

ELEMENTARY SCHOOLTEACHERS AS A PROFESSIONAL GROUP:  
1800 TO THE PRESENT DAY.

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"Factors affecting the Status of the Schoolteacher in England and Wales" (ISA/SEM/Conf.2/12).  
"The Changing Status of the Teacher in England and Wales"  
(Yearbook of Education, 1953).

## CHAPTER 1

### Introduction

"The Schoolmaster is abroad! And I trust more to him, armed with his primer, than I do to the soldier in full military array, for upholding the labours of his country."

Lord Brougham January 29th 1828

The object of this study is to trace the social history of the professional group of "elementary school teachers" from the beginning of the profession to the present day. Its focus is on the teachers themselves, on the ways in which they were recruited and trained, their conditions of employment, their position in the social structure, their professional associations and their group activities. It is true that it is difficult to demarcate the boundaries of the professional group under investigation and that the term "elementary school teacher" is no longer in official use. While the basic core of the profession since 1846 has consisted of teachers holding a certificate recognised by the government obtained as a result of training received in a Training College and teaching in schools attended mainly by children from the working and lower middle classes, around this core has clustered a mass of untrained and uncertificated teachers and since 1902 the boundary between the elementary school teacher and the secondary school teacher has become increasingly blurred. It must be left to the narrative itself to detail for each period the section

of the larger profession under inquiry.

The key to the growth of this particular professional group must be sought in the interaction between the continuing process of industrial expansion and the English social structure. In exactly the same way as the needs of a developing industrial society were met through the growth of specialist groups like the engineers, chemists, accountants, civil servants and social workers so one of the fundamental requisites for both the growth and the continued existence of industrial society was met by the emergence of the elementary school teacher - the "teacher of the poor." The process, however, is one of continuous interaction. The distinctive qualities and problems of the teaching profession have been shaped in the struggle over the education of the poor. The problems of "Who educates whom for what?" and of "To whom do schools belong?" have been matters of perpetual controversy and in this controversy the teaching profession itself has played an increasingly important part. It is impossible to separate the study of the social history of the teaching profession from the social history of education or from the general social history of England and Wales.

While certain periods in the history of the profession and certain aspects of that history have been covered in previous studies,<sup>1</sup> this is the first attempt to trace the social

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1. Notably G.W. Hughes Social and Economic Status of the Elementary School Teacher in England and Wales 1833-1870 M.Ed. University of Manchester 1936.

B. Webb Special Supplement on "English Teachers and their Professional Organisation", New Statesman Vol.V September 25th and October 2nd 1915.

A.M. Carr Saunders and P.A. Wilson The Professions (1933)  
pp. 250-265

R.W. Rich The Training of Teachers in England and Wales in the Nineteenth Century (1934)

D.F. Thompson Professional Solidarity among the Teachers of England (1927)

Ruth Van Camp The National Union of Teachers in England, its History and Present Status. Ph.D. Western Reserve University 1935.

history of the profession from its foundation to the present day. Dealing, as it does, with the largest of all professional groups over a period of 150 years, and with a subject which has always been a matter of social and political controversy, this study cannot be exhaustive. It is hoped, however, that it has made a contribution towards the social history of education,<sup>1</sup> towards the general social history of England and Wales<sup>2</sup> and not least towards general sociological theory.<sup>3</sup>

1. In its descriptions of the role of the teachers in the management clause controversy of 1852-3, the analysis of the circumstances around the Newcastle Commission, the part played by the teachers in the passing of the Education Acts of 1870, 1902 and 1944 as well as the analysis of the circumstances of the controversy between the N.U.T. and Sir Robert Morant.
2. As a "case study" of an important section of the professional middle classes and the development of its social and political attitudes.
3. In the light it may shed on the nature of "professionalism", on the place of pressure groups in the political process, on the role of the profession as an avenue of social mobility and on the general determinants of social status.

## CHAPTER II

### The Birth of the Profession.

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"The schoolmaster, as we now understand his office...has arisen in modern times, he is a comparatively new agent in our social organisation. He is a result of the advanced civilization of the last hundred years. His office is an addition which increased exigencies have rendered necessary for the social service....Strictly speaking, the real professional schoolmaster must, in all countries, be considered to date his origin from the first establishment of normal or training schools."

Educational Expositor March 1853.

"...Somewhat more than twenty years ago.... it was felt by all the more zealous, and shall we not admit, by all the wiser friends of popular education, that to elevate the social position - the "status" as it was called, - of the men through whose instrumentality the social regeneration of the largest class of the community was to be effected, was the one thing needful. It was seen that the day had come that the same process by which a few ages before the clergy themselves had been respected from a like degradation must be repeated in the case of their humble coadjutors. The same process. The men must be fitted for a better position, and a better position must be found for the men. They must be better educated and better paid."

Derwent Coleridge - The Teachers of the People (1862)pp.24-5

Men and women who specialise in the instruction of the young are to be found in almost all societies and it is possible to trace teachers of the poor and schools for the poor in England from the earliest times. "Dame schools" are as old as English history, and they provided a rudimentary form of education for those children whose parents could afford the small fees charged. The education provided in these schools by widows, discharged soldiers and bankrupts was at its best the three "R's" and the Bible. There was no system of training, no educational technique for the teacher to acquire and no

system of inspection.<sup>1</sup>

If we are looking for a "profession" in any of the current senses of the term the first professional teachers of the poor are to be found in the teachers of charity schools in the "age of philanthropy." Throughout the eighteenth century there were serious and sustained efforts to provide a means of free education for the lower orders.<sup>2</sup> The impulse behind these efforts was the same as that which sent missionaries abroad - the necessity of converting the heathen to some form of christian morality.

The lack of competent masters and mistresses handicapped charity school education as it was later to handicap all educational efforts. Mandeville's description of charity school teachers is well known in which he terms them "wretches of both sexes.... that from a natural antipathy to working, have a great dislike to their present employment, and perceiving within a much stronger inclination to command than ever they felt to obey others, think themselves qualified, and wish from their

<sup>1</sup>

This is not to deny the possibility of a fairly high degree of literacy (i.e. ability to read) co-existing with a low level of public instruction. Reading was in many instances learnt at the mother's knee (See Robert K. Webb, "Working class readers in Early Victorian England" English Historical Review July 1950).

<sup>2</sup>

See An Account of Charity-Schools lately erected in those parts of Great Britain called England and Wales; With the benefactions thereto; and of the methods whereby they were set up, and are governed.

7th Edition (1708)

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hearts to be masters and mistresses of charity schools."<sup>1</sup>  
M.G.Jones in her masterly and ~~extreme~~<sup>ensive</sup> study of the Charity School Movement has given a fuller and less biassed picture of the charity school teacher.<sup>2</sup> She writes that "It is impossible to deny that the masters and mistresses were, as a body, ill-equipped for their work, or that they conducted themselves and their school satisfactorily only when they were subject to constant supervision and inspection. Among them were ignorant, lazy, dishonest and in-compassionate men and women"<sup>3</sup> "But in many cases, they carried on their work, faithfully and efficiently against the most serious of educational handicaps, those of a narrowly limited period of schooling, and irregular attendance."<sup>4</sup> "That charity school instruction, handicapped by the limitations of a rigid curriculum, an inadequate period of schooling and irregular attendance of the children, attained any measure of success may be attributed to the number of men and women.... who were lacking neither in intellectual qualifications nor in a sense of responsibility to the children."<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The Fable of the Bees; or Private Vices, Public Benefits. With an Essay on Charity and Charity Schools, and a Search into the Nature of Society. Also a vindication of the Book from the Aspersions contained in a presentment of the Grand Jury of Middlesex, and an abusive letter to Lord C  
B.Mandeville 1795.

<sup>2</sup> M.G.Jones - The Charity School Movement (1938) pp.96-109

<sup>3</sup> M.G.Jones - Ibid p.102

<sup>4</sup> Ibid - p.105

<sup>5</sup> Ibid - p.106



Attempts were made by the S.P.C.K. and the trustees of the London charity schools to obtain teachers with some degree of moral and intellectual qualification the main stress being laid upon good character and religious knowledge.<sup>1</sup> The S.P.C.K. realised the need for trained teachers and although a projected seminary for professional training was abandoned because of the expense involved, newly elected schoolmasters were encouraged to visit the schools of experienced masters.<sup>2</sup> During the latter

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The following qualifications were made essential in the choice of masters for the charity schools. He was to be:-

1. A member of the Church of England, of a sober life and conversation, and not under the age of twenty-five years.
2. One that frequents the Holy Communion.
3. One that hath a good government of himself and passions.
4. One of a meek temper and humble behaviour.
5. One of a good genius for teaching.
6. One who understands well the grounds and principles of the Christian religion, and is able to give a good account thereof to the minister of the parish, or ordinary, on examination.
7. One who can write a good hand, and who understands the grounds of arithmetic.
8. One who keeps good orders in his family.
9. One who is approved by the minister of the parish, (being a subscriber) before he be presented to be licensed by the ordinary.

An Account of Charity Schools etc. (1708) p.4.

The same requirements were necessary for a schoolmistress except for number 7.

2

"It will be advisable for any newly-elected schoolmaster to consult with some of the present schoolmasters of these schools for the more ready performance of his duty. And it is recommended to them to communicate to such newly-elected master their art, and the divers methods of teaching and governing their scholars used according to their different capacities. And moreover it will be convenient that such new elected master have liberty on certain days to see and hear the present masters teach their scholars, and upon occasion to be assisting to them in teaching, that such new master may become yet more expert and better qualified for the discharge of his office."

An Account of Charity Schools etc. (1708) p.5.

part of the eighteenth century many of these charity schools deteriorated or neglected their founders intention that they should teach a large number of children in favour of boarding a small number.<sup>1</sup>

The movement, which was to lead to the founding of the first system of national education, was aided in its first stages by the promises of Lancaster and Bell that their monitorial systems would provide a cheap, easily applied and rapid method of teaching the poor the basic elements of instruction.<sup>2</sup> The system of setting the elder children to teach the younger was not a new system. Wherever the teacher is faced with an overwhelming number of pupils it is almost bound to appear in one form or another.<sup>3</sup> The effect of the monitorial system on the teacher was to still further "depreciate (his) social position...., by requiring little else of him than an aptitude for enforcing discipline, an acquaintance with mechanical details for the preservation of order, and that sort of ascendancy in his school which a Sergeant-Major is required to

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M.G.Jones  
T.Bernard

Ibid passim  
Of the Education of the Poor (1809)

2

The monitorial system itself is described in every history of elementary education and I have nothing to add to these descriptions. See for example C.Birchough - History of Elementary Education (1938) Chs. II and IX.

R.W.Rich - The Training of Teachers in England and Wales in the Nineteenth Century (1934) Ch.I

J.Lancaster - Improvements in Education as it respects the Industrious Classes of the Community, containing among other important particulars, an account of

the Institution for the Education of 1,000 poor children, Borough Road, Southwark; and of the new system of Education on which it is conducted (1805)

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For example Santha Rama Rau - East of Home (1951)

exercise over a batch of raw recruits before they can pass muster on parade."<sup>1</sup>

The monitorial system was a first attempt to grapple with the difficulty of the shortage of teachers and although it failed it left England covered with a network of schools. R.W.Rich gives as the reasons for its abandonment the gradual understanding that "true education can arise only from the interaction between immature and mature minds, and that the monitor might be an instructor, but never an educator." An explanation which is perhaps nearer the truth is that "the mission of the teacher began to be recognised as that of a moral regenerator and guide among the poor and ignorant, not that of an ill-paid hireling drill-master."<sup>2</sup> It was not that the monitors were found to be incapable of performing the task for which they were recruited, for the purpose of the early educational movement was simply to teach the three R's leaving morality to emerge as a "by-product."<sup>3</sup> The new emphasis was on the direct moral elevation of the masses and for this

<sup>1</sup> Educational Expositor March 1853

<sup>2</sup> Educational Expositor March 1853

<sup>3</sup> C.Birchenough ibid p.251-2

purpose adult and religious teachers were necessary.<sup>1</sup>

The main line of evolution of the English primary school has been through the charity schools and the schools under the control of the various religious bodies.<sup>2</sup> It is necessary, however, to say something of the other types of school in which the poor child could be educated if only because the status of the "new" schoolmaster was so often determined not by his own attainments but by the attainments of past teachers.<sup>3</sup>

### Dame Schools

M.G. Jones has attacked the view (stemming from Shenstone) that every village had at least its day school where the village children learnt their A.B.C. Many villages did have their Dame Schools and these schools persisted into the 1860's.<sup>4</sup> Indeed infant schools of a purely "baby-minding" character are still to be found. The best analysis of the work of these schools is

<sup>1</sup> For a description of the training of teachers under the monitorial system see R.W. Rich op.cit. An amusing description of this training was given by F. Crampton in 1861 when he wrote that the "old" schoolmaster "was generally what was called trained at Westminster where you might see him with a little slate round his neck, going up and down in the class with the little boys with whom he was practising the various dodges of Dr. Bell's system, and at 12 o'clock placed in a row, waiting to be bowed to by the Head Master as a sign of dismissal. For about six months he underwent this ordeal, and then went to practise in a school all that he had observed in training." (The School and the Teacher. Aug. 1861)

<sup>2</sup> The principal societies were the "National Society for promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church" (Founded 1811) and the "British and Foreign School Society" (Founded 1814).

<sup>3</sup> See Educational Guardian Jan. 1861: "The Teacher's Duties in the Present State of Education" by T. Ward quoted in A. Tropp "The Changing Status of the Teacher etc." op.cit. p. 149

<sup>4</sup> See the description of Dame schools in the Report of the Newcastle Commission B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt. I pp. 28-9

to be found in an Inspector's report on the Dame schools of Northumberland and Durham in which he writes that, "The Dame Schools appeared to me to be divisible generally into two classes: those kept by persons fond of children, and of cleanly and orderly habits - and those, however scanty may be their means of imparting instruction (the mistresses confining themselves almost entirely to teaching a little reading and knitting or sewing) cannot altogether fail of attaining some of the highest ends of education as far as regards the formation<sup>of</sup> character - and those kept by widows and others who are compelled by necessity to seek some employment by which they may eke out their scanty means of subsistence, without any real feelings of interest in their work. Many of this latter class presented a most melancholy aspect; the room commonly used as a living room, and filled with a very unwholesome atmosphere; the mistress apparently one whose kindly feelings had been long since frozen up, and who was regarded with terror by several rows of children, more than half of whom were in many cases without any means whatever of employing their time."<sup>1</sup>

What was stated of Manchester dame schools was true of a large number of such schools both then and later i.e. that "Neither parents nor teachers seem to consider this (regular instruction) as the principal object in sending the children to these schools, but generally say that they go there in order to

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<sup>1</sup>

B.P.P. 1841 XX : Minutes 1841 p.151 H.M.I. J.Allen

be taken care of and to be out of the way at home."<sup>1</sup>

The situation in dame schools was not completely black. Thomas Cooper regarded his dame teachers with affection - particularly "Old Gatty"<sup>2</sup> and Charles Dickens has given us Betty Higden as an example of the better type of baby minder.<sup>3</sup>

Endowed Schools. Privated Adventure Schools. Voluntary Subscription Schools.

The temptation in dealing with teachers of this period is to quote instances of exceptionally bad teachers as if they were typical.<sup>4</sup> What emerges from the documents is rather a sense of wonder that, faced with such great difficulties there were to be found so many teachers who "with much self-denial, personal sacrifices, and under considerable disadvantages, are generally labouring with conscientious diligence to perform faithfully the duties of their calling; and among whom are men whose attainments and experience in elementary education are entitled to respect."<sup>5</sup>

It is worth while to give the biography of one such master in detail. James Davies of Devanden was born in 1765 and died in 1849. When he died at the age of 84 he was borne to his grave

<sup>1</sup> B.P.P. 1841 XX; Minutes 1841 p.169 B.W.Noel

<sup>2</sup> T.C.Cooper - Life (1872) pp.5-7

<sup>3</sup> C.Dickens - Our Mutual Friend Ch.XVI

<sup>4</sup> The Newcastle Commission gave information on these schools as they existed in 1858 (B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt.1 pp.90-95) but by then most of the best private teachers would have been attracted into the state system.

<sup>5</sup> B.P.P. 1845 XXXV; Minutes 1843-4 p.149. H.M.I. Bellairs.

by four of the principal farmers of the village: his pall was borne by an archdeacon and three of the most influential laymen of the neighbourhood: and his corpse was followed by ten clergymen of the diocese, and many others who had come from some distance to pay a marked tribute of respect and veneration to his memory. Yet for all this, he was indebted simply to his personal character, "to a long course of duty conscientiously performed, of unostentatious piety which manifested itself not in profession but in practice." He was the son of a tenant farmer, born on the confines of the parishes of Grosmont and Llangattock-Lingoed, in the County of Monmouth. His school learning was limited to the three R's but he was taught the Scriptures, Catechism and Collects by his mother. After being in turn a clerk to an attorney, a weaver, a travelling pedlar and a retail dealer he found his vocation at the age of 47 and became a schoolmaster at the salary of £30 per annum. His great love for children and extremely religious nature seemed to have been solely responsible for this step. In 1815 at the age of 50 he settled at Devanden, a place he had noticed during his travels because the villagers seemed to be living without God, ignorant and immoral "At the Devanden he received the charge of rude, ragged, boisterous mountain children, whose parents, accustomed to scanty fare, and exposed to peculiar temptations, were accustomed to dishonest practices, and of those acts of petty fraud which often prevail amidst such a population, consisting of quarrymen, mule-drivers, wood-cutters and colliers. The school-room formed his dwelling throughout the day, his

chamber at night; and in that room he long instructed from eighty to a hundred children, to whom there was occasionally an addition from adult scholars." During this period his income fluctuated from under £15 to £20 per annum. He fed and clothed children and parents, and collected funds to restore churches and build school rooms. He spent the harvest season travelling on foot with Bibles, prayer books and tracts. In 1847 at the age of 82 he moved to Llangattock-Lingoed. By public subscription was founded the "James Davies School" opened in November 1848. This school was altogether free and the schoolmaster not only took no payment for his services, but provided the books and school necessaries at his own cost. He died on October 2nd, 1849, after a short illness, leaving all his remaining property to the permanent endowment of the school.

James Davies was not "typical" nor was it to be expected that he should be.<sup>1</sup> The fact that he existed must be remembered in any attempt to assess the achievements of the "old" schoolmasters. Struggling as they had to against small salaries, general contempt, large classes, and their own lack of education and training, ~~it was not to be expected that they would~~<sup>not</sup> achieve much.

The endowed schools presented problems of their own. In the Gentleman's Magazine for 1803, a reviewer signing himself O.P. writes of the "very general and shameful neglect of masters

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For Welsh education see David Williams - A History of Modern Wales (1950) passim.



of free schools" which "makes it highly desirable that the trustees should have power to dismiss them". It is well known", he continues "to be a frequent practice for the master of a free school founded for the benefit of the children of a town to avail himself of every subterfuge to avoid teaching these children at all or else to treat them in such a manner as to drive them away, or either to bestow his time and attention on those who lodge and board at his house, or else to make it a mere sinecure."<sup>1</sup>

In the movement for providing education for the children of the poor, the poor themselves were involved mainly as disinterested onlookers.<sup>2</sup> Working class movements "paid a tribute to liberal education as a social ideal"<sup>3</sup> and working class pioneers like Owen, Place, Lovett and Cooper advocated free and compulsory education<sup>4</sup> but by and large the great educational conflicts were fought over the heads of an

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<sup>1</sup> Gentleman's Magazine 1803 Vol.11 p.915  
 See also B.P.P. 1842 XXXIII: Minutes 1842 p.375 H.M.I. J.Allen  
B.P.P. 1843 XL: Minutes 1843 p.226 H.M.I. J.Allen  
 See also E.Halevy - A History of the English People in 1815  
 (1924) pp.459-469

<sup>2</sup> By far the best analysis of the social forces which led to the educational movement of the nineteenth century is to be found in H.C.Dent - Change in English Education (1952) pp.16-36. Additional evidence is to be found in the parliamentary debates on the abortive education bills of Whitbread (1807), Brougham (1820), Roebuck (1832), Brougham (1837) etc. See also E.Halevy Vol.2 p.106, Vol.3 pp.105-9, 225-9, Vol.6 pp.54-8, 149-51.

