval times. And it was certainly reinforced by the Christian belief in the depravity of man. Beatings were administered to the physically and mentally sick as well as to the sinner, either by force or by his own request, for all these maladies were often attributed to the presence of evil in the accused. "To beat the devil" out of someone was not just a catch-phrase; it was often an attempt to purge a physical presence.

The universal practice of the clergy, including nuns, of thrashing each other, received sanction from the highest officers of the Church. The offences for which it was inflicted and the methods of infliction were laid down in greatest detail even to a special shirt which opened down the back - a device which has never, curiously, been incorporated

into school uniforms. That the severity and frequency of this punishment was due not only to motives of cruelty is shown by the extent to which voluntary self-flagellation was common.

> Indeed, voluntary self-whipping would have been regarded as the highest type of castigation, combining as it did all the usual virtues of the rod with the additional merits of abnegation, strength of will directed towards the Good, and the longing for perfection, to which correction - - whether we take it in a physical or a purely spiritual sense - - is ever the only road.
> (D'Olbert, 1956, 103)

This reached its peak in the Fourteenth Century in the Cult of the Flagellants, when long lines of believers travelled across Europe beating themselves and each other in penance for their own sins and those of society.

One of the most influential of Christian writers was St. Augustine (354 - 430). His attitude on the depravity of man is typical of an attitude which held sway for over a thousand years of Christian history.

He believed that man was an inherently sinful creature, who sinned against God even when he knew it was wrong, and he knew that he would be punished for it. In the following passage we see this idea being put forward as an analogy with the deliberately sinful child. He also presents the idea that children will prefer play to learning, even though the learning is necessary to their well being. Of additional interest is his comment on the hypocrisy of adults who punish children for sins which they, the adults, also commit.

> Is there anyone, Lord, with so high a spirit, cleaving to Thee with so strong an affection -- for even a kind of obtuseness may do that much -- but is there, I say, anyone who, by cleaving devoutly to Thee, is endowed with so great a courage that he can esteem lightly those racks and hooks, and varied tortures of the same sort, against which, throughout the whole world men supplicate thee with great fear, deriding those who most bitterly fear them, just as our parents derided the torments with which our masters punished us when we were

> boys? For we were no less afraid of our pains, nor did we pray less to Thee to avoid them; and yet we sinned, in writing or in reading, or in reflecting less on our lessons than was required of us. For we wanted not, O Lord, memory or capacity -- of which, by Thy will, we possessed enough for our age -- but we delighted only in play; and we were punished in this by those who were doing the same thing themselves. But the idleness of our elders they call business, while boys who do the like are punished by those same elders, and yet neither boys nor men find any pity.
>
> (St. Augustine, The Confessions, 1948 edition, X, IX)

Man is sinful, and the result of this sinfulness, without divine intervention, is punishment. He is, of course, speaking of man's relationship with God. But human nature is such that many men take for themselves the task of assisting God.

The Rule of St. Benedict laid down the methods to be used in that order of monks, and these were to become the model for other orders.

> Above all, there shall certainly be appointed one or two elderly brothers, who shall go round the monastery at the hours in which the brothers are engaged in reading, and see to it that no troublesome brother chance to be found who is open to idleness and trifling, and is not intent on his reading being no only of no use to himself, but also stirring up others. If such a one -- may it not happen -- be found, he shall be admonished once and a second time. If he do not amend, he shall be subject under the Rule to such punishment that others may have fear.
>
> (quoted in Cubberley's Readings, 1920, 58)

We know from other sources that corporal punishment was not only used in monasteries but was common. While this refers to monks, it is a fair assumption that the attitude towards children would be as stringent.

That the rules refer to corporal punishment only in passing indicates a general acceptance at that time of the procedure. There is no suggestion that the situation should be changed, or that the culprit's motives should be analysed; the offender must be punished, and to a degree that others will be deterred from the same actions.

But the picture is not entirely black. St. Jerome (331 - 420) recommends to a friend concerning his daughter's education: "Above all, that you must take care not to make her lessons distasteful to her lest a dislike for them conceived in childhood may continue into her maturer years" (St. Jerome, Letter to Laeta, quoted in Ulich's Readings, 1963, 165).

Luella Cole believes Alcuin (735 - 804), one of the best known teachers of the Middle Ages, and a protege of Charlemagne, was an exception.

> It is a reflection of his excellence as a teacher that, at a time when flogging was practically universal, there is no mention of it in Alcuin's letters. This omission is significant; since he wrote freely about whatever struck him as important and was always greatly concerned with the moral development of his pupils, he would certainly have mentioned flogging if he were in the habit of using such discipline.
>
> (Cole, 1965, 129)

This seems to be a very large inference. Rather it seems that if he objected to the prevailing practice he would have said so.

Generally it was expected by teacher and pupil alike that physical punishment was part of learning. In one of his Colloquies, Aelfric, Archbishop of Canterbury in the 10th Century, has a master say "Will you be flogged while learning?" which brings the reply "We would rather be flogged while learning than remain ignorant; but we know you will be kind to us and not flog us unless you are obliged" (quoted in McCallister, 1931, 115).

The Babees' Book was a book on manners that formed part of the education of Chivalry for the upper classes; it was probably first used in the 11th Century in France. The rules were written in verse form so that children might remember them easily. The following is a stanza from "How the Good Wife Taught her Daughter."

And if the children be rebel and will not bow them low,
If any of them misdo, neither curse them nor blow;*
But take a smart rod and beat them in a row,
Till they cry mercy and their guilt well know,
Dear child, by this lore
They will love thee ever more
My lief child.

*blow: scold

(quoted in Fuess and Basford, 1947, 552)

The following excerpt is from a Morality Play written by John Skelton (1460 ? - 1529) and first performed between 1515 and 1520. While no pretence is made that the work is significant in the development of educational thought, it probably reflects reasonably well the attitude of the times. As can be seen, the disobedience and sinfulness of children is blamed on parents' indulgence, particularly in their failure to use corporal punishment. Adversity speaks:

Yet sometimes I stryke where is none offence
Because I would proue men of theyr pacyence.
But nowe a dayes to stryke I have grete cause,
Lydderyns so lytell set by Goddes lawes,
Faders and moders that be neclygent,
And suffre theyr chyldren to have theyr entent,
To gyde them vertuously that wyll not remembre,
Them or theyr chyldren, bycause ofte tymes I dysmembre;
Theyr chyldren, bycause that they have no meknesse,
I vysyte theyr faders and moders with sekenesse;
And if I se therby they wyll not amende,
Then Myschefe sodaynly I them sende;
For there is nothynge that more dyspleaseth God
Than from theyr chyldren to spare the rod
Of correccyon, but let them have theyr Wyll.

(Skelton, Magnyfycence, 1908 edition, 60)

The influence of the Old Testament decrees can be seen here, and here also is reference to the long familiar English proverb, "Spare the rod and spoil the child."

Popular attitudes on corporal punishment supported by religious decree were to continue with little change from traditional practices for several centuries even after the Middle Ages merged into Modern Times.

Summary

Corporal punishment was frequent among primitive tribes, but not universal. In those early civilizations where a formal literary education was instituted, such punishment seems to have been universal procedure for maintaining discipline and enforcing learning. Probably the earliest record of justification for its use is that found in the Old Testament where it is advocated as necessary for saving the child's soul from damnation because of ignorance or error. Among the ancient Greeks and Romans it was accepted as the usual practice, possibly reinforced by the desire to develop hardiness and instant obedience. An extreme case of this latter was to be found among the Spartans. During the Middle Ages it was in general use supported by religious belief and popular opinion.

Only a few voices were raised against corporal punishment before modern times. Plato, though not consistant, opposed it on one occasion. The strongest voices against its use were those of Quintilian and Plutarch, their main objection being that it debased the receiver; but they also maintained that it was a poor teaching method in that it did more to prevent learning than to help it.

Among early societies it is difficult to separate its use as a time-worn practice from religious purgation, sexual stimulation, the general violence of the times, and an easy method of compulsion in place of more subtle teaching methods. There was unlikely to be any reform until a sophisticated methodology of teaching was developed and the concepts of the child's nature and rights were changed.

CHAPTER III

THE RISE OF HUMANISM AND THE CONFLICT WITH TRADITION

In the Middle Ages, one teaching method prevailed -- the fear of the rod; after 1450, artistic, intellectual and political outlooks and practices changed rather quickly, but social practices were much slower to change, education being one of them. But by the end of the period covered in this chapter, that is, about 1800, a vocal and ever-growing minority held that the traditional method of beating knowledge into a child was not only debasing, but also self-defeating.

Renaissance Italy

The intellectual revolution of the 14th century and later, which had its beginnings in Italy and which is usually called the Renaissance, had its educational dimension. This was partly, if not largely, stimulated by the rediscovery of classical writers including Plutarch and Quintilian. The first man to show the new influences was Pietro Paolo Vergerio (1340 - 1420), and significantly one of his major contributions was an exposition of Quintilian's Education of an Orator. The influence of this Classical writer can be seen in Vergerio's own work, On the Manners of a Gentleman and on Liberal Studies:

> The master must judge how far he can rely on emulation, rewards, encouragement; how far he must have recourse to sterner measures. Too much leniency is objectionable; so also is too much severity, for we must avoid all that terrifies a boy.
>
> (edited by Woodward, 1963, 103)

The moderation and avoidance of fear recommended here are very important. The emphasis is on the teacher's responsibility to find a moderate approach; Vergerio seems to recognise that no set rules or

methods are a substitute for good sense. In another passage, he also seems to recognise that a certain high spiritedness is natural to children and should be allowed to run its course, rather than be treated as something to be corrected by punishment.

> This [flux of bodily humours], moreover, produces also that intensity or passion in all that they do which scarcely admits of precepts of moderation, and certainly not of harsh condemnation, for it belongs to their age, and has its proper function in early years.
> (Woodward, 1963, 99)

The most influential of the Italian teachers of this period was Vittorino da Feltre (1378 - 1446) who is referred to by William Boyd as "the first modern schoolmaster" (Boyd, 1961, 164). W.H. Woodward, who has studied the educators of this period in depth, says of Vittorino:

> Naturally quick-tempered, he had schooled himself to a self-control which never gave way except in the face of irreverence or looseness. Corporal punishment was seldom resorted to, and then only after deliberation, and as the alternate to expulsion. For ill-prepared work the penalty imposed was the compulsory re-learning of the task after school hours. But it was a part of Vittorino's purpose to attract rather than to drive, and to respect the dignity and the freedom of his boys.
> (Woodward, 1965, 34)

The third of the noted early Humanist educators, Battista Guarino (1374 - 1460) shows the influence of Quintilian even more clearly than the others on this topic. We can see in the following passage ideas almost identical to those in the passage quoted earlier from Quintilian.

> Faults, moreover, imbibed in early years, as Horace reminds us, are by no means easy to eradicate. Next, the master must not be prone to flogging as an inducement to learning. It is an indignity to a free-born youth, and its infliction renders learning itself repulsive, and the dread of it provokes to unworthy evasions on the part of timorous boys. The scholar is thus morally and intellectually injured, the master is deceived, and the discipline altogether fails in its purpose. The habitual instrument of the teacher must be kindness, though punishment should be retained as it were in the background as a final resource. In the case of older boys, emulation and the sense of shame, which shrinks

> from the discredit of failure, may be relied upon. I advise also that boys, at this stage, work together with a view to encouraging a healthy spirit of rivalry between them, from which much benefit may be expected. Large classes should be discouraged, especially for beginners, for though a fair average excellence may be apparently secured, thorough grounding, which is so important, is impossible.
>
> (edited by Woodward, 1963, 163)

We see here, then, as we saw in Quintilian a mixture of ethical and motivational arguments. It is debasing and it will not work. The methods to be used in place of corporal punishment are those recommended by the earlier writer. While Guarino does not mention, as does Quintilian, that the teacher's character may be at fault, there is a new note, a hint that teaching conditions, specifically class size, may influence the success or otherwise of the teacher.

It is difficult to assess the influence of these men outside their schools, but we can see in their work the application of philosophical principles to teaching practices. They did not adopt the prevailing practices, but attempted to develop methods which were on the one hand humane, and on the other hand efficacious, and were successful to a remarkable degree. Perhaps the most significant aspect of their achievement was that they were practising teachers, not scholars or philosophers laying down abstract principles which others would be expected to put into practice.

The Northern Renaissance

As would be expected from a man of such wide interests, the greatest of the Humanist writers, Desiderius Erasmus (1466 - 1536), also had much to say on education. Even though he was not a practising schoolteacher himself, his work is of particular note because his comments are on such a human and practical level, and because he was so widely read and influential.

As can be seen in the following passage from De pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis (On the liberal education of boys from the beginning) he places the fault for most of the use of flogging on the lazy or incompetent teacher. The damage it can do in driving the child from learning is clearly emphasized.

> A poor master, we are prepared to find, relies almost wholly upon fear of punishment as the motive to work. To frighten a whole class is easier than to teach one boy properly; for the latter is, and always must be, a task as serious as it is honorable. It is equally true of states: the rule which carries the respect and consent of the citizens demands higher qualities in the Prince than does the tyranny of forces. . . . Perhaps there is a difference in the method by which boys of different countries need to be handled, though for my part I consider it far more a matter of individual rather than of national temperament. For instance, there are natures which you will rather break than bend by flogging: whilst by kindness and wise stimulus you may do anything with them. . . . Do schoolmasters consider how many earnest, studious natures have been by this type -- the hangman type -- crushed into indifference? Masters who are conscious of their own incompetence are generally the worst floggers. What else can they do? They cannot teach so they beat. By degrees it becomes a positive pleasure to them to torture, especially when they are self-indulgent men, or slothful or cruel by nature.
>
> (Erasmus, 1964 edition, 205-206)

This last statement is the earliest noted by the present writer that clearly recognizes the existence of "sadism" in connection with teaching, a human state that did not even have a name until the 19th Century.

In the previous passage Erasmus has been concerned with the use of beating as a poor instructional procedure. He then goes on to state, as Quintilian did, that it is ignoble for a person, including a child, to suffer from this indignity. The passage is particularly significant because in it he rejects the Old Testament view which dominated Europe for centuries before and after the time of Erasmus.

> It is indeed, the mark of the servile nature to be drilled by fear; why then do we suffer children (whose very name imports free men, "liberi" -- those born fit for a "liberal" training --), to be treated as slaves, might be ? Yet even slaves, who are men like the rest of us, are by wise masters freed from something of their servile state by humane control. Let a father stand towards his son in a more kindly relation than that of a master towards his serfs. If we put away tyrants from their thrones, why do we erect a new tyranny for our own sons? Is it not meet that Christian peoples cast forth from their midst the whole doctrine of slavery in all its forms? Paul shows us that a slave is a "dear brother"; and that all Christian believers, whether bond or free, are fellow servants of one Lord. In speaking of parents as regards their children the Apostle warns them that they "provoke not their children to wrath, but bring them up in the chastening and admonition of the Lord." And what the "chastening" of the Lord Jesus should imply, he may readily perceive who considers with what gentleness, forgiveness, affection, He trained, cherished, and bore with his own disciples.
>
> (Erasmus, 1964 edition, 206-207)

He sums up his position as follows:

> Teaching by beating, therefore, is not a liberal education. Nor should the schoolmaster indulge in too strong and too frequent language of blame. Medicine constantly repeated loses its force. You may quote against me the old proverb: "He that spareth the rod hateth his own son."
> Well perhaps, that may have been true of the Jews. But I do not accept it as true for Christians today. If we are to "bow the necks" and "chastise", as we are bidden to do, let us see to it that the rod we use is the word of guidance or of rebuke, such as free men may obey, that our discipline be of kindness and not of vindictiveness.
>
> (Erasmus, 1964 edition, 208)

His alternative is worth noting, for it may well be argued by some that its effects on the child could be far worse than the occasional beating.

> But I am, at heart, with Quintilian in deprecating flogging under any conditions. If then you ask, "What is to be done with boys who respond to no other spur?" My answer is: "What would you do if an ox or an ass strayed into your classroom?" Turn him out to the plough or the pack-saddle, no doubt. Well, so there are boys good only for the farm or manual toil; send your dunces there for their own good.
>
> (Erasmus, 1964 edition, 209)

There is something rather curious here: the child must not suffer

the indignity of being treated like a slave -- but he is to be treated like an animal.

While Erasmus' attack on corporal punishment is the strongest one we have seen so far, his arguments are not significantly different from Quintilian's.

Before leaving this writer, the following Colloquy is worth quoting, partly because it shows his understanding of the effect that fear can have on the child's attitude to school, and partly because it uses the narrative form which is much more effective as a propaganda vehicle than the exposition. We can see here an early example of the method which Dickens was later to use with such power.

> John: And you're familiar with the master's severity. To him every fault is a capital crime. He no more spares our backsides than if they were bullhide.
> Sylvius: But he won't be at school.
> John: Then what substitute has he appointed?
> Sylvius: Cornelius.
> John: That goggle-eyes? Woe to our backsides. He's worse than Orbilius when it comes to flogging.
> Sylvius: True, and therefore I've often prayed he'd get paralized in the arm.
> John: It's not right to curse the master. Instead we ought to be careful not to fall into the tyrant's clutches.
> Sylvius: Let's take turns repeating the lesson, one reciting and the other looking in the book.
> John: A good idea.
> Sylvius: See that you keep your wits about you, for fear blocks the memory.
> John: I could easily lay my fright aside as if there were no danger. But who could be free from anxiety in such extreme peril.
> Sylvius: Admitted; but it's not a matter of off with your head but off with your hide.
> (Erasmus, 1965 edition, 132)

This is no doubt a fair representation of many, or even most, teaching situations in Erasmus' time. It is of particular interest because it gives a dramatic, yet psychologically sound, representation of the child's point of view.

Another loud outcry against what he considered the barbarous teaching practices of his time comes from Michel de Montaigne (1533 - 1592). His approach is also generally the same as Quintilian's; that is, he objects to corporal punishment both because it humiliates the child, and because it does more to prevent than to help the child learn. His position is presented in the following rather long, but persuasive, passage.

> For the rest, this education is to be carried on with severe gentleness, not as is customary. Instead of being invited to letters, children are shown in truth nothing but horror and cruelty. Away with violence and compulsion. There is nothing to my mind which so depraves and stupefies a wellborn nature. If you would like him to fear shame and chastisement, don't harden him to them. Harden him to sweat and cold and wind and sun, and the dangers he must scorn; wean him from all softness and delicacy in dressing and sleeping, eating and drinking; accustom him to everything. Let him be a pretty boy and a little lady, but a lusty and vigorous youth.
>
> . . . .
>
> As a boy, a man, and a graybeard, I have always thought and judged in the same way. But, among other things, I have always disliked the discipline of most of our schools. They might have erred less harmfully by leaning towards indulgence. They are a real jail of captive youth. They make them slack, by punishing them for slackness before they show it. Go in at lesson time: you hear nothing but cries, both from tortured boys and from masters drunk with rage. What a way to arouse zest for their lessons in these tender and timid souls, to guide them to it with horrible scowl and hands armed with rods! Wicked and pernicious system. Besides, as Quintilian very rightly remarked, this imperious authority brings on dangerous consequences, and especially in our manner of punishment. How much more fittingly would their classes be strewn with flowers and leaves than with the bloody stumps of rods! I would have portraits there of Joy and Gladness, and Flora and the Graces, as the philosopher Speusippus had in his school. Where there profit is, let there frolic be also. Healthy foods should be sweetened for the child, and harmful ones dipped in gall.
>
> (Montaigne, no date, 122-123)
>
> To return to my subject, there is nothing like arousing appetite and affection; otherwise all you make out of

> them is asses loaded with books. By dint of whipping, they are given their pocketful of learning for safekeeping; but if learning is to do us any good, we must not merely lodge it within us, but expose it.
>
> (Ibid., 131)

While the logic may be the same as Quintilian's, the compassion for the child, the feeling that the way of education should be involved in the beauty, joy and reality of nature, foreshadows the Romantic writers. In this environment, the infliction of violence by man on child has no part.

It is worth quoting the following passage, for it shows Montaigne's recognition that many children can be annealed to physical punishment. Some may call this brutalizing them, others may call it hardening, but whatever it is called, we must note that excessive use diminishes the effectiveness of most motivations, including pain.

> I have seen men, women, and children naturally so constituted that a beating is less to them than a flick of the finger to me; who moves neither tongue nor eyebrows at the blows they receive.
>
> (Montaigne, no date, 113)

Much of Montaigne's approach results from his understanding of the different types of responses, both emotional and intellectual, that different children will give to the same treatment. He scorns the common practice of trying to teach "many minds of different attainments and kinds with the same lesson and same discipline" (Montaigne, no date, 134).

Both Erasmus and Montaigne were to be among the most widely read essayists for several hundreds of years. Their comments on education and the treatment of children must have stimulated others to think along similar lines. And it is likely that their readers, in an age when literacy and culture were the possession of a few, would be in positions to influence others either through persuasion or decree.

Protestant Leaders

Probably the most important social changes in this period were part of or the result of the religious Reformation. A central theme for the Protestants was a return to the Bible as the sole and unquestionable authority. This would have an effect on education, for where schools were organised, they were usually under the direction of the church; where private tutors were employed, if they were not clergy, then they would most probably be trained by clergy.

A literal adoption of Old Testament edicts dominates the attitude of Martin Luther (1483 - 1546) towards corporal punishment. His premises are quite clear: the child's soul must be saved at the expense of all other things including his body, and man is constantly tempted to evil; the conclusion is quite clear.

> A false love blinds parents so that they regard the body of their child more than his soul. Hence the wise man says, 'He that spareth his rod hateth his son; but he that loveth him chasteneth him betimes' (Prov. XIII, 24)
> . . . .
> Hence it is highly necessary that all parents regard the soul of their child more than his body, and look upon him as a precious, eternal treasure, which God has entrusted to them for preservation, so that the world, the flesh, and the devil do not destroy him. For at death and in the judgement they will have to render a strict account of their stewardship.
>
> (quoted in Painter, 1889, 124)

The emphasis on the responsibility of the parent to bring his children up rightly as shown here, is further emphasized. The well-meaning parent would surely have to stifle his sympathies if he really cared for his child.

> Such people as thus fondle and indulge their children must bear the sins of their children as if committed by themselves.
>
> (Ibid., 125)

But he warns against excessive "passionate violence" on the part

of the parent for

> . . . such discipline begets in the child's mind which is yet tender, a state of fear and imbecility, and develops a feeling of hate towards the parents, so that it often runs away from home.
>
> (Ibid., 123)

That he was prepared to follow his own pronouncements is shown in his biography. When others tried to intercede on behalf of his disobedient son, Luther replied, "I would rather have a dead than a disobedient son" (Ibid., 123).

It is clear, then, that Luther was committed to beating for the correction of moral deviation. Whether he was willing to recommend it also for the promotion of learning, is not clear. But it seems likely, for a common attitude of the time was that failure to learn was a form of disobedience. Luther does recognize, though, the dangers of the punisher allowing his own emotions to influence the fairness or appropriateness of the punishment.

Much of the success of Calvin and his followers was based on their effective educational system. John Knox (1505? - 1572) is particularly significant for English speaking countries, for the work he did in Scotland was to be one of the roots from which the North American schools sprang.

As one of the great leaders of the religious Reform movement, Knox spent much of his energies on education; but his comments are mainly of an organisational nature. He says almost nothing about teaching methods, but in his dedication to the end product, we can read between the lines that he felt strong measures should be taken if necessary.

The purpose of education is "to mak the man of God perfite", and to "abolischet" all "contrarie Doctrine". This is to be achieved with

teaching, and if necessary, "punyschement" (Knox, 1848, 185). And should students show ability "then mai thei not be permittit to reject learning" (Ibid., 211).
This may well be the most formidable understatement in the history of teaching.

The "tawse", a rawhide strap, was to become the emblem of the Scottish schoolmaster both at home and in the colonies, and apparently still makes its mark to-day.

Many Protestant leaders continued this attitude down to the present century. John Wesley (1703 - 1791), founder of the Methodist movement, shows quite clearly his literal acceptance of the Old Testament approach.

> Break your child's will, in order that it may not perish. Break its will as soon as it can speak plainly -- or even before it can speak at all. It should be forced to do as it is told, even if you have to whip it ten times running. Break its will, in order that its soul may live.
> (quoted by James, 1902, 182)

Toward the end of the Nineteenth Century this continuing influence of the literal acceptance of the Old Testament edicts is shown by F.V. Painter, the editor of Luther's educational works. After describing Luther's acceptance of the need for corporal punishment, Painter commends him as follows: "Luther's nature was far too sound ever to sink into morbid sentimentality" (Painter, 1889, 124).

But there was one Protestant leader who stands out as being an educator far ahead of his time, John Amos Comenius (1592 - 1670). By Comenius' own description, there was a great need for improvement in teaching methods.

> The method used in instructing the young has generally been so severe that schools have been looked on as terrors for boys and shambles for their poor intellects.
> (Comenius, 1967 edition, XI, 7)

In his comments on discipline, Comenius was very close to Quintilian, though not as clear as he might have been.

> Now no discipline of a severe kind should be exercised in connection with studies or literary exercises, but only where questions of morality are at stake.
> (Ibid., XXVI, 4)

But he later says:

> Finally, if some characters are unaffected by gentle methods, recourse must be had to more violent ones, and every means should be tried before any pupil is pronounced impossible to teach. Without doubt there are many to whom the proverb "Beating is the only thing that improves a Phrygian" applies with great force. And it is certain that, even if such measures do not produce any great effect on the boy who is punished, they act as a great stimulus to the others by inspiring them with fear.
> (Ibid., XXVI, 9)

Probably what has happened here, as happens with so many teachers, is that there is a theoretical objection, but faced with a particularly recalcitrant child, the principle gives way to expediency.

The arguments he advances against corporal punishment as a stimulus to learn are the usual ones. Frequently, the teacher, with his poor methods, is more at fault than the child; the use of force may do more harm than good by bringing about a strong dislike for learning; other methods are much better:

> The gardener . . . does not apply the pruning knife to plants that are immature. In the same way a musician does not strike his lyre a blow with his fist or with a stick, nor does he throw it against the wall because it produces a discordant sound; but, setting to work on scientific principles he tunes it and gets it into order.
> (Ibid., XXVI, 4)

Some of his alternatives, though, are as strongly opposed to-day as corporal punishment. He strongly advocates, for instance, public humiliation for the slow learner. "It is often of use to laugh at the backward ones" (Ibid., XXVI, 5). He apparently feels that mental tor-

ture is an acceptable substitute for physical torture.

Comenius does not hesitate to recommend physical discipline for moral delinquencies, such as going against God, for disobedience, for stubbornness and premeditated misbehaviour, conscious neglect of duty, pride, disdain, envy, idleness, and even for refusing to help a fellow student who asks for it.

Continental Education before 1800

The Catholic religious orders which established schools paid much attention to the prescription of teaching practices, including methods of discipline.

The following quotations are from Rules for the Professor of Moral Philosophy in the Ratio Studiorum of 1599 issued by a committee of the Society of Jesus appointed by the fourth general. This Plan of Studies was an authoritative regulation not only of subject, but also of method to be used in Jesuit schools.

> Rule 38. The Corrector. Because of those who have erred in industry or in those matters which pertain to good morals, and since mere good words and urgings will not affect them, let there be appointed a Corrector who is not of the society.
>
> Rule 39. The Case for Those Who Refuse Correction. Those who refuse punishment are either to be compelled, if it can be safely done, or if at any time they would seem improper, namely, with order students, they are to be forbidden to attend school with the knowledge, however, of the Rector; and the same is for those who are frequently absent from class.
>
> Rule 41. Punishment. If an occasion arises when it is not a sufficient remedy for the scandal given to expel from classes, let him bring the matter before the Rector that he may decide what further is fitting to be done. Still as much as is possible the affair must be conducted in a spirit of gentleness, with peace and charity toward all.
>
> Rule 42. Method of Punishment. Let there be no haste in punishing, nor too much in accusing; let him rather dissimulate, when he can without hurt to anyone; and let him

> not punish anyone himself (for that is the duty of the Corrector), but abstain entirely from injury in word or attack in deed; let him not call anyone by any other name than his own, or his surname; sometimes it is helpful, in place of punishment, to add some literary task beyond the daily assignment. Let him refer to the Prefect any unusual or severe penalty.
> (quoted in Ulich, 1963, 28)

Unfortunately we do not have a statement from the authors of these rules as to why they felt them necessary or desirable. One way of looking at them is that they seek to prevent what was common practice, so if we take what was regulated against, we get a picture of some of the customs of the time.

