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# Standards Employd in the Determination of Teaching Efficiency 

By

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## STANDARDS EMPLOYD IN THE DETERMINATION OF TEACHING EFFICIENCY

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Edwin A. Turner

At present our pedagogical literature bristles with the term efficiency. Even writers of ability use it extravagantly. The term itself seems to satisfy. It suggests the shop, the factory, and the salesroom, where performances are judged in terms of the concrete and where definit standards are blockt out in open competition. It apparently pacifies the longing for scientific accuracy and generates a feeling of confidence in him who sets it up for his goal.

Unfortunately the teaching profession in the main has adopted efficiency as its slogan without making adequate provision for determining when it is attaind. Until the spokesmen for the profession can in a very simple and in a very practical way point out the meaning of efficiency as it relates to specific attainment and can give explicit directions for determining the degree of efficiency of this or that sort of teaching, the term efficiency must be considerd more or less platitudinous.

In the industries the ability of the performer is easily mesured, since the products of his labor are objectiv, concrete, and redily subjected to comparativ tests. The efficiency of the blacksmith is mesured by the length of time the shoe clings to the hoof and by the degree of comfort it gives the horse. The efficiency of a dentist is mesured by the length of time the filling remains in order or by the permanency and comfort of the bridge he has made. The efficiency of a gardener is determind by the number and quality of vegetables produced per unit of area. In any case when the result is better than that ordinarily produced the performer is thought of as having superior ability and consequently he is considerd efficient.

Subjectivly considerd, efficiency is the ability to produce superlativ results consistently. The median or average of a number of such abilities is a desirable standard to use in an endevor to determin the merit of individual performances. In the industrial and scientific fields such standards are well known. In the teaching profession we have just begun to use them advantageously. We cannot hope to attain efficiency until we are able to determin when it is attaind.

With the single exception of the minimum knowledge requirement, which is generally provided by law, there is no other legally accepted standard for judging the ability of teachers. The wide and varied use of standards employd in determining the ability of teachers is notorious.

The far-reaching significance of the conditions resulting from the application of dissimilar standards is beyond the comprehension of those who evaluate the teaching process in terms of local and personal standards. There is not a little evidence to substantiate the opinion that subnormality, retardation, disinterestedness, disobedience, and withdrawals from school are the direct result of the inadequate standards held by administrators and teachers. Until some of the standards now employd in mesuring the results of the teaching process are discarded and others are materially modified, the proportion of abnormalities occurring in the schools will not be materially changed.

## STANDARDS OF MESUREMENT

There are two distinct classes of standards now employd in determining the merit of teaching. These may well be cald the a priori standards and the objectio standards. The former are deductions based upon definitions formd, principles assumed, or inferences drawn from known causes. The latter are based upon the mesured abilities of pupils.

## I. A PRIORI STANDARDS

This class of standards is in the main the outgrowth of an attempt on the part of those who have been responsible for the direction of educational agencies to account for the character of the servises renderd by teachers, on the basis of some real or imaginary principle either directly or indirectly related to the art of teaching. The quality and relativ value of each standard in
this class depends upon the educational ideals and insight of those who have establisht it.

The standards employd in the early stages of educational development and those still employd by persons unfamiliar with the essentials of the teaching process are crude and often ludicrous. On the other hand the standards which have been establisht by educational experts, in the light of recent research, are excedingly valuable in that they stimulate an analysis of the process and give valuable direction to teaching.

The Attitude of Pupils and the Community Towards the Teacher
This standard is too frequently used by school officials in determining the efficiency of their teachers. If the children and the community are fond of a teacher it is assumed that he is giving splendid servis in the classroom. If he is not generally popular it is taken for granted that he is giving poor servis. Doutless this standard was developt in and about the private school, and especially the subscription school where the teacher "boarded around". Under such conditions adaptability was the prime requisit of survival. In spite of the wonderful growth in the science of teaching there still exists in some communities the notion that popularity is an index of efficiency.

It is reasonably certain that a teacher of character and of fine teaching ability will win the respect and usually the admiration of his pupils and patrons. It is quite as reasonably certain that a relativly inferior teacher may and not infrequently does win the esteem and harty support of the entire community in which he teaches. This esteem may result from local political activity, church connections, participation in club activities, or it may be in response to a wholesome attitude of the teacher towards the life of the community, all of which may be excellent supplementary qualities for a teacher to possess. Certainly they should not be the main consideration in the selection of a teacher.

Being a "good fellow" is an enviable human trait, but it has no legitimate place among the basal standards which are employd in determining the worth of teachers. The social and personal qualities of the officers of a bank do not become an incentiv to me as a depositor until the standing of the bank and the integrity of the officials have been ascertaind. The harty greeting and the talkativ propensities of a barber do not become an induce-
ment to me to patronize his shop until I have determind the fine quality of his razor and the sanitary practises of his establishment. No thoughtful parent will let church connections, social prestige, political affiliations, or friendship of long standing be the predominating factor in the choice of a physician for his dangerously sick child. Certainly there are stronger reasons why these supplemental and most desirable qualities should not be considerd basic in the selection of a teacher.

## Character of Grades and Number of Promotions

Another common and widely used standard of judging teaching efficiency, closely related to the above, is that of grades and promotions. It is passing strange that this standard of mesurement should be relied upon so extensivly. A parent usually thinks his children well taught if they receiv high grades. He is quite as strongly convinced of the teacher's inferiority if his children fail of promotion. In view of recent investigations in respect to the reliability of grades, as an index of actual achievement, this standard is a travesty upon the science of education. A grade as ordinarily determind is, to say the least, the expression of a conglomerate impression which may be colored by a single performance of the pupil, by his general attitude toward the school, by the emotional controls of the teacher, or by the personal relations which exist between teacher and pupil or between the teacher and the family of the pupil.

Grades vary in proportion to the variation of personal standards. It is reasonable to suppose that an easy-going teacher is more likely to give high grades than is the teacher who is excessivly conscientious and diligent in an endevor to improve the standing of his pupils. It not infrequently happens that the grades of two chums, or of two children whose families are intimate, are adjusted from month to month so that first one pupil and then the other has the higher grade. It is notorious that good children receiv higher grades in proportion to their ability than do mischievous children. Other influences well known to the profession are factors in determining grades. The multiplicity of factors involvd in grade making is a strong indictment of the practis of judging teachers exclusivly or even partially on the basis of the promotion list.