<sup>3</sup> Ministry of Reconstruction. Adult Education Committee. Final Report (1919) p.17

<sup>4</sup> T.L.Jarman - Landmarks in the History of Education. (1951)

~~uninterested and powerless~~ working class.

In the 1830's and 1840's the great question was whether education could mitigate the dangers inherent in an ignorant industrial population or whether it would by teaching the poor to read and write make them a still greater danger to society.<sup>1</sup> An important but secondary question was the religious one - who was to provide the education and what should be its nature?<sup>2</sup> Once it was conceded that education should be extended to the poor and that this education should be suffused with morality and religion it became obvious that the main need was for a supply of efficient, trained, religious and humble teachers. Educational advancement was hamstrung because salaries were too low to obtain competent teachers. As Francis Place put it "A master may be had at almost any price you please, but you would not have a competent one at a low price."<sup>3</sup> The religious societies themselves realised that low salaries were the main difficulty<sup>4</sup> but all their resources were devoted to the

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<sup>1</sup> See B.P.P. 1841 XX p.115, English Journal of Education 1843; H.Holman English National Education (1898) p.79; B.P.P. 1839 XLI p.2; B.P.P. 1845 XXXV p.440; B.P.P.1861 XXI Pt.1 p.34 etc.

<sup>2</sup> There is no adequate history of the inter-relation between religious and educational movements in nineteenth century England. F.Adams - The Elementary School Contest (1882) is valuable but biased against the Church. C.K.F.Brown - The Church's Part in Education (1942) is biased in favour of the Church.

<sup>3</sup> B.P.P.1835 VII Select Committee on Education 1835: Francis Place Q.930

<sup>4</sup> B.P.P.1837-38 VII Select Committee on Education 1838: Wigram Q.663, Wood Q.1389 (also Q.364, 868)

construction of schools and the training of teachers. On rare occasions they made small grants towards teachers' salaries but for the most part all they could do was to appeal to property owners and clergymen not to let "the wages of one who is fit to teach the children of the poor fall below those paid to a humble mechanic."<sup>1</sup>

One great difficulty was the falling off in voluntary contributions after the school had been built.<sup>2</sup> Charity alone was not sufficient to support the teacher and various devices were suggested to increase his income. The most favoured was the payment of "schoolpence" by the children for it had the added advantage of "preserving a right spirit of independence among the poor." Payments were usually graduated, increasing as the child advanced up the school and often varying in amount with the means of the parents. Under these conditions there was always the danger that those who paid most would be taught most.

Another popular method of increasing the teacher's income was for him to perform some kind of extraneous duty (still undoubtedly the most popular method). Brougham's Parish Schools Bill of 1820 proposed that the schoolmaster's salary should be fixed between £20 and £30 a year: his extras would come from

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<sup>1</sup> B.P.P.1845 XXV Minutes 1843-44 p.38 H.M.I. J.Allen

<sup>2</sup> B.P.P.1846 XXXII Minutes 1845 p.101 H.M.I. J.Bellairs

land-surveying, conveyancing and letter writing.<sup>1</sup> Ways of increasing income actually used by teachers included keeping night schools, evening teaching in mechanics' institutes or young men's improvement societies, acting as parish clerk, organist, chairmaster, postmaster, registrar, librarian or secretary to the benefit society and Inspectors found teachers combining their school work with that of a sexton, druggist, weaver, farmer or railway surveyor. Not all the extraneous work that teachers did was for payment. Even in the earliest years of their profession teachers often took the lead in associations of a religious, charitable or friendly nature.

A further method adapted to increase the teacher's remuneration (and status)<sup>2</sup> was the building of schoolhouses. In November 1843 the Government made grants towards building the houses for teachers. Plans and specifications were laid

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<sup>1</sup> F. Smith - A History of English Elementary Education. p.117

<sup>2</sup> Lord Wharnccliffe, Lord President of the Council, at a meeting of the Ripon Diocesan Board of Education (English Journal of Education 1844)

"No person is more convinced than I am that upon the improvement of your schoolmaster does, in fact, depend the improvement of education. In order that a schoolmaster should be held in proper regard and respect, and that he should hold the rank and station which I have already stated, I think it desirable that he should hold, I am of opinion that he ought to be provided with a suitable residence, a house by no means too large, so as to exalt him too much in the scale of society; but he should be taken out of a cottage and put into a decent residence, which would be calculated to make those persons of the classes lower than himself inclined to show a proper feeling of respect for the schoolmaster who teaches their children."

down and arrangements were limited to the utmost simplicity. One enquiry made in 1846 showed that, of 20,000 church teachers, 9,000 had rent-free houses.

The low salaries that were being offered (even with the added inducements of schoolpence, a free house and "extras") were proving insufficient to attract recruits to the profession<sup>1</sup> or to keep them in the schools once they had been trained. There is much evidence that the low status of the teacher was a further cause of difficulty in recruitment. As J.T.Crossley said, "the elementary schoolmaster is thought very little of; in fact, so much despised, that men of respectable attainments will not undertake the office of schoolmaster."<sup>2</sup> One final factor was the sheer difficulty of the teacher's work in the schools of the time. They were among the first of those generations of teachers who throughout the century went into the town and country slums to bring the elements of discipline,

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e.g. B.P.P. 1834 IX Select Committee on Education 1834 Q.1064-74  
J.T.Crossley.

B.P.P. 1842 XXX111: Minutes 1842 p.376 H.M.I. J.Allen

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Select Committee on Education 1834 Q.1058 J.T.Crossley. See also  
Select Committee on Education 1838 Q.365 H.Dunn and Q.1606  
H.Aithans.

The British and Foreign Society when sending a teacher into any country town, endeavoured to find out one or two intelligent persons in the town who could properly appreciate the importance of the schoolmaster's office and requested them to introduce him to respectable society. (Select Committee on Education 1834 Q.279 H.Dunn)

See also John Lalor et al: The Educator : Prize Essays on the Expediency and Means of Elevating the Profession of the Educator in Society. (1839)

morality and learning to the children of the poor.<sup>1</sup>

Among the accounts by teachers of conditions in the schools of the time the most striking I have found is that of an anonymous teacher writing in the English Journal of Education for 1850 and 1851, "Extracts from the private diary of the Master of a London Ragged School." "In decency of behaviour or in respect for the teacher or in discipline of any kind, they are totally unparalleled. No school can possibly be worse than this .... the very appearance of one's coat is to them the badge of class and respectability; for although they may not know the meaning of the word, they know very well, or at least feel, that we are the representatives of beings with whom they have ever considered themselves at war. This is not theory but fact...."

Assaults by pupils and the parents of pupils were common. On his first attempt to close school with the recital of the Lord's Prayer, the prayer was interrupted by cries of "Cat's meat"

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"They had to struggle, aided only by monitors under 13 years of age, with the untamed brutishness of the wild or pauperised immigrant population, with the semi-barbarism of children from coarse sensual homes, with the utter want of consciousness in the population that humble learning could do their children any good, with the then extravagant and harsh claims of an unorganised system of manufacturing and mining labour, with the absence of previous training in the home or infant school, with the late age at which children with no school habits, savage, ignorant, incapable, wayward or wild, come under their care, with irregularity of attendance, short school attendance in each year, and brief school time altogether, constant migration of families, and overwhelming ill-paid duties"

Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth talking of the "old schoolmasters" in "A Letter to Earl Granville K.G. et." B.P.P. 1862 XL1 p.1409

Kay-Shuttleworth was perhaps guilty of exaggeration.  
See Also Select Committee on Education 1838 Q.1393-4 J.R.Woods.

and "Mew, mew". After a few days the daily duties of the teacher were worked out as:-

- (1) To see the boys and girls well washed and scrubbed.
- (2) To try to get prayers said decently.
- (3) To give them a lesson in their duties and privileges, for they have many and know none.
- (4) Some religious instruction.
- (5) Reading
- (6) Writing
- (7) Arithmetic.

Soon the teacher was writing, "Any careful observer would come to... the conclusion... that these people do not require the schoolmaster so much as they need some municipal act for the regulation of lodging-houses and dwelling houses generally... It is almost cruelty to talk of virtue or decency to a being who is doomed to sleep and do everything else in a crowd."

After a few months he could write "In opening and closing the school a wonderful change for the better has taken place. The children can now sing the doxology very nicely .... They also get through their drill in a creditable manner, and I get perfect order when necessary at a given signal. How has all this been accomplished? I cannot boast of the means adopted - they have been frightened into subjection."

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It should be remembered that this was a ragged school and not typical of the majority of the schools of this period.

What kind of person entered the profession during the period from 1800 to 1846? The impression that emerges from the reports of Inspectors on the antecedents of teachers in their districts is that the majority were men who had tried other trades and failed. They had been semi-skilled craftsmen, shopkeepers, clerks or "superior" domestic servants.<sup>1</sup> All of these occupations either required a knowledge of reading and writing or offered opportunities to acquire such knowledge.<sup>2</sup> Their reasons for entering the profession need not always have been personal failure for "sometimes it has arisen from the parents not succeeding in business, and being unable to maintain a family, the children became teachers."<sup>3</sup> Then as now teaching was a respectable second best although a few had a "call" to teaching as a religious duty. The amount of training received was small and although many became competent and diligent teachers (e.g. James Davies of Davanden) all too often they

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<sup>1</sup> e.g. B.P.P. 1842 XXXIII: Minutes 1842 p.271 John Allen  
B.P.P. 1840 XL: Minutes 1840 p.616 Seymour Tremenheere

<sup>2</sup> Select Committee on Education 1838 Q.1505-8 H.Althans

<sup>3</sup> Ibid Q.1509 H.Althans.



were complete failures.<sup>1</sup>

Throughout the period from 1805 onwards the training colleges were becoming increasingly important.<sup>2</sup> One of the earliest of Lancaster's projects was the establishment of a department attached to his school at Borough Road for the training of senior monitors, in order that they, in their turn might take charge of monitorial schools. Such a department was commenced in 1805 and after Lancaster's secession in 1812 the British and Foreign School Society carried on the work of training teachers.

The training college of the National Society began work

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B.F.P. 1841 XXXIII: Minutes 1842 p.323

"One or two months' observation of the methods pursued at a training establishment is thought, if not sufficient, at least all that is attainable, to prepare a master or mistress for the management of a school. A retired gardener or a steady female domestic may be considered capable of acquiring the art of teaching by the perusal of a few elementary books on the subject, and this subject one entirely foreign to their previous habits and thoughts, and of which no books can enable them to realise a just idea. Mistakes such as these extend their pernicious influences over many years. The difficulty of replacing the individual in his proper sphere is generally found to outweigh any sympathy for the interests of the numerous children that, during a long period, must pass through such hands, sorely ill-fashioned or totally unformed."

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The history of the training college system can only <sup>be</sup> discussed in the broadest terms in this ~~Sketch~~. R.W.Rich has given an exhaustive account in his The Training of Teachers in England and Wales during the Nineteenth Century.

work at Baldwin's Gardens in 1812.<sup>1</sup> Training in these early days consisted almost entirely of "learning the system" or "going up and down in the school with a little <sup>slate</sup> round one's neck." Any attempt to do more was hampered by the ignorance and general low quality of the students.<sup>2</sup>

Throughout the period there was a steady effort to improve in the intellectual equipment of the students and particular from 1830 onwards when influences from Scotland<sup>3</sup> and abroad began to permeate teacher training. David Stow's Academy (opened

<sup>1</sup> The National Society's Fourth Report (1815) states that the Society retained in its pay ten masters educated in the central school, "to be sent to the assistance of persons interesting themselves in the formation and remodelling of schools upon the National system." In addition to this it admitted 40 probationers during the year to be instructed in its system, and educated 52 teachers sent up from country schools so as to make them more competent for the efficient discharge of their duties. Besides this, the report says, "No fewer than 86 mistresses have been trained under Mrs. Rogers in the central school, 66 of whom have come recommended from the managers of different schools in the country, and the remaining 20 have, by permission of the School Committee, attended for instruction at their own request, the greatest part of whom have also been appointed to respectable situations."

<sup>2</sup> "The system has hitherto been very defective, as no attempt has been made to teach the youths intended for schoolmasters anything beyond the general routine of school training for children in general. That hence the greater part of the time, which might have been employed to increase their knowledge and improve their minds, has been lost, and habits of idleness rather encouraged. That the degree of ignorance, in which many of the youths have been sent out to form and conduct schools in the country, has been such as to reflect discredit on the Institution." (British and Foreign School Society, General Committee May 7th 1814 Sub-Committee on Schoolmasters, quoted in Rich op.cit. p.13)

<sup>3</sup> See Elizabeth Kerr-Walker: Scottish Influence on English Education between 1800 and 1840 . M.A.(Educ) 1952 University of London.

1828) and his Normal Training Seminary at Glasgow (founded 1837) trained a new type of teacher for new types of duties. There was a great demand for Stow's "trainers" in England, the Wesleyans sent students to be trained at Glasgow and both the National and British and Foreign Societies sent deputations to study Stow's Methods. From 1838 onwards many Scottish teachers came south as organisers and training college tutors.<sup>1</sup> The training establishment of the Home and Colonial Society, founded in 1836, broke away from the monitorial system and attempted to form cultured and trained teachers who could manage children in the mass without resorting to the mechanical devices of Lancaster and Bell.

The entrants to the training colleges were for the most part young adults,<sup>2</sup> either existing teachers "bettering themselves" or else failures from other professions or trades. Some of the best of the entrants were recruited from Sunday school teachers.<sup>3</sup> There were very many totally incompetent applicants.<sup>4</sup> A few candidates paid for their own training but

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<sup>1</sup> Among these were Horne, MacLeod and Wilson

<sup>2</sup> The average age of the students at the National Society Central School was 25-30 years and at Borough Road 19-24 years.

<sup>3</sup> Select Committee on Education 1834 Q.299 Dunn. Q.1078 Crossley

<sup>4</sup> In one instance the British and Foreign Society advertised for a master, stating distinctly the qualifications required, and received in a short time from 40-50 personal applications and from 20-30 letters. They were willing to take any number of good teachers that might offer, but only one of that number was considered suitable. (Select Committee on Education 1834 Q.298 Dunn.)

most were sent to be trained by their employers (or future employers) the training colleges themselves helping some students by providing free board or free tuition. Tests for admission varied, in some instances an examination in religious knowledge, writing and arithmetic being set, while in other instances entrance was decided on the basis of a letter of application accompanied by testimonials. The different societies were agreed that decided views of a religious nature were of more importance than intellectual qualifications.

At no training college was the whole number assembled for whom accommodation could be provided despite the encouragement given by exhibitions and grants. The societies and the Inspectorate were agreed that better qualified candidates in sufficient numbers who would stay for a longer period of training could be obtained only if "the teacher's office was elevated."<sup>1</sup>

Three minor devices were used to train teachers. One was by the use of "organising masters" who visited schools, spending two or more months in each place, instructing the capable and replacing the incapable teachers. Many of these organising masters came from Scotland. A second device was by the organisation of meetings of teachers during the harvest

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<sup>1</sup>

See Select Committees on Education 1834, 1835, 1838, passim  
Reports of National Society 1834, 1836  
Reports of British and Foreign Society 1836, 1839, 1843  
B.P.P. 1843 XL: Minutes 1843 pp.368-9 H.M.I. Tremenheere

holidays.<sup>1</sup> These meetings are to be found even during the 1850's, when they were being attended in the main by uncertificated teachers although certificated teachers were encouraged to attend them as "refresher courses". Lastly teachers were encouraged to visit each others' schools and to study in the evenings either alone or in local mutual improvement groups.

One great difficulty in securing better entrants to the training colleges was the gap between school leaving age and the minimum age of admission to training college. The average age of monitors in metropolitan schools was between 11 and 12 years.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> e.g. "In August last, the schoolmasters and mistresses of the Archdeaconry of Coventry were invited to meet at the Central School in Coventry to be instructed under an organising master from the National Society in London, who was to be assisted by their own Central schoolmaster and schoolmistress. The arrangement was that they were to remain during the harvest month, and each master and mistress should receive 7/- per week from the Committee of the Coventry National School Society, towards the payment of their board, lodging and travelling expenses." (B.P.P. 1845 XXXV: Minutes 1843-4 p.450 H.M.I. Bellairs.)

See also the description of the course given in the "Coventry Standard" (quoted in A.E. Ikin - The Education Act (1944) Appendix D. pp.375-6) and B.P.P. 1845 XXXV: Minutes 1843-4 p.424 H.M.I. Cook. National Society Monthly Paper Sept. and Nov. 1847

<sup>2</sup> B.P.P. 1845 XXXV: Minutes 1843-4 pp.431-8 H.M.I. Cook  
Mr. Samuel Wood regretted "that the boys generally leave us at the age of eleven or twelve, or even sooner, and that boys are perpetually leaving us, who would make excellent schoolmasters, but we do not know what to do with them. We are obliged to let them go off to anything that their parents may find for them to do: when, if we had the opportunity, we should be glad to place them in some institution where they would be carrying on their education to a higher point, and preparing themselves to take charge of schools. Excellent material for future schoolmasters are to be found in some of our best boys, but there is no place that I know of at present where their education can be completed, and I beg to state my opinion, that it is very desirable that such a place should be provided." (Select Committee on Education 1834 Q.2154 Wood.)

Most educational histories have told the story of how Kay-Shuttleworth came to "invent" the pupil teacher system. Kay-Shuttleworth himself claimed that the idea of the pupil teacher system came to him as the result of an isolated incident in a workhouse school.<sup>2</sup> It is certain however, that later developments were largely influenced by continental experience. The pupil-teach system was in full working order in Holland, and in Switzerland Vehrli in his normal seminary at Kreuzlingen was attempting a new kind of training, a training focussing mainly on character formation. Kay-Shuttleworth was forced to conclude that in the short run little could be done to improve the social condition of the teacher. The only motive that could carry a man on in the work efficiently and in the right spirit was a feeling of service and self-sacrifice combined with a happy

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e.g. F. Smith - Life and Works of Sir J. Kay-Shuttleworth (1923)  
 "It was while Horne was at work in the Eastern Counties that an incident occurred which may be regarded as the starting point of the pupil teacher system. After his work was completed at one school the master fell ill, and the chairman of the Union, on visiting the place to decide what was to be done, found the discipline and instruction going on unbroken under the spontaneous lead of a boy named William Rush, thirteen years of age. The guardians confirmed the boy in his position and he continued to conduct the school successfully until the master could return to his duties." (p.50).  
 The story of education from 1839 to 1849 is mainly the story of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth. See F. Smith ibid and Sir J. Kay-Shuttleworth - Four Periods of Public Education (as reviewed in 1832-1839-1846-1862) (1862)  
 R.W. Rich - The Training of Teachers etc. Ch. III  
 A.V. Judges - "James Kay-Shuttleworth, Pioneer of National Education" in A.V. Judges (ed) Pioneers of English Education (London 1952) pp.104-127

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F. Smith op.cit. p.51

acceptance of the limitations of the work.<sup>1</sup>

In 1838 Kay-Shuttleworth commenced experimenting in training teachers at the Poor Law Schools at Norwood, which were placed under the direction of Macke<sup>2</sup> (a Scottish teacher later to play an important part in teacher training and in the early teachers' associations). The pupil teachers were drawn mainly from Norwood itself although promising boys from other pauper schools and a few private pupils were accepted and apprenticed for five years.

Kay-Shuttleworth realised that to complete the preparation of the teacher for his work, the pupil teacher period should be followed by a period of further education in an institution definitely designed for the purpose of training teachers. His proposal for the institution of a National Training College (1839) failed due to sectarian opposition,<sup>2</sup> and he established a private training college at Battersea financing it largely out of his own pocket. The College was open in February, 1840,

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<sup>1</sup> He was to express the purpose of his training system at Battersea as follows.