Another way of looking at them, is to ask on what philosophy of teaching practice, or ideals of life are they based? The following are some suggestions. The relationship between the teacher and student must be a cordial one which can be damaged if the teacher inflicts punishment; therefore someone other than the teacher must punish. It is inevitable that some students will misbehave to the point of interfering with, or preventing, the learning of others; something must be done to stop this. When punishment must be given, it must not be in the heat of the moment. We should note with interest the recognition that ridicule, for example by name-calling, can be just as harmful to a teacher-student relationship as physical punishment.

That the theory of the Jesuits was put into practice is generally attested.

> Yet though repression of natural impulse was an essential part of the system, the discipline of the schools was never harsh. Physical punishments were rare, and every endeavour was made to make love of the teacher and the school rather than external co-ercion the impelling motive for work.
> (Boyd, 1952, 207)

A member of the Order of the Oratory, founded in France in 1614,

Père Lamy, writing in 1683, said of the methods of his religious order:

> There are many other ways besides the rod, and to lead pupils back to their duty, a caress, a threat, the hope of a reward, or the fear of humiliation, has greater efficiency than whips. There is needed a sort of politics to govern this little community, --to lead them through their inclinations; to foresee the effect of reward and punishments, and to employ them according to their proper use. There are times of stubbornness when a child would sooner be killed than yield.
>
> (quoted by Compayré, 1887, 153)

Jean Baptiste de la Salle (1651 - 1719) set forth the methods to be used by his teachers of the Institute of Christian Brothers in <u>The Conduct of Schools</u>. As would be expected in such a practical work, discipline is dealt with in detail.

> Experience affords sufficient proof, that to perfect those who are committed to our care, we must act in a manner both gentle and firm. . . . The correction of the pupils is one of the most important things to be done in schools, and one which requires the greatest care in order that it be timely and beneficial.
>
> (quoted by Battersby, 1949, 97)

De la Salle then enumerates the various methods to be used: the Reprimand, Penances, the Ferule, the Rod, and finally, Expulsion.

> 37. The Freres shall take the greatest care that they very rarely punish their children, as they ought to be persuaded that, by refraining as much as possible from punishment, they will best succeed in properly conducting a school, and in establishing order in it.
>
> 38. When punishment shall have become absolutely necessary, they shall take the greatest care to punish with the greatest moderation and presence of mind, and never to do it under the influence of a hasty movement, or when they fell irritated.
>
> 39. They shall watch over themselves that they never exhibit the least anger or impatience, either in their corrections, or in any of their words or actions; as they ought to be convinced, that if they do not take these precautions the scholars will not profit from their correction, (and the Freres ought never to correct except with the object of benefiting children) and God will not give the correction His blessing.

> 40. They shall not at any time give to their scholars any injurious epithet or insulting name.
>
> 41. They shall also take the greatest care not to strike their scholars with hand, foot, or stick, nor to push them rudely.
>
> 42. They shall take great care not to pull their ears, their hair, or their noses, nor to fling anything at them; these kinds of corrections ought not to be practised by the Freres, as they are very indecent and opposed to charity and Christian kindness.
>
> 43. They shall not correct their scholars during prayers, or at the time of catechising, except when they cannot defer the correction.
>
> 44. They shall not use corporal punishment, except when every other means of correction has failed to produce the right effect.
>
> (in Cubberley's Readings, 1920, 284)

There is an interesting similarity between these rules and the ones that were introduced in North America after the 1830's. As one translation of them was made and published at that time in the American Journal of Education by the prominent American educator, Barnard, they seem to have set a pattern which was to be widely followed.

There are two things that emerge from the Brothers' Rules quite strongly. One is that teachers must never let their own resentments and frustrations intrude in the administration of punishment. The second is that the child's individuality, sensibilities and dignities are to be respected. This is clearly spelled out in the following passage.

> When a teacher, not considering himself, does not know how to sympathize with the weakness of children, he exaggerates their faults, reprimands and punishes them, and acts as though he were dealing with an insensible instrument rather than with a creature of reason.
>
> (quoted by Battersby, 1949, 98)

Great care must be taken that the child feels that the punishment is just and appropriate, and that no long term harm such as general dislike for school comes from the administration of punishment.

The list of offences for which punishment is to be given are all moral; there is no mention of such things as failure to learn. Punishment is necessary for subbornness, but care is taken to distinguish between stubbornness, which is wilful misbehaviour or inattention, and the merely heedless, whose "faults do not come from pure malice, but thoughtlessness" (quoted by Cole, 1965, 387).

De la Salle's biographer quotes a M. Blain, who visited the schools in 1773.

> The brothers practised the method of teaching with hardly any use of punishments with such effect that they began to make it a rule to exclude punishment entirely from their schools.
>
> (quoted by Battersby, 1949, 98)

In 1811, a revision of The Conduct of Schools removed corporal punishment from the list of acceptable practices. In 1870, Frere Philip said "imperative circumstances no longer permit us to tolerate corporal punishment in our schools"(quoted by Compayre, 1887, 271).

It would seem that if physical punishment is the measure used, it was better to be a Catholic child than a Protestant child in those days.

An influential French secular writer during his own time, Rollin (1661 - 1741) published his Treatise on Studies in 1726 to 1728. It was "not like Emile which was published twenty years later, a work of venturesome inquiry and original novelties; but it is a faithful exposition of the methods in use, and a discreet commentary on them" (Compayré, 1887, 236). He hesitantly allows the use of the rod, but denounces it for all but extreme and desperate cases. The approach to all punishments should be reasonable, with the master being sure that it is not carried out in anger (see Compayre, 1887, 250-251).

In 1607, Henry IV of France wrote to the governor of the future Louis XIII:

> I complain because you did not inform me that you had whipped my son; for I desire and order you to whip him every time that he shall be guilty of obstinacy or of anything else that is bad; for I well know that there is nothing in the world that can do him more good than that. This I know from the lessons of experience, for when I was his age, I was soundly flogged.
>
> (quoted by Compayre, 1887, 147)

Two hundred years later, opinion in France was strongly against corporal punishment except in extreme cases. In the 19th Century it was eliminated in contrast to and as an example for English speaking countries.

In Prussia, August Herman Francke (1663 - 1727) had a great influence on the establishment of, and the methods used in the elementary schools. Francke's encouragement of education, his curriculum and his methods all stem from his desire to see the wickedness of human nature conquered. That discipline should be based on love, but a love that is restrained and controlled, is shown in the following passage.

> It generally happens that most teachers out of lack of adequate experience and love try to compel goodness through sharp external punishment rather than to enfold those entrusted to their care in a spirit of love and to bring their hearts to goodness with fatherly loyalty, patience and foresight. Whoever has such paternal affection . . . will not neglect admonition and punishment; however, insofar as is possible he will not disrupt education by use of physical force and hardness, nor give in in the least to the feeling of anger, but with all kindness and sweetness he will plant in their hearts a childish fear of God and a love toward God and Christ. With friendliness a teacher makes more progress than with everlasting scolding and beating. . . . No child should be scolded or punished because he is slow to learn. The teacher should not become impatient and angry if a child, because of limited ability, cannot immediately grasp something, but he should in gentleness and patience that much the more diligently teach . . . . Profane words and ridicule are absolutely not to be used on children, since they are more hurt than helped thereby. A teacher may not call them, out of impatience, oxen, asses, pigs, dogs, beasts, fools, scoundrels, swineherds and so on, and still less children of the devil. One shall not swear at them, nor wish them evil . . . . No child is to be struck on the head with the hand, with a stick, a rule or a

> book. Still less may one box a child's ears . . . because the children do not profit thereby and such harm may be done to both their spirit and health. No child should be pulled hither by the arms, yanked by the ear, nor flicked with the stick on the hands or fingers . . . . In all punishment one must consider the individuality of the child, so that the teacher should take care to learn the disposition of his children, so that he will not discipline the shy and sensitive spirits as he does the hardened and imprudent children; for more children can be won with words than with blows.
>
> (quoted by Cole, 1965, 389-390)

Francke was apparently quite prepared to use corporal punishment, but not from the whim of the moment, and only in a prescribed way, for prescribed offences. He recognized that each child must be treated as an individual in such matters, that excessive punishment can do harm, and, in particular, he warned against using it as a motivation for learning, particularly for the less able.

But general reform in Germany had to wait for the influence of Pestalozzi at the end of the Eighteenth Century. Speaking in 1846, a Dr. Diesterwerg contrasted the schools of before the reforms, with his own time.

> Parents governed children, too young to attend, by threats of the schoolmaster and the school; and when they went it was with fear and trembling. The rod, the cane, the raw-hide, were necessary apparatus in each school. The punishments of the teacher exceeded those of a prison. Kneeling on peas, sitting on the shame bench, standing in the pillory, wearing an ass-cap, standing before the school door in the open street with a label on the back or breast, and other similar devices, were the remedies which the rude men of the age devised.
>
> (Cubberley's Readings, 1920, 389)

In the schools of the Catholic orders and later in the Prussian schools we have an organised system of education where regulations were set out, not only for content, but also for teaching methods. These regulations were carefully thought out and imposed, and supervised from the top. In an age when the cry is for teachers to be allowed inde-

pendence of method, and for freedom from supervision, it is well to remember that while regulations may prevent the development of new and better methods, they may also eliminate undesirable practices and control hasty and inappropriate personal whims. In the history of corporal punishment, this appears to have happened; corporal punishment as a general procedure was not done away with first of all by the personal convictions of the teachers, but by the imposition of regulations by a controlling authority.

England to the 18th Century

While the political, economic and other social changes in England were tremendous between 1500 and 1800, little change occurred in the methods of controlling the child; the rod was as much the agent of motivation and discipline in 1800 as it had been in the Middle Ages. Public opinion towards cruelty in all its forms changed little, and the attitudes of the clergy, as moral leaders, continued to support this view.

In the plays of William Shakespeare (1564 - 1616) we see a reflection of the attitudes of the time.

> Take thy correction mildly. Kiss the rod.
> (King Richard II, Act V, Sc 1)

> Fie, fie! how wayward is this foolish love,
> That like a testy babe, will scratch the nurse
> And presently all humbled, kiss the rod.
> (Two Gentlemen of Verona, Act I, Sc. I)

There is general acceptance of corporal punishment as a usual method of gaining obedience, and an expectation that the victim will, after the event, be grateful that he has been corrected while bearing no hard feelings.

The attitude of John Brinsley (1585 - 1665) seems to be typical of the time. In his Ludus Literarius, or The Grammar Schoole, arranged in

the form of a dialogue between two schoolmasters, we have a description of the methods which they feel are practical; it includes ten pages "of execution of justice in schooles by punishments." Corporal punishment is given the following authority.

> Finally, as God hath sanctified the rod and correction, to cure the evils of their conditions, to drive out that folly which is bound up in their hearts, to save their soules from hell, and to give them wisdome, so it is to be used as Gods instrument to these purposes. To spare them in the cases is to hate them. To love them is to correct them betime. Do it under God, and for him to these ends and with these cautions, and you shall never hurt them: you have the Lord for your warrant. Correction in such manner, for stubbornnesse, negligence and carelessnesse, is not to be accounted over-great severitie, much lesse crueltie.
>
> (Brinsley, 1612, 290)

No detail is too unimportant to be left out.

> To this end to appoint 3. or 4. of your schollars, whom you knowe to bee honest, and strong enough, or moe if need be, to lay hands upon him together, to hold him fast, over some fourme, so that he cannot stir hand nor foot, or else if no other remedy will serve, to hold him to some post (which is farre the safest and free from inconvenience) so as he cannot any way hurt himselfe or others, be he never so peevish. Neither that he can have hope by any device or turning, or by his apparell, or any other meanes to escape.
>
> (Ibid., 289)

Perhaps we should hesitate to condemn Brinsley and his fellows when we look at the stultifying curriculum, the general acceptance of violence, and the ignorance of any alternative methods of child management at the time.

Brinsley does see the value of making the school as inviting as possible.

> Let the schoole be made unto them a place of play: and the children drawne on by that pleasant delight which ought to be, it can then no more hinder their growth then their play doth, but rather further it, when they sit at their ease; besides that continuall experience doth confure this errour.
>
> (Ibid., 10)

In the midst of this harshness, there was one voice of protest, but a voice which, however reasonable it may appear today, was not strong enough to affect the prevailing opinion. Roger Ascham (1515 - 1568) is an outstanding example of those people who are so far ahead of their time, that only later generations can appreciate their value.

Ascham's first book, "teachyng the bringing up of youth," in his The Scholemaster, is basically a proposal that punishment should not be used to bring about learning, but should be replaced by praise and encouragement. His belief in human dignity and his compassion for the punished is seen in such phrases as "they would rather break him than bow him, rather mar him than mend him."

But his main criticism in the arguments he presents, is based on the uselessness of this as an aid to efficient learning. What is the use, he asks, in punishing a child for what he is? The only thing you succeed in doing is to make him hate the things you are trying to teach him.

> Whereby many Scholers, that might else prove well, be driven to hate learning, before they know what learning meaneth: and so are mad willing to forsake their booke, and be glad to put to any kinde of living.
> (Ascham, 1863 edition, xiv)

> But this I will say that even the wisest of your great beaters, do as oft punishe nature, as they do correct faultes.
> (Ibid., 11)

Much of the beating, he feels, is the result of the character of the teacher, or some private annoyance he has, rather than the student's lack of response.

> Foe commonlie, many scholemasters, some, as I have seen, moe, as I have heard tell, be of so crooked a nature, as, when they meete with a hard witted scholer, they rather break him, than bowe him, rather marre him, than mende him, For when the scholemaster is angrie with some other matter, then will he sonest faul to beat his

> scholer: and though he him selfe should be punished for
> his folie, yet must he beate some scholer for his
> pleasure: though there be no cause for him to do so.
> (Ibid., 11)

Another strong objection to punishment is that it is only a temporary help to learning: "But any learning learned by compulsion, tarieth not long in the minde" (Ibid., 28).

The relationship between the student and the teacher is a very important one if the student is to seek help when in difficulty. "Let your scholer be never afraide, to aske you any dout, but use discretlie the best allurements ye can, to encourage him to fame" (Ibid., 15). What then should be substituted? "Love is the best allurement to learning . . . love is better than fear, gentleness better than beating" (Ibid., 68). The student, unlike that of Shakespeare, should come willingly to school: "the Scholehouse should be in deede, as it is called by name, the house of playe and pleasure, and not of feare and bondage" (Ibid., xv).

Ascham compares how eagerly the young gentlemen run to the stable, but must be forced to school. He says this is because of the superior teaching methods of the riding master who by "jentle allurements" breeds in them a love of riding. In the school they find fear and bondage; in the stable they find encouragement and freedom (Ibid., 29). Here Ascham seems to be overstating his case, however, for it is difficult to believe that even with the best teaching methods, or allurements, that most children would ever go to learn Latin as willingly as they would to ride horses.

We must be careful not to mistake what Ascham is advocating. He is against using punishment as a motivational device, as a device for making children learn who are not proceeding as rapidly as the teacher may wish. But he is not against punishment for bad behaviour -- in

fact he advocates it.

> And thus the children, kept up in Gods feare, and preserved by his grace, finding paine in ill doing, and pleasure in well studiyng, should easilie be brought to honestie of life, and perfitenes of learning.
> (Ibid., 36)

By no stretch of the imagination could Ascham be called permissive. He most strongly opposes what he sees as too much liberty given to the young men of his time. In fact he places next to beating too much liberty, as a major hindrance to learning. "I wish as moch now, to have yong men brought up in good order of living, and in some more severe discipline, than they commonlie be" (Ibid., 37). He sees discipline as coming from above; self-developed discipline seems to be foreign to his thought.

His lament for youth is one that could be heard in all ages:

> Our tyme is so farre from that old discipline and obedience, as now, not onlie yong jentlmen, but even verie girles dare without all feare, though not without open shame, where they list, and how they list, marie them selves in spite of father, mother, God, good order, and all. The cause of this evill is, that youth is least looked unto, when they most neede of good kepe and regard. It availeth not, to see them well taught in yong yeares, and after whan they cum to lust and youthfull dayes, to give them licence to live as they lust themselves.
> (Ibid., 38)

For Ascham's own methods we have a hint from elsewhere. As the tutor of the future Queen Elizabeth, he used to "pinch, nip and bob [slap] the princess when she displeased him" (quoted by Andrews, 1889, 177). The present author was unable to find the original source of this statement, so was unable to judge its integrity. But assuming that it is correct, such minor measures would still show Ascham as being mild compared with the usual practice of his time. That Elizabeth regarded her tutor well is shown by his later elevation to high office.

Ascham's contemporary, Richard Mulcaster (1530? - 1611), who was for twenty-five years headmaster of Merchant Taylor's School, and twelve years headmaster of St. Paul's School, felt that the rod had a definite place in teaching, but should be used purposefully.

> For the rod may be no more spared in schooles than the sworde in the Princes hand.
>
> . . . .
>
> Whatsoever parentes say, my ladie birchely will be a gest at home, or else parentes shall not have their willes.
>
> . . . .
>
> Terme is as ye list, beate not you saye for learning but for lewdnesse. Sure to beate him for learning which is willing enough to learn, when his witte will not serve, were more than frantike: and under the name of not learning to hide and shrowd all faultes and offenses, were more than foolish: and what would that child be without beating, which with it can hardly be reclaimed? in whom only lewdnesse is the let, and capacitie is at will? The ende of our schooles is learning: if it fails by negligence, punish negligence: if by other voluntarie default, punish the default. Spare learning: so that still the refuge must be to the maisters discretion.
>
> . . . .
>
> A wise maister, which must be a speciall caveat in provision, will helpe all, either by preventing that faultes be not committed, or by well using, when soever they fall out, and without exception must have both correction and curtesie, committed unto him beyond any appeal.
>
> (Mulcaster, 1581, 277-283)

Mulcaster seems to be struggling between what he felt desirable in theory, and what he felt had been necessary in practice. He realises that it is impossible to beat knowledge into the heads of pupils who lack the capacity for learning: "Surely to beat for not learning a child that is willing enough to learn but whose intelligence is defective, is worse than madness" (Ibid., 32). But where the capacity is present, but the inclination not, the use of the rod can be productive.

Before condemning Mulcaster as being less humane than Ascham, we should remember that Ascham's experience in teaching were of a one-to-

one tutorial nature, while Mulcaster had extensive experience with large classes. When we remember the violence and aggressiveness of the period, it is not difficult to realise that many of the pupils must have been difficult to control. For moral purposes, the two do not appear to be very far apart. But there still lies a basic difference: Ascham denied the use of punishment as an aid to learning, while Mulcaster felt there were occasions when fear was an acceptable motivation.

Among the few other voices that were raised in protest was that of Thomas Fuller (1608 - 1661) who was, among other things, chaplain extraordinary to Charles II. In an essay entitled "The Good Schoolmaster" Fuller states:

> he is moderate in inflicting deserved correction. Many a schoolmaster better answereth the name paidotribus (boy-beater) than paodagogus (boy-teacher), rather tearing his scholars flesh with whipping than giving him a good education. No wonder if his scholars hate the muses, being presented unto them in the shape of fiends and furies.
>
> (edited by Eggleston, 1892, 75)

Richard Steele (1672 - 1729), of Spectator fame, also bewailed the lot of the English school child in his essay, "On Flogging at Schools."

> The boasted liberty we talk of is but a mean reward for the long servitude, the many heart-aches and terrors, to which our childhood is exposed in going through a grammar-school. Many of these stupid tyrants exercise their cruelty without any manner of distinction of the capacities of children. . . . The sense of shame and honour is enough to keep the world itself in order, without corporal punishment, -- much more to train the minds of uncorrupted and innocent children.
>
> (Steele, 1885, 405)

Samuel Butler, in Hudibras, treats the use of whipping satirically. He suggests that often the person being whipped is suffering because he

is some sort of social outcast or scapegoat. A person who is guilty goes free because of his special position in society. The general injustice is obvious, in context, to the reader. In the following passage he exaggerates, with ironic purpose, the common reasons, or rationalizations, for the use of whipping.

Second Part, Canto I.

Whipping that's Virtues Governess,
Tutress of Arts and Sciences;
That mends the gross mistakes of Nature,
And puts new life into dull matter,
That lays foundations for renown,
And all the honors of the Gown.

If Matrimony, and Hanging go
By Dest'ny, why not whipping too?
What med'cine else can cure the fits
Of Lovers, when they lose their Wits?
Love is a boy, by poets styl'd,
Then Spare the rod, and spoil the Child.
(Butler, 1967 edition, 811)

Alexander Pope (1688 - 1744) also treats the use of the rod satirically. In The Dunciad he describes the use of the rod as being the main instrument for successful teaching.

Book III, line 333 ff.

Proceed, great days! 'till Learning fly the shore,
'Till Birch shall blush with noble blood no more,
'Till Thames see Eton's sons for ever play,
'Till Westminster's whole year be holiday,
'Till Isis' Elders reel, their pupils sport,
And Alma Mater lies dissolved in Port!
(Pope, 1966 edition, 535)

Later a birch-crowned spectre arises as a symbol of schoolmasters.

Book IV, lines 139 ff.

When lo! a Spectre rose, whose index-hand
Held forth the Virtue of the dreadful wand;
His beaver'd brow a birchen garland wears,
Dropping with Infant's blood, and Mother's tears.
O'er every vein a shuddring horror runs;
Eton and Winton shake thro' all their Sons.
All flesh is humbled, Westminster's bold race
Shrink, and confess the Genius of the place:

> The pale Boy-Senator yet tingling stands,
> And holds his breeches close with both his hands.
> (Ibid., 556)

But mockery such as this did little or nothing to bring about change. Far more typical of the time is Dr. Samuel Johnson (1709 - 1784). While he may not be the most profound commentator quoted in this work, he may be the most amusing.

> There is now less flogging in our great schools than formerly, but then less is learned there; so that what the boys get at one end, they lose at the other.
> (Boswell, 1887 edition, 407)

Johnson apparently believed that his own scholarship was largely due to the rigorous teaching methods he underwent. The rod, he says, is very effective in getting children to learn, clearly a motivational approach. One of the most interesting things he says in favour of the rod is that it does less harm in the long run than other methods of motivation.

> Indeed Johnson was very sensible how much he owed to Mr. Hunter. Mr. Langton one day asked him how he had acquired so accurate a knowledge of Latin, in which, I believe, he was exceeded by no man of his time; he said "My master whipt me very well. Without that, Sir, I should have done nothing." He told Mr. Langton that while Hunter was flogging his boys unmercifully, he used to say "And I do this to save you from the gallows." Johnson, upon all occasions expressed his approbration of enforcing instruction by means of the rod. "I would rather (said he) have the rod to be the general terror to all, to make them learn, than to tell a child, if you do thus, or thus, you will be more esteemed than your sisters and brothers. The rod produces an effect which terminates in itself. A child is afraid of being whipped, and gets to his task, and there's an end on't; whereas by exciting emulation and comparisons of superiority, you lay the foundations of lasting mischief; you make brothers and sisters hate each other."
> (Ibid., 45-46)

His attitude lies largely in his view that children are unable to act logically; they act from emotions, and it is the emotion of fear which will spur them to learning.

> Children, being not reasonable, can only be governed by fear. To impress this fear, is therefore one of the first duties of those who have the care of children.
> (Ibid., 281)

The educational practices in England of the time are illustrated by the following rules for a Latin Grammar School in 1734.

> Imprimis, Whatsoever Boy comes to School past 7 o' th' Clock in the Morning In Summer time, and past 8 o' th' Clock In ye Winter time (without Shewing good reason) Shall receive 3 Lashes.
>
> Item, Whosoever absents himself from School, Either by Truantry, by trying to stay at home, or otherwise; Shall incur his Master's highest displeasure, suffer the hissing and Scoffing of ye whole School, Tarry behind the Rest one hour at Night for a week, and besides (as a suitable Reward for his --) shall suffer 12 Lashes.
>
> Item, Whatsoever Boy shall at any time Curse, Swear, or take the Lord's Name in vain, Shall assuredly suffer for such offence, 15 Lashes.
>
> Item, What Boy soever addicts himself to Obscene Talking or foolish Jesting, shall suffer for each such Transgression.
>
> Item, What Boy soever absents himself from the Service of Almighty God on the Sabbath day, and spends that day in a wicked man'er In playing & running about, Shall receive 20 Lashes.
>
> Item, Whosoever steals from or defrauds his School-fellow of Ink, Pens, Paper, Quills, or any Other Thing Whatsoever, Shall certainly, when found out and detected, receive 9 Lashes.
> (in Cubberley, 1920, 390)

John Locke (1632 - 1704), one of the most influential of English philosophers, is against the use of corporal punishment for much the same reasons as the earlier opponents.

> Beating is the worst, and therefore the last Means to be used in the Correction of Children; and that only in the Cases of Extremity, after all gentler Ways have been tried and proved unsuccessful.
> (Locke, 1968 edition, 148)

> Great severity of punishment does but little

> good, nay, great harm, in education; and I believe it will be found out, coeteris paribus, that those children who have been most chastised seldom make the best men.
>
> (Ibid., 149)

Locke maintains that most of the beatings at schools are the result of poor teaching methods and unsuitable material being taught. All too often beatings harden the offender and make him more obstinate. In the few cases where it is necessary, it must be well done "that the Child should not quickly forget it." Occasionally there will be one who will be so intractable that even this will not work; here all a father can do is pray for him.

But Locke also reinforces the philosophical basis for the need in education for "hardening" the child.

> Plenty of open Air, Exercise and Sleep; Plain Diet, no Wine or Strong Drink, and very little or no Physick; not too Warm and straight Clothing especially the Head and Feet kept cold, and the Feet often used to cold Water, and exposed to Wet.
>
> (Ibid., 137)

English schools, particularly public Schools and their followers were to hold fast to this approach up into the present century. To bear discomfort and pain without flinching was a necessary mark of a gentleman. To show distress when being caned was to suffer the contempt not only of the master, but also of one's peers.

Today this has various names: intestinal fortitude, "guts", and so on. In the 18th Century it was referred to as "bottom", a word derived from a stable ship having a well-built hull or bottom (White, 1962, 68).

The idea of training children to bear hardship without emotion is not, of course, new. We have seen it in the Spartans, and it was part and parcel of the Stoic philosophy. But in modern times, it seems to be

far more prominent in the English than in the Continental, particularly French, outlook. The "stiff upper lip" is an essential element of the stereotyped British character, and may in large measure account for the acceptance of the use of pain as a regular procedure in English Schools long after it was almost eliminated on the Continent.

The situation in the English colonies appears to have been a reflection of the Mother Country. In 1660, the rules introduced in Harvard College included the following:

> It is hereby ordered that the president and fellows of the Harvard College have the powers to punish all misdeeds of the young men in their college. They are to use their best judgement and punish by fines or whipping in the hall publicly, as the nature of the offense shall call for.
>
> (quoted by Cubberley, 1919, 57)

There is record of a student being publicly whipped for blasphemy in 1674. The chastisement was preceded with a prayer.

Christopher Dock, who is reputed to have published in 1750 the first book on teaching in what was to become the United States of America, described his methods as follows:

> When all the little ones have recited, these [those who have not been able to recite the scripture passage] are asked again and any one having failed in more than three trials a second time, is called "Lazy" by the entire class and his name is written down. Whether such a child fear the rod or not, I know from experience that this denunciation of the children hurts more than if I were constantly to wield and flourish the rod . . . .
>
> Where the Lord does not help build, all that build work in vain. The slap of the hand, hazel branch and birch rod are means of preventing a wicked outburst, but they cannot change the stubborn heart, which holds us all in such a sway since the fall, that we are all inclined more to the bad than to the good, so long as the heart is unchanged and not renewed by the spirit of God. But while the seed of wickedness is present, remove it, not only from ourselves, but from our fellow man and from our youth.
>
> (edited by Knight and Hall, 1951, 32)

Summary

The educational dimension of the Renaissance was restricted to a few schools and a few writers. The rediscovery of Classical writers such as Quintilian helped stimulate a more humane approach to teaching methods, first in Italy with Vergerio, Vittorino and Guarino, all practising schoolmasters. In the north, those notable and influential writers, Erasmus and Montaigne strongly denounced the physical cruelty which characterised the treatment of children. Most of the Protestant leaders, with their literal interpretation of the Old Testament edicts, accepted corporal punishment as the appropriate method of saving the child from his inherited evil tendencies. A significant exception to this was Comenius who denied the efficacy of chastisement in motivating children to learn; he did, nevertheless, accept it as a final resort for moral purposes.