## Classroom Technique

The value of this standard rests on the assumption that there is a close correlation between the character of the stimuli employd by the teacher and the character of the child's controls which result from the use of such stimuli.

On the basis of this assumption one procedes to determin a teacher's efficiency by an examination of her classroom technique. The following items are usually considerd in such procedure: (1) forms of presenting subject-matter, such as the lecture method, the textbook method, the developing method, including a combination of one or more of these methods; (2) the character of the question employd-the direct question, indirect question, elliptical question, leading question, etc.; (3) the sort of other devices used-illustrations, drawings, field trips, concrete materials for science work, pictures, maps, etc. ; (4) the language of the teacher, his intonation, the board work, the general appearance of the classroom, and especially the spiritual atmosfere of the room.

This standard is decidedly more reliable than either of those previously considerd. It finds justification in the common agreement that the majority of teachers who get splendid results employ a good technique. In fact, teachers of this type find technique indispensable. It is in harmony also with certain generally accepted psychological principles. However, technique is not of itself is sufficient guarantee of adequate results, because of the large number of variables introduced in its application. The value of a device depends in large mesure upon the experiences, judgment, temperament, zest, clearness of vision, physical energy, and high ideals of the teacher. Without these attributes in their proper proportion, technique in operation resolvs itself into the lifeless movement of school machinery; with them it insures accuracy, effectivness, consistency, and the proper distribution of time and energy.

## The Reactiv Attitude of the Child

In discussing the relativ merit of this standard with that of the preceding one, F. M. McMurry says: "Teachers, supervizors of teachers, and authors of books on teaching, have been so intently observant of the procedure of the teacher that they have overlookt that of the pupil. Yet the center of gravity of the
school lies in the pupil, and what he himself finally does determins the value of the teacher's efforts. He, therefore, should be the priniary object of consideration rather than the teacher, and the quality of the instruction should be judged mainly in terms of his activity."

In conformity to this notion McMurry formulated the following criteria for the mesuring of teaching efficiency: (1) Motiv on the part of the child; (2) Consideration of values by the pupils; (3) Attention to organization by the pupils; (4) Initiativ by the pupils.

The superiority of this standard over those previously mentiond is at once evident. It strikes right at the hart of the lerning process, or as Tompkins would put it, at the spiritual unity within the child. The author of the above criteria not only believs in the theory that "the center of gravity of the school lies in the pupil", but he applies this theory daily in his classroom. Those who hav attended his classes know that he practises all that he preaches.

If the pupil's reactiv attitude is the key to educational direction and the goal of educational effort, as we believ it to be, it is fair to assume that it should be of paramount consideration in any attempt to determin the quality of teaching.

As principles of direction the above criteria are all that is desired. They force analysis of the teaching process, and suggest the proper distribution and emfasis of the teaching agencies. They are basic to our whole scheme of pedagogy. To abandon the principles underlying these criteria would be to ignore teaching as a profession.

Tho indispensable as an agency for the improvement of teaching these criteria are decidedly inadequate as a means of determining the relativ merit of teaching. Their inadequacy is due to the fact that the character of their application depends entirely upon the judgments of those who attempt to determin the merit of teaching. The necessity of interpretation introduces a decided variable.

The decisions of several judges as to the merits of a certain recitation will vary in proportion to the variation in their experiences and insight. What may seem to be "motiv on the part of the child" to one observer may appear as excessiv emotion to another. Indications of a "consideration of values" to one judge
may appear as a wanton neglect of essentials to another. "Attention to organization" to another observer may impress his associates as being a mere juggling of facts. Indeed, what may seem to one critic as "initiativ of the pupils" may appear to another as rampant individualism. Just as the jury is an uncontrollable variable in the machinery of justis, so the supervizor as a personal judge of teaching efficiency is a variable which is excedingly difficult to reckon with in the application of the McMurry criteria.

## Subjectiv Guides and Scales

Numerous guides and scales hav been developt of recent years for estimating the work of teachers. These ar valuable to the supervizor in that they force analysis of the teaching act and thereby make it possible for him to point out definitly the strong and weak points in the recitation, and afford an opportunity for him to give the teacher some practical suggestions as to the improvement of his methods.

The following "Ten-point scale" is somewhat typical of helps of this sort:

## ten-point scale for estimating classroom work in high school. ${ }^{1}$

I. "Setting" of class topics in the course.
II. Mastery of intellectual content and effectiv logical organization of materials.
III. The mechanics of classroom management. Economy of time and grasp of pedagogical technique.
IV. Effectiv emfasis upon the mental processes and values peculiar and essential to the subject.
V. Independence of teacher and class as a growth toward their material.
VI. Suitability to the pupil of the type of recitation employd.
VII. The "common sense" factor.
VIII. Evidence of culture versus mere erudition.
IX. Class participation and class sense of responsibility.

X . Class respect for lerning.
Scales of this sort do not, however, materially assist the supervizor in judging the relativ results of teaching. In the

[^2]application of this scale as in the application of the McMurry standards a markt variable is introduced in the judge who applies it. Furthermore, the points are not of equal significance. Some of these points are several times more significant than others. Two teachers of widely different abilities when mesured by this scale may receiv the same numerical mark. One may be stronger in the essentials; the other stronger in the non-essentials.

## II. OBJECTIV STANDARDS

Objectiv standards may be divided roughly into two classes: (1) standardized tests; (2) standardized scales. The former is a graded series of problems accompanied by the number of correct answers obtaind by a median pupil of a widely selected group. The Courtis Standard Tests, The Kansas Silent Reading Test, and The Thorndike Reading Scale are standards of this type. The latter is an arrangement of the carefully prepared work of pupils into an evenly graded system which has been determind and evaluated by a number of competent judges. Thorndike's and Ayres' Handwriting Scales, The Harvard-Newton Composition Scales, and Thorndike's Drawing Scale are standards of this type.

A historical survey of the objectiv standards, accompanied by a discussion of their relativ merit, is perhaps the easiest and doutless the most pedagogical way of showing the relativ educational value of these standards as agencies in determining the quality of teaching and in paving the way for placing teaching upon a scientific basis, a distinction which it does not as yet merit.