"We hoped to inspire them (i.e. the students) with a large sympathy for their own class. To implant in their minds the thought that their chief honour would be to aid in rescuing that class from the misery of ignorance and its attendant vices. To wean them from the influence of that personal competition in a commercial society which leads to sordid aims. To place before them the unsatisfied want of the uneasy and distressed multitude, and to breathe into them the charity which seeks to heal its mental and moral diseases." (J. Kay-Shuttleworth - Four Periods of Public Education. p.304)

<sup>2</sup> See J.L. and B. Hammond - The Age of the Chartists 1832-1854 (1930) pp.184-6

with eight pupil teachers from Norwood. These were all aged about thirteen years and were indentured as apprentices for seven years. They were to receive at least three years' instruction in the training school, and <sup>for</sup> two years they were to act as pupil teachers in the village school for three hours a day. At the end of their apprenticeships they were to be subjected to examination and, if satisfactory, were to receive certificates and be given employment as teachers in schools of industry for pauper children. During the period of apprenticeship they were to receive remuneration with annual increments. At a later date older students were admitted for short courses of one year. Kay-Shuttleworth himself was the superintendent of the college, E.C. Tufnell was his deputy, Horne (his East Anglian Organising Master) and Thomas Tate were tutors, and MacLeod was in charge of the village school.

Entrants to Battersea came from "the most promising scholars of the elementary schools" and many of the best pupil teachers were pauper children.<sup>1</sup> In their training Kay-Shuttleworth was insistent on the need for guarding the teacher mind from "the evils to which it is especially prone: intellectual pride,

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<sup>1</sup> See B.P.P. 1843 XL: Minutes 1843 p.239 H.M.I. Allen.



assumption of superiority and selfish ambition."<sup>1</sup> In order to guard against these dangers Battersea was made a place of heavy outdoor labour, simple diet, incessant vigilance and religious training. Constant activity was the keynote of life at Battersea, holidays were unknown, and as a deliberate policy no leisure time was left for the students to dispose of as they

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See Second Report on Battersea Training College (1843)  
 Mr. Tufnell in a private letter pointing out the necessity for emphasising this evil in the Report, wrote "From the commencement of our labours we have been attentive observers of the proceedings of foreign normal schools; and the errors into which they have fallen by a neglect of simplicity and by encouraging too high aspirations among the students, have been a continual warning to us to avoid similar blunders. In Bavaria and Baden strong measures have been found necessary to repress this spirit among the normal students. In some parts of Switzerland and Prussia complaints have been made against their vain silly airs, and assumption of superiority to all around them. In France the normal schools had not been generally established more than seven years when an outcry was raised for their reform, on account of the intolerable pride and affectation displayed by those masters who had been educated in them. The result was that many of the communes positively refused to elect masters who had been educated in normal schools. .... We congratulate ourselves that among the fifty students who have left this institution we have but one or two complaints on this score, and we would point out the danger to all who undertake the management of similar establishments, lest by falling into it a check be placed in the way of these useful institutions." F. Smith-Life etc. p.122

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pleased.

In the course of a few years important changes were made

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Other institutions went further in their inculcation of humility as witness the following letter from a teacher.

"I trust we are constantly enlisting better qualified labourers for the work of church education; but I am convinced that till more encouragement is given in the way of entitling us to a higher position in society, we shall gain few recruits from the rank from which we ought to enlist them.... The inadequacy of the remuneration deters them; but this, though a powerful, is not the main reason; for we are aware that persons are obliged to devote two or three years to many employments without remuneration. There is no gleam of hope in the distance to encourage them to proceed; and unless the system of training for the work be much improved, it would be impossible for them to pass through so painful an ordeal. I can fancy the feelings of one reared in a respectable sphere when compelled to sit in a class with the children he will soon be expected to command the respect of, and exposed to their whispered jeers as they glory in "taking down the new master", by giving some parrot answer with which he had not been crammed. And above all, while being gazed at by some acquaintance among the visitors to the model school. I have known men who never quailed before the battle array of the enemy to shrink from the gaze of some of his companions in arms, on being seen by them in so humiliating a position. I sincerely trust that this evil exists no longer. And, forsooth, not only was this system supposed to be conducive to a spirit of humility, but to be necessary to make men masters of the science of teaching! As well might it be insisted on that physicians must first swallow their own prescriptions, or dentists extract their own teeth, before operating on others. I conceive the forced inculcation of humility on pupils in training schools to be subversive of its design, especially when it prescribes the performance of menial office, or places them as teachers of classes in the dress of stable helps. There is a proper pride by which men are stimulated to contend with difficulties, lest the cause in which they are engaged suffer disgrace, however humble may be the part they have to perform; but no amount of mere submissiveness could animate them to the same degree..... Let them be taught that the office is an honorable one, and that, if any disgrace attaches to it, their own neglect of duty is the cause of it. If an unfitness be manifested by a display of self-sufficiency, conceit or resistance to authority, the remedy should be expulsion, not compulsion. I have known many qualified mentally and practically for the work who have been deterred by the indignities to which they have been exposing themselves." (English Journal of Education 1846: Paedagogus Rusticus)

at Battersea. Boy pupil teachers were no longer admitted and the minimum age of admission was fixed at eighteen. The course lasted for two years and the students admitted were generally "sons of small tradesmen, of bailiffs, of servants or of superior mechanics"<sup>1</sup>. Their attainments were generally meagre and the college had to devote more time to educating the entrants in the three R's and the Bible to the neglect of their training as teachers. There was a general realisation that the pupil teacher system could help to solve the problem of the poor attainments of entrants as it could solve the problem of under-staffed schools. The only reason preventing its rapid adoption was the "narrowness of the income of the schools"<sup>2</sup>. Finally in 1843 the financial burden became too heavy for Kay-Shuttleworth and the Battersea Normal School was handed over to the National Society.

The period from 1839 to 1846 was one of great activity in the foundation of training institutions under the stimulus of the government grants in aid of building.<sup>3</sup> St Marks College for Men and Whitelands College for Women were established by the National Society in 1840 and 1841 respectively. The other colleges were extensions of the existing diocesan "central schools" which had previously provided short courses in the monitorial system. Many of these "new" diocesan colleges

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<sup>1</sup>J. Kay-Shuttleworth - Four Periods etc. p.400

<sup>2</sup>B.P.P. 1843 XL: Minutes 1843 p.620 H.M.I. Tremenheere

<sup>3</sup>See R.W.Rich op.cit. Chapter IV

contained very few students (e.g. in 1845 Llandaff contained two men and two women) and some courses lasted only three months.

The most important of these new colleges was St. Mark's Training College, Chelsea.<sup>1</sup> With the Anglican revival there had been a renewed interest by the Church in education and church teachers began to be regarded as the missionaries of the church militant.<sup>2</sup> The teacher at St. Mark's, like the teacher at Eattersea, was to be trained for a life of continual industry and self-denial. But Derwent Coleridge the principal of St. Mark's, had his own view of the right training for teachers.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For the objects of the College see R.W. Rich op.cit. p.86

<sup>2</sup> "By securing on principle an army of teachers attached to the Church, there will be little danger of any attempts, should such at any time be made, to secularise education, or to impair that just influence which the clergy ought to have in forming the religious principle of the young, as well as in imparting instruction to the adult population."  
(Report of the London Diocesan Board of Education quoted in G.W. Hughes op.cit. p.39)

<sup>3</sup> Writing twenty years afterwards he was to say: "Once more recurring to a time when the system of training had yet to be formed, and the position of the popular schoolmaster was far from that which it has since become, - how, I asked, were candidates to be found, and how were they to be prepared for such a career? Such was the problem which lay before me, and other most zealous and efficient labourers in the same field. Humbling and laborious discipline; a rigid simplicity in dress, diet and external accommodation; sound elementary instruction; above all, the substitution of religious principle for worldly motives; all this looked well upon paper, and recommended itself strongly to the religious mind of the country: - recommended itself also to many not specially religious persons, who thought that such discipline was very proper for the national schoolmaster, though it had nothing to do with them or theirs. In itself it was a fine noble scheme; there was a meaning in it with which I fully agreed, a feeling in it with which I deeply sympathised. It must never be lost sight of. But for myself I felt persuaded that taken alone it would not work. Not to mention that this ascetic discipline, religiously

considered, seemed proper rather to bring down the lofty looks of the proud than to raise the low estate of the humble, and that those with whom we had to deal appeared to require a different, and in some respects an opposite treatment, - there lay in the scheme itself, as in many similar projects for improving the manners and condition of inferior people, a latent injustice unperceived, and unintended by its authors and abettors but sure to be keenly felt by those to whom it was addressed. It seemed to say, "We are about to bestow on you a privilege of a high and spiritual nature, but we do not intend that you shall reap the worldly advantages with which it is ordinarily accompanied. Your hearts must be fixed on nobler objects. Education is a great boon; you will receive it freely at our hands; but you must not look for its temporal rewards, nor follow it out to its natural results in your own persons. In outward circumstances you must remain as you are. You must remember the rock from which you are hewn. We are differently placed. Our rights and duties are different. No such restriction lies on us. We may rise in the world, according to our talents and opportunities. It is the order of providence."

(Derwent Coleridge - The Teachers of the People (1862) pp.29-30)

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This view can be summarised in his declaration that, "the better the schoolmaster is bred, the more highly he <sup>is</sup> trained, the more he is socially respected, the more ready he will be to combat the difficulties, to submit to the monotony, and to move with quiet dignity in the humbleness of his vocation."

In accordance with these views a more ambitious programme of academic studies was adopted at Chelsea than at any other training college. As a result Coleridge was accused of educating his students above their station and of utilising St. Mark's for middle class education rather than for producing effective teachers of elementary schools. St. Mark's it was alleged trained teachers who took up educational work in middle

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<sup>1</sup>  
Derwent Coleridge Ibid p.37 See also pp.16-22.

schools or entered the clergy and Coleridge was constantly producing statistics to disprove the allegation.<sup>1</sup> Coleridge himself was willing to accept a degree of wastage as a necessary part of any attempt to raise the educational standard of the whole. Indeed he denied that the loss of pupil teachers or teachers was "wastage" in any sense as they were "serving the Commonwealth in various other capacities" and acting as a "leaven"<sup>2</sup> among the labouring classes. Many churchmen at this time who were concerned over the low social position of teachers and the consequent poor standards of entrants to the profession were proposing the formation in the church of a permanent diaconate, a body of men not licensed to preach, yet of the clergy.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> e.g. Summary Account of the Schoolmasters, trained in St. Mark's College, Chelsea, and recommended to Appointments, from Xmas 1843 to Xmas 1858. "From May 1841, when the College was opened, till Christmas 1858, 408 students have completed their term of residence and 103 are still under training. Of the above 408 trained teachers, 339 are masters of elementary schools. 16 hold normal appointments connected with elementary education: of whom 3 are principals of training schools, 1 is a vice-principal, 4 are normal masters, 6 are tutors and assistants, and 2 are organising masters. 12 are masters of middle schools, of various descriptions. 23 are dead - 13 have quitted the vocation of a schoolmaster, in almost every case after several years' service. 5 are believed to be unemployed, 2 of them from ill-health. Of the entire number 29 are in holy orders, and 30 are pursuing their vocation in America and the Colonies. Not one has quitted the communion of the English Church."

National Society Monthly Paper Feb. 1860

See also Occasional Report presented by Derwent Coleridge on his retirement in 1864; B.P.P. 1865 XLII; Minutes 1865 pp. 325-6, 332-5 H.M.I. Cowie.

<sup>2</sup> Derwent Coleridge - The Teachers of The People (1862) pp. 13-6, 42, 48-9.

<sup>3</sup> English Journal of Education 1843-4. Articles and Correspondence B.P.P. 1843 XL; Minutes 1843 p. 318 H.M.I. Allen

Even in 1843 the British and Foreign School Society clung to the monitorial system and the system of training which went with it.<sup>1</sup>

By the mid 1840's the need for educational advance<sup>2</sup> and the difficulties preventing such an education<sup>1</sup> advance were clear.<sup>3</sup> While a series of attempts had been made to secure more efficient teachers through the founding of training colleges,

<sup>1</sup> In a letter to the Committee of Council, the Secretary of the Society wrote: "The Committee cannot keep out of sight the fact that, in order to secure sound moral and religious influence in their schools, they have hitherto adopted and propose still to adhere to a course which frequently involves a considerable sacrifice of intellectual attainment. They refer to their practice of receiving only those who by age as well as by character may be ranked among persons of fixed and settled religious principles. To obtain youths of considerable talent, or shrewd and clever mechanics, whose ability would reflect credit on any public examination, is not difficult if moral and religious character can be regarded as a secondary consideration: but to secure persons who are decided as to their religious views, persons who have given some evidence of their desire at least to cultivate a degree of seriousness, humility, patience and meekness (virtues which could scarcely come under the notice of an Inspector, yet without which the instructions of a teacher are of little moral value) it is frequently necessary to be content with a less amount of talent and more limited acquirements than would otherwise be demanded. The publication of reports (which could not notice moral differences) would necessarily tend on the one hand to discourage these humble though generally most useful labourers, and on the other to call out and stimulate mere intellectual power, and thus it is to be feared to foster a spirit of reckless ambition, which could never find satisfaction in the performance of the laborious and self-denying duties of an elementary school."

B.P.P. 1843 XL : Minutes 1843 p.612

<sup>2</sup> The disturbances among the working classes had undoubtedly contributed to impress the country with the necessity for action. E.Halevy - The Age of Peel and Cobden 1841-52 (1947) pp.53-4  
J.L. & B.Hammond - The Age of the Chartists 1832-1854 (1930)

<sup>3</sup> A.V.Judges op.cit. pp.113-27

these attempts had been only partially successful. It was difficult to secure entrants to the training colleges with more than the scantiest elements of education. The prolonged gap between the age of leaving school and the age at which it was possible to enter a training college could be closed by the institution of a pupil teacher system, but this the schools were unable to afford. Even if a pupil teacher system was instituted, the cost of a training college course would disbar many of the best pupil teachers. The training colleges themselves had their resources stretched to the utmost and would be unable to give any further aid to students.<sup>1</sup>

Even if suitable entrants were obtained and trained there was always the danger that the training would be used as a stepping stone to more lucrative employment. While the teacher was grossly under-paid and schools were grossly under-staffed,<sup>2</sup> no sense of vocation would keep the teacher at his work. Not many people were prepared to accept Bryce's suggestion, even if

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<sup>1</sup>

Quarterly Education Magazine - Jan. 1848 - Report on Work of Home and Colonial Society: "Such is the result of the labours of three months - with limited premises, and still more limited means, nay, if the plain truth may be told, with tradesmen waiting for bills unpaid, and officers getting their salaries £10 at a time, as money has come in.... The Government plan seems at last to open a prospect of relief...."

<sup>2</sup>

Select Committee on Education 1835: Q.1055. Rev. R.J. Bryce suggested "We ought to begin by educating good and skilful teachers, and we ought, when we do so, to be fully aware that the first good teachers we educate will certainly be picked up by the wealthier classes of society, and the poor will not get the benefit of them. The only remedy for this, is to continue educating such teachers until the market be glutted, and then the overflowing of the persons who are seeking for employment among the upper and middle classes will furnish good teachers for the lower classes of society."



wastage had been only to middle class schools. Instances were not uncommon of "men at the head of schools of a considerable size leaving the calling of a schoolmaster to be employed as book-keepers in offices and the like."<sup>1</sup>

Until conditions inside the schools were improved, improved training would only mean that "our normal institutions may turn out nurseries for railway clerks."<sup>2</sup> Attempts to bind candidates to teaching by a formal indenture (common throughout the history of the profession) only made the students more eager to escape when their time was out. Again, while all schools were woefully short of funds, the cheapest teachers were sought, and trained masters were sometimes regarded as expensive luxuries beyond the reach of the poorest schools.

This complex of problems which stultified educational growth was only solved by Government action and it is to this action and its unintended consequences that we turn in the next chapter.

<sup>1</sup> E.P.P. 1842, XXXIII: Minutes 1842 p.104: H.M.I. J.Allen.

<sup>2</sup> Quarterly Review: Sept.1846, pp.420-21

CHAPTER III

The Establishment and Effects of the 1846 System.

"To a precarious and frequently make-shift occupation he (Kay-Shuttleworth) brought the stability and prestige of Government support; to an easily entered and indifferently practiced calling he brought rigid selection by examination and inspection"<sup>1</sup>

F. Smith

Kay-Shuttleworth had realised the nature of the educational difficulty many years before the promulgation of the 1846 Minutes. Only government assistance could bring order and progress, and this assistance would only be acceptable to the religious societies if it left their authority supreme.<sup>2</sup>

The pupil teacher system was intended to serve the double purpose of improving the instruction given in the elementary schools, and of providing a succession of capable pupils for the training colleges. The government was not to initiate educational activity but to aid it. If private individuals would provide a school of a certain degree of efficiency, the government would pay for five years the salary of a certain number of apprentices to the schoolmaster, and would ultimately provide them (upon the condition of passing an examination) with an amount of help which was nearly equivalent to a free admission to any Training College which they might select.<sup>3</sup>

1. F. Smith Life and Work of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth pp.172-3
2. See J.L. and Barbara Hammond The Age of the Chartists 1832-54 (1930) pp.180-216 for a description of the religious conflicts between 1833 and 1846.
3. The Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education in August and December 1846 are re-produced in the Appendix. It is important to note that the 1846 system was established by an administrative decision. Parliament was only consulted after the Minutes had been promulgated. (E. Halevy - The Age of Peel and Cobden (1947) pp.149-151)

After 1846 the <sup>hallmark</sup> standard of professional ability was the possession of the government certificate. The certificate was more, however, than an honorary certificate of ability. Provided the annual report of "Her Majesty's Inspector" was satisfactory the certificated teacher had his salary augmented by a direct grant from the government of between £10 and £30<sup>2</sup> per year (for a woman the amount varied from £6.13.4 to £20).<sup>2</sup> Although the majority of teachers in elementary schools were uncertificated until a much later date, the certificate set the standard for the profession. The fact that from the beginning the standard was set by the Government and could be "manipulated" to control the supply of teachers is one of the most significant facts in the history of the profession.<sup>1</sup>

Under the 1846 system the elementary school world was meant to constitute a closed system. The most intelligent and moral pupils of the elementary schools were to be apprenticed as pupil teachers at the age of 13.<sup>3</sup> At the end of five satisfactory years of service and education (1½ hours a day from the master) they were to enter for a competitive examination for a "Queen's

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1. Of equal importance was the fact that government did not directly employ the teachers and the teachers were not "civil servants"
  2. Salaries of at least double the amount of the grant were required to be paid by the managers of the school. The minimum salary of a male certificated teacher was therefore from £30 to £90 and of a female certificated teacher from £20 to £60. Added to this were the fees for training pupil teachers. (See Minutes)
  3. See form of indenture in B.P.P. 1847-8 L: Minutes 1847-8 pp lxxxvi - lxxxvii

Scholarship" to a training college.<sup>1</sup> Those successful were to<sup>2</sup> stay at the college for one, two or three years<sup>3</sup> and after leaving college would receive an augmentation grant<sup>4</sup> and finally a retiring pension.

As well as the long-run effect on education of a supply of trained and conscientious teachers there was one immediate result. A school applying for grants for pupil-teachers was required to be well-furnished and well-supplied with books and apparatus; the instruction had to be skilful and suited to the ages of the children; the discipline to be mild and firm and conducive to good order and the schoolmaster (if not certificated) had to secure the approval of the inspector.