Organised Catholic orders originating in France, particularly the Jesuits and the Christian Brothers of de la Salle, organised teaching methods to a much more subtle degree than had previously been attempted. While the control of the child was extremely important, the crude method of physical violence was kept to a minimum, and later outlawed, at least in theory, in their schools. Continental schools were later to be a contrast and an example to the schools in the English-spéaking world in this matter.

There was an unfulfilled hope in the 16th Century, with Mulcaster and particularly Ascham, that England would develop less rigorous teaching methods. Occasional protests, either directly or in satirical literature, were made against the brutality of the English schools in the following two-hundred years. John Locke opposed the use of punishment in the learning situation, but he also reinforced the general English

belief in the need for a "hardened" character. This public belief in, and acceptance of, physical pain, plus the lack of any regulations which set down minimum standards of acceptable practises, allowed the schools of England their freedom to continue ancient practices undisturbed by outside interference.

CHAPTER IV

THE INTELLECTUAL REVOLUTION

The spirit of democracy and the Romantic ideals which sent men searching for a better, and often an ideal, life had been seeded in the Eighteenth Century and began to bear fruit in the Nineteenth. No longer could the authoritarian oppress without protest, and no longer were the edicts of the religious leaders accepted without question. On the one hand, some men thought that the technical progress should be used to improve the lives of all men, and on the other hand, some believed that a better life could be achieved through the development of the natural goodness which had so often been repressed or perverted in man. More and more, intellectual leaders came to believe that to achieve a changed society, man's whole character and outlook would have to be changed. To achieve this, reforms in the aims and methods of education would be necessary.

General Philosophical Attitudes Towards Punishment.

As the theory of punishment in education cannot be separated from the general philosophical approaches to punishment, some of the development in this field must be looked at for a background to the development of educational thought. Probably the oldest idea of punishment is that of retribution as epitomized in the Old Testament "Eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, stripe for stripe" (Exodus, XXI, 24), a doctrine, however, that was not supported by Christ who rather decreed "That ye resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn him the other also" (Matthew, V, 39). More recently in a jocular fashion, W.S. Gilbert expresses the same idea in The Mikado (Act II): "Let the punishment fit the crime."

A fundamental part of Christianity and other religions has been the belief in reward and punishment, particularly in the world beyond this. The manner in which this belief supported the use of harsh punishment as necessary to save the soul of the child from future damnation has already been explored.

One of the first to analyse the purposes of punishment was Gottfried Leibnitz (1646 - 1716). He recognised that punishment may be inflicted for retributive purposes, a form of revenge to satisfy the offended party, or it may be for the practical purpose of preventing the offence in the future by reforming the offender, or by example, preventing others. In the following passage we see an early example of a pragmatic approach to punishment.

> There is a kind of Justice which aims neither at the amendment of the criminal, nor at furnishing an example to others, nor at the reparation of the injury. This justice is founded in pure fitness, which finds a certain satisfaction in the expiation of the wicked deed . . . this punitive justice . . . which is properly vindictive justice, and which God has reserved for himself at many junctions . . . is always founded in the fitness of things, and satisfies not only the offended party, but all wise lookers-on, even as beautiful music or a fine piece of architecture satisfies a well-constituted mind. It is thus that the torments of the damned continue, even tho they no longer serve to turn anyone away from sin, and that the rewards of the blest continue, even tho they confirm no one in good ways.
>
> (Leibnitz, 1926 edition, 137)

In 1764 Cesare Bonesana Beccaria (1738 - 1794) published his famous work, An Essay on Crimes and Punishments, in which he condemned all torture, including flogging, to extract confessions, and pleaded that no good and much harm was achieved by excessive punishment.

> No man can be judged a criminal until he be found guilty; nor can society take from him the public protection, until it have been proved that he has violated the conditions on which it was granted. What right then, but that of power, can authorize

> the punishment of a citizen, so long as there remains any doubt of his guilt? This dilemma is frequent. Either he is guilty, or not guilty. If guilty, he should only suffer the punishment ordained by the laws, and torture becomes useless, as his confession is unnecessary. If he be not guilty, you torture the innocent; for in the eyes of the law, every man is innocent, whose crime has not been proved.
>
> Beccaria, 1963 edition, 18)

At the end of the Eighteenth Century, one of the fullest analyses of punishment, including that of children, was made by Immanuel Kant (1724 - 1804), who showed how complex the problem really is. While others may not agree with his conclusions, his detailed examination cannot be ignored. Much of the influence of Rousseau (whom we shall examine separately) can be seen, but Kant finds punishment as the natural consequences inadequate. To Kant, the outcome of an action is incidental: the morality resides in the motive or intention generating the action.

> All transgressions of a command by a child is a lack of obedience, and this entails punishment. Even if the transgression is due simply to negligence, correction is not useless. This punishment is either <u>physical</u> or <u>moral</u>.
>
> <u>Moral</u> punishment is that which affects our desire to be honored and loved, this being auxiliary to morality; for example, when the child is shamed and treated coldly and reservedly. These inclinations should be preserved as far as possible. This kind of punishment, therefore, is the best, since it comes to the aid of morality; for example, if a child lies, a look of scorn is sufficient and most suitable.
>
> <u>Physical</u> punishment consists either in the refusal of that which the child desires or in the infliction of chastisement. The former is closely related to moral punishment, and is negative. The other forms should be practised with caution, in order that they may not result in a servile disposition. It is not good to distribute rewards among children; it makes them selfish, and results in a mercenary disposition.
>
> . . . .
>
> Obedience, moreover, is that of the <u>child</u> or the <u>adolescent</u>. Disobedience entails punishment. This is either really <u>natural</u>, brought by the man himself by his own conduct; for <u>example</u>, the child falls ill if he eats too much, and these

> forms of punishment are the best, for man experiences them, not only in his childhood, but throughout his whole life; or it is artificial. The desire to be esteemed and loved is a sure way of making chastisement durable. Physical means should serve merely to supplement the insufficiency of moral punishments. When the latter are of no avail, and recourse is had to the former, the formulation of a good character ceases. But in the beginning physical constraints supply the deficiency of reflection within the child.
>
> . . . .
>
> Punishments which are angrily inflicted have perverted effects. Children then regard them merely as consequences, but themselves as objects, of another's emotion. Children should always be corrected cautiously, that they may see that the only aim in view is their improvement. It is absurd to demand of children, when they have been chastised that they will thank you, that they will kiss your hand, etc.: this only makes them servile. If physical punishments are often repeated, they make a child stubborn; and if parents chasten their child for wilfulness, they only make them more wilful. Stubborn people are not always the worst, but often yield easily to kindly remonstrances.
>
> (Kant, 1904 edition, 191-193)

We can see in the above, that when he came to a discussion of the details of punishment, Kant was as concerned with its results as the justification or morality of it.

The clearest application at this time that the justification for punishment must be judged by its results was made by Jeremy Bentham (1748 - 1832), who laid down that morals and legislation must be founded on the principle of utility; thus his philosophy was called "Utilitarianism". On punishment he made the following comments:

> But all punishment is mischief: all punishment in itself is evil. Upon the principle of utility, if it ought at all to be admitted, it ought to be admitted in as far as it promises to exclude some greater evil.
>
> (Bentham, 1948 edition, 171)

He further states four purposes of punishment:

1. to prevent all offences
2. to prevent the worst (if there is a choice)
3. to keep down the mischief
4. to act at the least expense.

> Subservient to these three objects, or purposes, must be the rules or cannons by which the proportion of punishments to offences is to be governed.
> (Ibid., 179)

He himself does not appear to have applied the principle to the management of children, but a world which he influenced was bound to see an application. He, more than anyone else, changed the question from "is it right?" to "does it work?"

As the Nineteenth Century moves on, there is more and more acceptance that punishment is bad, that any good will be far outweighed by the evil effects, as the following passage from Friedrich Nietzsche (1844 - 1900) illustrates.

> The broad effects which can be obtained by punishment in man and beast, are the increase of fear, the sharpening of the sense of cunning, the mastery of desires; so it is that punishment tames man, but does not make him "better" -- it would be more correct even to go so far as to assert the contrary. "Injury makes man cunning" says a popular proverb: so far as it makes him cunning, it also makes him bad. Fortunately, it often enough makes him stupid.
> (Nietzsche, 1964 edition, 99)

It is always difficult to assess to what degree philosophical pronouncements bring about change, or are reflections of the change that is already occurring. Whichever is the case, in the 19th Century, while the theory of punishment was opposing cruelty and injustice, so too did public opinion and actual practice tend towards more humane treatment of offenders, with a desire for rehabilitation rather then retribution. It was inevitable that the humanity which was applied to criminals would also be applied to children. While the Nineteenth Century, with the Industrial Revolution, was one of the worst periods of man's inhumanity to man, it was also the time of heroes of social reform who developed philosophies and attitudes on the treatment of the weak, the poor, and the downtrodden, which are generally accepted, if not always applied, to-day.

The Influence of Rousseau

Perhaps the single most influential writer in the development of modern education is Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712 - 1778) who did so much to change the concept of the nature of the child. Before this, there had been an interest in and sympathy for the child, but the child did not come first; the emphasis of Rousseau is on the child, his nature and his needs, rather that on childhood being a preparation for adulthood. In Rousseau's ideal world of education, as described in Emile, punishment would never come from the teacher, but as a consequence of the child's own acts, a necessary part of learning by experience.

> I have already said enough to show that children should never receive punishment merely as such; it should always come as a natural consequence of their fault.
> (Rousseau, 1957 edition, 65)

Much of this approach depends on Rousseau's view of the natural goodness of the child.

> Never punish him, for he does not know what it is to do wrong; never make him say "Forgive me," for he does not know how to do you wrong. Wholly unmoral in his actions, he can do nothing morally wrong, and he deserves neither punishment nor reproof.
> (Ibid., 56)

Rousseau's views are a curious mixture of morality and utility. While at times he may appear to be advocating the abolition of punishment for practical reasons, his arguments are based upon a premise of an ideal child which he never demonstrates actually exists.

Rousseau probably did more than anyone else to break down the traditional Christian view that the child is inherently evil. While he most certainly attempts to swing the pendulum to another extreme, it stimulated others into looking more closely at their own views of what a child is. After the time of Rousseau, there would be a growing difficulty for anyone to advocate the punishment of children because they were

naturally bad.

Time and time again since then do we see the ideas of Rousseau being repeated either directly, or as part of another philosophy. In Romantic literature, William Wordsworth, for instance, portrays Lucy as ideal childhood innocence, and the child heroes and heroines of Charles Dickens are able to gain much of their reader's sympathy through the same feature.

In the school he set up at New Lanark, Robert Owen (1771 - 1858) was clearly influenced by Rousseau's ideas. Owen states that the basic principle regarding the affairs of men is:

> Any general character, from the best to the worst, from the most ignorant to the most enlightened, may be given to any community, even to the world at large, by the application of the proper means; which means are to a great extent at the command and under the control of those who have influence in the affairs of men.
> (edited by Harrison, 1968, 44)

Thus by the manipulation of the environment, good men and bad, wise men and ignorant, can be produced. The emphasis has been, he says, on doing something about wrong acts after, instead of before, they happen. It is through education that the new way of life will be brought in, a life in which punishment will not be needed. And just as no punishment is the end, so also must no punishment be the means.

> . . . the instructors and governors of the world will acquire a knowledge that will enable them, in one generation, to apply the means which shall cheerfully induce each of those whom they control and influence, not only to think, but to act in such a manner as shall be best for himself and best for every human being. And yet this extraordinary result will take place without punishment or apparent force.
> (Ibid., 106)

In speaking of the schools he had established at New Lanark, Owen says:

> . . . that all rewards and punishments were excluded from

> these schools, except those which nature herself has established. By natural reward and punishment, we mean necessary consequences, immediate and remote which result from any action.
>
> (Ibid., 133)

The influence of Rousseau can be seen in this last statement.

Ralph Waldo Emerson (1801 - 1882) also owes much of his thinking to Rousseau. His approach to punishment flows from his view that the child is not to be cast into a pre-conceived mould, but is to be given an opportunity of fulfilling his own potential uniqueness. Traditional methods of all types are thus suspect, for they are concerned with producing a child for the purposes of society, rather than for producing a child with beliefs and attitudes which develop from his own natural goodness. Punishment is the result of the desire on the part of the teacher to control the child, who will fulfill the teacher's or society's expectations of him.

The following passages are quoted at length because, although written over a hundred years ago, they show so well the current philosophy of education which is to give the child an opportunity to fulfill his own potential and desires, a philosophy in which punishment has no place.

> I believe that our own experience instructs us that the secret of Education lies in respecting the pupil. It is not for you to choose what he shall know, what he shall do. It is chosen and foreordained, and he only holds the key to his own secret. By your tampering and thwarting and too much governing he may be hindered from his own end, and kept out of his own. Respect the child. Wait and see the new product of Nature. Nature loves analogies, but not repetitions. Respect the child. Be not too much his parent. Trespass not on his solitude.
>
> But I hear the outcry which replies to this suggestion:-- Would you verily throw up the reins of public and private discipline; would you leave the young child to the mad career of his own passions and whimsies, and call this anarchy a respect for the child's nature? I answer, -- Respect the child, respect him to the end.
>
> (Emerson, 1966 edition, 16-17)

> . . . total abstinence from this drug [the use of rules], and the adoption of simple discipline and the following of nature, involves at once immense claims on the time, the thoughts, on the life of the teacher. It requires time, use, insight, event, all the great lessons and assistances of God; and only to think of using it implies character and profoundness; to enter on this course of discipline is to be good and great. It is precisely analogous to the difference between the use of corporal punishment and the methods of love. It is so easy to bestow on a bad boy a blow, overpower him, and get obedience without words, that in this world of hurry and distraction, who can wait for the return of reason and the conquest of self; in the uncertainty too whether that will ever come? And yet the familiar observation of the universal compensations might suggest the fear that so summary a stop of a bad humor was more jeopardous than its continuance.
> (Ibid., 224)

To Emerson, then, corporal punishment is the result of a wrong type of education; only by altering our concept of the purpose of education and its basic structure will we be able to significantly alter its methods. He is equally sympathetic towards the teacher in the usual classroom situation. No wonder, he says, does he resort to violent means in such objectionable circumstance.

> Whatever becomes of our methods, the conditions stand fast, -- six hours, and thirty, fifty, or a hundred and fifty pupils. Something must be done, and done speedily, and in this distress the wisest are tempted to adopt violent means, to proclaim martial law, corporal punishment, mechanical arrangement, bribes, spies, wrath, main strength and ignorance, in lieu of that wise genial providential influence they had hoped, and yet hope at some future day to adopt.
> (Ibid., 223)

While Rousseau's influence has been general, it has been only partial as far as most schools are concerned. The fullest applications are to be found in the self-styled "free-schools", the most notable of which is Summerhill established by A.S. Neill (1883 -). All forms of punishment, but particularly corporal punishment, are condemned by him. The "self-regulated" child is the result of no interference by the parent or teacher in the development of natural instincts. The

reason for punishment lies not within the child but within the adult who tries to mould the child to a restrictive morality, or who suffers from his own personal problems.

> No moralist, no narrowly religious person, no disciplinarian can have self-regulated children. Self-regulation means behaviour coming from the self, not from outside compulsion, but the moulded child has no self; he is only the replica of his parents.
> (Neill, 1967 edition, 9)

> Spanking generally has nothing to do with the child; it is an outlet for adult rage and frustration and hate.
> (Ibid., 56)

Neill suggests that much of the trouble lies in the Christian tradition, for "if you sin, hell awaits you in the classroom and in the future" (Ibid., 57). The solution for this undesirable state of affairs "lies in the self-examination on the part of irritable adults." He wishes

> . . . teachers and parents could acquire some consciousness of what they really are . . . poor, undeveloped, unhappy people in a tawdry authority which they are too un-grown-up to use decently. They cannot help being as they are, for they are the victims and products of a home and school education that was ignorant of child nature.
> (Ibid., 57)

Much of Neill's attitude rests on his belief that aggressiveness is objectionable, and because punishment, particularly physical punishment, leads to aggression it is to be condemned.

> The popular notion is that man is naturally aggressive. . . . I really wonder if this is so. Is aggression due to thwarting, frustration? I ask because the most aggressive pupils I ever have are those who have been most disciplined at home and school.
> (Ibid., 80)

The Rousseauian approach to punishment is somewhat motivational: by using these means we will be better able to develop the type of person which we want. But because it is a special type of person, an

ideal of the naturally-developed, unique, self-regulated person, that is wanted, and because Rousseau and his followers have felt that the type of person developed by the usual type of education is undesirable, their approach is basically an ethical one. Perhaps their most significant contribution is the realisation that punishment has been part and parcel of the traditional approach to education; that only by a re-examination of the whole educational structure including its purposes and the total learning environment, can we develop a really new approach to punishment.

Other Nineteenth Century Educational Philosophers

While few people have been willing to accept Rousseau's philosophy completely, in one aspect his influence has been general, that of the new concept of the child's nature. It was this view of the child that most important reformers adopted as a base for their own approach. Even in those schools which were least affected by the reformers, the trend was away from the use of painful physical punishments to other more subtle methods of coercion such as verbal chastisements, detentions, extra work, shame and so on. All these had been recommended by earlier writers, but they gradually became the more usual substitute for the rod or strap. In the Twentieth Century, these also lost approval, at least in theory, and were to be used only after more positive methods had failed.

Those writers whom we have come to regard as the enlightened leaders generally emphasized that love of the teacher or an intrinsic motivation towards the task in hand, should be substituted wherever possible for compulsion.

Henrich Pestalozzi (1746 - 1827) was certainly not against corporal punishment. He discounts the view that it can harm the relationship between teacher and child, providing always that the child realises the general good will of the teacher towards him. Corporal punishment, then,

must not be isolated from the larger situation and can only be judged as part of the general handling of the child.

> In view of the different backgrounds from which my beggar children came, in view of their age, their deeply ingrained habits, the need of a simple way of making an impression on them all swiftly and surely, and the need to achieve one's aim with all of them, the effect of corporal punishment was considerable. The fear that one may thereby lose the trust of the children is quite unjustified. It is not single, rare actions which determine the feelings and attitudes of the children; it is the true nature of your disposition towards them as revealed daily and hourly to them, and the degree to which you like or dislike them which fix once and for all their feelings towards you. This done, the impression created by individual actions will be interpreted according to the firm judgement of these inner feelings.
>
> (quoted by Heafford, 1967, 71)

This must not be taken as approval of such a method indiscriminately or by anyone. Only after the teacher has achieved a relationship which is like a parent, can it be used without danger.

> I am firmly against the striking of a strange pupil by a strange teacher, but not against a similar punishment by a father or mother. There are occasions when corporal punishment is undoubtedly the best thing; but it must be carried out with the greatest assurance from a parental heart, and the teacher who really reaches the point where he can act in the same spirit as a father or mother should have the right to act as they do in certain important cases which demand such measures.
>
> (Ibid., 71)

In Leonard and Gertrude we have a more detailed prescription of which punishments are recommended for which circumstances. Corporal punishment is to be reserved for the worst cases of moral offence.

> The lieutenants punishments were designed to remedy the faults for which they were inflicted. An idle scholar was made to cut firewood, or to carry stones for the wall which some of the older boys were constructing under the master's charge; a forgetful child was made school-messenger, and for several days was obliged to take charge of all the teacher's business in the village. Disobedience and impertinence he punished by not speaking publicly to the child in question for a number of days, talking with him in private after school. Wickedness and

> lying were punished with the rod, and any child thus chastised was not allowed to play with the others for a whole week; his name was registered in a special record-book of offences, from which it was not erased until plain evidence of improvement was given. The schoolmaster was kind to the children while punishing them, talking with them more than at any other time, and trying to help them correct their fault.
>
> (edited by Ulich, 1963, 504-505)

Prussia adopted Pestalozzi's methods and became a model for much of the world.

Johan Friedrich Herbart (1776 - 1841) also allows the use of corporal punishment, but only in extreme circumstances. As can be seen from the following, he warns against injuring the boy's self respect, and hardening him to this punishment so that it becomes ineffective.

> It would be in vain to attempt to banish entirely the corporal punishments usually administered after fruitless reprimands; but use should be made of them so sparingly that they be feared rather than inflicted.
>
> Recollection of the rod does not hurt the boy. Nor is there any harm in his present conviction that a flogging is henceforth as much beyond the range of possibility as his meriting such treatment. But it would no doubt be injurious to actually violate his self-respect by a blow, however little he might mind the physical pain. And pernicious in the highest degree, although, nevertheless, not quite obsolete yet, is the practice of continuing to beat children already hardened to blows. Brutish insensibility is the consequence, and the hope is almost vain that even a long period of now unavoidable indulgence will restore a normal state of feeling.
>
> (Herbart, 1909 edition, 34)

This attitude should be judged against his general view of punishment, which is a modification, or should we say a distortion, of Rousseau. Punishment should follow nature as much as possible -- that is, it should be the logical result of poor behaviour. It is not natural in Rousseau's sense, but natural in the sense that punishment is the sure result of wrong acts. The teacher must see that it does

indeed occur and is consistent; it must not depend on the momentary whims of the teacher, and he must administer it in a quiet, self-controlled way.

> Among educational arrangements to secure this, the punishments proper to education are conspicuous, which are not bound to a proportional retribution as are the punishments of government, but must be meted out, that they always appear to the individual as well meant warnings, and do not excite lasting opposition to the teacher. The pupil's way of feeling here decides everything.
>
> (Herbart, 1896 edition, 243)

An excellent example of those who believe that all punishment corrupts, and therefore has no place in education is Friedrich Froebel (1782 - 1852). He has almost nothing to say on punishment, because, in his conception of education, not only does the necessity for it disappear, but it must disappear because of its evil effects. The influence of Rousseau is obvious.

> In good education, then, in genuine instruction, in true training, necessity should call forth freedom; external hate, inner love. Where hatred brings forth hatred; law, dishonesty and crime; compulsion, slavery; necessity, servitude; where oppression destroys and debases; where severity and harshness give rise to stubbornness and deceit, all education is abortive. In order to avoid the latter and to secure the former, all prescription should be adapted to the pupil's nature and needs, and secure his co-operation. This is the case when all education in instruction and training, in spite of its necessarily categorical character, bears in all details and ramifications the irrefutable and irresistable impress that the one who makes the demand is himself strictly and unavoidably subject to an externally ruling law, to an unavoidable eternal necessity, and that, therefore, all despotism is banished.
>
> (Froebel, 1895 edition, 13-14)

The growing democratic spirit is illustrated here where the freedom of mankind is extended to include the freedom of the child from oppression.

It is more than a co-incidence that these writers are continental.

When we look at most prominent English educational commentators, the prognosis for reform is not so optimistic.

Thomas Arnold (1795 - 1842), the great headmaster of Rugby School, if judged by his copious writings, was never reluctant to defend his institutions or methods, among which was the use of the cane. By to-day's standards he was authoritarian, in both social and educational matters. One aspect of this was his rejection of popular opinion as a base on which to act.

> Popular principles sympathize with all who are subject to authority, and regard with suspicion all punishments -- liberal principles sympathize, on the other hand, with authority, whenever the evil tendencies of human nature are more likely to be shown in disregarding it than abusing it.
>
> (T. Arnold, 1845, 365)

> The real servility which exists in England, whether among men or boys, is not an excessive deference to legal authority, but a surrender of individual judgment and conscience to the tyranny of public opinion.
>
> (Ibid., 377)

In the last quotation, Arnold was replying to an attack on the use of flogging and fagging in Public Schools.

Arnold dislikes the use of punishment and would gladly do without it, but the child is not yet ready to act from moral principles, so must be forced through fear, pain, or deprivation to act correctly. We see underlying his ideas the doctrine of child depravity. As the child grows older, there should be less need to use such methods.

> It is very true that the fear of punishment generally (for surely it makes no difference whether it be the fear of personal pain of flogging, or of the personal inconvenience of what have been proposed as its substitutes, confinement, and a reduced allowance of food) is not the highest motive of action; and therefore the course actually followed in education is most agreeable to nature and reason, that the fear of punishment should be appealed to less and less as the moral principle becomes stronger with advancing age.
>
> (Ibid., 366)

Arnold is not willing to concede the idea which has kept appearing since the time of Quintilian, that corporal punishment is degrading for the child. How can it be, he asks, when the child is inferior to the man?

> There is an essential inferiority in a boy as compared with a man, which makes an assumption of equality on his part at once ridiculous and wrong; and where there is no equality, the exercise of superiority implied in personal chastisement cannot in itself be an insult or degradation.
>
> (Ibid., 368)

What then is to be done with the older child if he misbehaves, if corporal punishment is appropriate only to the young? He should be removed from school. We should note in the following extract that Arnold sees failure to learn as sometimes due to a lack of capacity, but sometimes due to a deliberate, therefore immoral, attitude. If this is so with the older child, then it is fair to assume that he would allow corporal punishment for the younger child who deliberately did not learn. We know from other sources that such punishments were common in his school.

> . . . if a boy above fifteen is of such a character as to require flogging, the essential trifling nature of school correction is inadequate to the offence. But in fact boys, after a certain age, who cannot keep their proper rank in a school, ought not to be retained at it; and if they do stay, the question becomes only a matter of choice of evils. For the standard of attainment at a large school being necessarily adapted for no more than the average rate of capacity, a boy who, after fifteen, continues to fall below it, is either intellectually incapable of deriving benefit from the system of the place, or morally indisposed to do so, and in either case he ought to be removed from it.
>
> (Ibid., 369)

One point that Arnold makes quite strongly is that public opinion should not interfere with the teacher's right, or should we say duty, to punish. Where such interference occurs, the school suffers.

> Thus the business of education is degraded for a schoolmaster of a commercial school having no means of acquiring a general celebrity, is rendered dependent on the inhabitants of his own immediate neighbourhood, -- if he offends them, he is ruined. This greatly interferes with the maintenance of discipline; the boys are well aware of their parents' power, and complain to them against the exercise of their master's authority.
>
> (Ibid., 229)

Arnold's approach is largely based on his belief in the need for children to "keep their place", as all men should do. Whatever his political beliefs, his social outlook was certainly not democratic.

One of the interesting implications of Arnold's remarks is that he saw a need to defend the use of corporal punishment, an indication that there was some growing feeling that it was not an acceptable practice. But if we are to believe Tom Brown's Schooldays, a semi-autobiography by an "old boy" of Rugby during the time of Arnold, the boys accepted the system, and no ill-will was born against the masters, rather the contrary.

Arnold was not without support from other prominent writers. John Ruskin (1819 - 1900), for instance, approached the disciplining of children in a very traditional, some may call reactionary, way. The present state of "moral disorganisation", he complained, was because "the rod of correction" had been forgotten. While he was a reformer in other areas, Ruskin offers the following remedy for children:

> The first essential point in the education given to children will be the habit of instant, finely accurate, and totally unreasoning obedience to their fathers, mothers, and tutors.
>
> (Ruskin, no date, Vol. II, 135)

Matthew Arnold (1822 - 1888), the son of Thomas, and a school inspector, had made several visits to continental schools and had been influenced by how they coped with the control of children. In contrast

to his father, he believed that corporal punishment was an outdated and unacceptable method of achieving discipline.

> . . . flogging . . . , without entering into long discussions about it, one may say the modern spirit has irrevocably condemned as a school punishment, so that it will more and more come to appear half disgusting, half ridiculous, and a teacher will find it more and more difficult to inflict it without a loss of self-respect. The feeling on the continent is very strong on this point. The punishments in French schools are impositions and confinements.
>
> (M. Arnold, 1912 edition, 148)

But this is not to say that discipline is not to be regarded highly, rather the contrary. He advocates the freeing of the teacher from the need to placate fee-paying parents who substitute indulgence for responsible upbringing. In contrast to those of the lower classes, the children of the lower middle-class do not receive discipline from deprived circumstances, but their parents, because they are half-educated themselves, do not realise the need for respect, obedience and self-control.

> The teacher's hands cannot be strengthened too much in the schools which this class frequents; for if they are not disciplined at school, they will, while young, be disciplined nowhere.
>
> (Ibid., 3)

The general ferment of intellectual ideas was bound to have its effect on education. Herbert Spencer (1820 - 1903), for instance, is noted in the history of ideas for his application of evolutionary theory to social and moral situations. In his book, Education, he devotes about forty-five pages to the punishment of children. The following is his approach in brief.