## Origin of Objectiv Standards in America

So far as I can ascertain, Dr. J. B. Rice is the father of the objectiv standard in America. Zelous for better opportunities for the child, enthused by his recent psychological studies at Jena and Leipsic, free from prejudices which sometimes result from inferior teaching, he set for his task the exposition of certain evils which he conceivd to exist in the public schools. Consequently from 1891 to 1896 he became a critical student of education. He visited and examind the schools of one hundred American cities. He pointed out in the colums of the "Forum" what seemd to him remedial mesures for these schools. After four years of constant investigation he came to the very decided conviction that concerted effort towards obtaining satisfactory re-
sults in public education is impossible until we know what satisfactory results are. "If we do not know", he wrote in the "Forum", December, '96, "what we mean by satisfactory results, how shall we be able with any degree of intelligence to judge when our task has been satisfactorily performd? Until we come to a definit understanding in regard to this matter, our entire educational work will lack direction and we shall continue as heretofore, to grope our way along passages completely envelopt in darkness in an endevor to land we know not where.
"If we might have a standard which would enable us to tell when our task has been completed, our attention might be earnestly directed towards the discovery of short cuts in educational processes. For want of such a standard each individual teacher has thus far been a law unto himself; permitted to experiment on his pupils in accordance with his own individual educational notions, whether inherited from his grandfather or the result of his study and reflection, entirely regardless of what was being done by others. So long as this condition is possible, pedagogy cannot lay claims to recognition as a science. Until an accurate standard of mesurement (my italics) is recognized by which such truths may be discoverd, ward politicians will continue to wield the baton and educational anarchy will continue to prevail."

## The First Objectiv Standard

Dr. Rice was not a faddist. Indeed, he was excedingly practical. In his characteristic way he set out in 1896 to establish a standard of mesurement for spelling. He undertook personally the herculean task of examining 13,000 children in spelling. This investigation extended over a period of sixteen months and included sixteen American cities.

The children were tested on a list of words, on words given to them in sentences, and on the words used in their compositions. The tabulated results in the "Forum" for April, 1897, is, so far as I have discoverd, the first objectiv standard in spelling or in any other subject. The list of words standardized by him consists of too few words to be of servis in judging the spelling abilities of children. The list of words presented in sentences is subject to the same criticism. This objection does not hold for his composition test. Had he estimated the percent of words correctly speld in the compositions on the basis of the number of different
words used, insted of upon the basis of the entire number of words used, he would have establisht the first practical objectiv standard. As it is his percents of words correctly speld are entirely too high.

## Rice's Arithmetic Test

In the October number of the "Forum", 1902, Dr. Rice reported the results of an arithmetic test which he had conducted in seven different cities, including eighteen bildings and 8,000 children. As Stone pointed out, later, Dr. Rice's results were not satisfactory as a standard, due to certain limitations in the problems used and the character of the methods employd in gathering and scoring these.

## Rice's Language Test

One year later Dr. Rice gave a detaild report of the test he made in language. This test extended to nine cities, and included twenty-two schools, containing 8,300 children. The compositions were arranged in five groups on the basis of relativ merit. The papers of each group were graded $100 \%, 75 \%, 50 \%, 25 \%$, $0 \%$ respectivly. The results showd conclusivly that there was a wide variation in the English abilities tested by him, but owing to the strong probability of error in his results they hav not been employd as a standard for determining English ability.

Tho Dr. Rice's results are of little value as standards, his experiments have stimulated two lines of research in education which are fraught with wonderful possibilities. I refer on the one hand to the investigations which have had for their goal the establishment of objectiv standards of mesurement, and on the other to the investigations to determin minimum essentials. Both of these problems were raisd by Dr. Rice and he has lived to see some partial solutions of both.

## The Cornman Spelling Standard

Dr. O. P. Cornman, of Philadelphia, stimulated by the work of Rice, carried on a series of tests in spelling by the composition method, extending from June, '96, to June, '98. In 1903 he publisht the results of this investigation in a volume entitled Spelling in the Elementary School. Cornman's data were carefully gatherd and the results methodically tabulated. He substituted the median for the average employd by Rice. In his composition test Rice counted all the words which were speld
correctly, including all recurring words when properly speld. When a misspeld word recurd he counted it but once. On this basis of counting he determind the spelling abilities of the children in terms of the percentage of words speld correctly. This accounts for the high percentages which he reported. Cornman counted all words in the composition and determind the ratio of the speld words and misspeld words in terms of percent. He not only counted the recurring words which were speld correctly but the recurring misspeld words as well. This accounts for his percentages being lower than those reported by Rice.

The work of Rice and Cornman stimulated many young men in the large educational centers. Edward L. Thorndike, who has since become the wizard of the objectiv standard, wrote in the "Forum" in 1905 as follows: "The study of education is beginning to be quantitativ, we are becoming properly disgusted with the one-sided booking which only takes account of dollars spent and neglects the debit side, the income in knowledge, habits, power, zeal and ideals. This ambition toward an exact objectiv mesurement of the results of educational endevor is a symptom of helthy scientific fervor and also of common sense wisdom. No one possest of science or sense will deny the value of successful quantitativ study of school work."

## Arithmetic Abilities of Children in the Sixth Grade (Stone)

In 1908 C. W. Stone publisht in the Columbia University Contributions to Education a report on the arithmetical abilities of children in the six-A grade. Mr. Stone personally conducted the examinations in twenty-six school systems, including seventynine schools and 6,000 children. He gave one test in the fundamentals and one in the reasoning processes.

Stone's method of gathering data and of tabulating results was superior. He set a standard in this particular which has been emulated by later investigators. The exercises in the tests proved, as Courtis pointed out, too complex for practical mesurements. The results were a mesure of a combination of abilities in the fundamentals and in the reasoning processes, and consequently were difficult of interpretation and application. Because of the difficulty of applying his results they have not been used extensivly in determining arithmetical abilities.

## The Thorndike Handwriting Scale

The first satisfactory result from a practical point of view of all the agitation for quantitativ standards of mesurement occurd in 1910. The Thorndike Scale for Judging Handwriting appeard in the Teachers College Record of that year. Referring to this scale, Ayres says, "The credit of developing the first mesuring scale for handwriting belongs to Professor Edward L. Thorndike of Teachers College, Columbia University. The publication, in March, 1910, of his Handwriting Scale constituted a most important contribution not only to experimental pedagogy, but to the entire movement for the scientific study of education."