It was not to be expected that an educational change of this kind would go through without opposition.<sup>5</sup> The dissenters

1. The original 1846 Minutes restricted the proportion of Queen's Scholars in a Training College to 25% but this restriction was removed in 1853. (B.P.P. 1852:XXXIX Minutes 1851-52 p.109 and B.P.P. 1854:LI Minutes 1853-4 p.23).
2. Those who just failed to obtain a Scholarship were to be given an opportunity of obtaining employment in the public service.
3. The colleges received direct grant from the government for training a satisfactory schoolteacher.
4. Provided they taught in a school under government inspection.
5. See J.L. & B.Hammond - The Age of the Chartists pp.204-8  
 E.Halevy - The Age of Peel and Cobden pp.149-152  
 F.Adams - The Elementary School Contest passim.  
The Eclectic Review March 1847 (N.S. Vol.XXI p.360)  
 "National Education: The Government Plan"  
 E.E. Rich - "Education and the Dissenters: A Sidelight on Nineteenth Century Political Thought" Economica June 1950  
 Rev.W.Gresley - Church Clavering or the Schoolmaster(1845) pp.271-2.  
Quarterly Educational Magazine July 1849  
 J.M.Hare (The Elder) - An Analysis and Exposure of the New Government Scheme of Education - Showing its precise nature, its objectionable character, and its mischievous tendencies 1847  
Crosby Hall Lectures on Education 1848

Cont...

Pamphlets by Edward Baines, Jr.

H. Holman - English National Education (1898) p.79

Henry Dunn - Calm thoughts on the recent minutes of the Committee of Council, and on their supposed bearing upon the interests of civil freedom and protestant non-conformity (1847)

J. Kay-Shuttleworth - "The School in its Relations to the Church and the Congregation" in Four Periods etc. pp.433-551

Debates reported in Hansard 1846 ff

etc., etc.

objected to paying for church schools (the church had more schools and less objection to subsidies) and the extreme churchmen objected to paying taxes "for the dissemination of heresy and schism."<sup>1</sup> Both churchmen and dissenters objected that the better-disciplined minds of the young pupil-teachers were no substitutes for the religious zeal of the older type of teacher.<sup>2</sup> Finally the dissenters feared the enormous extension of government influence over teachers and pupil teachers and their families.<sup>3</sup>

The majority of the teachers were enthusiastic about the new scheme. "Mr. and Mrs. Hill taught a school in a village two miles distant. The boys' school was about to be placed under government inspection, by the master's desire. "Determined to get into it, are you?" said Mr. Morton. "Yes; I'm tired of

1. Rev. W. Gresley. op.cit.

2. Quarterly Educational Magazine July 1849 "(should)... such persons... be turned off, and left to starve, that clever lads, and sharp young women from our training schools may take their place and give gallery lessons with absolute coolness". (See H.M.I. F.C. Cook's answer in E.P.F. 1850 XLIII; Minutes 1848-9-50 p.65)

The religious societies made a series of attempts to attract "right-minded" adults even after the 1846 Minutes.

3. This fear was shared by some, at least, of the working class.

See H. Holman, op.cit.

See also the reply of Henry Dunn to this charge (op.cit.)

teaching 50 boys after such a fashion: besides, I want more money. Fifty or sixty pounds is not very good pay for the entire labour of two persons, neither does it go very far with all possible care, even if one is inclined to be satisfied with "painted deal", etc, etc, according to the Welsh manager's advice, who makes £40<sup>x</sup> his maximum. Country shopkeepers and mechanics are better off, and are apt to pride themselves upon the distinction. "In short", said he, laughing, "I shall certainly try to raise my position, although I am well aware there is a lion in the way!" Mrs. Hill was not going under government. It was all very well for the boys, but by no means necessary or desirable for the girls' school: besides the clergyman did not wish it".....

... "Mr. Harris replied, "It is too late to begin to climb high trees, young men may run races and scale mountains but the best of my days are gone. I am put under government "no lens volens" I will do my best but I shall never succeed. I shall never make a government man. You may all do it, for you are younger than I, but I feel I never shall."

In spite of opposition the Minutes went through and by June 30th 1848 there were 517 schools and 1,437 teachers and

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1. The School and the Teacher Oct. 1856 - "Fifteen Years among National Schools" by A Teacher (See ibid Aug, Sept). This although a work of fiction was written by a teacher and is extremely revealing on the teachers of that period.

The reference to "painted deal" refers to a letter which appeared in the National Society Monthly Paper May 1851 in which "A School-Manager in Wales" accused teachers of extravagance writing "in their houses mahogany furniture, sofas, etc. when painted deal would do"

apprentices receiving grants under the new regulations. At the first Easter examination in 1848 some thousand teachers presented themselves for examination from schools and training colleges in connection with the Church of England. Of these 338 gained certificates, 9 of the highest class, 102 of the middle class and the remaining 227 of the lower class. By 1859 a total of 12,604<sup>1</sup> certificates had been awarded. This response is a direct measure not only of the enthusiasm of the teachers but also of the managers. The managers had to be willing to accept inspection and provide a salary for the teacher of at least twice the value of the augmentation grant.<sup>2</sup>

While the assessment of the results of the 1846 system is left to future chapters, it should be noted that the immediate verdict of the Inspectors was that real and substantial progress was being made. The difficulties of the teacher should not be forgotten. The young and newly trained teachers were being placed in complete charge of schools at the age of 19 or 20. They might have 200 or 300 scholars, and, at the most, a staff of five or six young pupil-teachers whom they had to prepare for an annual examination. In spite of such difficulties it is rare to find an H.M.I.'s report which does not praise the results

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1. See Appendix for the numerical growth of the profession.
  2. There were of course, some managers of the type noticed by H.M.I. Rev. J. Blandford in 1856 who speaking of an old teacher said, "He is very incompetent but we like him, for he gives us no trouble and is very civil - duly touching his cap and never troubling for money for books or maps etc."

achieved by such teachers.

Between 1849 and 1859 the number of pupil teachers at work in the schools rose from 3,580 to 15,224. This steady rise took place in spite of the disappointment due to the withdrawal in May 1852 of the offer of civil service posts.<sup>1</sup> While the loss of the vague expectations of government patronage had a slight effect on the flow of candidates, many pupil teachers continued to make their way into Government service to the intense annoyance of middle class parents.<sup>2</sup>

The pupil teachers were selected with the greatest care possible by the Inspectors, Managers and Clergymen. The managers had to testify to the H.M.I. not only on the character of the apprentice but also on that of his parents or guardians. It was carefully ascertained whether the candidate lived under the "constant influence of a good example" and if his family life did not bear scrutiny, he was to board in some approved household. "Their Lordships" would not allow pupil teachers to live in a public house, however well conducted it might be. Illegitimate children were not admitted, except in cases of outstanding merit, and even so they were required to move to

1. See Minute 12th May 1852 (B.P.P. 1852-3 LXXIX Minutes 1852-3 p.9)

2. ... "the feeling of the public against persons thus gaining rewards for themselves, and changing their station in life, after they obtained assistance only from the object which the State has in educating them - namely, to obtain a staff of future schoolmasters, will rise, and undoubtedly overthrow this part of the system." Literary Gazette 1860

"Ten per cent of the successful candidates at the last civil service examination were either ex-P.T's, students, or masters from training colleges" The School and the Teacher July 1860.



some other place where they were not known. Furthermore, if a pupil teacher <sup>was</sup> in a Church of England school, he was to show that he fully understood the catechism, and in other schools the managers were to certify that the religious knowledge of their pupil teachers was satisfactory.<sup>1</sup> With such precautions it was no wonder that H.M.I. Brookfield wrote of the pupil teachers as "the flower of the clergyman's school, perhaps of the parish".<sup>2</sup>

In spite of all these precautions there were many who feared that the 1846 Minutes would tend inevitably towards the recruitment of the teaching profession solely from the lower orders<sup>3</sup> and that these recruits impelled by personal ambition rather than a religious calling would make for a secular education. To avert this danger every effort was made in the training colleges to bring the students into contact with religious and cultivated tutors and to fill them at the same time with missionary zeal and with a deep sense of personal humility.<sup>4</sup> It was true that both during the period of pupil teacher training and at the training college the system of competitive examination tended to encourage the students to pay most attention to secular subjects. The H.M.I's as a body

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1. Minutes 1846 and Correspondence in Board of Education Library quoted by G.W.Hughes op.cit. p.19
  2. B.P.P. 1850 XLIV Minutes 1848-50 pp.68-9 H.M.I. Brookfield
  3. See, for example, the Bishop of St.Asaph speaking in the House of Lords on February 5th 1847.
  4. See R.W.Rich op.cit. passim, and The School and the Teacher Nov.1854.

set themselves against this tendency and in their reports constantly stressed the need for religious zeal as well as secular knowledge.

On three occasions the entrance requirements were relaxed to bring into the profession candidates other than ~~normal~~ five-year trained pupil teachers.

In November 1854, the authorities of training colleges were allowed to nominate, as candidates for Queens Scholarships, students of one year's standing, and not less than 20 years of age who need not have been pupil teachers.<sup>1</sup> In June 1856, the examination for Queens Scholarships was thrown open to "young persons, who are now assistants in private schools, untrained teachers desirous of improving their attainments, Sunday School teachers, and generally all those individuals with a natural aptitude for the work of instruction, who became known, from time to time, to the clergy and other promoters of education, and who, with a little preparatory assistance in their private studies, may readily be made to reach the standard of examination."<sup>2</sup> Lastly in July 1858 the age at which pupil teachers could be apprenticed was raised to 16 and upwards with a view to obtaining candidates of a higher rank than those who commonly received instruction in elementary schools. None of these devices had much effect in widening the field of

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1. B.P.P. 1854-5 XLII: Minutes 1854-6 p.287-8 H.M.I. H.Moseley
  2. Minutes of the Committee of Council. June 2nd 1856  
(B.P.P. 1857 Session 2, XXXIII Minutes 1856-7 p.3)

recruitment.

From the beginning of the 1846 system there were recurrent fears among the teachers of a future over-supply. It was predicted that, if all the pupil teachers serving in the schools proceeded to training colleges and became certificated teachers, the profession would soon become grossly overstocked.

This fear found expression as early as 1852 when the number of ex-pupil teachers in the colleges was still small. In the reports of the inspectors for 1852 H.M.I. Watkins attempted to dispel the fears in the teachers' minds. He pointed out the high rate of wastage from the profession due to teachers seeking other openings, failure of health, emigration or (in the instance of women teachers) marriage. He also remarked on the many pupil teachers who never became teachers. In Yorkshire in 1852, 122 pupil teachers had completed their apprenticeship of whom 22% found situations other than teaching. The men were in great demand for clerks and bookkeepers and the women for domestic occupations and dressmaking. Many pupil-teachers did not stay for the full period of their apprenticeship. While pupil-teacherness was almost the only form of Secondary education open to the poor, ex-pupil teachers were sure of employment.

The teachers, however, were still fearful of over-supply which they saw as inherent in the pupil teacher system itself. The school under government inspection was meant to consist of a certificated teacher and three or four pupil teachers. One certificated teacher in the course of his career could conceivably train over 30 pupil teachers. If all these pupil

teachers became certificated teachers in turn then the rate of growth of the profession would be out of all proportion to future demand. There is no doubt that Kay-Shuttleworth himself imagined that a large number of pupil teachers would seek alternative employment at the end of their apprenticeship and that only the best would become certificated teachers. But from the beginning there were complaints from middle class parents that pupil teachers trained at the expense of the middle class, were taking employments that should have gone to middle class children. The Committee of Council was forced to discourage wastage. The only real solution was the employment of more than one certificated teacher in a school and the limitation of the number of pupil teachers and this was a solution that only began to be adopted after the 1870 Act. In 1852, as we have seen in response to the complaints from the middle classes, the Minute of December 1846 relative to the opening of public offices to ex-P.T's was cancelled and instead the Committee of Council recognised the appointment of those pupil teachers who had successfully completed their apprenticeship but failed to obtain Queens Scholarships, as "Assistant Teachers". This was never very popular because the certificated teacher earned part of his income by training pupil teachers and was loth to lose it. The assistant teacher only took the post while studying for the certificate. In 1859 in the whole of England and Wales there were only 251 assistant teachers as against 5718 certificated teachers and 12,952 pupil teachers.<sup>1</sup>

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1. See Appendix

One difficulty in leaving the size of the profession to be decided by wastage was that in many cases it was the best of the pupil teachers who were lost to the profession. ~~It was difficult for teaching to compete with other occupations.~~ At the expiration of his apprenticeship a pupil teacher ceased to receive pay, and though he might secure a Queens Scholarship he became chargeable with personal expenses for two years in a Training College and such expenses were by no means inconsiderable. Pupil teachers were in demand in other and more remunerative occupations not only <sup>because of</sup> ~~for~~ their scholarship but also <sup>because</sup> ~~for~~ their character <sup>had been</sup> ~~is~~ guaranteed by the terms of their apprenticeship.

In June 1855 a return was made in a parliamentary paper relative to pupil teachers apprenticed under the Minutes of the Committee of Council. The enquiry found that of the 12,474 pupil teachers apprenticed up until December 31st 1854,

7,596	were still serving under apprenticeship
1,017	were in training colleges
1,439	were teaching
1,509	had left pupil teaching before completing apprenticeship
33	had emigrated after completion
515	had sought other jobs after completion
146	were unoccupied (mainly females married or living at home)
32	were seeking employment
29	were invalided
47	dead
1	
111	unknown
<u>12,474</u>	

The loss of the "vague expectations of government employment" in 1856 did not lead to a decrease in the number of pupil teachers although it is possible that male pupil teachers

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1. B.P.P. 1854-5 XL1 For a later enquiry on wastage see Chpt VI.

were recruited from poorer families than formerly.<sup>1</sup> Fears of over-supply continued and various suggestions were made by teachers to reduce the output of pupil teachers.<sup>2</sup> In May 1859 a Minute restricted the number of pupil teachers under one master or mistress to 4, and limited the total number of pupil teachers to one for every forty children.

Despite the fears of the teachers<sup>3</sup> there does not seem to have been any glut of certificated teachers and the Educational Guardian which had been the periodical most concerned with the problem wrote in August 1860 that, "one fact is conspicuous and important, viz:- that with all the agencies that have been in operation to make teachers "as plentiful as blackberries".... the essential balance of supply and demand is not at present seriously disturbed."<sup>4</sup>

Throughout the period there was a tendency for the percentage of female pupil teachers to rise. From 32% in 1849, it rose to 41% in 1854, and 46% in 1859. This increase was due not only to the greater demand for certificated school-mistresses but also to the greater attractions of the profession for women. There were fewer alternative occupations open to

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1. B.P.P. 1856 XLVII: Minutes 1855-6 p.228-9 H.M.I. F.C.Cook
  2. There was, however, a countervailing desire to keep pupil teachers both for their usefulness to the teacher and for the addition the grant for instruction of pupil teachers made to the teacher's income. See the Memorial of the Northern Association of Certificated Schoolmasters Dec.1855.
  3. Educational Guardian Feb 1860
  4. Educational Guardian Aug 1860

girls<sup>1</sup> and many girls entered teaching with the hope of abandoning it on marriage.<sup>2</sup>

The situation of certificated mistresses was considered to be so attractive that attempts were made to appropriate it for middle class entrants. Miss Angela G. Burdett Coutts<sup>3</sup> while visiting schools "ascertained with much surprise, that the majority of pupil teachers in National Schools, and of young women in the Training Schools of the Metropolis, were children chiefly of parents whose condition in life was extremely humble; and on further inquiry, I was informed that this as a rule, held good generally throughout the country. Such an exclusive

1. The School and the Teacher August 1856: "The openings for females are but few. The girls in our schools have generally to choose between domestic service, dressmaking, or some occupation which we may denominate factory work. Now it is evident, that for them an occupation which secures an immediate income, averaging £15 per annum for five years, with a prospect of from £60-£100 afterwards, will be preferred to any of the other alternatives, especially when greater respectability and less restraint will also be secured".
2. Training School Statistics; or an Exact Account of the Results of the Largest and Oldest Training Schools. Being an appendix to the Annual Report of the Whitelands Training School 1860-61 gives details of the careers of female teachers trained at Whitelands. Between 1843 and 1850, 175 mistresses were trained, of these only 60 were known to be still conducting schools ten years later. 42 could not be traced and 45 had left the profession. Between 1851 and 1860, 417 mistresses were trained of whom 315 still remained as teachers.  
An interesting table (p.10) gives the professions of the husbands of 149 teachers trained at Whitelands. Of 134 who stated the profession of their husbands 72 had married teachers
3. Victorian philanthropist, the "richest heiress in all England" and a great propagandist for the teaching of "common things".

appropriation of these situations does not seem socially advantageous."<sup>1</sup>

She drew up a circular to attract the daughters of the middle classes into the profession and obtained the approval of the Bishop of London, the Treasurer of the National Society and Earl Granville (President of the Committee of Council) to its circulation.<sup>2</sup> Her scheme however, failed completely as though a large number of middle class girls came forward in response to Miss Coutts request, and were given a preliminary examination, in all cases they were found to have been so imperfectly taught that "with every desire to encourage young persons, it was impossible to admit them to the examination for Queens Scholarships with the slightest hope of success."<sup>3</sup>

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1. English Journal of Education April 1858
  2. The English Journal of Education April 1858 objected to the scheme on the grounds that, "Excellent as are the training colleges we doubt the wisdom of encouraging young ladies to seek entrance into them. In the first place though the education now given in them is better and sounder than that which most young ladies receive in the highest ranks of life, (few of whom could answer well even the papers on music or compete with the drawing accomplished every Christmas), still this would have its evil in the certainty that young ladies thus effectually educated, and also for the domestic purposes of life, would be admirably adopted for the wives of gentlemen both by mental and moral training, and none, or but very few, would ever remain in schools for the poor. They would marry the clergyman or the squire, or their sons, in nearly every parish they went to, or would probably be well married before they went at all. The only obstacle to this now is the low birth of the present order of college trained schoolmistresses; and this Miss Burdett Coutts' plan would remove."
  3. E.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt. VI p.241: National Society Report 1859  
The desire to attract entrants from a higher class is constantly recurring in the history of the profession. Note the "Association for promoting the employment of High School Girls in Elementary School Work" 1902-5.



Dr. R.W. Rich has described the training colleges of the time in detail and there is little one can add to or correct in his description.<sup>1</sup> Charles Dickens' description of Mr. M'Choakumchild in Hard Times<sup>2</sup> should not be taken as a true picture of the college trained teacher of this period. Fortunately we have the biography of a real teacher who if not "typical" of the majority of the teachers of the period was regarded by them as

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1. R.W. Rich - The Training of teachers in England and Wales during the Nineteenth Century Chs. V and VI

See also B.P.F. 1861 XXI Pt. I pp. 108-149

2. "So, Mr. Choakumchild began in his best manner. He and some 140 other schoolmasters, had been lately turned at the same time in the same factory, on the same principles, like so many pianoforte legs. He had been put through an immense variety of paces, and had answered volumes of head-breaking questions. Orthography, etymology, syntax and prosody, biography, astronomy, geography, and general cosmography, the sciences of compound proposition, algebra, land surveying and levelling, vocal music, and drawing from models, were all at the end of his ten chilled fingers. He had worked his stony way into Her Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council's Schedule B, and had taken the bloom off the higher branches of mathematics and physical science, French, German, Latin and Greek. He knew all about the water sheds of all the world (whatever they are) and all the histories of all the peoples, and all the names of all the rivers and mountains, and all the productions, manners and customs of all the countries, and all their boundaries and bearings on the two and thirty points of the compass. Oh, rather overdone, M'Choakumchild. If he had only learnt a little less, how infinitely better he might have taught much more." (C. Dickens - Hard Times (1854). As Frank Smith has pointed out (in his History of Elementary Education p. 219) at the time Dickens was writing very few ex-pupil teachers had completed their training and Dickens' attack was not an attack on the pupil teacher system. Whether this is true or not the "stereotype" of the over-educated, conceited, ambitious teacher was very strong among the middle classes of this period.

an ideal teacher.

John Wilson Pringle was born at Dunse, Berwickshire on the 10th of November 1817. He was educated at a Dame's School at Edinburgh and Private Adventure schools at Dunse and Edinburgh. He came to England at the age of 19 and was engaged as an Usher in schools at Grantham, Nottingham and London. During this time he steadily pursued his own studies, in the midst of great privations and pecuniary difficulties.