A child learns quickly and greatly by the painful consequences of his acts, such as touching something hot. But these, strictly speaking, are not punishments but "unavoidable consequences". Artificial conse-

quences, or punishments, usually fail to produce reformation; indeed often have the opposite effect. The function of parents and teachers is to see that children do, in fact, suffer the consequences of their acts, neither through protecting the child from them, nor intensifying their effects.

The emotional reactions of parents when they scold, threat or strike can be regarded as a consequence, but this occurs when "ill-controlled adults make up the people", and is a sign of a primitive society. But in a civilized society, the displeasure will be manifest spontaneously in milder ways -- "measures strong enough for their better-natured children."

> In brief, the truth is that savageness begets savageness, and gentleness begets gentleness. Children who are unsympathetically treated become relatively unsympathetic; whereas treating them with due fellow-feeling is a means of cultivating their fellow-feeling.
> (Spencer, 1895, 204)

It is interesting how, as the century moves on, no matter what is used as the basis for argument, the end results are remarkably similar. Evolutionist and Romantic, Christian and Atheist, seem so often to differ in their professed beliefs, yet are remarkably similar in their actions if they share the same society.

By the end of the 19th Century, corporal punishment was not only still used, but was still justified and defended by authorities, with certain restrictions, in English-speaking countries. An interesting comparison between French and English attitudes can be seen in The History of Pedagogy, by Gabriel Compayré, a professor at a French Normal School. It was published in 1879, and translated into English in 1887 by W.H. Payne, an education professor at the University of Michigan.

One of the themes of the work is the gradual disapproval of the

use of corporal punishment as pedagogical method, and its elimination in France by the early Nineteenth Century. But Compayré is shocked to see its continuous use and advocacy in English schools.

> It is difficult to conceive the perseverance with which English teachers cling to the old and degrading customs of corrections by the rod. . . . A more astonishing thing is that the scholars seem to hold to it as much as the teachers.
>
> (Compayré, 1887, 202)

The word "degrading" indicates that his prime objection is a moral one, though elsewhere he quotes with approval those who oppose corporal punishment because it is not effective in bringing about the desired results.

But the translator, Payne, adds an interesting footnote:

> On the question of corporal punishment is not M. Compayré not too absolute in his assumptions? On what principle does he base his absolute condemnation of the rod? What is to be done in those cases of revolt against order and decency that occur from time to time in most schools. There is no doubt that the very best teachers can govern without resorting to this hateful expedient; but what shall be done in extreme cases by the multitude who are not, and never can be, teachers of this ideal type? Nor does this question stand alone. Below, it is related to family discipline; and above, to civil administration. If corporal punishment is interdicted in the school, should it not be interdicted in the state?
>
> (Compayré, 1887, 203, footnote)

Payne, we notice, objects to it in all but extreme disciplinary cases. Notable is his attempt to relate the school situation to the larger social situation. One could speculate on whether the differences between these two writers was the result of differing conditions in French and American schools, and society.

In English-speaking countries, then, the belief slowly but surely grew that the use of the rod was to be limited, to be replaced wherever possible by more humane means and higher motives, but not to be entirely discarded. We find in Upper Canada, for instance, Dr. Ryerson, the

Chief Superintendent of Schools stating in his Annual Report for 1864, the following:

> But there are some who go to the extreme of objecting to all corporal punishment of Pupils by the Teacher. Upon the same ground should they object to corporal punishment of a Child by a parent, -- an objection contrary to Scripture and to common sense. The best Teacher, like the best Parent, will seldom resort to the Rod; but there are occasions when it cannot be wisely avoided. It often happens that Parents, whose Children most need the Rod of correction, are the first to object to it. Children that are perfectly governed at home, will seldom, if ever, need the Rod of correction, or suspension, or even reproof at School; but Children who are irregular, or not governed at home, can seldom be governed at School without the Rod. But this exercise of discipline should never be done in a passion, or under the influence of angry feelings. A Teacher should never allow himself to punish a Pupil until his mind is calm and his heart free from anger. He should rebuke and chastise in love, -- showing that he acts from a sense of duty, and from kindness to the Pupil punished, as well as for the order and welfare of the whole School.
>
> (in Hodgins, 1893 - 1910, Vol. XVIII, 239)

Ryerson is obviously a transitional figure in this history. He is still strongly under the influence of Old Testament edicts, but sees the virtues of the new humanity, and of improved classroom techniques.

People who are in the "front-line" of teaching, are less likely to be influenced by philosophy than by the practical situation in front of them. Whereas the teacher had once reacted instinctively in one way only, many were beginning to analyse the child's situation, rather than automatically punishing an infringement. A mixture of the old and the new is shown in the opening address to the Ontario Teachers' Association Convention of 1869, delivered by the President, the Reverend Nelles.

> My last observation is that the Teacher should appeal as much as possible to the higher motives. Fear, as an instrument of discipline, is not to be disregarded. I would not have a Teacher say to his School, "I never flog." Philosophers tell us of what they call "latent consciousness." There should be in every School a

> latent consciousness of the Rod, and this will need occasionally to be developed, and as it were brought to the surface by a vigorous application of the Rod to some dozing offender who may be taken as a kind of "representative man." But the best teacher is one who secures good order and progress with the minimum of whipping. It is easy to flog, especially for a big man to flog little children; it is natural to flog; there are so many temptations to flog; so many occasions on which this method seems necessary, that it becomes with some Teachers a kind of "royal road to knowledge," a sort of catholicon to cure all diseases, like "Radway's Ready Relief," or other nostrums of the day. That dull boy must be flogged though possibly his dullness may be but the slow development of great powers which flogging will not hasten. That Truant Boy must be flogged, although a proper system of Gymnastics and recreation might have prevented his playing Truant. That tardy Boy must be flogged, though his tardiness may be the fault of his parents. That equivocating Boy must be flogged, though his equivocation be the result of timidity, which flogging does but increase. Some teachers seem to think they best discharge their obligations by discharging the big Ruler at the heads of children; according to them, the tree of knowledge is the Birch. The old adage warns us not to flog when angry; but the fact is the presence of anger and the absence of moral power are chief causes of flogging. The true Teacher will love and reverence children, and feel his way as quickly and skilfully as possible to their better nature. Fear, at best, is only an instrument; but the love of knowledge, self respect, respect for Teacher and Parent, the love of excellence, the sense of right, these are not only higher instruments, but ends in themselves.
>
> (Hodgins, Vol. XXI, 293)

That the Reverend Nelles felt such comments were necessary, indicates that the abuses he objected to were prevalent. How the teachers themselves reacted to this type of exhortion is difficult to say; the notes of the meeting merely indicate that "a hearty vote of thanks was awarded to the President for his eloquent address."

Summary

In the Nineteenth Century, the changing attitudes towards the treatment of offenders generally was reflected in educational theory. While Rousseau was the most revolutionary in his belief that the only

punishments for children should be the natural consequences of their own acts, most of the other educational philosophers on the Continent such as Pestalozzi, Herbart and Froebel advocated the replacement of physical punishment with more subtle measures. The belief that motivation should be achieved through a loving relationship between teacher and child grew, and that the pupil should be inspired to success through interest in, and love for, learning placed greater emphasis on the need for a more attractive school environment and the need for educational methods to be more sophisticated and effective.

CHAPTER V

THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION

It has become usual for social commentators to proclaim the present as the time of greatest change in man's history. While not denying the tremendous number of innovations, particularly technical, that multiply around us, the present writer would suggest that the Twentieth Century is rivalled by the Nineteenth, at least in education. In Europe, and countries with similar traditions such as North America, literacy of the few was replaced by almost universal elementary education, and the methods which had changed little since formal education was first established, were replaced by techniques much more similar to those still in practice to-day.

The Schools of England in the Nineteenth Century

The methods of discipline in the Great Public Schools of England at the beginning of the Nineteenth Century have been well recorded. Cyril Norwood, headmaster of Harrow, writing in the 1920's described them thus:

> They flogged their way through term after term with a high sense of duty accomplished, flogged if a lesson were not known, flogged for inattention, flogged for vice. Often they did not know who the boys were whom they flogged, or why they flogged them.
>
> (Norwood, 1929, 62)

After a visit to England in the 1850's, a group of French Commissioners arrived at the following conclusion:

> The rod is one of those ancient English traditions which survive because they have survived. A foreigner can hardly conceive the perseverance with which English teachers cling to this old and degrading custom. We have read in Dr. Arnold's works an eloquent dissertation in favour of flogging, which has not at all convinced us. One is astonished at seeing English masters remove a garment which the prudery of their language hesitates to name.
>
> (quoted by Cooper, 1912, 445)

Some of the names of these great beaters have come down to posterity: Udall of Eton, Busby of Westminster, and Keate of Eton, of whom it was said he used "to know the posteriors of his pupils far better than their faces" (D'Olbert, 1967, 50). It is recorded that one night he left a dinner to flog eighty boys (Adamson, 1930, 56). But it was not just the masters who flogged the boys; the ushers had a hand in it, and the cruelties meted out by the older boys on the young, either as part of the system of "fagging", or as simple bullying, at least rivalled those of the masters. One of Arnold's great reforms at Rugby was to stop the bullying with the system of "praeposters", whereby the Sixth Form were given official power to control the students and to prevent immoral conduct. These senior boys were expected to be firm but just, to control the younger boys, but also to protect them from excesses. It appears to have been a considerable improvement over the anarchy of the earlier times.

Whether the harshness of the masters was necessary to control undisciplined boys, or whether the harshness bred rebellion in their hearts is difficult to say. Probably both reflect the general brutality and indiscipline of the time. That the boys did not always take it without protest is shown by the number of rebellions. Rebellions became almost a tradition in Winchester, where, in 1818, authority had to be restored by a company of soldiers. The riot act was read at Rugby in 1797. As late as 1851, Marlborough broke into open mutiny.

Charles Lamb (1775 - 1834) in one of his essays, "Christ's Hospital 35 Years Ago," gives us a picture of the punishment methods used in this well known English school.

> I was a hypochondriac lad; and the sight of the boy in fetters, upon the day of my first putting on of

> blue clothes, was not exactly fitted to assuage the natural terrors of initiation. I was of tender years, barely turned seven; and had only read of such things in books, or seen them but in dreams. I was told he had run away. This was the punishment for the first offence. As a novice I was soon after taken to see the dungeons. These were little, square, Bedlam cells, where a boy could just lie at his length upon straw and a blanket -- a mattress, I think, was afterwards substituted -- with a peep of light let in askance, from a prison-orifice at top, barely enough to read by. Here the poor boy was locked in by himself all day, without sight of any but the porter who brought him his bread and water -- who might not speak to him; -- or of the beadle, who came twice a week to call him out to receive his periodical chastisement, which was almost welcome, because it separated him for a brief interval from solitude: -- and here he was shut up by himself of nights out of the reach of any sound, to suffer whatever horrors the weak nerves, and superstition incident to his time of life, might subject him to. This was the penalty for the second offence.
>
> (Lamb, 1952 edition, 29)

The punishment for the third offence was expulsion, accompanied by a severe beating, and general humiliation.

> There were governors; two of whom by choice or charter, were always accustomed to officiate at these Ultima Supplicia; not to mitigate (so at least we understood it), but to enforce the uttermost stripe. Old Bamber Gascoigne, and Peter Aubert, I remember, were colleagues on one occasion, when the beadle turning rather pale, a glass of brandy was ordered to prepare him for the mysteries. The scourging was, after the old Roman fashion, long and stately. The lictor accompanied the criminal quite round the hall. We were generally too faint with attending the previous disgusting circumstance, to make accurate report with our eyes of the degree of corporal suffering inflicted. Report, of course, gave out the back knotty and livid.
>
> (Ibid., 30)

Interestingly, these procedures, according to Lamb's editor, Malcolm Elwin, had been devised by John Howard, remembered to-day as a prison reformer. Elwin says of the tribute to Howard in St. Paul's Cathedral, "I could willingly spit upon his statue" (see Lamb, footnote, 29).

Lamb contrasts his own teacher, Matthew Field, who caned not at

all, but whose students learned no Latin, with another master, Boyer, who constantly caned, and whose students learned much Latin.

> We saw a little into the secrets of his [Boyer's] discipline, and the prospects did but the more reconcile us to our lot. His thunders rolled innocuous for us; his storms came near, but never touched us; contrary to Gideon's miracle, while all around were drenched, our fleece was dry. His boys turned out the better scholars; we, I suspect, have the advantage in temper. His pupils cannot speak of him without something of terror allaying their gratitude; the remembrance of Field cames back with all the images of indolence, and summer slumbers, and work like play, and innocent idleness, and Elysian exemptions, and life itself "a playing holiday."
>
> (Ibid., 33)

> Coleridge, in his literary life, has pronounced a more intelligible and ample encomium on them. The author of the Country Spectator doubts not to compare him [Boyer] with the ablest teachers of antiquity. Perhaps we cannot dismiss him better than with that pious ejaculation of C. -- when he heard that his old master was on his death-bed -- "Poor J.B. -- may all his faults be forgiven; and may he be wafted to bliss by little cherub boys, all head and wings, with no <u>bottoms</u> to reproach his sublunary infirmities."
>
> (Ibid., 34-35)

Lamb seems to betray a reluctant acknowledgement that, however undesirable it may be to inflict suffering on children, beating is a most effective teaching device.

We have a picture of St. James's School, a preparatory school for Eton, almost a hundred years later from Winston Churchill in his autobiographical <u>My Early Life</u>.

> Flogging with the birch in accordance with the Eton fashion was a great feature in its curriculum. But I am sure no Eton boy, and certainly no Harrow boy of my day, ever received such a cruel flogging as this Headmaster was accustomed to inflict upon the little boys who were in his care and power. They exceeded in severity anything that would be tolerated in any of the reformatories under the Home Office. My reading in later life has supplied me with some possible explanations of his temperament. Two or three times a month the whole school was marshalled in the Library, and one or more delinquents were hauled off to an

> adjoining apartment by the two head boys, and there flogged until they bled freely, while the rest sat quaking, listening to their screams. . . . How I hated this school, and what a life of anxiety I lived there for more than two years. I made very little progress at my lessons, and none at all at games.
>
> (Churchill, 1941, 25)

We must not be misled into thinking that all students objected to these methods. Norwood recalls how he was frequently rebuked by "old boys" for his "regrettably infrequent use of the rod" that "sacred right of chastisement" (Norwood, 1929, 62). It happened on at least one occasion that it was the students themselves who prevented its curtailment.

> In 1818 (relates one of the former pupils of Charterhouse) our headmaster, Doctor Russell, who had ideas of his own, resolved to abolish corporal punishment and substitute for it a fine. Everybody resisted the innovation. The rod seemed to us perfectly consistent with the dignity of a gentleman; but a fine, for shame! The school rose to the cry: "Down with the fine! Long live the rod!" The revolt triumphed, and the rod was solemnly restored. Then we were glad-hearted over the affair. On the next day after the fine was abolished, we found, on entering the class-room, a superb forest of birches, and two hours of the session were conscientiously employed in making use of them.
>
> (quoted by Compayré, 1887, 203)

As noted before whether corporal punishment is shameful or not seems to depend as much on a particular social group and its attitudes, as upon the act itself.

One of the best revelations of the attitudes of "old boys" is to be found in Tom Brown's Schooldays (1858), based on his own experiences at Rugby School, by Thomas Hughes, M.P. (1823 - 1904). Despite the frequent floggings, the boys respected and even felt affection for the headmaster and school.

> Up to this time, Tom had never wholly given in to or understood the Doctor. At first he had thoroughly

> feared him. For some years, as I have tried to show, he had learned to regard him with love, and respect, and to think of him as a very great and wise and good man.
>
> (Hughes, 1934 edition, 303)

Dr. Arnold is quoted:

> "A gross case of bullying . . . and severe physical pain is the only way to deal with such a case.". . . Years afterwards, that boy sought out Holmes [the Sixth Former who had thrashed him], and thanked him, saying it had been the kindest act which had ever been done upon him, and the turning point in his character; a very good sort of fellow he became, and a credit to his school.
>
> (Ibid., 293)

Manliness is a virtue often proclaimed in this book: manliness in games, in honour, and in taking punishment.

One attempt at eliminating the senseless cruelties of the Public Schools was made by the Hill family who opened an experimental school at Hazelwood, near Birmingham, in 1819, in which self-government by the students, a broad curriculum, and the organization of students on the basis of aptitude and attainment in each subject were the basic principles. The following, written in 1825 by a member of staff, is a description of the methods of punishment.

> Our punishments are fines, and sometimes, though very rarely, short imprisonment. Impositions, public disgrace, and corporal punishment, have been for many years discarded.
>
> (edited by Gosden, 1969, 168)

One cannot help but feel, however, on reading the description of the school by the sons of the founder, that it must have been a rather humourless place in which the relentless competition may have been as much a burden on some of the pupils as punishments would have been. In any case, Hazelwood was not to set any sort of pattern for the typical school of the century.

So far we have examined the schools for the upper classes; what of

the lower classes of English society? Many did not even attend school but were the sweated labour of the mines and mills.

> They come forth: the mine delivers its gang and the pit its bondsmen; the forge is silent and the engine is still . . . troops of youth -- alas! of both sexes -- though neither their raiment nor their language indicates the difference; all are clad in male attire; and oaths that men might shudder at, issue from lips born to breathe words of sweetness. Yet these are to be -- some are -- the mothers of England! But can we wonder at the hideous coarseness of their language, when we remember the savage rudeness of their lives? Naked to the waist, an iron chain fastened to a belt of leather runs between their legs clad in canvas trousers, while on hands and feet an English girl, for twelve, sometimes for sixteen hours a day, hauls and hurries tubs of coals up subterranean roads, dark, precipitous and plashy.
>
> (Disraeli, 1923 edition, 142)

These were the children that increasing public concern, and finally government regulation after 1870, brought into the schools. We have a picture of one of these groups in their new found circumstances.

> They were a wild lot gathered in the Willow Alley shed. Not one boy had experienced any but parental discipline before, and most of the little fellows had been used to blows. When the teacher spoke to a lad the youngster's hands were instinctively made ready to protect the head. Their minds were in a turmoil; their curiosity was at fever pitch. Some were hardy enough; some were very intelligent in appearance; some were cowed and sly but vicious, and some were dulled into semi-imbecility by hunger, disease, ill-usage. They had no conception of the meaning of an order and the teacher was obliged to drill them again and again in the simplest movements. The power of paying attention was almost wanting in them. So far as attainments were concerned, the boys were tolerably level. No one knew the entire alphabet and those who had picked up a slight idea of the letters from street hoardings were decidedly vague. The teachers found it impossible to interest them in any subject for more than five minutes. They had the fluid mind of the true barbarian and it was quite useless to attempt any species of coercion.
>
> (quoted by Lowndes, 1937, 13)

With the considerable numbers of almost barbaric children that each teacher, usually untrained, was expected to handle, and the results

demanded if he were to improve financially under the system of "payment by results", it is no wonder that harsh methods were used. In fact Lowndes defends the system of the time as expedient in changing the standards of such children. "The child population of England and Wales found a new discipline and a sense of membership of a social community under these . . . impartial rigours" (Ibid., 12).

The following rather lengthy extract is from a Report of the Committee of Council on Education, 1845, by Her Majesty's Inspector, the Reverend F. Watkins. It shows more clearly than any isolated reminiscence the extent of use of corporal punishment in England at this time. It may well be the first semi-scientific attempt to judge the merits of this form of punishment.

> It has long been a question whether such punishment be necessary; very different opinions are held on the subject;
>
> 'Adhuc sub judice lis est'
>
> Now the answers made by 163 places are these: That in 145 of them it is made use of. That in 18 it is dispensed with. Of the 18 places in which there is no corporal punishment --
>
> 6 are schools of girls only,
> 2 are schools of infants and girls,
> 2 are schools of infants only,
> 5 are schools of boys and girls mixed,
> 1 is a school for boys only,
> 2 are schools for boys, girls and infants separate.
>
> 18. of these only three are large schools. In the six girls' schools the discipline is admirable; in four of them the children's progress in their studies is highly satisfactory. The same may be said of one of the infants' schools, the other has only lately been reopened, and cannot be judged fairly in these respects. The two schools of infants and girls are equally pleasing in these two points.
>
> Of the remaining eight schools, one is excellent in all respects, two are tolerable, the five others are wretched in discipline and very deficient in progress. . . .
>
> I turn now to the other side of the question and take the 27 places where corporal punishment is used most frequently, and as far as I can judge, the most severely. What is the result?

> At 20 of them are schools notoriously lacking in discipline, some of the worst, if not the very worst, in the Northern district.
> Of these, 15 are in an equally wretched state, as to moral tone and intellectual progress.
> At the other seven places, the schools of three are in a satisfactory state in all respects, and may be called good.
> The remaining four are only tolerable, with a discipline of fear rather than of love; where the children are not making great progress in their studies, but are not remarkably backward in them.
>
> . . . .
>
> There are, I think very few of these offences which would not be much diminished by an increase of the number and an improvement in the character of teachers, by inclosed playgrounds, and by cheerful companionship of the teachers with the children during their times of relaxation.
>
> . . . .
>
> In boys' schools it is doubtless more difficult to dispense with it. There are natures amongst the wretched, uncultivated, and almost brute-like occupants of some of our boys' schools to which this 'last appeal to force' seems the only one to which they will attend; but it is plainly the duty of the master to attempt to win them by all other means; and it is plain that the charm of the rod loses its power in proportion to the frequency of its use.
>
> (edited by Gosden, 1969, 18-20)

This selection is notable for a number of reasons. It is the first attempt that the present writer was able to discover in which concrete evidence was used to support or oppose the use of corporal punishment, as opposed to personal opinion or an individual case history. The author's method is simple: in most of the schools he has observed, where corporal punishment is used greatly, behaviour and achievement are poor; in most of the schools where it is not in use, behaviour and achievement are good. While his work may not meet the requirements of a modern empirical investigation, the basic approach is similar.

In the list of reasons for the use of corporal punishment that were given by the masters, there are only moral offences. Can we assume that this type of punishment was not used to stimulate learning. The

master who "never lays the cane down" but bestows "a smart tap with it here, and a sharp cut with it there" seems likely to be using it for this purpose. Perhaps what has happened is that even at this early date, few teachers are willing to acknowledge that they are using it for intellectual motivation for they are not sure of its appropriateness, or its acceptability by authorities.

The Reverend Watkins is clearly opposed to corporal punishment except in extreme cases. It is of importance that he is pointing out to the authorities, that if corporal punishment is to be done away with, factors which contribute to its use must be remedied: there must be more teachers (thus, presumably, smaller classes), better quality teachers, better facilities, and so on. He clearly recognizes that the matter cannot be dealt with in isolation. Generally the passage indicates that there is a small but determined group at this time in England which is not only not using corporal punishment, but is actively working to bring about its reduction or elimination.

Why did corporal punishment continue so long in England as the standard classroom procedure? One reason, no doubt, was insufficient feeling against it; it was used because it had been used, and most people expected it to be used. This seems to be the main reason in the schools for the middle and upper classes. But there were other factors as well.

Lower class pupils came from harsh backgrounds and inherited from their parents, an antipathy for authority, any authority. Perhaps with smaller classes, some other methods could have been used, but the classes were huge, and not just in the monitorial schools. With the best methods and the kindest heart, only the rarest of teachers could have controlled such unruly masses of children. And the best methods were not used, for few teachers had any training and often they were the discards from other

occupations.

> They had been semi-skilled craftsmen, shopkeepers, clerks, or 'superior' domestic servants, all occupations which either required a knowledge of reading and writing or offered opportunities to acquire such knowledge. Then, as now, teaching was often regarded as a respectable second best, although a few had a 'call' to teaching as a religious duty. The amount of training was small, and although some became competent and diligent teachers, all too often they were complete failures.
>
> (Tropp, 1956, 10-11)

Gradually, means of training teachers were established, such as training colleges, "organising masters" who travelled from school to school, and the use of the "pupil-teacher" system. Between 1849 and 1859 the number of pupil-teachers rose from 3,500 to over 15,000 (see Tropp, 1956, Chapt. II). The difficulties were compounded by the compulsory education acts from 1870 to 1894, whereby the number of children at school in London doubled, and the increase elsewhere was even greater. These Acts "had, as it were, placed the State in a position of responsibility to a huge conscripted army of quite young children." In twenty-five years accommodation and teachers were provided for over two million additional pupils (see Lowndes, 1937, 4-5). It was no wonder that the teachers resented the restrictions placed on them by the middle- or upper-class layman who was to be found on School Boards, and who had no conception of the difficulties of classrooms over-populated by children brought up in brutalizing slum conditions.

North American Schools of the Nineteenth Century

While the schools of North America were different in origin and organization from those of England, the teaching methods were very similar. J. Marion Sims, a famous American surgeon tells of his schooldays in South Carolina in 1819.

> This teacher [Quigley] had a remarkable peculiarity in

> regard to the admission of small boys to his school. It made no odds whether a boy was good or bad, he invariably got a flogging on the first day. The teacher always sought some pretext to make a flogging necessary, and when he began he seldom stopped until the youngster vomited or wet his breeches.
>
> (edited by Knight & Hall, 1951, 48)

In 1841, Superintendent R. Shunk of Pennsylvania spoke on the need for improved methods of teaching.

> The barbarous system of governing the mind by the infliction of stripes upon the body, would, like the penal code of other times, soon be ameliorated by a correct illustration of this science of teaching; and the schoolroom, under a proper system of government, adapted to this enlightened age, would be the delight, instead of being, as it now often is, the terror of our children.
>
> (Ibid., 420)

Not everybody, however, welcomed change in methods. Edward Eggleston, who popularised the phrase "no larnin' without lickin'" in The Hoosier Schoolmaster, reminisced in 1873:

> When I recall the old-time school, I cannot but think that, if its discipline was somewhat more brutal than the school discipline of to-day, its course of study was far less so. Children did not often die of the severity of the old masters, though many perish from the harsh requirements of the modern system.
>
> (edited by Fuess & Basford, 1947, 557)

William Phelps also had doubts about the methods which replaced the birch-rod. In his opinion it was quickly over and to the point, whereas the detentions, additional assignments and verbal admonitions were harsher because they were so drawn out.

> I remember one boys' school where the teacher was famous for these interviews, and the remark of one young villain, "Say, I'd rather he'd lick me any day than talk to me."
>
> (Ibid., 59)

Robert Coffin, winner of the Pulitzer Prize for poetry in 1936, summed up the influence of the old-time teacher:

They caught a nation eager,
They caught a nation young,
They taught the nation fairness,
Thrift and the golden tongue.

They started at the bottom
And built up strong and sweet,
They shaped our minds and morals
With switches on the seat.

(Coffin, 1943, 28)

One of the best sources for anecdotes about schooling in the Nineteenth Century, is the 28 volume A Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada, compiled and edited by George Hodgins (1821 - 1912) who had been first assistant to Egerton Ryerson (1803 - 1882) for most of the latter's career as Chief Superintendent. Hodgins includes excerpts from newspapers, diaries, and personal letters to himself from "worn-out" teachers describing the customs and conditions of the day. It is remarkable how, when the memory is of the writer's experiences as a pupil, the use of the rod or its substitute is shown to be great, but when it is the memory of an experience as a teacher, the emphasis is on how little the rod was used.

A Mr. John Findall, writing in the Kingston Gazette in 1818, commented on the typical teacher of the day.

> I have, in Canada, heard a good old British Officer's observation, on the subject of education, that he still recollects, with indignation, the treatment he received at school, and that he would as readily have marched into a field of battle, as he would entered his schoolroom, or as soon have met a musket ball, as have faced his schoolmaster, and I have conversed with many others who still retain similar feelings.
>
> (Hodgins, Vol. III, 133)

In 1829, the "Old Blue School" at York (TORONTO), when the Rev. Dr. Strachan (who was, as we shall see later, one of the first to lay down regulations on punishment) was head-master, used the following methods:

> Studious lads were commended by the Master. Those who struggled and persevered were strengthened by a kindly

> word, while the perverse youth, who could but would not digest the mental diet, was invigorated and quickened into activity by the aid of rods, cut from the McGill and Jarvis property which lay north of Lot Street, and at a later day by the assistance of the strap.
> (Hodgins, Vol. I, 106)

William Johnston, writing of his childhood experiences in Blanchard Township describes the use of the "tawse".