In reference to the need of such a scale Thorndike said, "At present we can do no better than estimate a handwriting as very bad, good, very good, or extremely good, knowing only vaguely what we mean thereby, running a risk of shifting our standards with time, and only by chance meaning the same by a word as some other student of the facts means by it. We are in the condition in which the students of temperature were before the discovery of the thermometer, or any other scale for mesuring temperature beyond the very hot, hot, warm, lukewarm, and the like, of subjectiv opinion."

Altho, as Ayres pointed out, this Handwriting Scale constituted a most important contribution not only to experimental pedagogy but to the entire movement for the scientific study of education, Professor Thorndike in his presentation was sensitiv of its imperfections. He says: "The scale is presented now in spite of its imperfections, for these reasons. It is the result of some twenty ratings, and ensures mesurements far more accurate than anyone could make without it. For the present needs of school practis and educational research, a very precise instrument for mesuring handwriting is not required. The best way to get a more perfect scale is by the use of this one as a starting point."

The Thorndike scale represents types of the handwriting of children of grades five to eight inclusivly. The writing from these grades was groupt into eleven groups on the basis of quality. The quality of the groups is represented by figures 7,8 , $9,10,11,12,13,14,15,16$, and 17 respectivly. Quality 7 represents the poorest samples taken from grade five and quality 17 represents the best samples taken from grade eight. The steps
of difference between the qualities were equal in the sense of being cald equal by from twenty-three to fifty-five competent judges. This means "that 14 is as much better than 13 as 13 is than 12 ; that 13 is as much better than 12 , as 12 is better than 11 , and so on; that quality 14 is two times as far above zero merit in handwriting as quality 7 .

The scale includes quality 18 , which was taken from a copy book, and qualities 4,5 , and 6 . Samples 5 and 6 were taken from the fourth grade and sample 4 was manufactured for the purpose of extending the scale below the merit of fourth-grade children.

The Thorndike Handwriting Scale is easily applied in testing the quality of handwriting. After a little experience a teacher can scale the writing of her entire room in a very short time. By means of such a scale we have often mesured the writing of an entire room in less time than a forty minute period. The several samples supplied for each of the qualities $16,15,14,13,12,11$, 9 , and 8 make it especially easy to apply this scale.

Teachers who habitually think of quality in terms of grades can, for all practical purposes, easily transfer the qualities of the scale into grades by multiplying the numbers of the scale by 5.8 . Those who have mesured the merit of handwriting with this or the Ayres' scale will not be content to judge the merit of writing in terms of personal experience.

## The Ayres Handwriting Scale

In November, 1911, Leonard P. Ayres of the Russel Sage Foundation began a preliminary experiment to determin the relativ legibility of different samples of handwriting. He early concluded that the scheme was feasible and proceded to perfect a writing scale on that basis. His first printed scale appeard in February, 1912. In discussing the merits of this scale he says: "The method by which the present scale has been produced, and the criterion on which it rests as a basis differ radically from those adopted by Professor Thorndike. The difference in the basis is that in the present case legibility has been adopted as a criterion for rating the different samples in place of 'general merit' used as the basis of Thorndike's scale. The change substitutes function for appearance as a criterion for judging handwriting."

Ayres gatherd 1,578 samples of writing from forty school systems. The samples were red by ten readers, each of whom by means of a stop watch recorded the exact number of seconds required to read each sample. The samples were then placed in eight groups on the basis of the time required to read them. The following table shows the rating of a type sample of each group.

## Table I



The scale was divided into three longitudinal divisions on the basis of slant. The top, or $A$ division, contains the vertical samples. The middle or $B$ division, contains the samples of medium slant, and the lower, or $C$ division, contains the samples of extreme slant. As implied in the above table the scale is divided into eight vertical divisions, each of which contains a sample of each slant. The three samples in the right colum are markt $90 \%$, those in the next colum to the left $80 \%$, etc.

Because of its inclusion of samples representing the three main types of slant, this scale is easily applied. The application of this scale to the handwriting of most school systems at once reveals wide variation in writing abilities, which implies either widely different methods of teaching, widely different ideals as to the sort of writing which should obtain, or widely different degrees of zeal towards securing good writing. The following graph (Figure I) of the writing abilities of the children of the Training School of the Illinois State Normal University, as shown by the first application of the Ayres scale, reveals the sort of variation which frequently exists when subjectiv standards alone are relied upon.

The application of the Handwriting Scale not only reveald wide variation within each grade, but it reveald wide variation between the grades as well. This first application of the scale showd that there were two children in the sixth grade who wrote better than any of the children of the seventh and eighth grades. It showd also that there were six children in the sixth grade who made a grade of 70 while there were but four children in both the seventh and eighth grades who reacht the 70 mark. This test made it perfectly evident on the one hand that grades five and six needed no extra consideration relativ to drill in writing, while on the other hand it showd that grades seven and eight needed a writing revival.

The graph (Figure II) shows what was accomplisht by the eighth-grade teacher after he became conscious of the relativ needs of his pupils. In the November test fifteen pupils made grades of $40 \%$ or less. In the May test none made a grade less than $50 \%$. In the November test only two pupils made grades of $70 \%$ while in the May test ten pupils made grades of $70 \%$, ten pupils made grades of $80 \%$, and three pupils made grades of $90 \%$. A careful examination of Figure II will reveal other markt changes which resulted from an application of the Handwriting Scale.

A record of the writing ability of the children of grades four to eight inclusiv, taken in November and May, and filed for reference becomes a definit and valuable guide for any school. It makes it possible to determin at any time whether a sufficient amount of time and energy is being given to this subject. Such a record protects the children from the excessiv zeal or the indifference of the teacher, and indicates to the teacher the relativ merit of his endevor.

## Starch's Letter-Exposure Handwriting Test

Professor Daniel Starch of the University of Wisconsin, reported his handwriting test in the Journal of Educational Psychology for October, 1913. He pointed out that the Thorndike and Ayres scales were mesures only of form and legibility respectivly. He argued that a simple analysis of handwriting shows that its three chief elements are legibility, producibility, and form.

Starch held that legibility can best be determind by reading



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exposed areas of handwriting and thereby determining the average rate per letter of such reading. In conformity with this theory he prepared a device for mesuring handwriting as follows: In a piece of cardboard were cut three circular openings in a straight row 1.5 cm . apart. The openings were each 2.5 cm . in diameter. By shifting the cardboard about over the writing to be mesured, he was able to test its legibility at several places. The number of letters exposed and the time required to read them were recorded after each trial. From the records of several exposed areas the average reading per letter was computed.