In 1840 he entered Battersea Normal School as a student, and remained there for 15 months, distinguishing himself for application to his studies, and for zeal as a teacher, both at the Model School and in the Training Institution, where he rendered very valuable service as a superintendent, and occasionally as an assistant master. He was also appointed as one of the teachers of the classes in Milhauser's method of writing, then held at Exeter Hall, under the sanction of the Committee of Council on Education; and he succeeded in a marked degree in gaining the esteem of the schoolmasters under tuition, by his unassuming but intelligent manner of imparting instruction.

He left Battersea to take charge of the Holland Farm School at Kensington where he continued to pursue his own studies with even increased diligence. With a wife and two children to support upon a limited income, he contrived to lay the foundation of a very considerable library, consisting almost exclusively of books of study. He was in turn Master of the Girls' Industrial School at Swinton, Nr. Manchester, Mathematical

Master at H.M.Dockyard School, Devonport and Master of St.Mary's National School, Southwark.

After the 1846 Minutes four pupil teachers were apprenticed to him. He presented himself as a candidate for a certificate of merit at the first general examination of schoolmasters at Easter 1848, and though seriously unwell at the time of the examination obtained a Certificate of the 2nd Division, 1st Class, the highest awarded by the Committee of Council on that occasion.

Besides his work and his studies he had been for fifteen years a voluntary Sunday School teacher. He died of brain fever after a short illness at the age of 31 leaving a wife and child<sup>1</sup> totally unprovided for.

One cannot begin to understand the teachers of the period from 1846-1862 unless one realises their almost fierce desire ~~in many cases~~ to acquire knowledge. The knowledge they acquired may have lacked depth. It was all too liable to become a "vague discursive general acquaintance with many subjects" rather than "solid depth and exact accuracy in a few" and the Committee of Council was warned again and again by the Inspectors that "the young persons labour under the disadvantage of having to grapple with an amount of work unsuited for their age, and too extensive for the time they could profitably devote to study" and that very few gained from their apprenticeship "precision of ideas, the power of expressing themselves well in their own language, and the ability to give a sensible opinion on any common abstract question."<sup>2</sup>

1. English Journal of Education 1849

2. See next page.

2. B.P.P. 1857 Session 2 XXXIII Minutes 1856-7 p.451-3 H.M.I. Stewart.

See also the reports of H.M.I's Moseley and Arnold, passim.

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It was impossible to expect a high proportion of "cultured" teachers from pupil teacherdom with its  $1\frac{1}{2}$  hours of instruction a day, after a hard day's work and with a tired teacher and tired pupil teachers. The large number of teachers who did succeed in educating themselves, in the full sense of the word, is a tribute not to the pupil teacher system but to the pupil teachers and teachers themselves.

Whatever the education given at the training college or the atmosphere in which that education was given<sup>1</sup> the college helped greatly in the emergence of a sense of professional unity. It was in the colleges that the young teachers obtained their feeling that they were a professional group, and friendships were made which were afterwards to facilitate the formation of national associations. Many of the teachers' leaders both in the early period and at the time of the formation of the N.U.E.T. were training college tutors and most teachers retained an affection for their college which grew stronger as the memories<sup>2</sup> of what they had really been like grew weaker. Conditions,

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1. The Whitelands "Information for the use of candidates for admission 1859" stated that the object of a Normal Institution was "to subject its pupils to a mild yet watchful discipline; to exercise them in habits of order and neatness, of patience and forbearance, of active and persevering industry, to accustom them to regular devotions, and to preserve them, as far as possible, in lowliness of mind"  
Quoted in Papers for the Schoolmaster Dec.1859
2. See for example a series of articles in The Schoolmaster for 1902.

however, varied from college to college and while some principals and tutors were remembered with affection by their students and continued to take an active interest in them,<sup>1</sup> others were accused of a "cold and haughty deportment" and of "assuming a state of impassiveness with regard to the teacher."<sup>2</sup>

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1. See for example Papers for the Schoolmaster. Sept. 1853. B.Simpson. This "active interest" raised difficulties of its own. Bithell in 1858 attacked the colleges on the grounds that, "Many teachers.....say that...for a long time past the colleges have been getting the best schools of the country under their own control, so that all chance of getting into a good school, except through their agency, is cut off; while, on the other hand, the colleges are naturally desirous of reserving such schools as prizes for those of their alumni whom they wish to favour." (The School and the Teacher March 1858)
2. Educational Guardian. July 1862

## CHAPTER IV

### The "Social Condition" of the New Schoolmasters

"It is no strange thing that men who in education, tastes and habits, have all the qualifications of "gentlemen" should regard themselves as worthy of something very much higher than the treatment of a servant, and the wages of a mechanic.....What in short the teacher desires is, that his "calling" shall rank as a "profession" that the name of "schoolmaster" shall ring as grandly on the ear as that of "clergyman" or "solicitor": that he shall feel no more that awful chill and "stony British stare" which follows the explanation that "that interesting young man" is only the "schoolmaster".<sup>1</sup>

The School and the Teacher October 1855

The "church" schoolmaster at his work found himself under the immediate supervision of two individuals each of whom he had to satisfy. These were the local clergyman, in his capacity as chairman of the board of managers and "Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools" (also a clergyman) on whose annual inspection and report he depended for his augmentation grant, capitation grant and gratuity for training pupil teachers. Behind the local clergyman stood the Church and behind the Inspector the State (in the person of their semi-mythical

1. This observation did not go unanswered. The English Journal of Education a more moderate journal wrote,.....  
 "Are there really many teachers who have all the qualifications of "gentlemen" or the wages of mechanics? Are there any number sufficient to justify this sweeping portrait of the position of the body? We must beg leave to question it.....  
 Let them (teachers) by earnest industry and effectual services earn a just claim on public gratitude, and they will assuredly have an inward as well as an outward recompense, which will infinitely exceed all the titles on the earth, "ring they ever so grandly on the ear" clothing them with honour, at least as dignified as that of being called a solicitor, or wearing a badge" (English Journal of Education (1855))

Lordships of the Committee of Council on Education). Others whom the teachers had to consider and placate were the parents of the children in their schools, the board of managers and the local subscribers. The board of managers for church schools was almost always completely dominated by the clergyman<sup>1</sup> but was of great importance for British and Wesleyan teachers.<sup>2</sup>

### The Clergy, the Church and the Teacher

All Inspectors were agreed that in rural districts what was "being done in the way of right education is mainly due to the exertions of the clergy."<sup>3</sup> The conscientious clergyman was not only responsible for much of the financial burden of supporting the school<sup>4</sup> but also spent a great deal of time in superintending the work of the school and assisting the schoolteacher in hearing lessons.<sup>5</sup> Many of the "old"<sup>6</sup> teachers

1. See references to the "Management Clause Controversy" in Chapter V.
2. In 1850 there were 1,562 schools under inspection connected with the National Society or the Church of England, 282 British, Wesleyan and other schools not connected with the Church of England and 99 Roman Catholic schools. The corresponding numbers in 1861 were 5,069, 918 and 272. Special Reports on Educational Subjects Volume 2 (1898) p.538
3. B.P.P. 1843 XL: Minutes 1843 p.220; H.M.I. J.Allen
4. B.P.P. 1861 XXI: Part I: Report of the Newcastle Commission pp.77-8
5. For example Reverend Crawley in Trollope's "The Last Chronicles of Barset"
6. The terms "old" and "new" as used here are almost identical with "uncertificated" and "certificated". The majority of the "new" teachers were two-year trained ex-pupil teachers but there was a significant contingent among them who had taken the certificate by private study. The "old" teachers were the un-certificated teachers teaching both before and after the 1846 Minutes. The possession of the certificate in itself served to unite the new teachers in a common bond of accomplishment.

looked to the clergyman for constant advice and support and were helpless without it. During the first stages of state intervention one of the main duties of the Inspectors had been to encourage clergymen to take an active interest in the school. H.M.I. J. Allen wrote in 1845 that, "Our ordinary teachers have very little sense of how much is entrusted to them, and therefore if a school is to be of real value, except in very rare instances, there must constantly be at hand the unbought services of some one, either clergymen, esquire or members of their families, who, keeping the most important ends constantly in view, will be capable, both by education and intelligence, to give that counsel, and infuse that spirit which cannot be looked for from our present race of teachers."<sup>1</sup>

While Allen encouraged the clergyman to take an active part in the work of the school he was aware of the stultifying effects of too close a superintendence of the work of the teacher.<sup>2</sup> This close superintendence of the whole of the work of the school by the clergyman<sup>3</sup> presupposed "that the clergyman

1. B.P.P. 1845 XXXV; Minutes 1843-4 p.380 H.M.I. J. Allen
2. .... "It has been inculcated upon some of our teachers that they are to be the servants of the Church..... some have, I fear, understood the teaching, as that they were so far servants of the Church that they were not to exercise upon their own business, upon matters properly within their own sphere, their faculties of judgement, but that they were to want to receive from the clergyman directions to the most trivial matters before they might venture to put into practice the most obvious suggestions of experience.".....  
B.P.P. 1842 XXXIII; Minutes 1842 p.389; H.M.I. J. Allen
3. Some Inspectors complained that masters were reprimanded by the Clergyman in front of the school or were forced to sit in the class and listen to a lesson from the clergyman to teach them humility.  
B.P.P. 1844 XXXV; Minutes 1843-4 p.87 H.M.I. Cook; and  
(Contd...)



B.P.F. 1861 XXI Pt.V: Evidence before the Newcastle Commission  
p.163

is able to carry on the education of the school, in all branches, higher than the schoolmaster can."<sup>1</sup> From 1851 onwards large numbers of highly trained teachers were entering the schools yearly and there were signs of an increasing tension between the teacher and his "ex-officio superior with no necessary knowledge of the subject."<sup>2</sup> The new schoolmasters were not willing to accept the guidance of the clergy on professional matters. They thought of themselves as being as highly educated as many of the clergy<sup>3</sup> and they were extremely touchy as to their relative "social conditions."<sup>4</sup> The new schoolmasters<sup>5</sup> sneered at the old for their subordination to the clergy.

What prevented this tension from leading to open conflict was primarily the deep religious feelings of the vast majority of the teachers. The whole nature of their training had been religious and even where they differed from individual members of the clergy their loyalty to the church remained unshaken.<sup>6</sup>

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1. The Charge of the Lord Bishop of Sodor and Man for 1842 reported in the English Journal of Education January 1843
  2. C.K.F. Brown & The Church's Part in Education (1942) p.43
  3. There was some truth in this claim. During the period from 1846 onwards a small but significant number of certificated schoolmasters took holy orders.
  4. The "social condition" controversy will be discussed later in the chapter.
  5. The School and the Teacher August 1861
  6. See National Society Monthly Paper: Dec 1851 - April 1852  
Ibid: Correspondence August 1856 ff.  
The Schoolmaster: Correspondence on "The National Church and the National Schoolmaster" Sept.19th - Dec.5th 1874  
 See also the stories of the Management Clause Controversy and the Exclusion of the Clergy Controversy in the next chapter.

Many of the clergy were ~~indeed~~ willing to relinquish all the work of the school to an efficient teacher.<sup>1</sup>

The high demand for teachers meant that in cases of open conflict the teacher could obtain a new post with relative ease. However, if he did move (whether on his own volition or after dismissal) before the Annual Inspection he lost any augmentation grant and pupil teacher training grant he might have earned for work already done that year.<sup>2</sup>

The H.M.I., their Lordships and the Teacher.<sup>3</sup>

Kay-Shuttleworth had attempted to recruit the Inspectorate from men inspired by the same broad view of education as himself. He took infinite care in the selection and training of the Inspectors and corresponded with them on the minutest details of their work. From the teacher's point of view and with some reservations one must agree with Leese's appraisal of the Inspectors' <sup>part</sup> point in national education during this period when he writes, "They led the crusade against the effete monitorial

1. Some went too far and in 1861 the Oxford District of the "Associated Body of Church Schoolmasters" passed a resolution stating "that the difficulties between teachers and managers more frequently arise from the indifference of the latter, than from any undue interference" (Educational Guardian March 1861)
2. There were many complaints on this score in the teachers' magazines. See for an example, "Fifteen Years among National Schools" Part II The School and the Teacher Jan. 1857. See also C.K.F. Brown op.cit. p.134
3. We still await a definitive history of the Inspectorate. Two incomplete histories are, H.E. Boothroyd - A History of the Inspectorate (1923. Private Circulation. A copy is in the Ministry of Education Library) John Leese - Personalities and Power in English Education (1950). See also List of Books on Inspection of Schools in England (Duplicated: Ministry of Education Library).

system and initiated great improvements in school organisation and management. Their reports helped to gain for the teacher a better salary, a higher social standing, and the prospect of a decent home and of a pension on retirement. They encouraged the formation of teachers' associations and insisted on a high standard of scholarship for the teacher far in advance of what most people thought necessary or desirable. On the other hand, they were not slow to chide any conceit on the part of the younger teachers, nor to expose gross inefficiency - or cruelty where it existed.<sup>1</sup> Even during the late '50s when the teachers were pressing for the promotion of certificated teachers to the Inspectorate they gave ungrudging praise to the majority of the existing inspectors.<sup>2</sup> It is noteworthy also that in reading through the five teachers' periodicals of the period at least seven Inspectors are constantly referred to in the warmest terms as friends of the teacher<sup>3</sup> and only one is noted

1. Leese op.cit. p.63

2. Alfred Jones in his pamphlet on The Principles of Privy Council Legislation (1859) preceded a heated demand for the promotion of teachers to the Inspectorate by the following,.... "There is perhaps no body of men in the Queen's dominions, who taken in their whole course, have so grown in public estimation as Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools. They have informed and led public opinion, and have really gained the hearts of the teachers they report upon. Education owes to them more than the Ministry has lately been ready to allow. Being men of liberal education and of high standing, they have, by their office, given a dignity to the profession, and elevated the elementary educator. Undeniably no selection hitherto could have been better or as good."

3. These are H.M.I's J.Norris, H.Moseley, W.H.Brookfield, J.D. Morell, W.J.Kennedy, F.Watkins and F.C.Cook.

as a consistent opponent of the teachers' claims.<sup>1</sup>

In 1848 H.M.I. Roseley drew up an elaborate scheme for creating a Teachers' Superannuation Fund<sup>2</sup> and in 1854 he and W.J. Kennedy presented a memorial to the Lord President of the Council signed by 725 church schoolmasters petitioning for the setting up of a superannuation fund. H.M.I. F. Watkins in his report for 1856-8 pressed the teachers' claim to a higher salary as a matter of not only professional but of national importance. He wrote that "the uncertain tenure of a scanty stipend must needs be very galling to a sensitive spirit such as, from his peculiar and isolated situation, that of a schoolmaster too often is. In addition to all this he has little or no professional prospect..... I am speaking of it in its common worldly point of view, which is really that by which all professionals are judged in the market..... It is most unreasonable to expect in schoolmasters higher and less selfish motives than those which influence the lawyer, the physician,

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1. H.M.I. H.L. Jones; Langueville Jones attacks on the teachers for their dissatisfaction with their social position, for being "above their work", using the school only as a stepping stone, "lending an ear to the insidious suggestions of periodical publications, calculated only to render him unhappy and dissatisfied" etc. are to be found in B.P.P. 1854 LII; Minutes 1853-4 pp.663-5. H.M.I. H.L. Jones; B.P.P. 1854-5 XLII Minutes 1854-5 p. H.M.I. H.L. Jones. Jones later attempted to found a University in Manchester in connection with the University of London. He also founded the Cambrian Archaeological Association and the periodical "Archaeologia Cambrensis" (See Dictionary of National Biography).
  2. B.P.P. 1850 XLIV; Minutes 1848-9-50 pp.807-815

the literary man and the clergyman"<sup>1</sup>.....

Most of the Inspectors encouraged the formation of Teachers' Associations and were welcome guests at their meetings. At the Annual Dinner of the "Metropolitan Church Schoolmasters Association", with H.M.I. Moseley in the chair, H.M.I. Brookfield proposed the toast of "prosperity to the Association" with the following words, "He was glad to know that the time had arrived, when the schoolmaster, at the close of his day's toil could put on his hat, and, crushing it down, exclaim, "By the grace of God there is a man under it."<sup>2</sup> Some Inspectors were blamed for encouraging among teachers the belief that they were servants of the state and "My Lords" ordained that meetings of teachers "for general discussion and not for mutual improvement" should be discouraged and that "Her Majestys' Inspectors should not encourage independent action by teachers by correspondence with

1. B.P.P. 1857-8 XLV: Minutes 1857-8 p.292-4 F.Watkins.  
These sentiments went too far for some teachers and "friends" of the teacher.  
In Papers for the Schoolmaster Nov.1858 a letter from A.L. attacked Watkins' Report "It is most injudicious that a statement so sure to make masters still more restless and dissatisfied with their position than they already are, should have been permitted to go forth with the sanction of a School Inspector"  
An Editorial in the same paper for Nov.1858 wrote that, "There is sufficient discontent abroad which is acting unfavourably upon the moral influence of the schoolmaster, and Mr.Watkins would have done better to wait until he had discovered the means of allaying the spirit which he is likely to arouse.... Men should not be attracted to the office by mere gain. The good results will depend upon the degree in which they do not"....

2. The School and the Teacher, April, 1854

them in their collective capacities independent of the managers of the schools."<sup>1</sup>

While the Inspectors favoured teachers' associations many were wary of the direction the movement might take. Moseley hoped that the "Metropolitan Church Schoolmasters Association" would never pass "into a society to defend the so-called rights of the schoolmaster, and to battle for his interests" and warned the members that if it did, "the favourable opinion of all good men will then desert you, and God's blessing will not rest upon you."<sup>2</sup> H.M.I. Norris strongly deprecated any further centralisation of teachers associations.<sup>3</sup>

There was of course some friction between teachers and Inspectors. It was the Inspectors duty to criticise the state of the schools and the teachers, and this criticism was not always palatable to the individual teachers, their associations or their magazines.<sup>4</sup> In spite of some unfortunate incidents the large majority of the Inspectors were on good terms with the teachers in their district. As the 1846 system was extended however the constitution of the Inspectorate began to change. New Inspectors were appointed with little prior experience of

1. Correspondence quoted by G.W. Hughes op.cit. p.102 and J. Lease op.cit. p.59
2. H.M.I. Moseley to the "Metropolitan Association of Church Schoolmasters (National Society Monthly Paper July 1854)
3. B.P.P. 1852-3 LXXX: Minutes 1852-3 p.460 H.M.I. Norris. It was in answer to Norris that the Educational Expositor wrote "How long will schoolmasters consent to be taught the duties of their office by the members of another profession?" (Educational Expositor April 1854)
4. See for example the incident reported in The School and the Teacher August 1854.

education and there were signs of growing friction between them and the teachers.<sup>1</sup>

The "Golden Age" of Inspection was already showing signs of decline in the late 1850's. The Revised Code led to the "Dark Ages" when the visit of the Inspector was an event to be looked forward to with terror by the teacher. Even after "payment by results" was abandoned the issue of "cast" in education was to bedevil relations between teachers and inspectors until the 1920's.

During the Secretaryship of Kay-Shuttleworth the Council Office had been administered with tact and sympathy.<sup>2</sup> Kay-Shuttleworth had left the Committee of Council in 1849, after a breakdown due to overwork, and was succeeded by R.R.Lingen. Of Lingen The School and the Teacher was to write in July 1859 that "The teachers have at the helm... a man who is controlling

1. See for example The School and the Teacher, August 1857.

"When such men as the Rev. F. Temple are appointed, there cannot be nor has there been any dispute about qualifications, but in fact, many of the new Inspectors are, instead of being men of judgement and experience, now young men fresh from college, or the country, without the slightest knowledge either of the best methods of imparting elementary instruction or of the means required for obtaining good discipline. For example, one of the recently appointed gentlemen upon going to inspect a school, requested the master to show him about and explain the various matters going on, pleading the novelty of his position and the necessity of initiation into its mysteries; such are the men who are deputed to be the judges of experienced teachers, and judge in rather a strong sense of the term, for upon their reports depends the position and even livelihood of the teacher....."