> The "tawse" was a great institution in those days. It was thought that the knowledge which could not be crammed into the memory, or reasoned into the head, could be whipped into the fingers or the backbone. Pupils, -- girls as well as boys, -- were flogged for being late, although some of them came two miles through the woods; climbing over logs and often wading through streams, to get to school. They were flogged for whispering in school, or for making pictures on the slate, or not being able to recite correctly such barbarous lists of words of speech as above indicated. And worse than all, they were flogged if they failed to recite the Shorter Catechism. Oh! how the Presbyterians envied the other Religious Denominations for their privilege of exemption from the Catechism.
> (Hodgins, Vol. VII, 295)

The tawse, a piece of rawhide, its use no doubt imported from Scotland, gradually replaced the "pandies", or leather switch with nine tails, the switch of birch or blue beech, and the ferule. Presumably it is the ancestor of the rubberized strap usually used to-day.

In describing a school near Simcoe in the 1840's a Mr. W.W. Pegg shows us some of the infinite variety of refinements that could be achieved. One teacher used to throw his silk handkerchief at the offending child, who upon returning it to the teacher received a castigation. Boys who were caught fighting were required to "cut jackets", that is, stand about three feet apart and whip each other. If either boy was not severe enough, the teacher would apply his own rod to the back of the delinquent. "The cure was harsh but generally effectual" (Hodgins, Vol. IV, 320).

Quite a different picture is given, however, when it is the teacher

reminiscing. Typical is the comment of a Patrick Downey on the methods in Guelph before 1842. "Children were remarkably quiet and obedient, and the best of order was maintained without resorting to any corporal punishment" (Hodgins, Vol. IV, 317).

That the use of the rod was an inseparable part of the schooling of the time was, in large part, a reflection of public attitudes and the need on the part of the teacher for self-protection. One retired teacher recalled:

> The trustees of the section near West Zorra came to see me if I would take the school, saying that they had engaged four or five teachers in about a year; one had been thrown out the door by the pupils, another had taught a few days and was thrown out the window; but they thought that I could manage the big boys, since there was a swamp close by where I could get any quantity of 'beech bitters' if the pupils needed any floggings, and they were not in favour of sparing the rod and spoiling the boys and girls.
>
> (Hodgins, Vol. VI, 306)

The primitive learning conditions, and the untrained teachers certainly did not help matters. A Mr. Boyle writing in 1896 of his experiences at "Scarboro'" in its earliest days said:

> Given, therefore, from a dozen to a score or more of precocious backwoods boys and girls crowded into a small log building, and no wise characterised by commodiousness within, we may cease to wonder why the grandparents and great grandparents were less amenable to discipline than the young folk of our own day.
>
> But this was not all. The old-time Preceptor had no knowledge of educational principles; he entered the school and left it a tyrant in the worse sense of the word. His professional creed was summed up in the easily understood and easily applied dogma "No larnin' without lickin'."
>
> (Hodgins, IV, 132)

This was no exception; Carniff Haight described a school thus:

> In the centre of the Room was a Box Stove, around which the long Benches, without backs, were ranged. Next to the Walls were the Desks, raised a little from the floor. In the Summer time the pupils were

> all of tender years, the elder ones being kept at home to help with the work. I was one of the lot of little lads ranged daily on hard wooden seats with our feet dangling in the air for seven or eight hours a day. In such a plight we were expected to be very good children, to make no noise and to learn our lessons. It is a marvel that so many years had to lapse before Parents and Teachers could be brought to see that keeping children in such a position for so many hours was an act of great cruelty. The terror of the Rod was the only thing that could keep us still, and often that failed. Sometimes, tired and weary, we fell and tumbled off the bench, to be awakened by the fall of the Rod.
> (Hodgins, Vol. XXVIII, 307)

Despite this gloomy picture, by the end of the century a great change had been brought about. What were the factors involved in this? It was, of course, part of the general improvement that was occurring in the conditions and attitudes of society. Schools became physically more pleasant places and equipment became more varied and stimulating. Along with the reduction in class sizes, this meant that the need to control bored, tired or hostile children was reduced. The attitudes of the people changed considerably, so that as they found a greater need for education in their daily lives, greater respect was given to education and its representatives.

This improved support for education was reflected in one of the most important factors, the improvement in the quality of teachers. In Upper Canada, for example, A Normal School was established in 1847 for the training of teachers for Common Schools, and after 1858 it was desirable for Grammar School masters to have teacher training as well as a university degree. While the change was slow, trained teachers who had had not just higher ideals instilled into them, but also more practical methods, were gradually replacing the untrained. The ideals and methods of the great educational reformers discussed in the previous chapter slowly but surely were introduced into the classroom.

The influence of the superior and contrasting conditions in Europe is worthy of special treatment, for the contrast was to be an important weapon wielded by the reformers. It has already been noted how western European countries such as France had reduced and in some places even eliminated the use of corporal punishment by the early Nineteenth Century. As English-speaking countries became conscious of the need for improved systems and methods, they looked elsewhere for guidance; and so there developed after 1830 one of the more interesting and important phenomenons that contributed to educational improvement in England and North America: the educational grand tour of Europe.

Ryerson of Upper Canada looked back in 1869 and listed some of the more important reports that resulted. From the United States there was in 1837 Dr. Bache of Philadelphia who compiled a 600 page report, in 1838 a Professor Stowe, and in 1843, perhaps the most influential, Horace Mann, the Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education. Dr. Barnard, who was to become head of the National Department of Education in Washington made a comprehensive tour and report in the early 1860's. Other reports were translated from the French such as M. Victor Cousin's of 1831 which was "repeatedly printed in both England and the United States." Others which received similar treatment were those of M. Rendu in 1854, and M. Baudouin in 1865. Note has already been made of the influence of Continental methods on Matthew Arnold. In addition to this an Education Commission which was appointed by the Queen in the 1850's to report on all aspects of education in England including methods, visited the Continent and was greatly influenced by what was observed there. Ryerson himself made such tours including one before taking up office in 1845. He said "in the course of foreign educational enquiry, we have but followed the example of other educating Countries" (Hodgins, XXI, 54).

Many of these educators probably were not so much changed in their views on education, as reinforced in already existing views. Both Ryerson and Mann, for example, had already shown dislike for corporal punishment, but in their reports they describe the European methods as a worthy contrast to what they deplored in their own countries. Here we have Ryerson's description of a public school he visited in Holland, which was (he quotes from the Secretary of the Privy Council Committee of Education in London) "the best instructed Country in Europe."

> I have never witnessed such quietness, order and attention in Schools, as in those of this Country which I have visited; yet a law exists here prohibiting any School Teacher, Public or Private, from using the rod to his pupils. The sort of feeling which pervades both parents and children -- the sort of influence which constitutes the mysterious power and mainspring of government in these Schools -- may be inferred from the fact, of which I have been assured by more than one Inspector and Head Master, that the punishment felt by delinquent pupils to be the most severe is the prohibition of them coming to the School for a shorter, or longer, period. The government of the heart, by the heart, as well as by the head of the Master, is substituted for that of the rule and the raw hide. Whether the whipping abolition law of Holland be not an extreme act of legislation, I will not take upon me to say; but the law itself, and the facts to which I have referred, are interesting phenomena in the School history of the present age.
> (Hodgins, Vol. V, 238)

Later he describes his visit to Germany.

> Still, in almost every German School into which I entered, I enquired whether corporal punishment were allowed or used, and I was uniformly answered in the affirmative. But it was further said, that, though all Teachers had liberty to use it, yet cases of its occurrence were very rare, and these cases were confined almost wholly to young scholars. Until the Teacher had time to establish the relation of affection between himself and the new comer to his School, until he had time to create that attachment, which children always feel towards any one, who day after day, supplied them with novel and pleasing ideas, it was occasionally necessary to restrain and punish them. But, after a short time, a love of the Teacher, and a love of knowledge, became a substitute, -- how

> admirable a one! for punishment. When I asked Doctor Vogel of Leipsic, he answered, 'that it was still in use in the Schools of which he had the superintendence.' But, he added, 'thank God it is used less and less, and when we Teachers become fully competent to our work, it will cease altogether.'
>
> (Hodgins, Vol. VI, 203)

In the 1830's and 1840's, the controversy over the use of corporal punishment was to become heated in parts of the United States. Henry Barnard, who had studied the work of Pestalozzi's disciples in Europe and who was at the time the first Secretary of the Connecticut State Board of Commissioners for Common Schools had offended teachers by speaking out publicly against it in 1838. In the same year a petition was presented to the school committee of Boston, urging that it be prohibited for girls. A resolution was passed by the committee "to strictly enjoin upon the several instructors of the public schools never to make use of corporal punishment until every other means of influencing the pupil shall have failed" (quoted by Williams, 1937, 259). The following year the teachers were required to administer such punishments in the presence of witnesses, and to keep a record of them for examination.

The controversy was to reach a high point in the clash between Horace Mann and the teachers of Boston. After visiting Europe in 1843, Mann, in his Seventh Annual Report, made a number of recommendations based on what he believed to be superior in European schools. Four of these were reacted to strongly by thirty-one masters and principals, who published a pamphlet opposing him. In Mann's own words

> It was numbered among my sins that I indulged the hope of seeing corporal punishment more and more disused in our schools, as its necessity might be gradually superseded, by substituting the pleasures of knowledge and high motives of action in its stead, until, at some future period (which I never attempted to fix), it might be dispensed with, except, as I was accustomed to express it, "in most extraordinary cases."
>
> (in Cubberley, 1934, 195)

His argument had been basically that punishment is a substitute for good teaching, the corollary of which, in the minds of his audience, could be that where there is punishment, there is poor teaching. He urged

> . . . the idea of intelligent, gentlemanly teachers; of a mind-expanding education; of children governed by moral means; of more teaching and less flogging . . . . At all times and in all countries, the rule is the same; the punishment of scholars is the complement of the proper treatment of children by parents in the home and the competency of the teacher in school. Where there is less on one side of the question, there must be more of the other.
> (quoted by Williams, 1937, 260)

It was no wonder that the teachers reacted as they did, for Mann clearly lays part of the need for the use of punishment on the teacher, on his lack of ability, rather than on anything the child has done. The teachers probably over-reacted, though, for he also acknowledged that poor or undisciplined homes could result in undesirable behaviour at school. While his ideal was no doubt the complete abolition of corporal punishment, Mann recognized that in the state of society at that time, it was premature.

By 1863, the Board of Education in the State of Massachusetts held an attitude that was little different from the rest of the English speaking world. They stated in their annual report as follows:

> The Board has a word to say at this time on the subject of School discipline. There are two extremes in the management of Children, -- one is the line of corporal punishment, the other is that of moral suasion, -- which are to be avoided. An excess of beating was the special vice of former ages. The strong reaction of public sentiment was sometimes carried to the injudicious extreme of totally discarding the Ferule and the Rod. Love is the power which was thought to be omnipotent in control. In later years, a healthful medium has been more generally attained. But, either because the tendency to the old system of flogging has been increasing, or from other reasons, the subject has come up again in some quarters for renewed discussion. The

> Board are not of the opinion that scolding and beating are the most efficient modes of government, nor do they believe that large numbers of Children can be permanently controlled by any measure of mere love and tact which the largest hearted Teacher may possess. . . . It is moreover well for Children that they should learn to obey and submit themselves, without questioning, to legitimate rule. But irritating remarks, in dealing with them, and excess of penalty, should be avoided. The same scriptures which say "Children, obey your parents" and "Chasten thy son while there is still hope," say also "Fathers, provoke not your children to wrath." The counsel applies to School Teachers. While they insist in obedience, they should make the School-room pleasant, and the Children happy. But, when Teachers depart from these principles of humanity and justice, when they are suspected of severity and excess of punishment, care should be taken by Parents, and especially by Committees, if they must criticise the School Management adversely, that they do not weaken the hands of its authority, and, by license unconsciously given, multiply occasion for penalty. If children corrected are allowed to suspect that the public sympathy is with them, and not with the master; that Committees look upon him as a tyrant, who needs to be restrained, and upon them, to some extent, as his victims, reprehensible behaviour and moral deterioration will be the consequence. The only safe course is to invest the Teacher with authority and restrain him in the exercise of it. If he abuses the trust, and is incorrigible, when advised, let Committees exercise the power which the Commonwealth has given them to dismiss him quietly and obtain a better.
>
> (quoted by Ryerson in his Report for 1864, in Hodgins, Vol. XVIII, 239)

Obviously when, by the 1840's, teachers were being dismissed for the severity of their corporal punishment, change would come (Hodgins, Vol. II, 100). Teachers were exhorted by Superintendents and Inspectors not to use it. We have already seen Ryerson's attitude to it in Upper Canada, and in British Columbia, Superintendent Pope deplored the use of it in 1890 (British Columbia Department of Education, Annual Report, 1890, 215) and in 1895 suggested that trustees should curb its excesses by dismissing the teacher (Ibid., 1895, 201). British Columbia in that decade went so far as to publish the school returns on corporal punishment, a fact which may have shamed some into a reduction. In 1880,

Victoria Boys' High School reported 1100 corporal punishments, with an enrolment of 274 (Ibid., 1880, 334).

Official Regulation of Corporal Punishment

There have been two methods other than moral persuasion and professional good practice wherein the use of corporal punishment by teachers has been restricted. The first is the law, whereby a teacher may be found criminally liable for assault, and secondly, Governmental or local regulation, whereby a teacher may be dismissed or lose his licence to teach. In some countries, of course, as we have already seen in France and Holland, it was prohibited by law by the end of the Nineteenth Century, so that in the following discussion we are speaking of English-speaking countries.

As far back as 1765 Blackstone summarised the law of England on this matter.

> [The parent] may lawfully correct the child, being under age, in a reasonable manner; for this is for the benefit of his education. . . . He may also delegate part of his parental authority, during his life, to the tutor or school master of the child; who is then in loco parentis, and has such a portion of the power of the parent committed to his charge, viz. that of restraint and correction, as may be necessary to answer the purposes for which he is employed.
>
> (in Bargen, 1961, 126)

Section 43 of the Canadian Criminal Code is clearly derived from this.

> It is lawful for every parent or person in place of a parent, schoolmaster or master, to use force by way of correction towards any child, pupil or apprentice under his care, providing such force is reasonable under the circumstances.
>
> (Ibid., 125)

But as the matter of "reasonable" force has to be decided on, courts have relied on precedent. Generally in the last half of the

Nineteenth Century, the courts found against the teacher, but in the Twentieth Century the accused teacher has been acquitted (see Johnson, 1952, 54). One interpretation for this could be that with the development of better-trained teachers, they were less prone to use unsupportable violence. Or it may be that in the Nineteenth Century the child needed to be protected, but in the Twentieth it was the teacher who needed protection. Whatever the reason, there is no evidence that the courts had become more lenient.

That Canadian law holds that a teacher may deliberately inflict physical pain on a pupil is quite clear. More recently in Quebec, in 1951, a judge of the Quebec Court of the King's Bench said:

> That schoolmasters and parents have a right to use force in order to discipline their pupils and children is undeniable. What would under the law generally be an assault is permitted in the case of school children provided that the offence committed by the child merits punishment and that the punishment inflicted is reasonable and appropriate to the offence. That the punishment naturally may cause pain hardly needs to be stated; otherwise the whole purpose would be lost.
> (in Bargen, 1961, 126)

In Canada and the United States restrictions on the use of corporal punishment moved from occasional introduction to general decree. It has already been mentioned that the State of Massachusetts was one of the earliest to do this. Its evolution in Upper Canada will be shown as an example of such development.

On August 5th, 1817, the Board of Education for the Niagara District prescribed the "Rules for the Government of Common Schools", which included the following:

> 4. Cleanliness and Good Order to be indispensible; and Corporal Punishment seldom necessary, except for bad habits learned at home, -- lying, disobedience, obstinacy, and perverseness, -- these sometimes require chastisement; but gentleness, even in these cases would do better with most children.

> 5. All other offences in children, arising chiefly from liveliness and inattention, are better corrected by shame, such as gaudy caps, placing the culprits by themselves, not admitting anyone to play with them for a day, or days, detaining them after school hours, or during a play afternoon, and by ridicule.
>
> (Hodgins, 1894 - 1910, Vol. III, 141)

In an article in the Christian Recorder for April, 1819, the Rev. Dr. Strachan (1778 - 1867), later the first Anglican Bishop of Upper Canada, suggested exactly the same rules, without mentioning Niagara, as those that should be adopted for general use (Hodgins, Vol. I, 158). In 1832, the Select Committee of the House of Assembly on Education (Upper Canada), of which Dr. Strachan was a member, put forward the principles for governing common schools, but they were never passed into law. They included the following:

> 4th. A just system of discipline, not confined to School hours on School grounds, but extending over the conduct of every Scholar, at all hours and in all places.
>
> . . . .
>
> Notes:- (1) No severe punishment ought to be inflicted on any boy until after conviction, on clear evidence, and after admitting the accused a full measure of defence.
>
> (2) No weapon should be allowed for punishing that may injure; and corporal punishments, except for immoral conduct, should be discountenanced, as much as possible.
>
> Your Committee are inclined to believe, that if punishments are frequent, the cause may be attributed to the irritable disposition of the master and his incapacity to teach. Such Masters ought to be speedily removed, for no Teacher, whatever his abilities may be, is fit for the office of an Instructor, who is not rather loved than feared by his pupils.
>
> (Hodgins, Vol. II, 81)

The duties of teachers of Common Schools were first laid down by the 1846 Upper Canada Legislature, but no mention is made of discipline (Hodgins, Vol. VI, 67). However, the Chief Superintendent, Ryerson included in his Regulations the following:

> 7. To evince a regard for the improvement and general welfare of their Pupils, to treat them with kindness

> combined with firmness; and to aim at governing them by their affections and reason, rather than by harshness and severity.
>
> (Hodgins, Vol. VI, 302)

Ryerson must have felt he needed support in the law for his authority, for in the revision of the Act in 1848, the following was included in the Duties of Teachers:

> Thirdly. To maintain proper order and discipline in his School, according to the Regulations which shall be provided by the Chief Superintendent.
>
> (Hodgins, Vol. VIII, 176)

When Grammar Schools were first established in Upper Canada in 1854, Ryerson drew up a set of regulations which included the following in the "Duties of the Head Master and Teachers":

> 3. The Head-Master shall practice such Discipline in his School as would be exercised by a judicious parent in his family; avoiding corporal punishment, except when it shall appear to him to be imperatively required; and, in all such cases, he shall keep a Record of the Offences and Punishments, for the inspection of the Grammar School Trustees, at, or before, the next Public Examination, when said Record shall be destroyed.
>
> (Hodgins, Vol. XI, 192)

In the Rules for the Model Grammar School in which future masters were trained:

> 21. The Rector alone shall inflict corporal punishment, and only when such shall seem to him absolutely necessary.
>
> (Hodgins, Vol. XI, 192)

<u>In 1880, corporal punishment was completely abolished in the Toronto Model School</u> (Report of the Minister of Education, Ontario, 1880, 81).

Other provinces were to follow Ontario, or show a similar development. In the first "Rules and Regulations for the Government of Public Schools" in the Province of British Columbia almost identical words were used; it was stated in the "Duties for Teachers":

> (14.) To practice such discipline in School as would be exercised by a judicious parent in the family, avoiding corporal punishment, except when it shall appear to him to be imperatively necessary; and then a record of the offence and the punishment shall be made in the School Register for the inspection of Trustees and Visitors.
>
> (British Columbia Department of Education, 1872, 19)

There has been no significant change since that time, with no province specifically banning corporal punishment. More frequently it is not mentioned at all, with the teacher simply being enjoined to exercise such discipline as would "a kind, firm and judicious parent" (see Canadian Education Association, Information Bulletin, December, 1967). Of those that are specific, British Columbia's statement, which has changed but little in a hundred years, is typical.

> 3.05 Every teacher shall practise such discipline as may be exercised by a kind, firm and judicious parent in his family, avoiding corporal punishment, except when it shall appear to him to be necessary, and then a record of the offence and the punishment shall be made in a register used for the purpose and kept in the principal's office, which record shall be open to inspection by the Superintendent of Education or his representative, the District Superintendent of Schools, and the Board of School Trustees.
>
> (Rules of the Council of Public Instruction, British Columbia, 1970, 2)

The Parliament of England has never enacted any legislation concerning discipline in schools, although there have been a number of attempts by private members to have it do so. In April, 1949, the Member for Newport, for instance, aroused a public controversy by his attempt to have corporal punishment banned by law. Commenting on this situation, Sir John Maud stated the English tradition as he saw it.

> Ministers and administrators have been no keener than parliament to teach the teachers their business. Not even on corporal punishment has any Minister yet been beguiled by tempting parliamentary questioners to give

a ruling.

(edited by Judges, 1952, 240)

Although Parliament may not have been willing to regulate the teachers' methods of discipline, local School Boards and later County Councils were, so that "a strong family resemblance was apparent" among them, probably because of a tendency to follow the lead of London (see National Foundations for Education, 1952, 41). At the first meeting of the newly constituted London School Board, on June 1st, 1871, Professor T.H. Huxley moved and Reverend J.H. Rigg, D.D., seconded the following regulations (which were adopted) governing the use of corporal punishment in all schools controlled by the Board.

> a) Every occurrence of corporal punishment shall be formally recorded in a book kept for the purpose.
> b) Pupil teachers shall be prohibited absolutely from inflicting such punishment.
> c) The head teacher shall be held directly responsible for every punishment of the kind inflicted in the school.
>
> (National Foundations for Education, 1952, 41-42)

Between 1874 and 1892, there were at least seven amendments to these regulations, mostly resulting from the conflict between the Board and the teachers over whether assistant teachers would be allowed to inflict such punishment, and over whether the punishment could be given immediately, or only after school.

By the end of the Nineteenth Century, then, it was usual in English-speaking countries to restrict, but not prohibit, the use of corporal punishment by regulations governing the conduct of teachers. This is still the case to-day.

Children's Punishments in Fiction

No history of social reform would be complete without drawing on fiction for a reflection of the attitudes and practices of the times.

Such excerpts have been used in earlier chapters, but for more recent times they warrant a separate section. After 1800, the novel in particular, was an important force in itself for persuading the public to look upon children with greater kindness and to condemn brutality in their treatment.

For the Eighteenth Century, Oliver Goldsmith's description of the village schoolmaster in The Deserted Village is undoubtedly of higher literary merit, but for a fuller description of the village school at this time, we should turn to A Dame's School, by William Shenstone (1714 - 1763). Here we have a rather nostalgic, even affectionate, picture of the schoolmistress of this time with her "scepter" of birch sprays. Shenstone seems to accept the necessity of birching for both moral development and as an aid to instruction.

> 7 And were no she rebellious breasts to quell,
> And were no she her statutes to maintain,
> The cot no more, I ween, were deem'd the cell
> Where comely Peace of Mind, and decent Order dwell.
>
> . . . .
>
> 17 Right well she knew each temper to descry,
> To thwart the proud, and the submiss to raise;
> Some with the vile copper prize exalt on high,
> And some entice with pittance small of praise;
> And other some with baleful sprig she 'frays:
>
> . . . .
>
> 22 When he, in abject wise, implores the dame,
> Ne hopeth aught of sweet reprieve to gain;
> Or when from high she levels well her aim,
> And, through the thatch, his cries each falling stroke proclaim.
>
> 23 The other tribe, aghast, with sore dismay,
> Attend, and conn their task with mickle care;
> By turns, astony'd, every twig survey,
> And from their fellows' hateful wounds beware,
> Knowing, I wist, how each the same may share.
>
> (Shenstone, 1968 edition, 262-272)

One of the earliest accounts in the novel of the effects of corporal punishment is to be found in The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle, by Tobias Smollett (1721 - 1771).

> Perry was . . . committed to the instruction of a

> pedagogue, who was ordered to administer such correction as the boy should in his opinion deserve. This authority he did not neglect to use; his pupil was regularly flogged twice a day, and after having been subjected to this course of discipline for the space of eighteen months, declared the most obstinate, dull and untoward genius that ever had fallen under his cultivation; instead of being reformed he seemed rather hardened and confirmed in his vicious inclinations, and was dead to all sense of fear as well as shame.
>
> (Smollett, 1964 edition, 53)

The usher of the boarding school to which Perry was sent uses quite different methods.

> He had established an oeconomy, which though regular, was not at all severe, by enacting a body of laws suited to the age and comprehension of every individual; and each transgressor was fairly tried by his peers and punished according to the verdict of the jury. No boy was scourged for want of apprehension, but a spirit of emulation was raised by well-timed praise and artful comparison, and maintained by a distribution of small prizes, which were adjudged to those who signalized themselves either by their industry, sobriety or genius.
>
> (Ibid., 54-55)

Perry is not punished, but comes to feel shame for his pitiful condition. Partly through this sense of shame, and partly through rewards of food, money and praise, Perry changes, so that "in less than a twelve-month after his arrival, this supposed dunce was remarkable for the brightness of his parts" (Ibid., 56). Time and time again, the reading public is given an intimate glimpse of the harmful effects of corporal punishment on both learning and character.

An incident worth recording occurred in the school days of the noted English poet Robert Southey (1774 - 1843). Southey had been brought up by an aunt acting according to her own peculiar interpretation of Rousseau, and he himself at school, after thoroughly reading this writer, was deeply under his influence. Probably Rousseau's views influenced his thinking greatly when he wrote the fifth issue of The

Flagellant. The biographer of his early life, Haller, suggests that his following expulsion from Westminster School for libel was probably the pretext for punishing him for other suspected, but unproved, crimes.

The Flagellant was not, as some authors suggest, a paper devoted to the condemning of flogging. It pretended to be the writings of four Westminster scholars who had retired to a monastery in order to lash the vices of society. The first four excited no particular notice, but the fifth, written by Southey, was devoted to the condemnation of flogging. At its worst the article was a prank, at best a parody on other writers such as Voltaire.

The point of the argument was that flogging was the invention of the devil, that boys had the right to think for themselves, and that school-masters had wrongly assumed the divine right to flog. Southey, under the name of Gualbertus, condemned the custom as unfit to be practised in a Christian country, and those who practised it had given their breasts to the devil.

> In this public manner, therefore, do I Gualbertus, -- issue my sacred bull, hereby commanding all doctors, reverends, and plain masters, to cease, without delay or repining, from the beastly and idolatrous custom of flogging. 'Whoever shall be saved, above all things, it is necessary that he should hold the Catholic faith. Now, the Catholic is this, there be three gods, and yet but one God.' Whoever denies this, cannot be orthodox, consequently cannot be fit to instruct youth. Now, since there is but one God, whosoever floggeth, that is, performeth the will of Satan, committeth an abomination: to him, therefore, to all consumers of birch, as to the priests of Lucifer, ANATHEMA, ANATHEMA.
> GUALBERTUS.
>
> (quoted by Haller, 1917, 41)

In his poem, The Irish Schoolmaster, Thomas Hood (1799 - 1845) shows us how the religious justification continues to be used by many teachers for corporal punishment. We also see that it is being used for failure to learn, and to learn by rote what was probably, to the child,

nonsense words.

Stanza 12

> Ah! Luckless wight, who cannot then repeat
> 'Corduroy Colloquy' -- 'Ki, Kee, Kod,' --
> Full soon his tears shall make his turfy seat
> More sodden, tho' already made of sod,
> For Dan shall whip him with the word of God, --
> Severe by rule, and not by nature mild,
> He never spoils the child and spares the rod,
> But spoils the rod and never spares the child,
> And soe with holy rule deems he is reconcil'd.
> (Hood, 1906, 396)

Harrison Ainsworth (1805 - 1882), in his novel Mervyn Clitheroe, gives us a picture of the procedures used in Manchester Grammar School early in the Nineteenth Century.