Starch's experiments proved that there is a remarkably close correlation in the results obtaind by the Letter-Exposure Test and those secured by the Thorndike and Ayres scales.

It is doubtful if the Letter-Exposure Test is as convenient for testing the handwriting of large numbers of children as is either the Thorndike or Ayres scales.

After testing the efficiency of writing scales Starch says: "We may conclude that after some practis in the use of a scale the mesurements with either scale are from three to four times as accurate as the valuations made by the usual percentil marking system."

## The Courtis Standard Tests

In December, 1910, W. S. Courtis, of Detroit, reported in The Elementary School Teacher his Standard Test (Series A) in Arithmetic. This test developt as a result of applying the Stone test in the Detroit Home and Day School, in which Mr. Courtis was hed of the Department of Science and Mathematics. After a free use of his Series A Test, which consisted of testing the pupils' ability to use the four fundamental processes when employd in tables ordinarily used in schoolrooms, and of testing the pupils' ability to employ the reasoning processes involvd in the solution of problems suitable to the grammer grades, Mr. Courtis concluded that "The work done with Series A has proved that the basic problem in education to-day is that of ministering adequately to individual needs. The first step towards this end is the formation of definit objectiv standards." The standards derived from the use of Series A, however, are either complex or of questionable value, owing to the uncertainty of their meaning.

This is particularly true of the reasoning tests in which mere ability to read is a large factor.

Series B is the result of an attempt to secure definit objectiv standards for each of the four fundamental operations with whole numbers. With the establishment of this standard it is possible to set for each grade just the degree of skill in each of the fundamental processes that is within reach of the average, or median, child of the grade.

The following table shows the median skills of three distinct groups of children in the fundamentals of arithmetic provided in the Courtis test. The approximation of the series reveals the universal character of the results.

Table II
5th grade $\quad$ 6th grade
D. B. G. | D. B. G.

| Addition | A | 6.7 | 7.2 | 7.1 | 8.4 | 8.3 | 8. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | R | 3.9 | 3.7 | 3.7 | 4.6 | 4.9 | 4.4 |
| Subtraction | A | 8. | 7.6 | 6.5 | 8.8 | 9. | 8.9 |
|  | R | 5.5 | 4.9 | 4.9 | 6.2 | 6.3 | 6.1 |
| Multiplication | A | 6. | 5.8 | 6. | 7.4 | 6.9 | 7.2 |
|  | R | 3.8 | 3.3 | 2.6 | 4.8 | 4.8 | 4.5 |
| Division | A | 4.9 | 4.5 | 4.5 | 6.4 | 5.5 | 5.8 |
|  | R | 2.7 | 2. | 2.3 | 4.4 | 3.3 | 4.3 |
|  |  | 7 th grade |  |  | 8. | grade |  |
|  |  | D. | B. | G. | D. | B. | G. |


| Addition | A | 9.2 | 9.2 | 8.9 | 10.2 | 11. | 9.7 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | R | 3.4 | 5.6 | 4.7 | 6.7 | 7.5 | 5.6 |
| Subtraction | A | 9.8 | 10. | 10.2 | 12.3 | 11.4 | 11.7 |
|  | R | 7.3 | 6.9 | 7.8 | 9.5 | 8.6 | 8.4 |
| Multiplication | A | 9.6 | 8. | 8.4 | 10.5 | 9.5 | 9.7 |
|  | R | 6. | 5.1 | 5.2 | 7. | 6.5 | 6.4 |
| Division | A | 8.6 | 6.9 | 7.6 | 10.6 | 6.9 | 7.6 |
|  | R | 7.1 | 5.1 | 5.1 | 8.8 | 6.9 | 6.3 |

$\mathrm{D}=$ Detroit ( 1,315 children tested)
$B=$ Boston (20,441 children tested)
$\mathrm{G}=$ General ( 3,618 children tested)
$A=$ Number of problems attempted
$\mathrm{R}=$ Number of problems right

Courtis early discoverd the value of the objectiv standard in determining individual variation. He says: "The results of the tests disclosed the usual wide range of individual variation in every grade." After a use of the objectiv standard for some time Professor Courtis writes: "Not only did the variabilities decrease, but unhoped degrees of accuracy were attaind."

The following graphs of the abilities of intermediate pupils in multiplication and oral reading as determind by the Courtis and Gray scales show conclusivly how variability is easily detected by the application of objectiv standards.

The graphs shown in Figure III reveal two distinct groups of abilities in each subject. This may mean that little care has been given to promotions. It is more likely to indicate a lack of sufficient drill under proper conditions. After the abilities are once reveald there is every reason to believ that a conscientious teacher will raise the abilities of the lower group and thereby reduce the degree of variability.

Just as a proper diagnosis in medicin is a prerequisit to effectiv medical treatment, so a proper diagnosis of the specific abilities of pupils is a prerequisit to the application of proper methods.

## The Hillegas Scale for the Mesurement of Quality in English Composition

In September, 1912, Professor M. B. Hillegas publisht his composition scale in The Teachers College Record. In the introduction to this scale Professor Hillegas refers to the previous efforts at quantitativ standards by Cornman, Rice, Stone, and Thorndike. He does not, however, refer to Rice's pioneer effort to establish a standard in English composition in 1902.

Hillegas used a method similar to the one Thorndike used in determining quality in handwriting. He , aided by one other person, graded about 7,000 compositions into ten classes. From these ten classes seventy-five samples were chosen. Artificial samples were employd at the extremes of his scale, as they were in Thorndike's writing scale, in order to produce a scale of wide range of mesurement. In all there were eighty-three samples employd. These eighty-three samples were given to more than one hundred persons, who were requested to rank them $1,2,3$, etc., in the order of their merit.


Owing to misunderstandings and errors, only seventy-three records were used. On the basis of like characteristics these records were reduced to twenty-three. This reduced number of samples containd all the important steps in quality from the poorest to the best. Six other samples, including two artificial ones, were finally added, making a total of twenty-nine samples.

The twenty-nine samples were rankt by 234 judges. On the basis of this ranking the number of samples was reduced to ten. The difference between the merit of the first and second samples in the scale is not identical with the difference in merit of any other two successiv samples. These differences, however, are sufficiently equal for practical purposes.