2. See Appendix for the famous Circular Letter to Inspectors of 1847.

the destinies of some six thousand teachers, and about fifteen thousand aspirants to the same position, apparently without a spark of sympathy for the former, and for the latter, no further care than that connected with supply and demand." Much of the antagonism between the teachers and the Committee of Council was due to the fact that two mutually inconsistent principles were at work. The first was the tightening of government control over schools and teachers. After the 1846 Minutes a large part of the teacher's salary came from the State. Both teachers and pupil teachers were paid their grants directly from London by post-office orders. Even the hours of labour of the teachers were largely fixed by the State and the Committee of Council had "also the power virtually of saying that a teacher shall not hold his situation: for the refusal to apprentice pupil teachers amounts to this, as there are few managers who will retain one to whom pupil teachers cannot be apprenticed."<sup>1</sup>

Under these circumstances it is easy to see why there was an increasing tendency for teachers to regard themselves as Civil Servants and to claim the rights of Civil Servants.

The second principle grew up in direct re-action to the first and was the expression of the disinclination of the Government to carry its intervention to a logical conclusion. While tightening the restraints on the teacher the government announced that it "neither appoints nor dismisses those officers (i.e. teachers) nor does it recognize them, except as

1. The School and the Teacher. April 1855: The Schoolmaster's Relations III: To the Committee of Council on Education.



employed by the independent managers of schools under inspection!"<sup>1</sup>  
 This doctrine was used as an excuse for the government refusal to institute a superannuation scheme.

At the same time that the Government was denying that the Teachers had any direct claim on the State it was enforcing the extremely unpopular Minute by which it "objected to sanctioning the apprenticeship of pupil teachers to a master or mistress who takes private pupils"<sup>2</sup>

This Minute, in spite of its good intentions, was the most unpopular act of the Committee of Council from 1846 to the Revised Code. The teachers naturally objected that they were in no position to forego the smallest additions to their income and that after they had discharged the duties of their vocation the remainder of the day should be their own, to employ as they thought fit. The Government however, was implacable and took its stand on the principle that "when the State gave money to the schoolmasters..... it had a right to require that in return the whole remunerative time of the masters should be devoted to the schools."<sup>3</sup>

1. Circular on Superannuation quoted in The School and the Teacher August 1858. See also The Educational Guardian May 1859 quoting an H.M.I. as saying "My Lords do not consider themselves called upon to grant pensions, if teachers have any claim, it is upon their employers, the school managers."

2. B.P.P. 1854 LI p.64

3. Mr. Cowper in reply to a deputation of schoolmasters (led by Edwin Simpson) reported in The School and the Teacher June 1857 said that the principle "did not apply to schoolmasters only, but to all persons employed in the public service." Mr. Simpson observed in reply, "that if the State would recognize the schoolmasters as servants of the State, and would pay them in proportion to the other servants of the State, they would be perfectly satisfied; but their Lordships of the Committee on Education refused to recognize the schoolmasters as servants

of the State." Mr. Cowper's answer was not recorded.

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There were other irritations which the Teachers suffered due to the equivocal nature of their relationship to the State. No teacher could communicate with the Government on any matter affecting his own personal interests, or those of his school, except through his committee of management. If he wrote a letter to the Committee of Council on any such business, he received in reply a printed formal letter, stating that no communication could be attended to unless signed by the official correspondent of his school - a condition which frequently prevented any communication on the matter in hand, whatever. Teachers were never consulted about any new arrangements made by the Committee of Council, however deeply those new arrangements affected their condition or prospects. Deputations were sent to the Committee of Council on several occasions<sup>1</sup> and these deputations were

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1. e.g. On Management Clauses Feb. 19th 1853

On Superannuation 1853 (This deputation was invited to the Committee of Council Office, to explain the views and wants of Teachers on this subject. It was composed of five members of the Church Schoolmasters' Association: Boulden, Stevenson, White, Studdle, and Searle (National Society Monthly Paper May 1853))

On the Minute preventing Private Pupils 1857.

received with courtesy.<sup>1</sup>

Teachers continued to complain that there was no "machinery of consultation", nobody<sup>was</sup> recognized as speaking on behalf of the teachers.<sup>2</sup> There were further complaints of the ruling<sup>under</sup> which if a pupil teacher turned out badly, the master<sup>had</sup> his payment for training him stopped completely.

If the Committee of Council restricted the teacher's life the teacher was always willing to admit that without the Committee no profession would have ever existed. Mr. Boardman in a paper on "The Teacher" attacked the Committee of Council but added ..... "The modicum of the precious metal (the teacher) receives for his services has been increased by that body to whom the elementary teachers of this country owe so much, Her

1. For example in his reply to the 1857 Deputation Mr. Cowper first observed....."that it was a great satisfaction to him to meet gentlemen who were able to state what were the opinions and feelings entertained on these matters by a certain class of schoolmasters who had derived their knowledge from experience of the practical working of their own schools. He should at all times be very much obliged to any gentlemen who would tell him what their views were and what suggestions they had to make in reference to this important subject."

The School and the Teacher June 1857

2. It was not until 1890 that the N.U.T. was recognised as representing the teachers by the Department of Education. See G.W. KeKewich - The Education Department and After (1920) p.62

Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council on Education."<sup>1</sup>

The Parents, the Managers and the Teacher.

There are several social factors which can be seen affecting the relationship between the elementary teacher and the parents of the children they teach until the present day. The teacher had "moved up" from the ranks of the working class and was seeking to enter the professional middle classes. He had achieved his position by a great effort of enforced respectability and hard work and he considered himself intellectually superior to the mass of "honest hard-working clowns" among whom he laboured. Although this sense of

1. "The Teacher": A paper read at the first annual meeting of the Associated Body of Church Schoolmasters. The School and the Teacher May 1854.

See also A. Jones - Principles of Privy Council Legislation (1859) in which A. Jones after attacking the Government policy as "parade of liberality, love of authority, vacillating despotism, arbitrary changes, but always reducing liberty" hastened to add that "in the investigation of these subjects I disavow bringing any charge against the Committee of Council..... of wilful injustice or disregard. I see very much for which teachers ought to be thankful. Their profession has been made more honourable, and their ranks filled with educated men. Their salaries have been raised.... We are indebted to the enlightened measures of the Committee of Council for this encouragement. We pray only for the easy removal of a few grievances: some well intended as benefits, we really believe, but whose tendency was not thoroughly considered: some, we fain to think, enacted with no consideration whatever".....

See also English Journal of Education 1856 for the report of a meeting of the "United Association of Schoolmasters" March 1st 1856 which was addressed by E. Simpson on "The Schoolmaster's Relations with the Government." After the paper there was an animated discussion and the general feeling of the meeting was that the Committee of Council was really desirous of doing everything they could for the good of the schoolmaster: and although certain regulations might appear arbitrary and unnecessary, there had been and still were reasons which showed the wisdom of such checks as had been adopted.

superiority was usually accompanied by a strong desire to better the condition of the working class it was real enough to inhibit easy intercourse between the teacher and the parents. The rejection of social intercourse with the working class by the teacher and the equally strong rejection of the teacher by the professional middle classes produced the teacher's "social isolation".

The attitude of the parents towards the teacher was a mixture of admiration and resentment. The teacher was admired because he had risen from the working class and resented because of his "airs". The teacher was looked upon by the manual worker as representing "respectability" and the "system" and when the workers were in revolt against the system the teacher was often the nearest and most defenceless representative.<sup>1</sup>

Certain complaints made by teachers about parents are all too familiar nowadays. It was complained that, "parents of children who attend our national schools.... too often view the

1. H.M.I. Watkins in describing the effects of a strike in the Northern District wrote of the parents that, "they were satisfied with nothing in their children's schooling. They complained of everything - of severity, if any proper discipline was used - of insufficiency, if monitors were employed - of waste of time if their children were taught to sing: they said, "They have not to go about singing for their livelihood." They found fault if any manual or other exercise was practiced in the school. For the slightest punishment or rebuke they abused the master, and took their children away from his care. Nor did the ill-disposed confine themselves to words. In several schools I observed many panes of glass broken..... The effect of this state of things, of daily annoyance as well as of heavy loss, was plainly perceptible in some of the masters of the schools....  
B.P.P. 1845 XXXV: Minutes 1843-4 p.475 H.M.I. Watkins.

school at best as a convenient place to which they may send their children out of the way, till they are old enough to do something towards earning their bread by the sweat of their brow, and the teacher as a person paid to look after their children: one on whom they are conferring a great favour by sending their children to school, one whom they are at liberty, to abuse, insult or speak of in language which a master would rarely employ towards his servant. In short, they do not value the school, nor the teacher.<sup>1</sup>

The religious societies realised the need for happy relations between parents and teachers, and a published address to parents urged them to be careful in interfering with discipline or correction in the school, but to treat teachers as persons deeply interested in the children's welfare, and not as hired servants. If there was a genuine grievance, parents were not to go in a passion to abuse, but to go straight to the clergyman "under whose authority everything is done." Finally, they had no right to speak angrily or disrespectfully to the teachers, who had the strongest claim to their gratitude and support.<sup>2</sup> Teachers in their turn were encouraged by their employers to visit the parents and to attempt to influence them.

The attitude of parents towards the school varied with the type of education being offered. The monitorial system was

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1. Papers for the Schoolmaster May 1854: "Thoughts upon the duties of a Schoolmaster" - A paper read before a self-improving society attached to a Training College, by one of the students.
  2. Quoted by G.W. Hughes op.cit. p.89

universally unpopular with parents. Religious and moral instruction was borne with as a necessary evil only to be accepted if the secular and vocational education accompanying it were considered worthwhile.<sup>1</sup>

The importance and nature of the relationship between the school-managers and the teacher depended in the main on the religious denomination to which the school was attached. In church schools the clergyman was usually both the most diligent member of the management committee and also the member of the committee most in favour of working class education. In rural districts attempts to enlarge the scope of the syllabus or to secure constancy of attendance were met with suspicion and opposed tooth and nail by the farmers who saw no reason why they should pay for other people's children and who in any case wanted a ready supply of rook-scarers and juvenile harvesters.

In Non-conformist districts the relations of the teacher with his management committee were happier. The greater emphasis on ability to read the Bible and the higher status of the

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1. B.P.F. 1861 XX1 Pt. I: Report of the Newcastle Commission p.34  
Dean Hook. Life and letters. (Ed. L. Stephens) p.249

The success of the Rev. R. Dawes' school at King's Somborne showed that where a good education was offered the labouring classes would send their children gladly.

See Rev. R. Dawes - Remarks occasioned by the present crusade against the educational plans of the Committee of Council  
 (1850)

- Schools and other similar institutions for the industrial classes (1853)

- Hints on an improved and self-paying system of national education suggested from the working of the village school of King's Somborne in Hampshire (Fourth Edition, 1850)

Rev. H. Moseley - An account of the King's Somborne School.  
 Extracted from the "Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education 1847-8" (1849)

teacher in the non-conformist community<sup>1</sup> meant that the management committee would be more favourable to the teacher and his work.

### Teachers' Complaints

Many of the common complaints of the teachers have already been touched upon in this chapter. By far the most important and significant was their complaint of their low "social condition". This complaint is not to be found among all occupational groups - the working class have for the most part put forward their claims as claims to higher salaries, greater security and better working conditions. While these claims are also made by teachers they are all subordinate to their

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1. G.W. Hughes writes as follows,

"In the first place, although their work was regarded as sacred and an integral part of Church work, they were not so overshadowed in their posts by the clergy nor were the ministers for their part so much above the general status of the congregation as a whole, as the Clergy of the Church of England. Thus by the sober-minded skilled artisans and tradespeople and industrial workers who made up a great part of Wesleyan and other Non-conformist bodies during the period the schoolmaster was regarded in the same category as the Minister himself, and provided that he worked with character and energy, was accorded much respect and honour. He had a very definite part in the religious community and could therein wield great influence and very often he did so, becoming the spiritual mentor and practical guide in those many villages and town districts where there was no resident minister." (G.W. Hughes op.cit. p.139)

This high status of the teacher was particularly true in non-conformist Wales. Welsh non-conformity had a widespread national and patriotic appeal with which the teachers were associated.

See E.T. Jenkins - Hanes Cymru Yn y Deunawfed Ganrif (n.d.)



demand for a higher "social position".<sup>1</sup>

The "social condition" question is as old as the teachers' profession itself. The new schoolmasters took<sup>up</sup> the question up as early as 1853. In March of that year the newly founded Educational Expositor published a lengthy article "On the Social Condition of the Schoolmaster"<sup>2</sup> which roused a great deal of

1. Charles Dickens summed the complex of emotions around the claim in a few lines.

"You think me of no more value than the dirt under your feet", said Bradley to the young lawyer. "I assure you, Schoolmaster," replied Eugene, "I do not think about you" "That's not true," returned the other, "you know better". "That's coarse" Eugene retorted, "but you don't know better". "You reproach me with my origin", said Bradley Headstone. "You cast insinuations at my bringing-up. But I tell you, Sir, I have worked my way onward out of both and inspite of both, and have a right to be considered a better man than you, with better reasons for being proud". (C. Dickens - Our Mutual Friend, 1864-5)

2. The article commenced by saying that..... "The qualifications now required of schoolmasters are such as would grace any rank of society, or fit their possessor for almost any sphere of usefulness..... But while the country requires so much of the schoolmaster.... it has not yet assigned him a position in society at all adequate to the value and importance of his services, nor treated him with that respect and consideration which the dignity and responsibility of his office gives him a just right to expect..... We are not at all surprised at this: it is the usual course of things..... If we ask what position in society the schoolmaster ought to occupy, it will be evident at once to all disinterested and unprejudiced persons that he should rank on a level with the other learned professions, with the clergyman, the doctor and the lawyer. Sooner or later this must be the case..... We shall not advocate this position for him on his own account merely, but because we consider it necessary for the interests of elementary education, that he should be placed upon a proper professional footing. A man's influence must ever be dependent, to a very great extent, upon the respectability of his social position..... Besides, unless the position of schoolmasters is made one of respectability, they will never be induced to remain long in the profession..... Now, according to the present constitution of society in this country, there is only one way of raising a man from a position of comparative obscurity to one of respectability, and that is, by giving him the means of maintaining that respectability."  
Educational Expositor March 1853

controversy.<sup>5</sup> The Educational Expositor had taken upon itself the advocacy of the position of the schoolmaster. The article brought an immediate reply from Papers for the Schoolmaster which agreed with the end but not with the means proposed by the Educational Expositor to achieve that end. It advised the schoolmasters to make decided efforts to improve themselves for "let them but show that they possess the qualifications of high moral character and competent knowledge combined with clear and enlarged conceptions of the rationale of teaching, and we are quite sure they will rise."<sup>1</sup>

The Rev. W. Rogers wrote to the Educational Expositor<sup>2</sup> deploring the tone and matter of the article. He accused the Expositor of "setting the schoolmaster against the clergyman". He himself thought it "highly important that (the schoolmaster) should assume a position suitable to the dignity of his office, and it has always been my great study to improve the condition

1. Papers for the Schoolmaster: April 1853

2. Rev. W. Rogers (1819-1896) was a noteworthy educational reformer and an exceptional employer who paid his teachers extremely well. For a period he was a member of the London School Board and was known because of his wide embracing tolerance as "Hang-theology Rogers".

See Dictionary of National Biography.

W. Rogers - A Short Account of the St. Thomas, Charterhouse, Schools, (1851)

T. Gautrey - "Lux Mihi Laus" (1938) p. 55

Many of the clergymen (and teachers) most interested in the progress of education, were opposed to any clamour for raising the social condition of the teacher on the grounds that it would hamper the process of convincing the country that educating the workers would not make them more discontented. As it happened they were to be proven right in 1861 when the figure of the "discontented schoolmaster" was used to support the attack on education.

of those teachers with whom I have been connected, but however much I may esteem them as friends and fellow labourers, till they are taken from the same rank of society and have undergone the intellectual training and the social discipline which it is absolutely necessary, the doctor, the lawyer, and the clergyman should undergo, I must confess myself to be one of those interested and prejudiced persons who cannot accede to the national schoolmaster a rank on the level with the learned professions.<sup>1</sup>"

The Expositor in reply denied that it proposed "a sudden change..... likely to produce a collision of classes..... but only "the gradual elevation of one class to what we conceive to be its proper level in the social ranks, as required, not so much by its own interests, as by those of education and the country....." It reminded the clergy of the humble origin of their own calling and warned them that the discontent of the teacher "must inevitably impair (their) usefulness.... as instructors, by pre-occupying their minds, and diminishing their interests in their work, if it does not even disgust them with the profession altogether, and make them quit it for some other occupation."<sup>2</sup>

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1. Educational Expositor: June 1853

2. Educational Expositor: June 1853: In answer to Rogers' remarks on the humble origins of schoolmasters the Editors' replied..."(The fact that schoolmasters) are drawn from a lower rank of society, is only an additional reason why the clergy, if they have the real interests of education at heart, should assist them to rise: for when the profession comes to be looked upon with more respect by the public, then we may expect that persons from the upper classes will enter it, and that it will thus become more honourable and more efficient"

Further discussion followed both in the correspondence columns of the Educational Expositor and elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> Some teachers and clergymen were of the opinion that the schoolmaster could never be the equal of the clergyman<sup>2</sup> and many more while agreeing with the aim of a higher social condition for schoolmasters thought that agitation was futile and would only "induce young teachers to set too high a value on worldly respect and to resent fancied indignity."<sup>3</sup> It was said that "next to incompetence and shortcomings, nothing can more surely retard the elevation of the craft than querulous impatience for it."<sup>4</sup> The only true course was "patient perseverance in well-doing."<sup>5</sup>

Most of the teachers seemed to have believed that "incidental to the rise of any calling from one of comparative inefficiency to improved utility, is the fact that its reputation is of slower growth than its improvement"<sup>6</sup> and were willing to wait with more or less impatience for reputation to catch up with improvement.

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1. See Educational Expositor July-September 1853  
The School and the Teacher Jan. 1854; September 1855  
English Journal of Education 1855  
National Society Monthly Paper May, August, October 1854;  
 March, May, June, July 1856; June-October 1857; Nov 1858;  
 May, June 1859; Feb-April, June-October 1861.  
The Literarium April-May 1857  
The Pupil Teacher May-October 1861 etc.
  2. For example W.T.Haskins in Educational Expositor September 1853.
  3. "Z" in Educational Expositor July 1853
  4. English Journal of Education 1855
  5. English Journal of Education 1855
  6. English Journal of Education 1855. See also The School and the Teacher September 1855.