> The Rev. Abel Cane, under whose care I was first placed, was a sound classical scholar, but a severe disciplinarian. He was one of those who believe that a knowledge of Latin and Greek can be driven into a boy, and that his capacity may be sharpened by frequent punishment. Under this impression he was constantly thrashing us. In his drawer he had several canes of various lengths, and of various degrees of thickness, tied with tatching-end to prevent them from splitting, and for all these he found employment. While calling us round for punishment he got as red in the gills as a turkey-cock, and occasionally rose up to give greater effect to the blows. Some boys were so frightened that they couldn't learn their tasks at all, and others so reckless of the punishment which they knew must ensue, whether or not, that they intentionally neglected them. I have seen boys with "blood-blisters", as they called them, on their hands, and others with weals on their backs, but I do not recollect that the castigation did them any good, but the reverse.
>
> . . . .
>
> With all his discipline, if our dreaded master were called out of school for a few minutes, the greatest row would commence.
>
> . . . .
>
> In some cases, Mr. Cane drove all the capacity they possessed out of the boys' heads. There was one poor fellow, Devereux Frogg, whose wits could never be stimulated. Poor Devereux! how I pitied him and tried to help him, and cram him -- but it was of no use. When we went up he was so frightened that all went out of his head, and the daily drubbing ensued. And there were others like him.
>
> . . . .

> What strange contradictions of character some persons offer. Out of school, Mr. Cane was very amiable and good tempered, fond of music, and cultivated a taste for poetry. I hated him cordially then; but I learned to like him afterwards, and now I lament him for a lost friend.
>
> Dr. Lonsdale's plan of tuition was very different from that of Mr. Cane. His was suaviter in modo, rather than fortiter in re. He aspired to make his pupils gentlemen as well as good scholars. He never used the cane, but his rebuke was greatly dreaded, and his quiet sarcastic remarks on mispronunciation as a vulgarism effectually prevented their repetition. Dignified in manner and deportment, and ever preserving an air of grave courtesy, it would have been impossible to take a liberty with him, and it was never attempted.
>
> (Ainsworth, no date, 10-11)

The picture that is presented here of alternative methods of controlling and teaching children speaks for itself. Its propaganda value in affecting the attitudes of the reading public must have been considerable. We should note that it is the ineffectiveness or indeed negative effect, of the use of corporal punishment that is stressed.

In Vanity Fair, William Makepeace Thackeray (1811 - 1863) tells of how a senior boy, Cuff, exhibited his authority in Dr. Swishtail's Academy.

> "Hold out your other hand, sir," roars Cuff to his little school fellow, whose face was distorted with pain. Dobbin quivered, and gathered himself up in his narrow old clothes.
>
> "Take that you little devil," cried Mr. Cuff, and down came the wicket again on the child's hand. Don't be horrified ladies, every boy at a public school has done it. Your children will do so and be done by in all probability. Down came the wicket again, and Dobbin started up.
>
> I can't tell what his motive was. Torture in a public school is as much license as the knout in Russia. It would be ungentleman-like (in a manner) to resist it.
>
> (Thackeray, 1943 edition, 56)

No other writer before, if any has since, conveyed to the reader

an understanding and interpretation of the moods and motives of children as well as Charles Dickens (1812 - 1870). While such things are difficult to prove, he probably did more than any person to create the atmosphere in which reform could take place. Not the least important was his ability to take for his examples such delinquents as the Artful Dodger and show us what he might have been with his cunning and courage. He showed that criminals are made, not born.

Dickens attacks what was a main cause of the problem, the doctrine of child depravity. His readers would be influenced into rejecting the quite common idea as exhibited by the Murdstones when they would not let David Copperfield play with other children because "all children were a swarm of little vipers and . . . they contaminate each other." Miss Pripchin's theory of a child's mind was "to open it like an oyster." Her rule was to "give children everything they didn't like and nothing they did like."

Many are the pictures of terrors perpetrated on children and the effects of these terrors. The state is to blame in the long run for not accepting its responsibilities, but the severest criticism falls onto the teachers. In the preface to Nicholas Nickleby he says:

> Of the monstrous neglect of education in England, and the disregard of it by the State as a means of forming good or bad citizens, and miserable or happy men, private schools long afforded a notable example. Although any man who had proved his unfitness for any other occupation in life was free, without examination or qualification, to open a school anywhere; . . . and schoolmasters, as a race, were the blockheads and imposters who might naturally be expected to spring from such a state of things, and to flourish in it.
>
> (Dickens, 1906 edition, xvi)

With widespread methods such as these, no wonder the product was as bad as it was.

There were little faces which should have been hand-

> some, darkened with a scowl of sullen dogged suffering; there was childhood with the light of its eye quenched, its beauty gone, and its helplessness alone remaining; there were vicious faced boys, brooding with leaden eyes, like malefactors in a jail; and there were young creatures on whom the sins of their frail parents had descended, weeping even for the mercenary nurses they had known, and lonesome even in their loneliness. With every kindly sympathy and affection blasted at birth, and with every healthy feeling flogged and starved down, with every revengeful passion that can fester in swollen hearts, eating its way to the core in silence, what an incipient Hell was breeding there!
>
> (Ibid., 44-45)

But probably of most influence was his ability to take his reader into the mind and heart of the child. Note the effect of the fear of punishment on the ability of David Copperfield to perform satisfactorily.

> "Now, David," he said -- and I saw that cast again as he said it -- "you must be far more careful to-day than usual." He gave the cane another poise, and another switch; and having finished his preparation of it, laid it down beside him, with an impressive look, and took up his book.
>
> This was a good freshener to my presence of mind, as a beginning. I felt the words of my lessons slipping off, not one by one, or line by line, but by the entire page; I tried to lay hold of them; but they seem, if I may so express it, to have put skates on, and to skim away from me with a smoothness there was no checking.
>
> We began badly, and went on worse. I had come in, with an idea of distinguishing myself rather, conceiving that I was very well prepared; but it turned out to be quite a mistake. Book after book was added to the heap of failures, Miss Murdstone being firmly watchful of us all the time. And when we came at last to the five thousand cheeses (canes he made it that day, I remember), my mother burst out crying.
>
> . . . .
>
> He walked me up to my room slowly and gravely -- I am certain he had a delight in that formal parade of executing justice -- and when we got there, suddenly twisted my head under his arm.
>
> "Mr. Murdstone, Sir!" I cried to him. "Don't! Pray don't beat me! I have tried to learn, Sir, But I can't while you and Miss Murdstone are by. I can't indeed!"
>
> "Can't you, indeed, David?" he said, "We'll try that."
>
> . . . .

> He beat me then, as if he would have beaten me to death. Above all the noise we made, I heard them running up the stairs, and crying out -- I heard my mother crying out -- and Peggotty. Then he was gone; and the door was locked outside: and I was lying fevered and hot, and torn, and sore, and raging in my puny way, upon the floor.
>
> (Ibid., 1911, 57-58)

Dickens is attacking the beating of children both for moral reasons, in that it is cruel and does as much to destroy good character and decency, as it does to improve, and for motivational reasons, in that the fear will do as much to prevent the child from learning as to help him.

This sort of treatment was by no means confined to boys. Charlotte Brontë (1816 - 1855) describes the treatment at Lowood School, based on a school for clergymen's daughters attended by the Bronte sisters.

> When I returned to my seat, that lady was delivering an order, of which I did not catch the import; but Burns immediately left the class, and, going into the small inner room where the books were kept, returned in a minute, carrying in her hand a bundle of twigs tied together at one end. This ominous tool she presented to Miss Scatcherd with a respectful courtesy; then she quietly, and without being told, unloosed her pinafore, and the teacher instantly and sharply inflicted on her neck a dozen strokes with the bunch of twigs. Not a tear rose to Burns' eye; and while I paused from my sewing, because my fingers quivered to this spectacle with a sentiment of unavailing and impotent anger, not a feature of her pensive face altered its ordinary expression.
>
> "Hardened girl!" exclaimed Miss Scatcherd; "nothing can break you of your slatternly habits; carry the rod away."
>
> Burns obeyed; I looked at her narrowly as she emerged from the book closet; she was putting back her handkerchief into her pocket, and the trace of a tear glistened on her thin cheek.
>
> (Brontë, 1946 edition, 62-63)

Burns is based on Charlotte's sister, Maria, who died from consumption shortly after she was sent home for health reasons. She never recovered after the punishment of being forced to stand to

attention outside in a cold rain for several hours.

As accompaniments to his plays, and in other works, George Bernard Shaw (1856 - 1950) wrote long tracts against social abuses. On the punishment of children, he wrote so much that only a summary of his views is possible here. Perhaps his most memorable comment was:

> If you strike a child, take care that you strike it in anger, even at the risk of maiming it for life. A blow in cold blood neither can nor should be forgiven.
> (Shaw, 1951 edition, 278)

His picture of what schools are, and what they should be is reminiscent of Rousseau.

> With millions of acres of woods and hills and streams and fishes . . . or with streets and shop windows and crowds and vehicles and all sorts of city delights at the door, you are forced to sit, not in a room with some human grace and comfort . . . but in a stalled pound with a lot of other children, beaten if you talk, beaten if you move, beaten if you cannot prove by answering idiotic questions that even when you escaped from the pound and from the eye of the gaoler, you were still agonizing over his detestable sham books instead of daring to live.
> (Shaw, 1930 edition, 9)

The origin of corporal punishment is to be found in the nature of the teacher and his incompetence, rather than in the child's behaviour. Its effect is, at the best, temporary and, at the worst, character destroying.

> It is no more desirable to break a child's spirit by punishment than to break its limbs. It is cruel, it is destructive of all friendly relations between children and their parents and teachers when it is carried out deliberately in cold blood. It is too easily employed by the callous, the stupid, the ill-tempered, the sadistic, in whose power no child should be left, whereas it is impossible for the kindly and thoughtful; a situation exactly the reverse of the desirable one. It can enforce obedience, which is entirely different from voluntary morality and ceases when the child reaches twenty, superior to its middle-aged father or teacher as a fist fighter and dangerous if morally uneducated. Being merely a deterrent and intimidatory its efficiency depends on certainty of detection, which

> is impossible of attainment. It does its utmost to destroy its victims' natural self-respect and sense of honour, on which, after all, civilized life depends; and though such destruction is not completely possible yet it can go far enough to make it a point of honour with its victim to defy it. No high civilization is possible until it is got rid of.
>
> (Shaw, 1944 edition, 155-156)

But Shaw recognizes that merely to do away with physical punishment may be a superficial reform. Schools are worse than prisons "where they may torture your bodies, but not your brains." "There are worse tortures, both physical and moral in actual use . . . in schools where corporal punishment is not permitted" (Shaw, 1930 edition, 13).

Summary

In contrast with western Europe, corporal punishment continued to be used regularly in English-speaking countries in the Nineteenth Century, though the almost continual beatings that typified the beginning of the Century were greatly curtailed by its end. One important reason for this was the gradual and almost universal restrictions placed on its use by official bodies. Of greater importance in the long run was that the training of teachers and the moral persuasion of their leaders meant that the teachers themselves found other measures for interesting and controlling their pupils. Improvements in the physical conditions of the schools and the more interesting courses of study no doubt played their parts by lessening the causes of irritability in the children. Because public opinion changed greatly, no teacher could beat to excess without protest from the public. Attempts to reduce the amount of corporal punishment were hindered by the introduction, particularly after the passing of compulsory education laws, of vast numbers of children from harsh and undisciplined backgrounds, and the resultant need to recruit many more teachers than were available from training sources. Among

the influential propagandists for change were writers of fiction who showed more intimately than a dry essay could, the effects of brutality on children. Generally the growing humanity and respect for people's rights were reflected in the treatment of children.

CHAPTER VI

THE POSITIVE APPROACH

Background

As we move into the Twentieth Century many approaches to the control of the child are being advocated and implemented. At first many of these are the direct result of the desire to avoid physical punishments, but later there is an emphasis on the avoidance of any sort of punishment. Many alternatives for the rod have long been used, such as humiliation, impositions of extra work or time, deprivation of privileges, and so on. But many philosophers and psychologists came to condemn these also. They contended that all forms of punishment, not just corporal, humiliated the child and turned him from learning.

Positive approaches (so described by their advocates), which had long been proposed by some and used by a few, came more into prominence as punishment came into disrepute. Rivalry between students through competitions for prizes or the teacher's approval have had their supporters. But again many philosophers, and particularly psychologists have opposed these on the grounds that only a few can win, and the others will suffer a loss of self-respect or "positive self-concept". No child should be forced to compete, they say; co-operation, not competition, is the aim of the ideal society, and not only is it morally more desirable, but more will be achieved and fewer emotional disturbances will be suffered.

Direct moral training, of course, has long been used, but more and more, indirect methods of gaining acceptable social behaviour have been advocated. Civic responsibilities and personal motivations have been studied as parts of the guidance, social studies and literature programmes. Rather than being punished, the delinquent child has been

counselled, along with his family and teachers, by professional psychologists.

Another important direction has been to avoid those situations which bring about disciplinary problems. More attractive schools and teaching areas, with regulated temperature and good lighting, have meant that schools have become physically more pleasant places. Not the least important has been the reduction of class sizes so that the "critical-mass" which so often explodes into disciplinary problems is less frequent, and each child can receive more individual attention from the teacher.

Many items of tedium, such as the emphasis on fine hand-writing, and the long sessions of drilling spelling, mathematical tables, or Latin verbs, have been reduced or removed. The use of intrinsic motivation has been stressed, so that the child will want to learn, rather than be forced to learn. Here the devices have been many, from films to games, from field-trips to self-selected projects.

Perhaps the most important progression has been the "professionalisation" of the teachers themselves. While there has been an increase in the demand for knowledge of the subjects taught, the greatest impact has probably been in the study, both at the research and training level, of better methods of classroom practice. Almost every teacher nowadays receives some instruction in the philosophy, history and sociology of education, and the psychology of education including child development, motivation and learning principles occupies a large part of his professional education. Some sort of screening is undertaken before or during the period of training, and supervision, inspection and assistance are usual after he takes up a position. While much has still to be done in these areas, the teacher who enters a classroom to-day is far better prepared than the itinerant pedagogue of a century ago whose only claim to

a position was bare literacy, or even the high-school teacher whose qualifications were a knowledge of Latin and perhaps a clerical collar.

It is not the purpose of this work to discuss fully the great changes that have been wrought in the educational environment of the past fifty to one hundred years. But two points are relevant to the present study: both philosophically and psychologically there has come to be general agreement that punishment is to be avoided wherever possible, that it is to be used only after the failure of more desirable methods such as the gaining of interest, or the psychological treatment of the offender; secondly, the need for punishment has been reduced greatly by improved learning conditions and the professional good practice of the teachers. But despite these advances, punishment, including corporal punishment, is still used, and has a reluctant approval from many authorities.

Twentieth Century Philosophers

Only a few philosophers in the Twentieth Century have so far stood out as major forces in the history of education. Rather it has been an era in which many minor figures have worked out in more detail certain general principles which were the work of earlier minds.

John Dewey (1859 - 1952) does not appear to say anything on corporal punishment as such, but offers much direction for the avoidance of punishment as a whole. To attempt to discuss this adequately is impossible for it is an integral part of his whole philosophy. The following, then, is an attempt to separate one part from a deep and complex whole.

Much of the trouble, he says, comes from the desire of the teacher to dominate the child.

> I think it is fair to say that . . . the personal commands of the teacher so often played an undue role . . . and the order which existed was so much a matter of

sheer obedience to the will of an adult.

(Dewey, 1969 edition, 55)

To analyze Dewey's attitude we have to look, then, at the teacher's task in growth or education. Should he leave the child alone and let the child's capacities unfold naturally like the flower, or let the child's interests take him where they will? Or does the teacher have some responsibility to direct the growth in a particular way? The answer is definitely yes to the last question.

> The natural and native impulses of the young do not agree with the life customs of the group into which they are born. Consequently they have to be directed or guided.
>
> (Dewey, 1916, 47)

What type of control should be exercised? He suggests that the teacher exaggerates the importance of his own direct intervention of commands, prohibitions, approvals and disapprovals, because he has become so involved in carrying these out. Less obvious and less personal methods can be far more influential.

> Since in such cases we are most conscious of controlling the actions of others, we are likely to exaggerate the importance of this sort of control at the expense of a more permanent and effective method. The basic control resides in the nature of the situation in which the young take part.
>
> (Ibid., 47)

In this matter of indirect, or environmental, rather than direct or personal, control, he is, of course, very similar to Rousseau. Dewey emphasizes very strongly the need for the right sort of motivation. He objects to compulsion, but he objects equally to bribery.

> Separated from any objective development of affairs, these are reduced to more personal states of pleasure and pain. Educationally, it then follows that to attach importance to interest means to attach some features of seductiveness to material otherwise indifferent; to secure attention and effort by offering a bribe of pleasure. This procedure is properly stigmatized as "soft" pedagogy; as a "soup-

kitchen" theory of education.

(Ibid., 148-49)

What then is to be done to motivate the child to gain sufficient interest that he will voluntarily seek to cultivate the abilities we wish him to?

> But the objection is based upon the fact -- or assumption -- that the forms of skill to be appropriated have no interest on their own account: in other words, they are supposed to be irrelevant to the normal activities of the pupils.
>
> (Ibid., 149)

The remedy is obvious when the problem is expressed in this way.

> It is to discover objects and modes of action, which are connected with present powers. The function of this material in engaging activity and carrying it on consistently and continuously is its interest. If the material operates in this way, there is no call either to hunt for devices which will make it interesting or to appeal to arbitrary semi-coerced effort.
>
> (Ibid., 149)

Dewey appears to be arguing from a motivational point of view. But if we look at the following passages where he is concerned with the punishment of the adult offender, we see that, with him, it is almost impossible to separate motivational and moral purposes.

> No amount of guilt on the part of the evil-doer absolves us from responsibility for the consequences upon him and others of our way of treating him, or from our continuing responsibility for the conditions under which persons develop perverse habits. . . . The moral issue concerns the future. It is prospective. To content ourselves with pronouncing judgements of merit and demerit without reference to the fact that our judgements are themselves facts which have consequences and their value depends upon their consequences, is complacently to dodge the moral issue, perhaps even to indulge ourselves in pleasurable passion just as the person we condemn once indulged himself. The moral problem is one of modifying the factors which now influence future results. To change the working character or will of another we have to alter objective conditions which are his habits. Our scheme of judgement, of assigning blame and praise, of awarding punishment and honour, are part of these conditions.
>
> (Dewey, 1922, 18-19)

> Our legal procedure . . . wobbles between a too tender treatment of criminality and viciously drastic treatment of it. The vacillation can be remedied only as we can analyze an act in the light of habits, and analyze habits in the light of education, environment and prior acts. The dawn of truly scientific criminal law will come when each individual case is approached with something corresponding to the complete clinical record which every competent physician attempts to procure as a matter of course in dealing with his subjects.
>
> (Ibid., 46)

The application of these comments to educational situations is not difficult. Several points are worth emphasizing: the merit of a reward or punishment is to be judged not for its provocation but for its outcome, and each individual is to be treated separately. The analogy with medical treatment is also interesting.

The influential interpreter of Dewey, William Heard Kilpatrick (1871 - 1965), saw the reduction of corporal punishment as an aspect of the general change from a repressive to a democratic and co-operative society.

> And the discipline? We get a better view if we take a stretch of time. Boston in 1845 in the average public school of 400 pupils gave 65 whippings a day, one whipping every six minutes. In that same year hundreds of rural schools in Massachusetts had to be abandoned because the pupils drove their teachers away. . . . From that day to this both whippings and school rebellions have, the country over, steadily declined. Instead of natural opposition between teacher and pupil a different spirit is growing, of felt community of interest, with repression naturally occupying a smaller and smaller part.
>
> . . . .
>
> The more one studies these changes the more it seems clear that they are part and parcel of the general social movements that we have been considering. Social demands and correlative school response have been in operation for several decades now, increasingly so in the last two decades.
>
> (Kilpatrick, 1928, 90-91)

Kilpatrick makes note here of something that most other writers we have looked at have ignored: school could be just as embarrassing or

even painful a place for the teacher as for the taught.

We get an interesting impression of Kilpatrick's approach from a conversation he had with his biographer, Tenenbaum.

> "And that's all the punishment I meted out. I never punished a single one of my pupils in the three years I taught in that school. I never used corporal punishment. Not on one of my pupils. I was principal, and some of the other teachers would send children to me, and I couldn't go back on my teachers."
>
> "But with your own children you didn't depend on the use of physical force?"
>
> "No, not a single one."
>
> (Tenenbaum, 1951, 23)

The following shows that Kilpatrick was not as strict in the application of Dewey's ideas as he is sometimes made out to have been. Extrinsic motivation is quite acceptable, as long as it is the right sort of extrinsic motivation.

> "Well, I would say this: The strongest motivating factor in a human being is the desire for recognition. . . . If the child can't get recognition for being the best boy in the class, he's apt to try to get recognition for being the worst. The important thing is for the teacher to understand each child, so he can give him recognition for the good things in him; and so to conduct his class that every child has an opportunity to show off those good things which he can and is able to do. I treated those children with a kind of affection. I never scolded them; I never used harshness or reproof."
>
> (Ibid., 31)

Kilpatrick has not separated the motivational from the moral use of punishment; he appears to be dealing with them both together. This is shown again here:

> "To build in a child the habit of doing an otherwise good deed from a habitual wrong motive is to build an immoral character."
>
> (Ibid., 139)

While not strictly a philosopher, Maria Montessori (1870 - 1952) did much to change the traditional attitudes on the treatment of

children. Her views on what a child is, leave little room for harsh punishment in the conventional sense.

> We have only to apply the principles set out above to find that there is born in the child a peacefulness which characterizes and almost illuminates all his doings. Truly there is born a new child morally superior to the one who is treated as a helpless and imcompetent being.
>
> (Montessori, 1948, 109)

She rejects the view, as others were also doing, that the child should be subservient to the will of the adult.

> One often hears it said that the child's will should be subordinated in the obedience, and that in this way that will is being trained, because the child ought to submit and obey. . . . It is in this way that we prevent him from cultivating his own will-power, and commit the greatest sins against the child. He is never allowed either the time or the means to test himself, to evaluate his own strength or his limitations, because he is always being interrupted and overborne by our superior power; he loses heart over the injustice of his treatment, when he hears himself reproved sharply because he does not possess what is continually being destroyed within him.
>
> (Ibid., 485)

Montessori admits that there are certain children who will not respond to minor corrections. These, she claims, can be reformed by isolation. The language used is quite interesting: misbehaviour is a sickness.

> Such children were at once examined by the physician.
> . . . .
> This isolation almost always succeeded in calming the child.
> . . . .
> The isolated child was always made the object of special care, almost as if he were ill.
>
> (Montessori, 1912, 103)

Bertrand Russell (1872 - 1970), who attempted to put his educational ideas into practice in an experimental school in the late 1920's is perhaps most easily remembered in the history of education by the appellation of his detractors, "No rod and no God." His idea of the

treatment of children was a gentle one.

> For my part, I believe that punishment has a certain very minor place in education; but I doubt whether it need ever be severe. I include speaking sharply or reprovingly among punishments. The most severe punishment that ought to be necessary is the natural spontaneous expression of indignation.
> (Russell, 1926, 167)

He guesses that harsh methods create the need for harsh methods.

> If one can judge from the books of old-fashioned disciplinarians, the children educated by the old methods were far naughtier than the modern child. . . . I should think the fault lay more with his parents than with himself. I believe that reasonable parents create reasonable children.
> (Ibid., 168)

The danger of corporal punishment, he warns us, is that the child who receives it will, as an adult, see it as a natural means of control. Reason, as could be expected from such a man, is better.

> Physical punishment I believe to be never right. In mild forms, it does little harm, though no good; in severe forms, I am convinced it generates cruelty and brutality. It is true that it often produces no resentment against the person who inflicts it; where it is customary, boys adapt themselves to it and expect it as part of the course of nature. But it accustoms them to the idea that it may be right and proper to inflict physical pain for the purpose of maintaining authority -- a peculiarly dangerous lesson to teach those who are likely to acquire positions of power. And it destroys that relation of open confidence which ought to exist between parents and children as well as between teachers and children.
> (Ibid., 176)

Russell recognizes, as do others, that as the child came to be recognized as an individual who had his own motivations, he came to be treated as something to be persuaded rather than forced.

> So long as people persisted in the notion that love could be commanded as a duty, they did nothing to win it as a genuine emotion. Consequently human relations remained stark and harsh and cruel. Punishment was part of this whole conception. . . . Mercifully, a better conception of the relations of parents and children has gradually won its way in

> the last hundred years, and with it the whole theory of punishment has been transformed.
> (Ibid., 177)

Experimental Psychology

Because modern education is far more influenced by the edicts of psychologists than of philosophers, these writers must be examined to see what information they can offer on the present topic. One branch of psychology has attempted to measure man's behaviour within the limits of the scientific method by carefully controlling experimental conditions and by rendering the results in quantitative and statistical form. But corporal punishment does not lend itself to such an investigation, not so much because of a scientific difficulty, but because of moral objections. The scientist's own conscience, along with public opinion, has not allowed any experiment using physical pain on children. How could anyone be allowed to set up, as an example, two groups in which the experimental group received, say, so many strokes for each error in arithmetic, with the control group receiving none?

It is interesting to see, on reading the works of the major learning theorists, how little they have to say on the matter of punishment generally. This may be because of difficulties in performing such experiments, but it may just as easily be that among intellectual leaders, the climate is such that punishment is something not quite nice, and not to be talked about.

Where painful physical punishments have been investigated, they have invariably been on animals; where human subjects have been used, the punishments have been of a mild nature. If any conclusions are to be arrived at, the assumption must be made for the first type that information derived from the lower animals is applicable to the more complex human, complex both in the thought processes, and in his social situation;

if the second type of experiment is to be used, then the assumption needs to be made that conclusions drawn from mild punishments, so mild frequently that they can barely be called punishments, are applicable to stronger punishments. Both of these assumptions are, to say the least, dubious.

A further complication arises from the fact that most of the information derived from experiments is of a statistical nature: a "mean" reaction is given, with "standard deviations". Implied in this, of course, is that while one person reacts in one way, or at one degree of strength, another reacts in another way, or at another degree of strength. To relate this to the present work, when an experiment on punishment is analysed individual by individual, we usually find that the punishment is successful in bringing about a particular reaction with some, but not with others. This is really very obvious: the history of torture, for example, has shown that confessions or information can be extracted from some quite easily, and from others not at all.

William James (1842 - 1910) is quite important in the history of the theory of educational procedures for it is he more than anyone else who first approaches the study from a psychological rather than philosophical, a motivational rather than moral, point of view. He analyses the teaching situation from the point of view of how the child will react to certain procedures, rather than what ought to be done from some preconceived philosophical framework. While he himself contributed little to the careful experimental support for his conclusions, it is this theoretical approach which shows the need for such proof.

This pragmatism can be seen in earlier writers, but it was peripheral, rather than central, to their comments. The cause-effect approach is well shown in the following passage.

> Suppose you now appear before the child with a new toy intended as a present for him. No sooner does he see the toy than he seeks to snatch it. You slap the hand; it is withdrawn, and the child cries. You then hold up the toy, smiling and saying, "Beg for it, nicely, -- so!" The child stops crying, imitates you, receives the toy, and crows with pleasure; and that little cycle of training is complete. You have substituted the new reaction of "begging" for the native reaction of snatching, when that kind of impression comes.
>
> Now if the child had no memory, the process would not be educative. No matter how often you come in with a toy, the same series of reactions would fatally occur, each called forth by its own impression: see, snatch; slap, cry; hear, ask; receive, smile. But, with memory there, the child at the very instant of snatching, recalls the rest of the earlier experience, thinks of the slap and the frustration, recollects the begging and the reward, inhibits the snatching impulse, substitutes the "nice" reaction for it, and gets the toy immediately, by eliminating all the intermediate steps. If a child's first snatching impulse be excessive, or his memory poor, many repetitions of the discipline may be needed before the acquired reaction comes to be an integrated habit; but in an eminently educable child a single experience will suffice.
>
> (James, 1902, 40-41)

In the following statement, we can see that James is concerned with the motivational use of punishment.

> Fear of punishment has always been the great weapon of the teacher, and will always, of course, retain some place in the conditions of the schoolroom. The subject is so familiar that nothing more need be said about it.
>
> The same is true of Love, and the instinctive desire to please those whom we love. The teacher who succeeds in getting herself loved by the pupils will obtain results which one of a more forbidding temperament finds it impossible to secure.
>
> (Ibid., 45)

James suggests that if one method is not successful then it is up to the teacher to change his methods. A method is to be valued only according to its success.