The Hillegas scale is a meritorious piece of work. It is a decided step in the right direction. The brevity of the samples and the gradual gradation from one quality to another makes its application from this point of view quite easy. The Hillegas scale, tho a meritorious piece of work, has many defects. Commenting upon the Hillegas scale, Frank W. Ballou of the Department of Educational Investigation and Mesurement of the Boston Schools says: "An experiment with the Hillegas scale showd that the use of such an objectiv mesure did unify the grades given to compositions by teachers. It was also found, however, that the Hillegas scale was not satisfactory to the teachers of Newton, owing to what seemd to them to be inherent faults. These faults may be stated briefly as follows: first, the scale aims to mesure too varied a product; second, the compositions in it are not typical of good school work-(a) some are artificial, (b) others are 'bookish', really reproductions, and (c) no conversation is containd in any of them." As Courtis's practical tests in arithmetic grew out of an attempt to use the conclusions of Stone, so an attempt on the part of the teachers of Newton, Mass., to use the Hillegas scale led directly to the practical Harvard-Newton Scales for the Mesurement of English Composition.

## Report of Superintendent Bliss on English Composition

While at Elmira, N. Y., Superintendent Bliss reported in the Psychological Clinic for March, 1912, a series of tests he had carried on in composition. He had the children reproduce stories red to them. These reproductions were taken to the central offis and groupt, on the plan practist by Rice, into five groups. He
determind the median ability for all of the children in each of the grades above the third. He then reported the median ability for all of the children of that grade in the city with the median for the particular grade in the school. He also publisht sample compositions of each group of compositions in the scale.

The results obtaind from the use of this scheme were little less than marvelous. He says: "In a Massachusetts school system, with 33 third-grade teachers the initial test showd a city average of 8.5 points, with twenty-three classes below the requirement and eight classes above. One year later the city average was 19.2 points, with thirteen classes below the requirement and nineteen classes above. This represented an increase of $126 \%$ in the level of efficiency in the third grade." Mr. Bliss cites other cases where even greater percents of increase were made by the use of this method.

## The Harvard-Newton Scales

These scales are the product of the work of the eighth-grade teachers and the elementary-school principals in the public schools of Newton Mass., assisted by the teachers of English in the high schools of Newton, and by teachers and principals in Arlington, Mass., and Boston, under the direction of Frank W. Ballou and with the co-operation of the Joseph Lee Fellow for Research in Education.

The compositions were written by the eighth-grade pupils of Newton. All of the compositions of the eleven grade schools were groupt into five groups. Each group included specimens of a given type of composition (narration, description, etc.). Each eighth-grade teacher selected $25 \%$ of the compositions of her grade on the basis of their representativ merit. These selected compositions from the eleven schools were then arranged into four groups. Twenty-four readers were instructed to arrange the themes in each group in the order of their merit and to arbitrarily rate the best theme $95 \%$ and each of the remaining themes with reference to this standard. These ratings were tabulated and the median grade for each composition was workt out. For example, the highest grade for composition number one was $95 \%$, the lowest grade was $68 \%$, and the median grade was $83 \%$. In like manner tabulation was made of the distribution of the
ranks given each composition. They were then arranged in serial order according to the median ranks, beginning with the highest. By means of this latter method it was discoverd that $25 \%$ of the judges were radical in their judgment. Consequently the $25 \%$ of radical readers were cut off. The scale was then bilt on the median percentil basis. Out of the twenty-five compositions which were chosen to represent each form of discourse, six typical compositions were finally chosen for the scale. The difference in degree of quality was carefully workt out and the samples were arbitrarily markt $95 \%, 85 \%, 75 \%, 65 \%$, $55 \%$, and $45 \%$, respectivly.

The Harvard-Newton Scales ${ }^{1}$ commend themselvs to the practical school man on the following points: first, there is a scale for each form of discourse; second, the compositions in the scale are the real productions of children and not "bilt up" compositions for purposes of securing gradation in the scale; third, each scale consists only of six types. This makes it an easy matter for the person doing the grading to familiarize himself with the scales. The greatest weakness in these scales lies in the fact that they are best suited for eighth-grade pupils.

An application of these scales reveals the fact that there is but slight variation in the grades of two or more judges. Indeed, the variation is so slight that a single investigator can feel reasonably certain that his grades will not vary widely from the median of several judges.

In our opinion, the Harvard-Newton Scale ranks for practicability alongside the Thorndike and Ayres handwriting scales, and the Courtis Tests in Arithmetic (Series B). It has the real ring to it and will doutless have a wide use.

## The Courtis Test in English

Professor S. A. Courtis has five different tests in English: I, Handwriting Test; II, English Composition Test; III, Spelling, Punctuation, and Grammar Test; IV, Rates of Reading and Writing Test ; and V, Rates of Reproduction Test. In his writing test Mr. Courtis uses four groups of letters with five in a group in each of ten lines. Pupils are required to copy these as rapidly as they can and maintain a good quality. The speed of each child is recorded and the quality of the writing is mesured by the

Thorndike and Ayres scales. Thru the co-operation of teachers Mr. Courtis hopes to establish a standard test in both speed and quality for each grade.

Mr. Courtis bases his English composition standard on an original story, "Bessie's Adventures", parts of which are red while other parts are imagind. His method of determining the relativ merit of compositions is the same as that used by Dr. Rice. Teachers are requested to group these original stories into five groups, on the basis of merit. From each of these groups they are requested to select a sample and return such samples to him. In this way he hopes finally to establish a standard of English abilities in the several grades, similar to those he has determind in arithmetic. His other English investigations follow a similar procedure. All of his tests may be had in his "Manual of Instructions for Giving and Scoring the Courtis Standard Tests."

Mr. Courtis has not presented the exercizes in his English tests so clearly and attractivly as he presented those of his arithmetic tests.

## The Thorndike Scale for Mesuring Achievement in Drawing

In the Teachers College Record for November, 1913, Professor Thorndike presented a scale for "The Mesurement of Achievement in Drawing". In reference to the purpose of the scale he says: "It is the purpose to present a provisional scale by which achievement and improvement in drawing can be mesured with somewhat the same clearness, exactness, and commensurability as achievement and improvement in lifting weights."

The same general method which was used in determining the Thorndike Handwriting Scale and the Hillegas Composition Scale was employd in the making of this drawing scale. Fortyfive drawings of children were first submitted to a number of critics whose ratings reduced the number to a series of fifteen drawings graded from zero up.

This series of fifteen drawings was rated by 376 persons, of whom sixty were artists of distinction, eighty were supervizors of art, and 236 were students of education and psychology.