The question of the "social condition" of the schoolmaster recurred again and again in the educational periodicals (usually connected with the complaints of "conceit" and "lack of reverence" of our "smart and well-trained young teachers"). It became linked up with the whole educational reaction which was to lead to the Revised Code.<sup>1</sup>

Together with the teachers' complaints at their "social condition" went their complaints already mentioned of "social isolation." B. Simpson put this most clearly in a letter he wrote to Papers for the Schoolmaster in September 1853 when he wrote that "there is no class in the community more isolated and shut out from those sympathies than that to which he (the teacher) belongs. For this there are many reasons; but, perhaps, the most important is, that his social position is much below that belonging to other professions, whose equal he is in intellectual and literary attainments; whilst he is prevented, by these very attainments, from cordially sympathizing with his equals in social position."<sup>2</sup>

The question of salaries was obviously closely connected with the low social position and the social isolation of the teacher. Not only was there the direct connection between income and position but also it was said that "the income of schoolmasters was not sufficient to draw into their ranks that

1. See the two notorious attacks on the teachers in The National Society Monthly Paper June 1861 "The Social Condition of the Schoolmaster" and Correspondence July-October 1861. The Times April 1st 1861 Leader on "The Social Status of the Schoolmaster"
2. Papers for the Schoolmaster; September 1853.

class of person whose intelligence enabled them to derive larger emoluments from other avocations."<sup>1</sup>

An answer often given to requests for higher salaries was that the teacher should not work for money but for love of his profession. The teachers' answer was simply "why expect self-sacrifice at the hands of one class of the community rather than another?"<sup>2</sup> On the whole complaints by teachers of low salaries were not common during this period. The 1846 Minutes had considerably increased the teachers' salary and until the Revised Code the teachers' salary was <sup>rising</sup> increasing steadily.<sup>3</sup>

Some of the more radical teachers were forced to rather shifty statistics in their attempts to show the teacher to be underpaid. Boardman for example gave the average salary of all

1. Educational Expositor February 1855: Alderman Challis at the First Annual Meeting of the United Association of Schoolmasters. See also The School and the Teacher June 1854 and B.P.P. 1857 Sess. 2 XXXIII: Minutes 1856-7: pp. 295-303 F. Watkins.
2. Educational Expositor April 1854  
See also The School and the Teacher June 1854
3. In a return of a Census made by the National Society immediately before the operation of the 1846 Minutes, the average salary of some 20,000 teachers was given as just over £30 per annum.  
Under the 1846 Minutes the minimum salary of the certificated master ranged from £45 to £90 (depending on the class of the certificate) and of the certificated mistress from £30 to £60. The Newcastle Commission (B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt. I pp. 64-7) found the average salaries of a sample of 3659 certificated masters to be £94.3.7d. (2102 had in addition, houses or house rents provided). The average salaries of 1,972 certificated mistresses were £62.13.10 (of whom 1,035 had houses or house rents). Uncertificated masters salary averaged £62.4.11, Uncertificated mistresses £34.19.7, Certificated infant mistresses £58.3.8 and Uncertificated infant mistresses £35.2.0.  
The salaries actually provided thus tended to be rather higher than the minimum allotted in the 1846 Minutes. In general salaries were higher in industrial areas than in rural areas, and higher in non-church schools than in church schools.

teachers throughout England in 1854<sup>1</sup> as £30 per annum and in 1857 The School and the Teacher made an analysis of salaries offered in the advertisement columns of educational periodicals and arrived at an average salary of £60 per annum.<sup>2</sup> These calculations can in no way be taken as accurate. The "sample" of posts which appeared in the advertisement columns over-stressed the badly paid posts, for not only would the turnover be greater in badly paid posts but the best posts were rarely advertised but filled through the Training Colleges.<sup>3</sup>

What was disliked by the teachers was not so much the salary to be expected but rather the lack of any definite channel of promotion. The educational profession was regarded as a "dead level..... at the best a dull tableland which, when you have once surmounted, you have no other rise before you and look forward only to going down wearily at its end."<sup>4</sup>

There were some possibilities of "bettering oneself" inside the profession. It was possible to move to a post with a higher salary and the lecturers and tutors in Training Colleges were selected from the best qualified and most successful certificated teachers. Many teachers looked forward to a union with the "middle class" teachers and to promotion through the "middle" or grammar schools for the wealthier classes. This union was

1. The School and the Teacher: June 1854

2. Ibid: May 1857

3. Papers for the Schoolmaster: March 1866

This argument also holds for the later attempts to arrive at a "correct" average salary through the advertised vacancies.

4. B.P.P. 1857-8 XLV: Minutes 1857-8 pp.292-4 F.Watkins.

See also The School and the Teacher June 1854: Mr.Boardman

favoured by many reformers concerned with the state of middle class education. In 1854 Lord Ashburton expressed the hope that those certificated teachers who distinguished themselves would have the opportunity of rising from the village schools to the middle schools of the town and thence to the finishing schools of the wealthy.<sup>1</sup> While a few certificated teachers did take this path either by entering existing middle class schools or by opening private schools, the state of middle class education was such that certificated teachers entering them would often lose rather than gain in salary.<sup>2</sup>

Another difficulty was the low status of the certificated teacher. The feeling of the majority of the "middle class" school teachers towards their colleagues in the elementary schools was a mixture of fear and distaste. They "felt that the position of the private teacher was endangered by the rapid improvements which were being made in the training and education of the masters of schools of a lower grade"<sup>3</sup> and also that "the status of the certificated master is far beneath that of the

1. Reported in The School and the Teacher May 1854
2. Letter in Borough Road Training College Library quoted by G.W.Hughes op.cit.p.84.
3. This phrase comes from a description (in The Museum April 1861) of the reasons for the founding of "the Royal College of preceptors" in 1846. For its aims and early history see The British Annals of Education for 1844: being the Scholastic Quarterly Review pp.2-4  
The Educational Times comprising The Educational Review 1847-1923. A.J.Belford - Centenary Handbook of the Educational Institute of Scotland (1946) pp.25-6



independent middle class educators."<sup>1</sup>

The question of promotion was inevitably linked up with the opening of the Inspectorate to teachers or at least the forming of a corps of sub-inspectors recruited from experienced teachers. Mr. Farnham made the case as early as 1853 in words which are to be found repeated verbatim in Teachers' journals until well into the twentieth century. "He would never be satisfied until every office connected with education was open to the elementary schoolmaster. Until that was the case, their best men would be constantly seeking promotion through other channels, and so be lost to the cause of education. The humblest boy in an attorney's office might rise to the woolsack, the curate "passing rich with £40 a year", might become Archbishop of Canterbury; but the schoolmaster and he alone, had no prize, no promotion to look forward to."<sup>2</sup>

The teachers saw in the Inspectorate an avenue of promotion which followed naturally upon their training and experience. Of equal importance was the hope that the promotion of even a handful of teachers to the Inspectorate would raise the status of the whole profession. At first the demand was only for sub-inspectorships<sup>3</sup> but as Inspectors were appointed straight from

1. In the late 1850's the Royal College of Preceptors came for a time under the control of men like Dr. Humphreys (Headmaster of Cheltenham Grammar School) and Rev. W. Taylor-Jones M.A. (Principal of the Collegiate School, Sydenham) who attempted to unite the whole teaching profession by opening the R.C.P. to certificated masters. The decision to admit certificated masters was reversed at a General meeting of the college and the quotation is taken from Dr. White's speech against admitting certificated teachers.

See Literarium: August 5th, 12th 19th, Sept. 16th, Oct 14th, 21st, 28th, November 11th, 18th 1857

The School and the Teacher February 1858: Rev. W. Taylor Jones' address on "The Prospects of a General and Comprehensive Union among all ranks of the Scholastic profession "to (cont,)

the Annual General Meeting of the "United Association of Schoolmasters".

The School and the Teacher March 1858: Attack on "The Royal College of Pedants"

2. The School and the Teacher Feb 1854: J.J. Farnham at the First Annual Meeting of the Associated Body of Church Schoolmasters. Farnham himself was forced to seek promotion elsewhere. In 1859 he was appointed Headmaster of the Bombay Education Society's School, Byculla, Bombay (See The Educational Guardian Nov 1859)

3. Educational Expositor: May 1853  
Papers for the Schoolmaster: Dec 1853

the University the demand widened to the opening of the Inspectorate itself or even the monopoly of the Inspectorate by certificated teachers.<sup>1</sup>

The teachers' claim was met with the remark that "the managers of schools would not treat an Inspector, chosen from a lower rank in society than themselves, with that respect his office would require."<sup>2</sup> ~~In return, the teachers pointed to~~ ~~They met this argument by pointing to~~ the success of the organizing masters of the National Schools (recruited from experienced teachers) who had always been

1. The School and the Teacher: Oct 1854 "Let us examine our present position as regards Inspection. We find a number of gentlemen, the majority of whom, nursed in the lap of affluence, instructed by private tutors, eminent, if eminent at all, for proficiency in one particular subject, which they are apt to make the beau ideal of education..... May we not, legitimately ask, are these the men to whom should be entrusted the difficult and important task of ascertaining what amount of instruction has been imparted to the children of our elementary schools?..... The fittest persons to be appointed inspectors of schools are men who have made the education of the young their daily study, and have spent their best days in practicing what they have learnt."
2. The School and the Teacher: Oct 1854 This argument was also used by the Newcastle Commission E.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt. I p.160

treated with "becoming respect" by school managers.<sup>1</sup>

Not all teachers were in favour of the promotion of teachers to the Inspectorate. "He must be a very clever man whom I would allow to examine my boys" said one master.<sup>1a</sup>

Of great importance in the teachers' movement was the desire for pensions. There was general agreement amongst managers and inspectors that some kind of pension should be given to the teacher when he was too old to teach. Attempts were made to encourage the teachers themselves to subscribe to assurance societies,<sup>2</sup> and in 1855 the Government actually threatened the loss of augmentation grants to certificated teachers engaged in Training Colleges, if without special reason "they neglected to make proper provision for themselves."<sup>3</sup>

In most instances the teachers were too poor to be able to subscribe the money. As H.M.I. H.L.Jones wrote, "It is all very well in theory to recommend teachers to subscribe to this and that insurance company, but practically the necessities of a teacher with a family are too pressing to allow

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1. The School and the Teacher: Oct 1854

1a. The School and the Teacher: August 1861

When an ex-schoolmaster was appointed to the post of Assistant Diocesan Inspector in an English diocese and another ex-schoolmaster to the post of sub-inspector in Scotland there were bitter complaints of their youth and inexperience. See The Literarium: June 3rd, 10th, 17th, July 1st, 8th 1857 Correspondence.

2. The most important of these was the "Church of England Schoolmasters' and Schoolmistresses' Mutual Assurance Society" legally constituted in 1850. The first annuitant was elected in 1864. See National Society Monthly Paper Feb 1850

The Schoolmaster Feb 3rd 1877

See G.W.Hughes op.cit. p.94 ff for the story of the "Mutual Assurance and Benefit Society", "The Schoolmasters and General Mutual Assurance Society" etc.

3. G.W.Hughes op.cit. p.100

him to do it".<sup>1</sup>

Quite apart from any inability to afford subscriptions, the teachers from 1846 onwards looked to the Government to provide a superannuation scheme. The Minutes of August and December 1846 had laid down, "that it was expedient to make provision in certain cases, by a retiring person, for schoolmasters and schoolmistresses who, after a certain length of service, may appear entitled to such provision"<sup>2</sup> .... "provided that no such pension shall be granted to any schoolmaster or schoolmistress who shall not have conducted a normal or elementary school for fifteen years, during seven at least of which such school shall have been under inspection"<sup>3</sup>

It was not clear what the Committee of Council actually meant. There is some evidence that Kay-Shuttleworth regarded the provision as applying only to those teaching already in schools, and who, by the original terms of the Minutes, were not to be admitted to the certificate examination and to augmentation grants. The admission of such teachers to the Certificate examination in 1847 would appear in this light to absolve the Government from its responsibility. Confusion, however, still remained and in 1851 the Committee of Council issued a Minute to clarify the situation in which they said that the provision

1. B.P.P. 1857 Sess.2 XXXIII: Minutes 1856-7 p.508-9 H.M.I. Jones It should cause no surprise that men like H.L.Jones who were insistent that the teacher should work for love of his profession rather than for money, should favour pensions for those who had grown old in the church's service.
2. Minute of August 1846: See Appendix for full text
3. Minute of December, 1846: See Appendix for full text.

of persons had "been intended to facilitate the appointment of competent successors in the place of meritorious but incapacitated teachers, whose removal might by such assistance, be effected in a manner consistent with claims on the public."<sup>1</sup>

The teachers petitioned the Committee of Council for a pension scheme in 1849, 1852 and 1853. The Government seems to have considered introducing a pension scheme but eventually decided to do nothing about it on the grounds that it "neither appoints nor dismisses these officers, nor does it recognize them except as employed by the independent managers of schools under inspection."<sup>2</sup>

The Revised Code abolished all pensions and it was not until 1875 that the right of teachers to pensions under the 1846 Minutes was finally admitted.

There were some other complaints which deserve to be briefly mentioned. A few teachers complained of having to take their schools to church on Sundays and sit with them during service,<sup>3</sup> at having to take Sunday school<sup>4</sup> and "at the growing tendency to obtain schoolmasters and organists united in one person, for the salary of the former only."<sup>5</sup>

A handful of the teachers' leaders as early as the first

1. Minute of August 1851 explaining Minute of December 1846  
B.P.P. 1852 XXXIX: Minutes 1851-2 pp.25-27
2. Circular letter to H.M.I.'s June 1857.  
B.P.P. 1857-8 XLV: Minutes 1857-8 p.30-1
3. Under the 79th Canon of the Church
4. See National Society Monthly Paper Feb 1857: "The position of the Week-day Teacher in the Sunday School".
5. National Society Monthly Paper Jan 1861: Letter by "Schoolmaster and Organist".

Annual General Meeting of the A.B.C.S. stood out for compulsory, free and rate aided education.<sup>1</sup> Many teachers realised the faults of the 1846 system, its neglect of the poorer districts and the fact that children attended for so short a time. They realised the need for some form of aid for destitute localities and for "measures to compel parents to send their children to school, or forbidding employers to employ them under a certain age."<sup>2</sup>

Even at this early stage in their history teachers' and teachers' associations were concerning themselves with the welfare of education as distinct from their own welfare. In a few instances the dominant motive may have been, "when education is appreciated, so will be the teacher". All the evidence however, seems to point to the growth of a truly "professional" feeling.

This Chapter, concerned as it was with frictions and complaints, has given a one-sided view of the new teacher. It is difficult to say how deep-rooted many of the complaints were or how deep dissatisfaction with their conditions had gone among the mass of the teachers. The next two chapters, which deal with Teachers' Associations and the Report of the Newcastle Commission will provide some evidence on the extent and direction of discontent.

1. The School and the Teacher Feb, June 1854

2. See Papers for the Schoolmaster May 1855  
The School and the Teacher Feb 1857

Rate aid and compulsion were alike anathema to the "right-wing" of the National Society and the Church of England.

## CHAPTER V

### The First Teachers' Associations.

"The programme of the proceedings of the first annual meeting of the body, is so eminently practical, and there is such a careful avoidance of "controversial" topics in it, and of everything which would lead the friends of the schoolmaster to fear that he was "taking a lesson" from the ignorant and misguided among the labouring classes, and was desirous of forming a schoolmasters' "Trades' Union", to enable him to place himself in antagonism to the "powers that be", and organise a gigantic strike, (!) - that any surmises of this nature must be completely dispelled and the promoters will not have the painful feeling that their actions and motives are misconstrued."

The School and the Teacher January 1854 commenting on the first annual meeting of the Associated Body of Church Schoolmasters.

### The Local Associations.

The meeting together of teachers for mutual improvement<sup>1</sup> in their profession is as old as the profession itself. In the 1830's attempts were made to form larger and more stable associations of teachers. In 1835 the London "British and Foreign" school teachers wrote to the secretary of the society, appealing for funds to form an association, with the object of going through regular courses of study, passing examinations,

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<sup>1</sup>

For example, the mutual improvement group organised by Henry Dixon in 1712 for the teachers of Bath "that they might consult the best methods of teaching their children" (M.G.Jones op.cit. p.109) and the society of masters in Liverpool organised by "two or three talented individuals.....who wished to do something towards stimulating their fellow teachers to increased exertions" (Select Committee on Education 1838:(1138-1141))

In some instances groups of teachers are found who meet together more as a social club than as a mutual improvement group. But insofar as professional matters could rarely be kept out of their social discussion these groups tended to become mutual improvement groups (especially after 1846).

Scottish teachers began to organise as early as 1737 and in 1748 there was an attempt to found a national organisation (A.J.Belford - Centenary Handbook of the Educational Institute of Scotland (1946))

Note also the English "Society of Schoolmasters" founded in 1797 to care for the widows and orphans of masters of boarding schools.

holding meetings, lectures and essay and discussion groups on the government and discipline of schools and the best methods of teaching. The society was at first rather hesitant over helping the proposed association but the teachers went ahead and in 1836 formed the "British Teachers' Quarterly Association."<sup>1</sup> In August 1836 the "British and Foreign School Society" decided to assist the society of teachers and allowed classes to meet at Borough Road College.<sup>2</sup> In 1838 half a dozen of the Metropolitan church schoolmasters agreed to meet periodically at the house of one of their number, for the purpose of mutual improvement. Each undertook to read in his turn an original paper on some topic connected with schoolkeeping, which was to be followed up by a friendly discussion. From these meetings<sup>3</sup> sprang the "Metropolitan Church Schoolmasters' Association"

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The association was generally known as "The British Teachers' Association" or the "British Society of Teachers". It met quarterly for the reading of papers and discussion and played no part in educational politics.

2

The British teachers in London also formed the "Elementary Teachers' Association" in September 1849. At the end of 1860 the name was changed to the "London Association of Teachers" prominent members included Ross, Langton, Althans, Page, Ryder, Fernandez, Taylor, and Gover. For its objects and activities see Educational Record 1849 ff. and in particular Vol.V p.85.

3

The Association was known for several years as the "Schoolmasters' Mutual Improvement Society" and then until 1853 as the "Church Schoolmasters' Association".



which by 1843 numbered over 150 members with a regular code of laws and a full staff of officers.<sup>1</sup>

The association held monthly conferences, owned a reading room and library, organised occasional lectures, series of lectures and regular classes for instruction and incorporated small district associations. It had the approbation and assistance of both the National Society<sup>2</sup> and the London Diocesan Board and was patronised by many important people.<sup>3</sup>

In many instances the clergy themselves were responsible for the formation and continuance of a "schoolmasters' association." In February 1842, for example, at a meeting of the diocesan board of education of Bath and Wells it was resolved "that the schoolmasters and mistresses within the deanery, whose schools are conducted on the principles of the

<sup>1</sup> English Journal of Education; Jan. 1843. An alternative history is given in the Educational Expositor; June 1854. According to this account the association was founded "by the present Bishop of St. Asaph, then Rector of Bloomsbury (Rev. George Moody) who, before the establishment of training institutions, conceived the idea of calling together the teachers of his neighbourhood for the study of general subjects, and for discussion upon the art of teaching."

Whatever the actual circumstances of its formation the association in its early years was strongly under the influence of the Rev. George Moody. See also B.P.P. 1845XXXV; Minutes 1843-4 p.71. F.C. Cook.

<sup>2</sup> The National Society allowed the association to use its rooms and also made grants towards the expenses of the association. (National Society Monthly Paper Jan. 1847, Feb. 1849)

<sup>3</sup> Its Annual Festival in 1855, for example, was attended by R.R. Lingen, H.M.I.'s Brookfield and Cooke, Professor Hoffmann and the Rev. T. Jackson.

For its activities see National Society Monthly Paper and the Annual Reports of the Association (those for 1857-60 are in the Ministry of Education Library).

Church of England be requested, with the permission of the several parochial clergy, to form themselves into an association to be governed by rules framed by the board." This being done, the first annual meeting of the Schoolmasters' Union for the Bedminster Deanery, Diocese of Bath and Wells was held.<sup>1</sup>

Another example of this type of "employers association" was the "Home and Colonial" re-union meeting of teachers. At a meeting of the general committee of the Home and Colonial Society held on Friday August 21st, 1840 it was resolved "that with a view to promote amongst the teachers a spirit of progressive improvement and friendly christian intercourse, two meetings shall be held annually.....to which all the teachers on the books of the society shall be welcome. At these meetings, information is to be given on any new plans that the committee may have approved, and answers to any questions relating to teaching that may be brought forward."<sup>2</sup>

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English Journal of Education. 1847. It was said that, "one of the chief though unobtrusive advantages of this union.....is that it is an opportunity of showing and strengthening the union of mind and heart between the clergy and the gentry on the one hand, and the body of schoolmasters and mistresses on the other..... although assigned to different ranks in life, we meet on these occasions as brother church people, engaged in one holy work."

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Quarterly Educational Magazine: Jan. 1848.  
The meetings were held regularly every six months and were attended by from 150-200 teachers. Proceedings were printed and circulated to all Home and Colonial teachers.

Throughout the whole of this period the majority of teachers' associations were concerned almost completely with "mutual improvement", discussion, exchange of books<sup>1</sup> and gossiping over cups of tea. In most cases the clergy also attended and dominated the discussion. The big event of the year was the annual dinner or perhaps a "pic-nic" to the grounds of a local landowner.<sup>2</sup>

In 1855 the "Educational Expositor" gave a list of 51 local and district associations of schoolmasters in England and Wales and most of them would have been of the kind mentioned above. In the same year there were 2770 certificated teachers in England and Wales. Of these 250 were members of the United Association of Schoolmasters, 450 of the Associated Body of Church Schoolmasters and some 150 of the Metropolitan Church Schoolmasters' Association. While it is dangerous to over-estimate the numerical strength of the more militant associations

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The associations were enabled to obtain books and maps on very advantageous terms by a Minute of the Committee of Council February 21st 1853.