> The teacher is often confronted in the schoolroom with an abnormal type of will, which we will call the "balky will". Certain children, if they do not

> succeed in doing a thing immediately, remain completely inhibited in regard to it: it becomes literally impossible for them to understand it if it be an outward operation, as long as this particular inhibited condition lasts. Such children are usually treated as sinful, and are punished; or else the teacher pits his or her will against the child's will, considering that the latter must be 'broken'. . . . When a situation of this kind is once fairly developed, and the child is all tense and excited inwardly, nineteen times out of twenty it is best for the teacher to apperceive the case as one of neural pathology rather than as one of moral culpability. So long as the inhibiting sense of impossibility remains in the child's mind, he will continue unable to get beyond the obstacle. The aim of the teacher should then be to make him simply forget. Drop the subject for the time, divert the mind to something else: then, leading the pupil back by some circuitous line of association, spring it on him again before he has time to recognize it, and as likely as not he will go over it now without any difficulty. It is in no other way that we overcome balkiness in a horse: we divert his attention, do something to his nose or ear, lead him around in a circle, and thus get him over a place where flogging would only have made him more invincible. A tactful teacher will never let these strained situations come up at all.
>
> (Ibid., 181-182)

James' rejection of failure to learn as sinfulness or wilful stubbornness comes out clearly here. No moral judgement is made, therefore no moral reaction is possible.

Edward Lee Thorndike (1874 - 1949), one of the most prominent of the earlier experimental psychologists, was the originator of the "Connectionist" theory of learning. Most of his comments are generalisations derived from experiments with animals. In one of his earlier works, we can see the general pattern that he was to follow in his over fifty years of writing.

> It is true that if an animal learns to respond correctly from the infliction of pain, it may learn rapidly. But there is a strong tendency for an animal, if punished for a given response, not to avoid it in favour of the right one, but to avoid making any. The more intense the punishment, the more likely this is to be the case.

> To hit a baby's hand every time it starts to reach for some improper object on a table can be shown to be useful; but to hit a child's hand because a blot is found upon a sheet of writing can be shown to be wasteful as well as cruel.
>
> . . . .
>
> Where the desired response is simply <u>not to do</u> a certain thing punishment is very useful. When there are only two alternatives, to do A or B, A being wrong, punishment is fairly effective. When there are many possibilities, A, B, C, D . . . N, which are of varying merit, punishment is likely to be very wasteful.
>
> (Thorndike, 1912, 201-202)

Twenty years later he was to say:

> Annoyers do not act on learning in general by weakening whatever connection they follow. If they do anything to learning they do it indirectly by informing the learner that such and such response in such and such a situation brings distress, or by making the learner feel fear of a certain place, or by some other definite and specific change which they produce in him.
>
> (Thorndike, 1931, 46)

Thorndike, then, allows the use of punishment, but in very restricted circumstances. Punishment will only being about a type of negative learning, either by preventing behaviour from occurring, or by causing an alternative behaviour to be tried. Thorndike is, of course, basically concerned with motivation. But we notice above, when he uses the word "cruel", that the moral element is not far from his thoughts.

Although their theoretical constructs may have been quite different, the conclusions that most other experimental psychologists have come to concerning punishment in learning have not been greatly different from Thorndike's. Edwin R. Guthrie (1886 - 1959), for instance, distinguishes three kinds of punishment. "Avoidance learning", "escape learning", and a third type which is where an otherwise rewarded behaviour is inhibited (see Guthrie, 1952, 164 ff.). He warns that in the latter type of conflict situation, if the punishment is not stronger than the reward, the response is more likely to be fixed than removed.

Perhaps the learning theorist most outspoken on punishment has been

Burrhus Frederic Skinner (1904 -) who leaves us in no doubt what his attitude towards corporal punishment is; but he is no more sympathetic towards other forms of punishment.

> The brutality of corporal punishment and the viciousness it breeds in both teacher and student have, of course, led to reform. Usually this has meant little more than shifting to noncorporal measures, of which education can boast an astonishing list. Ridicule (now largely verbalized, but once symbolized by the dunce cap or by forcing the student to sit facing a wall), scolding, sarcasm, criticism, incarceration ("being kept after school"), extra school or home work, the withdrawal of privileges, forced labour, ostracism, being put on silence, and fines -- these are some of the devices that have permitted the teacher to spare the rod without spoiling the child.
>
> (Skinner, 1968, 96)

Skinner's main objection to punishment or "aversive stimuli" is that it does not do what it is supposed to do -- stimulate learning; he also objects on the grounds of its dangerous side-effects. He produces experimental evidence that punishment does not permanently reduce a tendency to respond in the undesired way. The unfortunate side-effects include undesirable emotional behaviour such as those called guilt or shame, and the possibility that any occasion which accompanies the aversive stimuli could be affected; that is, the child could come to dislike not only wrong answers in arithmetic, but also arithmetic as a whole, the teachers, or the school. Also:

> The discipline of the birch rod may facilitate learning, but we must remember that it also breeds followers of dictators and revolutionaries.
>
> (Ibid., 57)

Skinner suggests that rather than use punishment, we should attempt to weaken the "operant" in other ways. The most effective of these is extinction, by not responding to the undesired behaviour. "Forgetting" or the "developmental schedule" may be used; in layman's terms, letting the child grow out of it. Sometimes "satiation" may be used, by over-

filling a particular behaviour (e.g. by having a finger-nail biter bite more than he wants to so that the need goes away). Another technique is to use positive reinforcement on desired behaviour that is the opposite of, or incompatible with, the undesired behaviour. "Aversive control is the most shameful of irrelevancies" (Ibid., 85).

A further argument for the deliberate infliction of physical discomfort is rejected by Skinner. He opposes

> . . . the current argument in favor of the cane or related aversive practices on the ground that they build character; they teach a boy to take punishment and to accept responsibility for his conduct. These are worthwhile goals, but they should not necessarily be taught at the same time as, say, Latin grammar or mathematics.
> (Ibid., 87)

If it is desirable to teach tolerance to painful stimuli, and Skinner argues elsewhere that it is, it should be taught specifically through a graduated programme.

Skinner argues from experiments in motivation. But when he uses such emotionally laden terms as "brutality" and "shameful", his comments lie more in the realm of moral outbursts than scientific detachment.

Some indication of the present situation of punishment as a field of inquiry in psychological research can be gained from the Encyclopedia of Educational Research, of which there have been three editions, 1950, 1960, and 1969. In none of these editions of this reference work is there any mention of corporal punishment as such. This is not surprising, for as has already been pointed out, it is unlikely that a society would allow the unnatural circumstances needed for carefully controlled experimentation; thus all the experimental works reported on punishment are either on animals, or are very mild punishments for children such as verbal reprimands.

One interesting feature worth noting is that in the 1950 edition,

the article on "Rewards and Punishments" occupies almost a page with a couple of paragraphs on punishments. In the 1960 edition, "Punishment" is given a separate article, and occupies about half a page on its own. Then in the 1969 edition, the section "Punishment" is given one and a half pages. This would indicate that there is an increasing interest and body of knowledge in the area of punishment as a topic of psychological importance. If any definite conclusions can be made from these articles, it is the complexity of the issue, and the general lack of knowledge in the area.

Generally the articles are not as complete, analytical or thorough as the articles by Solomon and Church, a discussion of which follows.

In a highly technical article "The Varied Effects of Punishment on Behaviour", Russell M. Church analyzes all the experimental evidence up to the time of writing, 1963, on the effects of punishment. Despite the lengthy and sophisticated nature of his investigation, Church's main conclusion is a simple one: "Considerable uncertainty remains to-day regarding the effect of punishment and there does not appear to be any single reliable effect" (Church, 1963, 369). He recommends that further experiments be undertaken with animals with the hope that there is sufficient similarity between animal and man for the conclusions derived from the former to be applicable to the latter.

If Church is correct, and he certainly presents a formidable case, at this stage no definite conclusions can be arrived at from the psychological evidence as to what effects punishment will have on learning, nor is there any conclusive evidence from psychological experimentation as to what side-effects may occur.

While his article is almost wholly an analysis of scientific data, he makes one interesting comment on the moral aspects of the problem.

> We will quickly pass over the moral objections after noting that, usually, the choice is not simply between reward and punishment. Whenever the alternative to punishment involves deprivation or extinction, the relative moral values are difficult to assess.
> (Church, 1963, 395)

The article by Richard L. Solomon, "Punishment", should be read in conjunction with Church's, as Solomon uses it as a background.

One important part of this article is to apply the total experimental evidence to various theories of learning, such as those of Skinner, Tolman, Hull, Guthrie, Thorndike and certain of their followers. His attitude towards all of these is summed up in his label of "scientific legends." In his comment on Skinner, for instance, he says:

> I admire the humanitarian and kindly dispositions contained in such writings. But the scientific basis for the conclusions therein was shabby, because, even in 1938, there were conflicting data which demonstrated the great effectiveness of punishment in controlling instrumental behaviour.
> (Solomon, 1964, 248)

He even goes so far as to say that there is not sufficient evidence to prove that any but a few subjects will suffer neuroses as a result of heavy punishment.

In each case Solomon shows that crucial aspects of the theories as applied to punishment cannot be sustained by the scientific evidence.

He sums up the present position as follows:

> Our laboratory knowledge of the effects of punishment on instrumental and emotional behaviour is still rudimentary -- much too rudimentary to make an intelligent choice among conflicting ideas about it. The polarized doctrines are probably inadequate and in error. The popularized Skinnerian position concerning the inadequacy of punishment in suppressing "instrumental" behaviour is, if correct at all, only conditionally correct. The Freudian position, pointing to a pain or trauma as an agent for the pervasive and long-lasting distortion of "affective" behaviour is equally questionable, and only conditionally correct.
> (Ibid., 252)

One of the threads of this history has been to show how gradually men have moved from a belief in the necessity of punishment in the training of children, to a belief that any good which punishment may do is far outweighed by the harm; that whatever little may be learned under punishment, that same punishment will prevent much greater learning, and will have many unfortunate side-effects. But now we discover that a close examination of scientific evidence shows that these claims cannot be sustained at this stage; that while there is no irrefutable evidence that punishments can bring about the desired effects, neither is there any irrefutable evidence that they cannot. All too often the psychologists appear to have tried to prove experimentally what they believed was morally desirable. Does this mean, then, that the teacher or parent could use whatever methods he feels like using, including physical pain, secure in the knowledge that no "expert" can show that his methods are wrong?

One answer to this is that while the scientific data may not be conclusive, the teacher can rely on his own observations, and the good sense of so many intelligent people both now and in the past, firm in the belief that what the psychologists have been unable so far to prove, is in fact true. Children will learn much better, will generally not suffer emotional problems, and will build up a much more productive relationship with adults if they come to the learning situation because of its attractiveness, and because of their own desires, than if they come to it from fear.

A further answer lies in another thread which has been pursued through-out this work, that gradually thinking men have come to the belief that punishment is in itself morally wrong, that no one has the right to inflict upon another indecency, humiliation or pain. At this

time, the opposition to punishment, particularly corporal punishment, most securely rests on this basis, an ethical basis.

Clinical Psychology

The methods of clinical psychology are quite different from those of experimental psychology, though often the two are used in conjunction. Through a deep and thorough exploration of an individual's motives, medical men and others have suggested that actions which have traditionally been described as crimes or sins have their origins in inherent abnormalities or in basic needs which have become distorted or perverted, frequently because of childhood experiences. The theories which have been used as the basis for interpreting abnormal actions cannot be explored fully in this short space. It is sufficient to say that through the work of these people, the offender has come to be looked on as someone who needs to be treated as an emotionally or mentally sick person, rather than someone who is to be punished. Not just the actions of the offender, but also the punisher, have been probed, so that the surface motive is frequently suspect.

A number of writers already examined, such as Quintilian, Erasmus and Ascham, have suggested that the use of punishment is the result of the teacher's indulgence in his own passions rather than the offence of the victim. Confessions of such people as Christian Saints are full of self-doubts and guilts concerning their own motives. More recently in The Confessions of Rousseau we find his interpretation that the origins of his abnormal sexual desires were in his childhood experiences.

> Mademoiselle Lambercier showed towards me a mother's affection and also a mother's authority, which she sometimes carried so far as to inflict on us the usual punishment of children when we had deserved it. . . . I had found in the pain and even in the shame of it an element of sensuality which left more desire than fear of receiving the experience again

> from the same hand. It is true that, as in all this a precocious sexual element was doubtless mixed, the same chastisement if inflicted by her brother would not have seemed so pleasant. . . . Who would have believed, that this childish punishment, received at the age of 8 from the hand of a young woman of 30, would have determined my tastes, my desires, my passions, for the rest of my life?
>
> (Rousseau, 1945 edition, 13-14)

The sexual impulse in flagellation has been noted by many other writers since. In fact, sadism, in its original meaning, is a type of sexual perversion in which sexual pleasure is gained from inflicting pain on other individuals. To-day the word is often used to describe any love of cruelty. The word comes from the Marquis de Sade (1740 - 1814) who gained notoriety during the French Revolutionary period, particularly for his writings, but also for his brushes with the law. Clinical writers of a hundred years later such as Ellis and Moll were to show that however repugnant and nauseating the fictional descriptions of de Sade were, they revealed a side to human motivation that had not been clearly recognised before.

In Justine, one of de Sade's better known novels, we have a detailed description of the activities in a school which was set up by a certain Rodin solely for the purpose of satisfying his perverted desires (de Sade, 1966 edition, 82-106). One of the main activities here is the beating of children under the excuse of their alleged misdemeanors to excite sexual desire and satisfaction in the teacher. With the relaxation of censorship, novels and motion pictures in which flagellation is used for sexual excitement are becoming very common.

The word masochist, originally applied to the person who submitted to pain and humiliation to gain sexual satisfaction and now tending to describe anyone who seeks satisfaction in his own pain, is also derived from a real person, the German writer, Leopold von Sacher-Masoch, who

depicted such people in his writings.

A result of the understanding of the existence of these deviant impulses is that the person who inflicts pain for punishment may be accused of satisfying his own sexual desires, either consciously or unconsciously, rather than bringing about retribution for an anti-social act, or trying to improve the child's behaviour or learning. Similarly the child who is frequently in trouble may be suspected of perverted desires.

One of the earliest and fullest investigations of the relationship between flagellation and sexual stimulation was made by Havelock Ellis (1859 - 1939). Because of its length, only a summary of relevant sections will be made here. He tells us that there had been some recognition by such people as Arabian physicians and by Mediaeval church leaders of the powers of beating to excite sexually. The Inquisition at one stage, for instance, prohibited priests from inflicting it personally or having it inflicted on stripped victims, for this reason. Beginning with the Renaissance period, Ellis gives a number of specific cases of flagellation used for abnormal sexual pleasure. He stresses, however, that "there is, by no means, any necessary connection between flagellation and the sexual emotions" (Ellis, 1913, Vol. III, 129). Indeed he suggests there may even be an inverse relationship between the frequency of beatings and the erotic possibility.

> While, however, the evidence regarding sexual flagellation is rare, until recent times whipping as a punishment was extremely common. It is even possible that its very prevalence, and the consequent familiarity with which it was regarded, were unfavorable to the development of any mysterious emotional state likely to act on the sexual sphere, except in markedly neurotic subjects.
>
> (Ibid., 133)

Ellis points out that flagellation can have a sexually stimulating

effect on either beater or beaten, particularly when applied to the buttocks. The pain here can produce a general excitement in the loins; and the change in colour and the to-and-fro movement of the body simulate the sexual act. There can be considerable psychological similarity, too, in the relationship of domination and subjection. He believes that this has certainly happened in schools.

> Thus, from several reliable quarters I learn that the sight of a boy being caned at school may produce sexual excitement in the boys who look on. The association of sexual excitement with whipping is, again, very likely to show itself in schoolmasters, and many cases have been recorded in which the flogging of boys, under the stress of this impulse, has been carried to extreme lengths.
>
> (Ibid., 133)

Ellis does not come down either for or against the use of corporal punishment in schools. Rather he points to it as a sexual stimulant for boys, which, in the normal and healthy, will pass after puberty.

> It seems there must be special circumstances, and perhaps a congenital predisposition, to bring out definitely the relationship of flagellation to the sexual impulse. . . . On these grounds many are of the opinion that physical chastisement, provided it is moderate, seldom applied, and only to children who are healthy and vigorous, need not be absolutely prohibited. But, however rare and abnormal a sexual response to actual flagellation may be in adults, we shall see that the general association of whipping in the minds of children, and frequently of their elders, is by no means rare and scarcely abnormal.
>
> (Ibid., 137)

> It would certainly seem that we must look upon this association [sexual association of whipping] as coming well within the normal range of emotional life in childhood, although after puberty, when the sexual feelings become clearly defined, the attraction of whipping normally tends to be left behind as a piece of childishness. . . . This, however, is not invariably the case in persons who are organically abnormal.
>
> (Ibid., 142)

Albert Moll (1862 - ?), author of The Sexual Life of the Child (first published in 1912) is careful to distinguish sadism from other

types of maltreatment which are inflicted for the satisfaction of the inflicter.

> Thus, delight in the sufferings of others, though it may be regarded as analogous with sadism, has no necessary connection with the sexual impulse.
> (Moll, 1912, 140)

> . . . it is only when such [sexual motives exist for maltreatment] have we any right to speak of sadism.
> (Ibid., 237)

One place where the abnormal desires of the sadist can be indulged, is in the school.

> All kinds of subterfuge are employed by the sexual pervert to make the punishment appear harmless and legitimate. School masters find this comparatively easy, inasmuch as they are able to allege misconduct such as would ordinarily be visited with a verbal reprimand, if not completely overlooked, as the reason for a whipping. Obviously some of these reasons will be remarkable.
> (Ibid., 239)

Moll points to three main dangers in the use of corporal punishment on the child: it may originate or awaken sexual perversion; certain children, having experienced sexual stimulation, may deliberately seek its repetition; and the teacher may use it to gratify his or her own perverted impulses (Ibid., 316-317). But while recognizing these as definite possibilities, Moll is not prepared to be carried to the lengths of advocating the complete prohibition of corporal punishment.

> I remain of the opinion that we cannot propose to do away altogether with corporal punishments in our schools; at any rate, such punishments remain, I consider, essential, so long as certain other reforms are still wanting. Among the reforms which are indispensible preliminaries to the complete abolition of corporal punishment, is one giving a greater power to expel insolent and undisciplined boys. Not until such a power is granted can corporal punishment be abolished from our schools. For a flogging is oftentimes the only punishment of which a rough and ill-conditioned boy is afraid.
> (Ibid., 318)

He warns against assuming that certain people are less likely to be guilty of perverted impulses. He suggests that religious persons, and women, contrary to general opinion, are more likely to be guilty than others. And young teachers should be watched, for they lack the moderation of experience. He recommends that

> . . . as far as the possible effects on health are concerned, and especially from the point of view of sexual hygiene, blows upon the palm of the hand perhaps constitute the least dangerous form of corporal punishment.
>
> (Ibid., 320)

He concludes this section by warning

> . . . however strongly we may feel that it is essential that there should be no abuse by schoolmasters of their right to administer corporal punishment, none the less, . . . we need safeguards also against the abuse of sentimentality.
>
> (Ibid., 321)

It is worth noting that this edition of Moll's work has a strongly favorable introduction by E.L. Thorndike, the influential American psychologist, so the ideas were no doubt widely disseminated.

Probably the most influential person in the development of clinical psychology was Sigmund Freud (1856 - 1939). Although he does not appear to have made any systematic analysis of punishment, much of what Freud wrote has implications for this study, the most important being his suggestion that many neurotics will deliberately seek both to punish or be punished.

> The punishment will not infrequently give those who carry it out an opportunity of committing the same outrage under colour of an expiation.
>
> (Freud, 1964 edition, Vol. 13, 72)

> All our social institutions are framed for people with a united and normal ego, which one can classify as good or bad, which either fulfils its function or is altogether eliminated by an overpowering influence. Hence the juridical alternative: responsible or irresponsible. None of these distinctions apply to the neurotic.
>
> (Ibid., Vol. 20, 221)

He points out that there is a class of people who are motivated by a "sense of guilt"; instead of punishment acting as a deterrent to these people, their deeds were committed "principally because they were forbidden and because their execution was accompanied by mental relief for the doer" (Ibid., Vol. 14, 332). He traces this guilt to the oedipus complex from which stems infantile parricide and incestuous wishes. This sort of person suffers

> . . . from an oppressive feeling of guilt, of which he did not know the origin, and after he had committed a misdeed this oppression was mitigated. His sense of guilt was at least attached to something. . . . It is as if it were a relief to be able to fasten this unconscious sense of guilt onto something real and immediate.
>
> (Ibid., Vol. 14, 332)

This also applies, of course, to children.

> With children it is easy to observe that they are often "naughty" on purpose to provoke punishment, and are quiet and contented after they have been punished.
>
> (Ibid., Vol. 14, 332)

Freud by no means suggests that all actions leading to punishments are the result of these motivations. He distinguishes as exceptions those

> . . . who commit crimes without any sense of guilt, who have either developed no moral inhibitions or who, in their conflict with society, consider themselves justified in their actions.
>
> (Ibid., Vol. 14, 333)

The important point made by Freud is that punishment can lure as well as deter. By attaching inner and obscure guilt feelings to a realistic offence, one can gain relief.

Others, including his daughter, Anna Freud (1895 -   ), have attempted to put Freud's theories into an educational setting. Anna Freud tells us that in the latency period (from approximately 5 to 11 or

12) the teacher can inherit the feelings of the child towards its parents, including the all important Oedipus Complex. But the skilful teacher can avoid many of the problems that a parent faces by becoming for the group "the universal super-ego, the ideal of all." If the teacher is successful, punishment is not necessary because "compulsory submission changes into voluntary submission" (Anna Freud, 1931, 88-89).

The interpretations of the underlying motives have been many and varied. Martha Wolfenstein, for instance, suggests that

> . . . punishments tend to repeat some earlier phase in parent-child relations not only in the choice of implements but also (where the punishment is corporal) in the part of the body to which the punishment is applied.
>
> (Wolfenstein, 1950, 313)

Spanking reflects a particular method of toilet-training, ear-pulling reflects a method of infant-feeding, and so on.

Some clinical psychologists take a wider view of corporal punishment. Dr. Derek Miller suggests that its use is a reflection of the overall attitudes and practices of society.

> The more controlled a society appears to be in its use of aggression, the more willing it is to use formalised techniques of violence such as corporal punishment. While Britain was a highly controlled society in which physical aggression between citizens was relatively rare, there was little question of "abolishing the birch". The increased rate of violent crime indicates that British society is now more openly aggressive, the need to have a ritualised outlet for aggressive fantasies has diminished and the birch is abolished.
>
> (Miller, 1967, 9)

He suggests that there tends to be an inverse relationship between legal (or ritualised) corporal punishment in schools and penal institutions, and the amount of physical aggression in the wider society. The aim, of course, is to treat adequately the offender and remedy wider social situations so that the felt need for aggression will be reduced

in all situations. The use of corporal punishment, along with other forms of aggression, is a symptom -- the root cause should be treated.

> Given the present state of our social system it is probable that the issue of corporal punishment is not a major one in the rehabilitation of either the penal or educational systems. If both systems were well run the use of corporal punishment would wither away as it already has in some institutions. Legislating corporal punishment out of existence may satisfy the conscience, but it represents neither true penal nor educational reform.
> (Ibid., 11)

While some psychologists and educators have adopted one or other theory with a religious fervour, others have adopted bits and pieces from various schools of thought until there has come to be a general acceptance that deviant behaviour should be treated not punished. The emphasis on mental-health, rather than on moral or intellectual enforcement is growing, and the individual's problems are more and more given priority over the needs of group conformity. This has meant that counselling and therapy have come to have a recognized place in the treatment of children with a concomitant reduction in the use of punishments, particularly harsh punishments.

This places a great responsibility on those who advocate and regulate the use of punishment; if such is to take place, then first of all adequate learning conditions must be provided so that everyday frustrations can be handled before they develop into neuroses, and where exceptional problems arise, adequate remedial, psychological and medical services must be provided.

There is certainly a responsibility on the part of training and employing authorities to screen potential and actual teachers for those who either through moral turpitude or emotional unbalance are likely to cause serious problems in children. But something that is all too

frequently overlooked by authorities is that the personal well-being of the teacher is greatly affected by his teaching environment. Where the teacher's morale suffers from unsympathetic administration, or where the working conditions are such that he cannot help but be overwrought, then the child is likely to suffer in turn.

This in no way reduces the responsibility of the teacher for his own actions. The cry for professionalism is one heard so often among teachers these days, but the professional teacher is not just one who has a grasp of subject matter. He also understands the needs and motives of children, and is able to translate this knowledge into appropriate day-to-day, even minute-to-minute, techniques.

Teacher Training Literature

The way the atmosphere changed towards the punishment of children can be felt by reading the relevant sections of works intended for the training of teachers. These would be, of course, a reflection of the growing influence of experimental and clinical psychology on education, along with other philosophic and humanitarian forces.

In professional literature of the English-speaking world, at the beginning of the Twentieth Century, corporal punishment was generally acknowledged as being necessary in some extreme cases. Later it was usual to condemn it, and finally to ignore it altogether, presumably because the emphasis has come to be on the training of teachers in positive methods of control. Only a small selection of these works will be mentioned here, sufficient to illustrate this progression. While this indicates that the battle against corporal punishment has been accepted as won in theory by the theorists, this does not mean that those closer to the classroom are equally convinced. Although not central to this study, it is also interesting to note how other punishments are gradually

eliminated from the list of acceptable practices. For example, quite early methods of humiliation are deplored, and later detentions and extra work are found to be wanting.

The Cyclopedia of Education, published in 1913, shows us a picture of the beginning of the Century. The article on "Corporal Punishment" in this reference work gives quite a full account of the practices, including instruments used, in the history of Western Education. It also gives a summary of the attitudes towards corporal punishment, but only briefly. Of more interest is the article on "The Hygiene of Punishment" (Monroe, 1913, 88-89). The writer is adamant that not only "severe corporal punishment should never be inflicted" but also "bizarre and unusual punishments in general, should also be prohibited."

The reasons given for extreme care are numerous. There is a danger of perverted sexual developments; the development of masochism in the receiver and sadism in the teacher. Anti-social behaviour in later life as in criminals and revolutionaries is often the result of unjust punishment in childhood. He states that one of the most frequent causes of suicide in children (over a third) is excessive punishment. Mental health could deteriorate because of worry, shame, loss of normal self-assertion and courage, with a resultant development of morbid and unwholesome mental habits.

Although he would prohibit physical punishment at puberty and after, the writer does not completely rule it out for younger children. Where punishment must be used for them however, mild chastisement may be more effective and less dangerous than other methods.

In his book Teaching and Class Management, published in 1905, Joseph Landon gives a full chapter of advice which includes a very restricted acceptance of corporal punishment. His own summary is as

follows.

> Punishment should act as a deterrent to wrong-doing, and as a stimulus to effort. It should be given for the sake of the future not to avenge the past. Voluntary right conduct must be secured by other influences.
>
> The mode in which punishment is inflicted has much to do with its success. It should be severe enough for the child to be anxious to avoid it, and carefully proportioned to the offence.
>
> Punishment and learning should be dissociated as much as possible. The least amount of punishment that will serve should always be used; and the nature of the punishment should be as varied as possible. "Familiarity breeds contempt."
>
> A class needing much punishment is certainly not well governed, and the teacher should look for the cause in his own administration.
>
> (Landon, 1905, 207-208)

This is an interesting summary not only of Landon's advice, but also of some of the themes that have been followed through the present work, and the stage reached by the beginning of this century. Punishment is not to be used for retribution but to change future action, it should be used as little as possible, the writer is careful to insist on the separation of moral offence from failure to learn, and if too much punishment is used, the cause is more likely to be found in the character of the teacher than in the class.

In his book <u>School Efficiency</u> (published 1917), H.E. Bennett attempts to inspire the teacher to avoid corporal punishment. The inference is that good teachers do not need to punish their students physically.

> As already indicated the right of the teacher with regard to corporal and other punishment is often limited by state law and local regulation. These restrictions have arisen from the growing realization that the best teaching and the surest authority are not dependent on physical coercion. A teacher who accepts a position where such restrictions are in force owes it to his high position not to be finding fault with the regulations but to prove that

> he is one of those teachers who do not need the forbidden means to maintain authority. He should keep the law to the letter and rise far above it in the spirit of his teaching and his discipline.
>
> Could an adequate supply of competent teachers be insured, it would undoubtedly be the wise policy to rest unlimited authority as to punishment in the teachers and then hold them strictly responsible for the right exercise of it. But boards must deal with teachers as they are, and the restrictions seem to be justified by their successful operation in many city systems.
>
> (Bennett, 1917, 352)

The most recent textbook of this type which the present writer has been able to find and where some sort of corporal punishment was actually advocated was Everyday Problems in Classroom Management by Edwin J. Brown (published 1933). Generally he is opposed to harsh measures but allows the necessity for making sure that in his early years the child learns obedience.