The unit of the scale was one merit. This unit is "The difference of merit in children's drawings which $75 \%$ of artists, teachers of art, and intelligent judges generally can distinguish,
and which $25 \%$ of them fail to distinguish." The drawing lowest in the scale was judged of zero merit. The difference of merit between two drawings is not necessarily a unit merit. It depends upon the relativ number of judges who considerd one drawing better than the other. If $75 \%$ of the judges considerd one drawing superior to another the difference in quality is cald a unit merit. If less than $75 \%$ of the judges distinguisht a difference in merit between two drawings the difference between the two is less than one merit. If more than $75 \%$ of the judges discernd a difference in merit the difference in quality was markt more than one merit. The following is the determind rating:

Table III

| Drawing $1=0$ merit | Drawing $8=10.5$ merit |
| :--- | :--- |
| Drawing $2=2.4$ merit | Drawing $9=11.8$ merit |
| Drawing $3=3.9$ merit | Drawing $10=12.6$ merit |
| Drawing $4=5.7$ merit | Drawing $11=13.5$ merit |
| Drawing $5=6.5$ merit | Drawing $12=14.4$ merit |
| Drawing $6=7.8$ merit | Drawing $13=16$ merit |
| Drawing $7=8.6$ merit | Drawing $14=17$ merit |

The reader should see the drawings in the Teachers College Record, which accompany these merit values.

No one is more conscious of the limitations of this scale than is Professor Thorndike. In spite of its limitations it is a valuable contribution to experimental education. The method of attack, the care employd in determining differences in merit, and the scientific attitude of the author in the whole procedure will have a wholesome effect upon investigators. It is as practical in determining the qualities of children's drawing as are the writing scales in determining the quality of handwriting. It would better meet the needs of the schools if it attempted to mesure the various aspects of children's art insted of a single aspect. It is to be hoped that it will be followd by other "drawing scales" which are adapted to mesure the various aspects of children's drawings.

## The Thorndike Reading Scale A: Visual Vocabulary

Thorndike's Reading Scale A for visual vocabulary appeard in the Teachers College Record for September, 1914. In presenting this scale Professor Thorndike states that there are four fases of reading ability which should be mesured:"(1) A pupil's
ability to pronounce words and sentences seen; (2) a pupil's ability to understand the meaning of words and sentences seen ; (3) a pupil's ability to appreciate and enjoy what we roughly call 'good literature'; and (4) a pupil's ability to read orally, clearly, and effectivly."

The following scale in conjunction with the silent reading tests perfected by both Kelly and Gray, given later in this report, is an adequate mesurement of number (2) above. Gray's scale for the mesurement of oral reading provides for number (1) above. Professor Thorndike says that he is working on scales to mesure (3) and (4). It is hoped that these scales will soon be developt.

## Thorndike Reading Scale A: Visual Vocabulary

Write your name here
Write your age here ................ years ........... months
Look at each word and write the letter F under every word that means a flower.
Then look at each word again and write the letter A under each word that means an animal.
Then look at each word again and write the letter N under each word that means a boy's name.
Then look at each word again and write the letter $G$ under each word that means a game.
Then look at each word again and write the letter B under each word that means a book.
Then look at each word again and write the letter T under each word like now or then that means something to do with time.
Then look at each word again and write the word GOOD under every word that means something good to be or do.
Then look at each word again and write the word BAD under every word that means something bad to be or do.
4. camel, samuel, kind, lily, cruel
5. cowardly, dominoes, kangaroo, pansy, tennis
6. during, generous, later, modest, rhinoceros
7. claude, courteous, isaiah, merciful, reasonable
8. chrysanthemum, considerate, lynx, prevaricate, reuben
9. ezra, ichabod, ledger, parchesi, preceding
10. crocus, dahlia, jonquil, opossom, poltroon
10.5 begonia, equitable, pretentious, renegade, reprobate
11. armadillo, iguana, philanthropic

## The Kansas Silent Reading Test

Dean F. J. Kelly of the School of Education, University of Kansas, while director of the Training School in the State Normal at Emporia, developt and standardized The Kansas Silent Reading Test. This test will appeal to practical school men. It is definit, simple, and easily presented. The results can be quickly and definitly determind. In practicability it ranks with the Thorndike and Ayres Handwriting Scales, and Courtis Arithmetic Tests (series B), The Harvard-Newton Composition Scales, Thorndike's Reading Scale and the Ayres Spelling Scale.

The entire test consists of carefully graded groups of exercizes; one for the primary grades, one for the grammar grades, and one for the high school. The following exercizes are chosen from the sixteen exercizes listed in the test for grades three, four, and five.

No. 1
Value . Mary is older than Nellie, and Nellie is older than 2.1 . Kate. which girl is older, Mary or Kate?

No. 9
It was a quiet, snowy day. The train was late. The ladies' waiting room was dark, smoky and close, and the dozen women, old and young, who sat waiting impatiently, all lookt cross, low spirited or stupid.
Value
4.9

In this scene, the women probably kept their wraps on, because they wisht to be redy to take the train. Pretty soon the station agent came and put more coal in the stove, which was alredy redhot in spots. Do you think this made the women happier?

No. 10
Below are three lines. If the first is the shortest, place a dot above it. If the last line is shorter Value . than the first but longer than the middle line, put 5.6 - a cross above the longest. If each of the other lines is longer than the last line, put a cross above the shortest line.

## The Gray Reading Tests

These tests were developt by Professor William S. Gray, now in the School of Education, University of Chicago, while a graduate student at Columbia and Chicago. In an endevor to determin certain facts concerning reading achievement, rather than in an attempt to devize a test per se, this scale was workt out by Mr. Gray. The exercizes employd consist of carefully graded selections. Those for the oral reading test increase in difficulty of interpretation. This test is not so easily operated as is the Kansas Silent Reading Test.

The oral test is designd to mesure abilities in pronunciation, omissions, insertions, substitutions, and repetitions. The silent test is intended to mesure the pupil's ability to determin the thought essentials in a series of reading exercizes.

Alredy a sufficiently large number of children have been tested to determin a pretty safe standard of the median abilities cf the children in grades three to eight inclusiv. It is to be hoped that this scale will be put in a suitable form and soon be made accessible to teachers.

## The Ayres Spelling Scale ${ }^{1}$

A scale for mesuring ability in spelling prepared by Dr. Ayres was determind from data consisting of $1,400,000$ spellings by 7,000 children in 84 cities thruout the country. The words in the scale are 1,000 in number. These words are arranged in colums on the basis of their difficulty. All the words in each colum

[^3]have practically the same difficulty. The scale shows the percent that the median child of each grade should make on each colum of words. For example, the median child in the third grade should spell correctly $58 \%$ of the words in colum 14 . The median child in a fourth grade should spell correctly $79 \%$ of the words in the same colum. Median abilities are indicated in like manner for the other grades.
(The practicability of this scale is characteristic of Dr. Ayres' contributions to the science of education.) It is very satisfactory for determining the spelling abilities of children. Indeed, it is quite doubtful if there will be any improvement upon this scale for the mesurement of spelling abilities in the near future.

## The Composition Method of Testing the Spelling Abilities of Children

It will be rememberd that both Rice and Cornman used the composition method of determining the spelling abilities of children. The abilities as shown by these investigations were so high that practical school men considerd them worthless as standards.

The high grades reported by both Rice and Cornman were due to the methods employd. Rice found the ratio between all of the words speld correctly (including duplicate words) and the misspeld words (duplicate misspeld words not counted). This method produced a low percentage of error. Cornman attempted to correct this error by counting all duplicate misspeld words as well as duplicate words which were speld correctly. As is evident this method slightly increast the percentage of error in spelling.

The error in both methods resulted from the fact that both Rice and Cornman did not recognize that children duplicate a larger proportion of words which they can spell correctly than of words which they misspell. There are at least two reasons for this: first, there is a nativ tendency to use freely words which one is confident he can spell and to avoid the use of words difficult to spell; second, there are a number of easily speld words such as in, on, and, the, so, for, is, etc., which make up the major portion of the duplicated words.

If the above reasons are sound it is evident that one's spelling grade is raisd by increasing the number of repetitions when mesured by the Rice and Cornman plans. Since children necessarily repeat a large number of simple words it follows that the spelling grades of children will be too high when tested by the Rice-Cornman methods.

Because I believd that a spelling standard based upon the composition method is the only standard that is reliable for daily use in the school room, I began to gather data in the spring of 1915, for the purpose of determining a composition standard of spelling which is free from the manifest errors in Rice's and Cornman's conclusions. Instructions were sent to a number of superintendents and principals who had previously manifested a willingness to assist in this investigation. So far thirteen schools hav reported. These instructions were to the effect, first, that all duplicate words and the words $I$ and $a$ in the compositions should be crost out; second, that of the words not crost out the ratio of the words speld correctly to those misspeld should be exprest in percent.

Thirteen schools returnd papers properly markt. The results from eleven of these schools hav been tabulated, and the median ability for each grade determind as follows:

Table IV

## Median Spelling Abilities of Eleven Schools as Determind by this Composition Method:

3rd grade 4th grade 5th grade 6th grade 7th grade 8th grade $91 \% \quad 93.6 \% \quad 95.5 \% \quad 96.6 \% \quad 95.9 \% \quad 98.2 \%$

The Median Spelling Abilities Reported by Cornman: 3rd grade 4th grade 5th grade 6th grade 7th grade 8th grade $94.6 \% \quad 96.5 \% \quad 97 \% \quad 98.1 \% \quad 98.9 \% \quad 99.5 \%$

A comparison of the two tables reveals a decided difference in the two results. This is greater than the tables indicate. Our instructions were to give the test to the best school in the city. These instructions were given with the thought that a standard to be of real value should represent abilities determind under most favorable circumstances rather than under mediocre circumstances. It is quite probable that the median abilities shown in our report (Table IV) ar decidedly higher than medians which would be obtaind from testing all of the children in the cities where these schools were located.

Table IV is but a tentativ report of this investigation. Additional data and a more critical examination of the various papers reported are necessary before the reliability of these results can be depended upon. It is very probable, however, that additional data will show but slightly changed median abilities of the several
grades with the single exception of the third grade. There is evidence that this mark is too low.

There is a prevailing notion abroad in educational circles that objectiv standards can be used only in mesuring the skills of pupils. Persons who hold this notion argue that since these standards mesure skill only, the results of such mesurements are of little value in determining the relativ merit of teachers. They further argue that since the objectiv standards mesure form and not content, any markt attention given to this sort of mesurement will result in an over emfasis of form at the expense of content.

These arguments are based upon two fallacies: (1) It is fallacious to assume that only skill can be mesured by the objectiv standard. It is true that standards for the mesurement of skill were determind first. Standards for the mesurement of abilities to reason, to enjoy, and to appreciate are following. The Kansas Silent Reading Test and the Gray Silent Reading Test are both standards of the latter type. (2) It is fallacious to assume that attention to the mesurement of such abilities as the fundamentals in arithmetic, handwriting, spelling, form in reading, etc., will result in an over emfasis of the formal subjects to the detriment of the content subjects. This would not be fallacious were it not true that grades far above the median indicate an undue emfasis upon the subject taught and consequently are a mark of poor teaching.

It must be rememberd that an application of a standard test will detect an undue emfasis of some particular subject-matter as well as an insufficient emfasis of it.

It is excedingly important that the interest of the school men of the State of Illinois be elicited in support of a movement to apply the objectiv standard more generally. We should have Illinois standards for the various abilities which can now be definitly mesured.

I would suggest that a bureau be establisht by the State Teachers Association, or in connection with the Department of Public Instruction, the State Normal Schools, or the School of Education at the University of Illinois, for the direct purpose of preparing and distributing these tests and for the purpose of tabulating and distributing the results. Any one of these branches of the public school system of the state should be and, I believ, is willing to undertake this work if it is the wish of the school men of the state to have it done.
Ansen


[^0]:    Enterd August, 1902, at Normal, Illinois, as second-class mail matter under Act of Congress of July 16, 1894

[^1]:    N. B.-Any teacher in Illinois mar get the Normal School Quarterly regularly by sending exact name and address, and by giving prompt notis of any change of address.

    Simplified spellings ar used in the offisial publications of the Illinois State Normal University.

[^2]:    1A tentativ scale now being prepared by Professor Charles Hughes Johnston of the University of Illinois.

[^3]:    1 Single copies of the Ayres Spelling Scale and of the Ayres Handwriting Scale may be had for 5 cents each. by addressing the Russell Sage Foundation. New York Cits.