> How can we make our repeated warnings to the young become part of their innermost being? I regard this as the fundamental problem in child training, and I believe the best answer is a good old-fashioned spanking. The punishment should be administered vigorously enough to make it hurt, so that the child will not be likely to repeat his undesirable act. If spanking is applied intelligently, no other kind of corporal punishment will ever be necessary.
>
> (Brown, 1933, 88)

In their book, Mental Hygiene, A Manual for Teachers (published 1940), Griffin, Laycock and Line do not mention corporal punishment, but spend considerable time in discussing the effects of other punishments, with particular emphasis on how any form of humiliation will weaken the child's ego (Griffin, Laycock & Line, 1940, 290 ff.). The word "correction" is used rather than punishment, and it should be done as inconspicuously as possible.

The most recent book of this type examined was Managing Student Behavior (published 1967) by Amos and Orem. It is interesting not because

of what it says concerning punishment, but because of the complete absence of any mention of punishment as a means of bringing about a particular type of behaviour in students.

A Major English Survey (1952)

In April, 1947, in the British House of Commons, the Member for Newport raised the question of the total abolition of corporal punishment in State Schools. He stated that

> . . . such punishment is unjustifiable. It merely terrorises and demoralises a child. It does nothing to make a bad child into a good child. It does not correct any faults or prevent other children from committing the same fault. . . . It always injures a child's character, demoralises and degrades the child and causes terror and coarseness. . . . It has a disastrous effect upon our young people. . . . No teacher should be allowed to have legal permission to inflict corporal punishment on any child at any time.
>
> (National Foundation for Educational Research, 1952, 3)

As a result of this, the Ministry of Education asked the National Foundation for Educational Research for an impartial inquiry into the general problem of the effects of rewards and punishments in schools, with particular emphasis on corporal punishment. The report, A Survey of Rewards and Punishments in Schools, a work of 432 pages, was published in 1952, mainly as the result of the researches of M.E. Highfield and A. Pinset.

This was the only study of corporal punishment which the present writer was able to find which met the standards of high scholarship. Because it is completely impossible to do justice to this work in a short space, the reader is referred to it, if for no other reason than to see how well educational research can be carried out if the time and money are made available, and how important problems can be taken out of the realm of emotional bias into the world of intelligent analysis.

Some of the matters that were analysed were as follows: what methods of rewards and punishments did teachers claim they made use of in schools, how effective did they think they were, what did students think of the same methods; who was actually being punished and for what offences; what is the relationship of the age of the child, the social background, the teaching conditions, to the rewards and punishments used; what were the characteristics of the child who was most likely to receive the punishment?

On the question of why teachers punish, certain hypotheses were tested. No evidence was found that teachers punish out of sadism if it does occur, it occur, it occurs very occasionally. (Curiously, no suggestion was made that such situations would likely be well hidden.) The most persistent motive of teachers for punishment is the maintenance of class control. This is partly because the teacher's professional satisfaction and welfare depend on efficient instruction, but as much so, at least with male teachers, because loss of control is equated with loss of self-esteem. A very close relationship was found between conditions of strain and difficulty caused by poor teaching conditions or the need to control children from very poor backgrounds, and the amount of corporal punishment used (see pp. 358-359). There was a tendency for female teachers and younger teachers to use and advocate corporal punishment less than male and older teachers, but of the almost one thousand teachers questioned, only 3.5% were in favour of total prohibition (p. 289). The lesser use by beginning teachers is interesting, for it is contrary to earlier evidence; it would seem to be the result of improved teacher training.

One important point made by the report is that not only can the matter of corporal punishment not be divorced from teacher's attitudes

and needs and the school conditions, but also it cannot be divorced from the social conditions and attitudes of the community in which the school is situated (p. 360-1).

The report makes clear that if corporal punishment is to be eliminated, then certain other conditions must be fulfilled. The teachers involved have to be committed to such an action, teachers will have to be better selected and trained, much better facilities must be provided in schools and adequate provision of clinics and special classes for the more serious behaviour problems must be made.

One curious feature of this report, and one that the present writer believes was an inadequacy, was that there was no clear attempt to differentiate between rewards and punishments for moral offences and for learning inadequacies. The one classification of type of offices is A. anti-social offences B. offences against regulations C. offences indicating low standards of behaviour D. behaviour indicative of personality disturbance and needing psychological investigation. When we look at specific offences under these headings, we see that along with lying, cheating, stealing and such they include careless work, inconsistent error, lack of concentration, lack of initiative (p. 239). These seem as likely to be learning problems as behaviour problems. While the authors admit that one impulse for the use of corporal punishment is the demand by the teacher or extra-classroom authorities for higher standards of school work, they do not seem to have taken this into account in their analysis of the problem.

Another aspect examined was the effectiveness of fifteen deterrents as ranked by teachers and dislike of these same deterrents as ranked by pupils (chapt. 11). Considerable differences occurred between sexes, position in the education hierarchy, type of school, and geographic loca-

tion. The median for corporal punishment was given the highest rank for effectiveness in the boys' Secondary Modern Schools as ranked by teachers, but was least effective of all methods as ranked by teachers in girls' Grammar Schools. It would appear that where strong measures need to be taken, physical pain is looked on as the strongest measure; where strong measures do not need to be taken, there are serious doubts about this measure.

In the ranking by dislike of deterrents, boys (aged 11 - 15) marked corporal punishment fourth behind unfavorable report home, deprivation of games or other privileges, and being under strict supervision. With girls it tied for second, with deprivation of privileges, and behind unfavorable report home as first. In almost all subdivisions of the ranking, corporal punishment had the widest spread of attitudes, indicating, if nothing else, that it is the most controversial of deterrents.

The Present Situation

There is no doubt that corporal punishment continues to be used in the schools of the English-speaking world, but there is also no doubt that its use and justification varies considerably with the type of local community and attitudes of the administration and the teachers. This can be ascertained by the regularity with which the topic is featured in newspapers, through examination of school "punishment" books, or through conversations with teachers. There also seems to be a continuing reduction in its use because of growing opposition among educational philosophers and psychologists, teacher-training institutions, administrators, and the teachers themselves.

To give a more accurate picture of the present situation would require an investigation similar to the English survey examined above. As this was the work of two trained researchers with much support, directing

their time for over a year, this would mean the allocation of considerable resources. Even this would only tell us what the present practices and attitudes are. Accurate empirical information of the effects of corporal punishment far beyond that now provided by the social sciences is needed. But as has already been noted, the investigation of the effects of punishment is in much the same position as the investigation of certain diseases: to find out what these are, it would be necessary to inflict upon certain people situations which could well harm them considerably and irreparably.

Probably the best solution is to accept the moral belief that punishment is to be avoided wherever possible, to strive to find methods of motivating and controlling children which are more subtle, and more agreeable to both teacher and child, as well as to the public at large. Despite minor setbacks, the tendency appears to be in the direction of better trained teachers, better learning conditions and a more sympathetic attitude on the part of the public towards providing the best educational services possible.

The real danger may be in the proscription of corporal punishment without an adequate provision of the necessary conditions for its removal. Corporal punishment is probably better regarded as a symptom of deeper underlying defects in our educational methods and system, rather than as a cause in itself. As these defects are repaired, corporal punishment will probably disappear as the teachers no longer feel a need to use it.

Despite this, there is a tendency for authorities to treat it in isolation without an adequate examination of its underlying causes, or its part in the larger picture of education. There may also be a tendency towards its total abolition. Just over ten years ago, the "Chant" Royal Commission on Education in British Columbia advocated the maintenance of

the status quo (Province of British Columbia, 1960, 400), but in 1968, the "Hall-Dennis" Report in Ontario flatly demanded total prohibition.

> Recommendation 29. Abolish corporal punishment and other degrading forms of punishment as a means of discipline in schools, in favour of a climate of warmth, co-operation, and responsibility.
>
> (Ontario Department of Education, 1968, 182)

The wording of the supporting argument is interesting.

> A child is not a young adult, and just as we accept his need to increase in wisdom, we must assume his need to grow towards maturity of conduct. The application of punishment in the area of behavioral learning is not more defensible than its application in any other area of learning.
>
> (Ontario Department of Education, 1968, 95)

As a result of this, G.L. Duffin, Assistant Deputy Minister, issued a memorandum to all Boards and administrators stating as a conclusion:

> Consequently, it is considered that the use of corporal punishment in any form is not appropriate in the schools of Ontario and it is recommended that principals and teachers refrain from its use.
>
> (Ontario Department of Education, December 16, 1968)

Just as this is being written, the Toronto Board of Education announced it had abolished corporal punishment in its schools (*Vancouver Sun*, July 23, 1971, 16).

Furthermore, the teacher cannot necessarily expect that his professional colleagues will support him against authorities. The British Columbia Teachers' Federation Report, *Involvement*, stated (recommendation 88) that corporal punishment should be eliminated (British Columbia Teachers' Federation, September 1968, 70).

Summary

The advances made in teaching methods in the Nineteenth Century

were continued and received wider application in the Twentieth, so that with the improved quality of teachers and better learning conditions, punishment was greatly reduced by the application of more positive methods of control and motivation. Under the inspiration of John Dewey and others, much was done to reform the curricula and methods towards a child's present needs, and punishment came to be judged according to its effectiveness in bringing about future changes rather than as a retribution for past acts. Some prominent experimental psychologists have claimed proof that punishment always does more harm than good, but a close examination of the empirical evidence neither supports nor defeats such a claim. At the present stage of investigation, opposition to corporal punishment rests much more securely on ethical judgement than on scientific evidence. Clinical psychology has contributed much both in the examination of the deeper motives of punisher and victim and more particularly in attempting to cure behavioral problems through individual counselling and therapy. Despite these advances, corporal punishment continues to be used to some small degree in schools. Those who advocate total prohibition must be sure that the teachers are convinced it is possible, through the provision of adequate learning conditions and psychological services.

CHAPTER VII

DISCUSSION

The most important conclusion that can be made from this study is so straightforward that it could easily be overlooked: the attitudes towards and use of corporal punishment are an inseparable part of the beliefs and customs of a society as a whole. Where cruelty and pain are found in the lives of adults and children outside schools, then they will likely be found in the schools also. Where the society believes that it is desirable or even noble for a person to accept pain without protest, pain will be part of the training of children. Where it is possible for one man to dominate another through the use of fear, then children will be dominated by fear.

As pain has been reduced in the larger society, with the treatment of criminals and the sick, for example, so it has become less acceptable in schools. With the development of democratic concepts of equality, the domination of one man over another became less, and behaviour had to be changed by persuasion or motivation rather than by force or fear. This is reflected in the theory of the treatment of children where the emphasis today is on persuading or motivating the child in his intellectual achievements or social behaviour.

No matter how logical or forceful are the reasons for or against corporal punishment, it is unlikely that the practice will change unless deeper and more complex changes occur in society. We have seen how voices from Quintilian and Plutarch to Ascham and Erasmus were not heeded though they seem to us today to be ever so sensible. And no doubt a Brinsley or Dr. Johnson would be laughed at or ignored today for they would be as much out of tune with these times as they were a reflection

of their own day. Any educator, no matter how worthy his product, who established a school based on fear of physical punishment, would have as much or more trouble today in maintaining it against public opinion and legal action than did the early proponents of experimental schools based on free expression and development.

This is not to say that the ideas of individuals cannot change history. Rather it is to say that those ideas must be presented at a time when other social and historical forces are receptive to them, otherwise they will fall on deaf or hostile ears, or will be changed so that the original concept is not recognisable.

Certain questions were asked during the progression of this study. From an historical point of view the most significant was to assess whether there had been an advance in the approach to the problem of corporal punishment since the earliest commentators. No one, surely, would disagree that in actual practices classroom procedures are overwhelmingly superior to those of even a couple of centuries ago. One of the most important aspects of this is that interest and pleasure in learning have largely replaced fear of punishment as the commonly strived for motivation.

But if we look at one of the earliest commentators, Quintilian, we see that he was advocating this approach two thousand years ago. His reasoning was not dissimilar to that used today: the child will not learn well when he feels shame or fear. Nor was he the first to observe this, for Plato held that "study forced into the mind will not stay there." While practice has changed considerably, the theory behind it is as old as Western Civilisation.

Quintilian's most important criticism was that corporal punishment is shameful and degrading, fit only for slaves. This is still one of the

most important reasons for opposition to it; in fact it is of greater application today in our democratic society where the rights of all individuals are of primary concern.

Quintilian also questioned the motivations of the teachers. This has been greatly elaborated on in the last hundred years, so that special precautions are taken now through regulations and supervision to protect the child from the inadequate or cruel teacher.

In terms of a theoretical approach, then, the basic reasons for opposing corporal punishment have not changed significantly in the last two thousand years. The change has been that the attitudes of a few have become generally accepted and applied. It is not the ideas that have changed but society's acceptance of them.

The second question concerned the confusion between corporal punishment as a stimulation to learn and as a stimulation to remedy unacceptable social behaviour. It was noted that many of the commentators did not distinguish between the two, in fact did not appear to realise that there could be a distinction. One of the most important of these was the otherwise excellent English study of 1952. Others, two of the earliest being Comenius and Ascham, opposed corporal punishment for intellectual motivation but found it acceptable for moral training.

Such confusion is understandable, for there is no clear cut line between the two. At one end it is obvious that failure to learn Latin verbs or multiplication tables because of "lack of capacity" or poor memory is not likely to be remedied by punishment, although this was a standard method for centuries. At the other end, deliberate destruction of property or foul language would traditionally be called immoral behaviour. But somewhere in between there are such "offences" as laziness, inattention, or untidiness which are not clearly either intellectual

problems or behaviour problems. With the psychological analysis of motivation and learning, the tendency seems to be to view the division between the two as artificial, that behavioral learning is learning just as much as intellectual achievement is. The "Hall-Dennis" report, from Ontario, for instance, condemned the use of punishment for all types of learning, behavioral as well as intellectual. Unfortunately this report gave no supporting evidence or argument for this view which the present writer considers unduly narrow, for it ignores the ethical aspects, a point to be returned to later.

From the motivational point of view, it is useful to look on punishment as a form of treatment. From the earliest times one of the most important reasons for the use of punishment has been to treat unacceptable behaviour, both intellectual and social. What has happened is that gradually at first, and then comparatively quickly in the last hundred years, there has come to be an acceptance in educational quarters that other forms of treatment will work better. Punishment for intellectual motivation was deplored quite early; now there is strong tendency for punishment for behavioral motivation to suffer the same fate.

The claim has been made that punishment does more harm than good, that the child is turned more from learning than towards it, by the use of harsh punishments. Unfortunately some of the opponents of punishment, including Skinner, an experimental psychologist, seem to be assessing the evidence, subconsciously or otherwise, to prove a previously held moral position. As we have seen from the analyses of Church and Solomon, a close examination of the experimental evidence neither supports nor opposes this view -- the verdict is "unproven".

The claim has also been made that the side-effects of punishment are damaging enough for it to be avoided. Again the verdict, according

to Church and Solomon, is "unproven". While it is probable that continued suffering can cause severe emotional disturbance, the harshness of the earlier schools is not now allowed to exist. It seems likely that suffering among children today will be from causes over which the school has little or no control, such as physical sickness or disturbed family relationships. It is also worth mentioning in passing that some authorities claim that excessive use of rewards can be as damaging to personality or character.

In terms of punishment being used as a treatment in education, a useful analogy can be made with medicine. Once the treatment of the physically and mentally sick was associated with religion wherein the possession of a devil or the effects of sinfulness were driven out by superstitious ceremony. As the causes of disease were attributed less to the will of God or the influence of a devil, and more to earthly origins, less barbarous methods were used. In education, as failure to learn and undesirable behaviour were blamed less on the deliberate waywardness or inherent sinfulness of the child, so too was the child treated rather than punished. Frequently, though, the difference between treatment and punishment is more verbal than actual. Who can say whether the effects on a child are different when he is told that he is possessed by a devil over which he has no control, than if he is told that he has a psychological disturbance over which he has no control? Or does the use of tranquilisers do more to affect his personality for good or bad in the long run, than an occasional spanking?

Some writers such as Neill and Skinner have suggested that the beating of children produces violent and callous adults, or that the obedient citizen of a totalitarian society is more likely to be produced by harsh school methods. But the evidence for this is speculative.

Some of the most humane people have been treated harshly as children. It may be that there is a confusion of cause with effect, that physical punishment is more likely to be used in undemocratic societies, rather than undemocratic societies to be produced by harsh methods. It is most likely that neither is necessarily the cause of the other, that they both are parts of a larger still obscure picture.

It is also probable that people will react in the way they are expected or taught to react. The Spartans and Eighteenth Century Englishmen took pride in their ability to bear pain, and many an athlete today has continued to play despite personal agony. They have been expected to behave in such a way since childhood, and the fear of shame or the reward of achievement is a greater incentive than release from pain. But the same amount of pain in a different circumstance is objectionable. One of Quintilian's main arguments against whipping was that it was the treatment of slaves. Here it is not so much the pain but the shame of being treated like a lower being that is important.

The third question was concerned with how well each writer had distinguished between the philosophical or ethical arguments and the psychological or motivational arguments. Again the mixture and confusion of these two types of arguments was pointed out in a selection of commentators.

One of the difficulties in any discussion of punishment is the complexity of the issue. If we take one of the oldest moral justifications for punishment we can see this. At its simplest it is the "eye-for-eye" philosophy -- that if you do something wrong you must pay for it. But why? It is obvious that if you steal or destroy something of mine, you should replace it. This is easy in the case of pigs or money. But an eye cannot be replaced, nor can anything you give me be equated

with my suffering. If we say it is God's will, then each person must decide for himself how he knows it is God's will. No more need be said than that there have been many varied and conflicting reports on the Almighty's expectations.

There is often a need for psychological satisfaction on the part of the victim to know that his offender has suffered too; in its extreme form this is called vengeance. This is a viewpoint often ignored today where the offender sometimes seems to receive more consideration than the one who has suffered at his hands. While it no doubt still has much popular support, both the penal and educational systems have largely abandoned the concept of retribution in theory, and much has been done in practice.

When we say that punishment is used as an example to others not to commit similar acts, or to deter the punished from acting wrongly again, we may seem to be in the realm of motivation rather than ethics. But even here ethics cannot be ignored; rather the two are intertwined. Is physical pain any more or less moral in itself than any other motivation? To take an extreme case, is the teacher who gets his students to work through fear of low marks or the strap using immoral incentives, whereas the teacher who gets his students to work through rewards of high marks or candy is using moral incentives? In other words, is a reward moral and a punishment immoral? While the question is obvious, the answer is difficult. Many modern educational philosophers led by Dewey have recognised this situation and have condemned both reward and punishment as "extrinsic" motivations; the aim, they say, is for the student to want to do the task because of its own attractiveness or his own needs, "intrinsic" motivations. Unfortunately, a world which can operate on only intrinsic motivations has not yet been realised so that

extrinsic motivations are still very much a part of our lives.

Another approach to the choice between reward and punishment has been through the philosophies of utilitarianism and pragmatism. Here the question is not "is it right?" or "is it God's will?" but "does it work?". This has probably been the most influential approach in breaking with the past and showing the direction for the future. It gave a great opportunity for experimental studies, but in the realm of human behaviour it has not been as productive as some might wish.

If, as we have seen from the investigations of Solomon and Church, the evidence for the effects of punishment on the learning situation does not lead to any definite conclusions, then the question is one of morality, until further experimentation shows more clearly what the effects are.

But it must be noted that it is not always a question of good or bad methods; it is often a limited choice between several methods all of which we would prefer to avoid. If a child does not appear to be learning because of an inadequate intrinsic motivation such as low interest, and remedial attention has failed, do we then try rewards and punishments? And if the choice is reward, and this is still not effective, may we try punishment? Which is the greater immorality, to let a child continue in ignorance, or try punishment? And if we decide to use punishment, which punishment do we use?

The problem is more obvious in the case of social or moral offences, though some commentators object to punishment even here. The choice is again between two undesired actions. Why should a problem child be allowed to disrupt or prevent the learning of others even though he himself is not responsible for his state? With the development of the democratic concepts of the rights of the individual and the influence of clinical psychology on the need for personal mental health, much emphasis

has been placed on the diagnosis and treatment of individual problems. Certainly no attempt is made to deny the importance of such values and approaches. But at the same time the rights of other individuals such as other class members, not to mention the teacher, must not be overlooked in the concern for one individual. Is the point of view of the clinical psychologist concerned with the problems of one any more important than the point of view of the classroom teacher concerned with the problems of many?

As the motives of the teacher in the use of punishment have been frequently questioned, this requires discussion. There seems little doubt that the more skilful a teacher either through his training or through personal qualities, the less he will have to use punishment. He can make the material more interesting, create a relationship between himself and the child or stimulate group morale which can be extremely productive. But even the best of teachers may be faced with a poor physical situation or such a large group that the preferred methods are unattainable. Or he may be faced with pupils who have developed attitudes of hostility to teachers or education so that success eludes him. Or he may be forced through curriculum or examination requirements to teach material which he or the students or both find unattractive. In such situations he may turn to methods which he personally deplores.

This is not to deny that there are teachers who, either through incompetence or personality disorders, will tend to use more punishment than necessary. Rather it is to say that before a teacher is condemned, the accuser must be sure that the teaching environment is a favorable one for the use of what are currently considered the desirable methods. It is also worth noting that with present supervisory techniques and the control exercised over teachers by elected officials, public opinion

and indeed the influence of his own colleagues, it is unlikely that any teacher could indulge in any form of excess for long.

It is quite clear that any authority which wishes to reduce or ban the use of corporal punishment must be prepared to make other commitments. A ban would be pointless in isolation. Our society seems to have come to the belief that a child should be motivated to desirable behaviour through positive teaching methods such as sound pupil-teacher relationships and intrinsic motivations. But these are difficult, sometimes impossible, to attain unless appropriate physical facilities and class size are provided. Such a provision is not primarily the responsibility of the teacher but of society through his employer and unless there is a willingness to provide such conditions, then has that society the right to expect the teacher to work miracles? If it is expected that behavioral problems will be treated by certain psychological techniques rather than by punishment, then again has not that society the responsibility for providing such treatment facilities?

This history has shown that an essential background for the reduction of the use of corporal punishment was the improvement of physical facilities in the classroom, the reduction of class sizes and the provision of adequate supportive services. For the complete elimination of corporal punishment without the introduction of some equally undesirable replacement, these improvements must continue. But this history has also shown that improvement in the quality of teacher (through selection and training), was necessary so that there is a personal and professional responsibility on the shoulders of the teacher to be adequate for the profession he undertakes. While administrative regulation was no doubt of considerable importance in eliminating the worst abuses, this is rather a negative approach. Nowadays the child ideally learns because

he wants to learn rather than because he fears punishment; so too should the teacher use the best classroom practices because he wants to, rather than because he fears sanctions if he uses unacceptable methods.

We have come to a stage in the history of mankind where unjust punishments are not acceptable, and cruel or inhumane punishments are illegal, where the law recognises that the mentally unbalanced are not to be punished; however we have not yet arrived, if we ever do arrive, at the time where no punishment at all is used. Schools remain a reflection of society.

We seem to have reached a stage where there is a priority of motivations or incentives in good professional practice. The present writer estimates them as follows: at the top of the list is what have come to be called intrinsic motivations; the child advances intellectually or behaves in an approved way because he himself wants to through interest or need. Secondly he learns or behaves because of rewards he is offered either now or in the future; these may be of a material kind or they may be emotional such as the approval of others. Where these do not work, behavioral or learning problems are often treated through accepted psychological techniques. Then at the bottom of the list are various forms of sanctions. There are, of course, divisions within each category and much overlap. Sanctions, for instance, are often tried at the same time as rewards, or before psychological treatment. At the bottom of the list of sanctions are harsh punishments such as strappings and expulsion. Neither teachers nor the wider society now claim to use these harsh methods out of preference; but for the protection of the group, and even for the improvement of the individual offender, they have not yet seen fit to abandon them as unnecessary. They are used with reluctance, as they no

doubt should be, but they are nevertheless used, because both professional opinion and public acceptance feel that the alternative is even less desirable.

The reactions of the child, of course, are of paramount importance. The little evidence we have indicates that most children are not as offended by corporal punishment as are some of the adult reformers. The English study of 1952 showed that reactions varied, that in those schools where its use was common it was less resented than in those schools where it was not used. This likely reflects the fact already mentioned that the child will probably feel how he is expected to feel, that if his social group feels that it is particularly shameful he will suffer more. Comments from individual writers indicate that unless corporal punishment has come to be looked on as particularly abhorrent, no lingering resentment will result provided that the child believes that justice has been done. The feeling of injustice or shame could well be far more harmful than any physical pain. But again this is true of any punishment.

As with the teacher it is possible that some psychological disturbance or abnormality will lead the child to seek involvement in a punishment situation. This is true of any punishment, but as has been noted earlier, sexual overtones are more likely to be involved with physical punishment. The teacher must always be on the look-out for such an element, but there could be an even greater danger in viewing each child as a potential deviant or psychopath.

This discussion would not be complete unless we also questioned the motives of reformers. A few no doubt have been propagandists who sought public attention or approval through an emotional issue. Some may have protested because of a personal or family incident. But there is another type of reformer, the one who calmly and logically,

without any motive of personal advantage or sense of personal wrong-doing, feels that corporal punishment is wrong.

One group of such reformers are those who look from the view-point of clinical psychology. It is hoped that these people are prepared to take a wider view and find a mid-point between the need for the treatment of the individual child and the pedagogical necessities of the group. Another group of reformers are those who object to all forms of punishment as morally wrong, and corporal punishment as particularly debasing. They must be cautioned not to confuse the vision of utopia with present necessities, and remember that if corporal punishment is removed from schools before the teachers and society are ready for it, a situation may be created which brings about greater damage to the group or to an individual child.

As this work was being pursued, the writer found it impossible to deal with corporal punishment in isolation. The physical conditions of society, the prevailing attitudes of politics, religion and morality, and the concept of the nature of man were all involved. As he moved through over two thousand years of history he came to some more general conclusions. One was that an historical study of a problem is of special importance in an appreciation of the present state of that problem and as an indication of what the answers to that problem may be. A second conclusion was that no part of education can be examined or understood without an examination and understanding of the whole, and education cannot be examined and understood unless it is taken as a part of the wider society. A third conclusion was that no problem can be handled in isolation. We have come a long way since the rod was the sceptre of the schoolmaster. But this has not been so much because of a single-minded opposition to it, but because the overall purposes and methods

of education have changed. And this in turn has been the result of the change in the whole concept of the nature of the child and his place in society.

Summary

The use of corporal punishment in schools is a reflection of the attitudes and behaviour of the whole society and cannot be usefully studied and understood without reference to the age and place. Most of the arguments which are currently used in opposition to corporal punishment were used by such early commentators as Quintilian; but only recently has there come to be a general acceptance and application of these arguments. Some writers distinguished between, but many confused, the use of corporal punishment as a motivation for intellectual learning and as a preventive for unacceptable social behaviour. Gradually the use of corporal punishment for intellectual motivation was discarded, at least theoretically, and now the tendency is for it to become equally unacceptable for remedying undesirable social and moral behaviour. The strength of this, however, lies in the opinions of leading commentators, not in any irrefutable scientific evidence. Despite the lack of evidence on the motivational effects of punishment, there continues to be, as there always has been, a mixture of, and even a confusion between, the ethical and the motivational opposition to corporal punishment. Because of the lack of experimental evidence, the opposition rests most securely in the ethical arguments. Here however the choice is not always between acceptable and unacceptable methods, but sometimes between undesirable alternatives. Our society seems to have reached the stage where it finds intrinsic motivations and rewards preferable to punishment, but still accepts punishment as necessary for the more intractable cases. And for the worst of these, there is a choice of punishments,

one of which is corporal punishment. Corporal punishment has almost been eliminated from schools, not only by the application of sound principles, but also by improved learning conditions, better trained teachers, and by the development of special treatment methods for behavioral and learning problems. If corporal punishment is completely banned without concomitant improvements in other aspects of the educational environment, other equally undesirable situations could take its place.

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