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See Appendix for an account of one such association, the "Leamington and Warwick Association."

there was some tendency for the smaller unions to enter into correspondence with the heads of the larger unions when the teaching profession was threatened.<sup>1</sup>

The 1846 Minutes gave a profound impetus towards the formation of mutual-improvement groups. As we have seen opportunity was given to the existing teachers to compete for the certificate and many of the older teachers strove to become "government men".<sup>2</sup> Most of these groups met weekly and relied on their own members to provide the instruction, though the assistance of the clergy was often sought, and in the large towns a few societies were sufficiently well established to draw up a

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An interesting hark-back to the early days of the teachers' associations was the formation in the late 50's of "Pupil-Teachers' Mutual Improvement Associations" e.g. at Leeds (Pupil Teacher 1859 p.159), Cheltenham (ibid. 1859 p.238), Liverpool (ibid. 1859 p.239), Lewes (ibid. 1860 p.221, 1861 p.22), South London (ibid. 1860 p.221) and Islington (ibid. 1862 p.158).

The pupil teachers had their own grievances against the clergy and the schoolmasters. The correspondence columns of the Pupil Teacher (and in particular "The Editors' Council") were filled with complaints about pupil teachers being forced to attend Sunday school or sweep and dust the schoolroom, at their being insulted or disciplined by the teacher in public, at their instructions being skipped etc.

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A teacher who had been a member of one such group wrote, "I often think of that group. The earnestness and solicitude for self-improvement and well conditioned schools which they all displayed. The zeal and industry of the masters did not surprise me, but when I saw their wives, women of middle age and mothers of families, diligently and anxiously seeking to prepare themselves for new and onerous duties, I was astonished at their courage and perseverance." (The School and the Teacher; Sept. 1856 "Fifteen Years among National Schools")

syllabus and engage special lecturers.<sup>1</sup>

These groups played their part in promoting a sense of unity and a habit of meeting together. By 1852 many of their members had obtained the certificate and attempts to form larger unions are to be found. In these attempts the older teachers were assisted by the young ex-pupil teachers who were just beginning to leave the colleges. By its very nature, the system of training pupil-teachers with its final two years in a residential training college was bound to give them an exalted idea of their attainments and function. As Dr. Temple said before the Newcastle Commission, "(the fact that they are trained in separate institutions).....gives them too exalted a notion of their position and of what they have to do.....(so that)..... they gradually acquire a sort of belief that the work of a schoolmaster is the one great work of the day, and that they are the men to do it!"<sup>2</sup>

This growing professional pride of the certificated teachers (whether "ex P.T.'s" or not), their growing sense of solidarity with other teachers and their awareness of themselves as having interests apart from and indeed sometimes in antagonism to those of the clergy was soon apparent in the founding of teachers periodicals,<sup>3</sup> in the formation of regional unions and in

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<sup>1</sup> National Society Monthly Paper: Jan. and March 1845.  
See also G.W.Hughes op.cit. p.119 ff

<sup>2</sup> B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt. I. p.161

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix on "Nineteenth Century Educational Periodicals"

the steps they took to oppose the new management clauses in 1852.

The Management Clause Controversy.

The running fight between the Committee of Council and the National Society over the management clauses of schools receiving government grants commenced immediately after the Minute of April 1846.<sup>1</sup> With the extension of state aid to education the Committee of Council had attempted to put the management of the Church schools on a formal basis and to bring the laity into their management. Under the Management clauses as they stood in 1852 the Clergyman was left in complete control of the religious instructions of the school but on any other matter (including selection, appointment and dismissal of teachers and pupil-teachers) the committee of management was to rule.<sup>2</sup> In cases of dispute the matter was to be referred to various committees of appeal each consisting of persons "representing both the civil and spiritual authorities."

The National Society objected to both the compulsory lay committee of management and the equal share of the civil authority in cases of dispute. The discussion aroused strong

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Summaries of the Management Clause Controversy are to be found in B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt. I: Report of the Newcastle Commission pp. 55-62.

F. Adams - The Elementary School Contest (1882) pp. 138-145

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The committee of management was to consist of lay members of the Church of England with the minister acting as ex-officio chairman with a second casting vote.

emotions on both sides<sup>1</sup> and at one time led to the National Society discontinuing its practice of recommending church schools to accept the management clauses.<sup>2</sup> Each year the National Society pressed its demand that the entire control of the secular as well as the religious instruction of the church schools should rest with the clergy.<sup>3</sup>

In 1852 the newly-formed Government of Lord Derby yielded to pressure and issued a Minute giving the clergy the right to dismiss a teacher "on account of his or her defective or unsound instruction of the children in religion, or on other moral or religious grounds" and also the right of the Minister or Curate "to suspend such teacher pending such reference as aforesaid to the Bishop."<sup>4</sup>

There were heated protests from the Nonconformists and Liberals and Lord John Russell stated that, "it is quite clear

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<sup>1</sup> See for example The Times March 13th-17th 1848: Correspondence. Petition of Exeter Diocesan Board against the Management Clauses Feb. 29th 1848.

Much of the acrimony on the side of the National Society was due to that stalwart of the church G.A. Denison. See G.A. Denison - Church Schools and State Interference (1847) Circular letter from G.A. Denison and petition of the Diocesan Board of Education, Diocese of Bath and Wells Jan. 5th 1848.

G.A. Denison - Notes of my life (1878)  
- Supplement to "Notes of my life" (1893)

<sup>2</sup> B.P.P. 1850 XLIII

<sup>3</sup> The National Society itself was not unanimous on this issue. In 1853 a section of the society broke away to form the "Church of England Education Society."  
See Reports of the Church of England Education Society and National Society Monthly Paper June-August 1852, May 1853.

<sup>4</sup> B.P.P. 1852 XL Minute of 12th June 1852.

that this alteration places the schoolmaster in entire dependence upon the Bishop..... The consequence of this altered minute is to degrade and lower the condition of every schoolmaster.<sup>1</sup>

Lord Lansdowne, in the House of Lords, objected to the administration of the educational grant under the new minute, as being contrary to the conditions under it which it had been granted and the Government promised to keep the Minute in obedience till a further educational grant was requested.

While the reactions of the Liberals were to be expected, the reaction of the church teachers surprised even their "patrons" and "supporters". A few days after the publication of the Minute a deputation was sent from the "Metropolitan Church Schoolmasters' Association" to Lord John Russell with a memorial setting forth the serious consequences to teachers if the new minute were to be sanctioned by parliament.<sup>2</sup> The Association was immediately reminded by its patron, the Bishop of London, that it was departing from the object which it had

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Quoted in the Educational Expositor March 1853.  
The Athenaeum March 19th 1853 wrote that, "It is not too much to say, that these two clauses put the schoolmaster entirely in the hands of the vicar or the rector. The "moral ground" is a clause which covers the entire range of the teachers' action; and the power to suspend renders the clergyman a judge in his own case, and the executor of his own sentence. If this system were to find support in parliament, it would be well to try the Dessau plan at once, and condemn our schoolmasters to sweep the floors and ring the church bells as a check on secular pride"

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Educational Expositor. March 1853.



prescribed for itself when he had consented to become the patron (i.e. "mutual improvement"), and His Lordship resigned his office.<sup>1</sup>

The Association was forced to repudiate its Committee and declare its loyalty to the Church, whereupon the Lord Bishop resumed his office.

The fight continued and the militants in the Association formed a separate "Committee of Metropolitan Church Schoolmasters." They sent an appeal to all church teachers throughout the country asking for help and at least ~~two~~<sup>ten</sup> country associations were said to have unanimously adopted resolutions approving of the appeal,<sup>2</sup> and of the steps taken by the Metropolitan Committee. On February 19th 1853 a deputation of schoolmasters<sup>3</sup> waited on the Lord President of the Council (Earl Granville)<sup>4</sup> at the Council Office, to present a memorial from the church schoolmasters and schoolmistresses of England and Wales, against

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The Committee of the Association attempted to placate the Lord Bishop by stating that they trusted "that these proceedings will not be misunderstood or misinterpreted. They feel assured that no class of men could be found more attached and devoted to the Church of England than national schoolmasters generally; or more anxious to pay due respect to those who have the rule over them and watch for their souls" (Educational Examiner March 1853)

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Educational Examiner March 1853.

3

Consisting of Messrs. Dixon, Farnham, Gwillian, Hay, Marshall, Reid, Self and Stevenson.

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The Liberals had in the meantime been returned to office.

the altered management clauses.<sup>1</sup>

On the 2nd April 1853 the new Committee of Council cancelled the 1852 Minute.<sup>2</sup>

While it would be wrong to over-estimate the influence of the church teachers in forcing the withdrawal of the 1852 Minute, to the teachers themselves their action was of the utmost significance. For the first time church teachers had acted not only in independence of but also in opposition to the clergy. The memorial and deputations of the metropolitan teachers had been supported from all parts of the country and had

<sup>1</sup> The memorialists stated "that they did not desire any arrangement which should interfere with the due influence which the clergy should exercise in the education of the youth of their parishes, but they believe that the minute issued by the late Government allowed an exercise of arbitrary power in the clergy which was unjust, and certain to evoke feelings of distrust between the clergyman and the teacher.".....

Earl Granville, in replying to the deputation, stated that the Government had the matter under consideration and would not come to any light decision on the matter. He "considered it was the duty of the Committee of Council to listen to any grievance from schoolmasters, being fully assured that they would not base them on any frivolous grounds. His Lordship regretted that any difference should arise to make the clergy less anxious in assisting to carry on the work of education, and he thought it due to the schoolmaster, in the laborious duties he had to undertake, that the government should assist in every way they could to raise his social position."

(Papers for the Schoolmaster March 1853). See also Educational Expositor March 1853 and National Society Monthly Paper April-May 1853. Correspondence.

<sup>2</sup> The later history of the "Committee of Metropolitan Church Schoolmasters" is of some interest. They formed an action group inside the "Metropolitan Church Schoolmasters' Association" and in 1854 succeeded in capturing the Association and altering its object to read "..... the furtherance of education and the improvement of schoolmasters....." The Bishop of London remained the patron. (Educational Expositor May 1854)

been received kindly by the Committee of Council. Union on a specific issue led to immediate attempts to form a permanent national union.

### The National Associations

The first moves to form a national association came not from the metropolitan teachers but from the northern associations. Towards the end of 1851 twelve Birmingham schoolmasters sent a memorial to the committee of the National Society asking the society to establish a general conference of teachers in London, annually or otherwise. The matter was referred to the "Schools Committee" and nothing more was heard of it.<sup>1</sup> On the 24th of August 1852 the Liverpool Church Schoolmasters' Association celebrated its first anniversary.<sup>2</sup> In its annual report it expressed the hope "that the associations throughout the country may be more closely united by frequent correspondence and interchange of papers."<sup>3</sup> Later in the same

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<sup>1</sup> National Society Monthly Paper Jan. 1852

<sup>2</sup> By 1853 there were large associations of church teachers in Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Cheshire and Yorkshire. The Yorkshire Association had 72 present at the First Annual Meeting in 1853 (Educational Expositor June 1853)

<sup>3</sup> Papers for the Schoolmaster Oct. 1852. The last paragraph read "The numerous associations of teachers now continually forming in all parts of the Kingdom; are a very satisfactory sign of the progress of the great cause of education, and the advancement of the educator,.....independent of the facilities such societies afford for study and mutual improvement, they are valuable as uniting the profession in closer bonds of fellowship and cordiality: in presenting a means of making known their sentiments, so that the opinions founded on their practical experience may have the proper influence upon the public opinion of the country too frequently led away by wild theories, and crochets of parties little acquainted with the requirements of real education....." See also Report of the Yorkshire Church of England Schoolmasters' Association (Educational Expositor June 1853)

year Mr. Boardman (of Liverpool) read a paper before his association on the need for a national association. The Liverpool Association corresponded with the Manchester Association and in Easter Week, 1853, a meeting of church schoolmasters was held at St. Philips School, Birmingham to discuss plans for a union of the whole body of church schoolmasters in England and Wales.<sup>1</sup> At the meeting a series of resolutions were unanimously passed on the needs for a union of the whole body of church schoolmasters in England and Wales, the naming of definite text-books for the certificate examinations, appointing masters of elementary schools to the office of sub-Inspector, government annuities for teachers and a fixed curriculum of work in each school to be submitted to the Inspector at his annual visit. A memorial to the Committee of Council on text-books, inspectorships and annuities was drafted and it was decided to circulate it among the teachers of England and Wales, for their opinions and signatures, before

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Details of the meeting are to be found in the Educational Expositor March and August 1853. As well as the large contingents from Liverpool, Manchester and Birmingham there were representatives or individual teachers from Bridgenorth, Crewe, Derby, Harbhorne, Leamington, London, Loughborough, Northampton, Norton, Rotherham, Sheffield, Tamworth and Warwick.

it was sent to the Council office.<sup>1</sup> A committee was appointed consisting of A. Boardman (Liverpool), Rathbone (Manchester), Simpson (Northampton), R. Baker (Leamington), Ward (Rotherham), William Adams, Williams (York), Reed (Durham) and Tubb (Birmingham). William Adams was appointed Chairman. Plans were made for dividing the country into nine districts each with a secretary in direct touch with the General Secretary and with the local associations in his district.<sup>2</sup>

The first annual meeting of "The General Associated Body of Church Schoolmasters in England and Wales" (A.B.C.S.) was held in London on December 29th and 30th 1853. The membership of the association was 400<sup>3</sup>, eighteen associations sent

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The account of the meeting continued "the present system of a single association, or of a few masters, memorialising the Committee of Council on matters vitally affecting the whole body of teachers, without that body being consulted, is open to very grave objections; and it is felt that the opinions of a very considerable number of those for whom legislation is sought should be obtained upon such memorials, before they are presented to the authorities" (Educational Expositor August 1853). The reference is to the action of the Metropolitan Church Schoolmasters' Association. The tendency of the London teachers to regard themselves as the natural leaders of the profession and the refusal of the provincial (in particular northern) teachers to accept their leadership has been a source of weakness to the profession. The Metropolitan Church Schoolmasters' Association refused to enter into union with the Associated Body of Church Schoolmasters (National Society Monthly Paper Feb. 1860). Even after the formation of the N.U.E.T. the Metropolitan Board Teachers had their own association (the "Metropolitan Board Teachers' Association" later the "London Teachers Association". Minor hostility still exists between the L.T.A. and the other distinct associations of the N.U.T.

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Educational Expositor August 1853.

3 Church schoolmistresses were also admitted but nothing at all is heard of them taking any active part in association activities.

representatives and seven more "signified their approval." The tone of the meeting was set by Mr. Boardman who said, "This movement of the teacher is liable to be, and even has been, misunderstood: and that, I hear, by persons whose esteem is most deeply valued by the church schoolmaster. But we are perfectly conscious of the purity of our motives."<sup>1</sup> Boardman put the "social position" question on one side, "wherefore all this discussion and verbiage spent in demanding a higher social position if we are unworthy of it. 'Tis sheer folly. Let us earn a higher position by our work, our intelligence, our conduct, and not go about the country inviting people to respect us, and mourning because they pay no attention to us....." Boardman asked for promotion of teachers to the Grammar and Endowed Schools, Lectureships in Training Colleges and Sub-Inspectorships and for a superannuation scheme.

Throughout the first conference we can see the desire to re-assure the authorities that here was not another "Trades' Union" and that the motives of the teachers were higher than mere "self-advancement." "Self-improvement" rather than "self-advancement" was to be their motto, "elevate yourself<sup>2</sup> and your position must be elevated" was their watchword."

In spite of all its attempts to remain outside controversy the A.B.C.S. was almost broken up in 1855 over the issue of

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<sup>1</sup> The School and the Teacher April 1854.

<sup>2</sup> The School and the Teacher Sept. 1855. See also The School and the Teacher Jan. 1854: Correspondence.

whether or not to admit clergy to membership. The Doncaster Association decided early in 1855 "that the managerial power should be confided wholly or principally, to the schoolmasters: it was thought that there would be more freedom of speech and action if the attendance of the clergy were dispensed with at the majority of the meetings."<sup>1</sup> While the action of the Doncaster Association was strictly speaking a matter for itself alone the Northampton District Association, led by its young secretary J.J.Graves,<sup>2</sup> decided to bring the issue before the annual conference and adopted five resolutions in favour of clergymen being admitted as members and officials of the A.B.C.S.<sup>3</sup> Graves wrote a letter to The School and the Teacher in which he gave, among other reasons for including the clergy, that clergy and schoolmasters were both engaged in winning souls to Christ, that by admitting the clergy the schoolmaster would rise in the social scale and lastly that the clergy would contribute to

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<sup>1</sup> The School and the Teacher March 1855. It should be added that "several of the clerical members of the association were of the same opinion." It was decided in the end "that the clergy should be requested to attend only the four quarterly meetings, of which the annual meetings would be one, and that the other eight meetings should be exclusively schoolmasters' meetings."

<sup>2</sup> J.J.Graves was the Secretary of the A.B.C.S. from 1857-1863 and 1866-1869, first president of the N.U.E.T. and a member of the executive of the N.U.T. from 1870-1900. He commenced teaching in 1846 at St.Annes School, Soho, and from 1851 to 1901 was headmaster of the Endowed School, Lompert. Throughout his life he was a firm believer in the church system of education and an advocate of the interests of the church inside the N.U.T. He died in February 1903.

<sup>3</sup> The School and the Teacher August 1855. See also National Society Monthly Paper July 1855.

the finances of the Association.<sup>1</sup>

A long correspondence followed with the general opinion tending against the Northampton resolutions. The Sheffield District Association passed a series of resolutions to the effect that, "the general association is essentially a church schoolmasters' association, founded for the benefit of schoolmasters alone: if the clergy were admitted it would lose this characteristic." It was pointed out that the clergy did not admit schoolmasters into their associations and that their presence in the A.B.C.S. would hinder freedom of discussion. J.J.Graves' argument that they would contribute to the finances was regarded as "too contemptible, grovelling and servile to require the slightest comment."<sup>2</sup> The Northampton resolutions were defended by J.Hare who asked "what has placed the church schoolmasters in their position? Certainly the continual efforts of the church clergy. Therefore is it not ungrateful, as well as impolitic on our part, to wish to act independently of them?"<sup>3</sup> Finally in December 1855 The School and the Teacher, which previously had not committed itself, made a definite stand against admitting the clergy and declared in answer to Hare that "we deny that the clergy have raised us to our present position."

<sup>1</sup>

The School and the Teacher August 1855  
See also letter from J.J.Graves in National Society Monthly Paper Nov.1853, in which he requests the help of the managers in paying the fares of schoolmasters attending the annual meeting of the A.B.C.S.

<sup>2</sup>

The School and the Teacher Oct.1855.

<sup>3</sup>

National Society Monthly Paper November 1855.



We know that many of them had the will, and rejoice in the fact that we are so raised: but at the same time, we know that many have no desire to see us advancing."<sup>1</sup>

At the Third Annual Meeting of the A.B.C.S. after a long discussion on the Northampton resolutions the following amendment was passed by a large majority. "That while cordially recognising the value of the countenance of the clergy, and their co-operation with the teacher, in the education of the young, and while anxious to cherish that important and desirable connection, this meeting is nevertheless of opinion, that the general working of the A.B.C.S. would necessarily be impeded by the admission of members of any other profession whatever."<sup>2</sup> In spite of the length and bitterness of the discussion there was no secession of membership.

While many of the clergy were antagonistic to independent schoolmasters' associations, and others were grieved at the loss of an opportunity to work with the schoolmasters, a few were in favour of the idea of an independent scholastic profession. We have seen how at the original meeting of the Doncaster Association which excluded the clergy "several of the clerical members of the association were of the same opinion." At the annual dinner of

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<sup>1</sup> The School and the Teacher December 1855

<sup>2</sup> The School and the Teacher February 1856

the Yorkshire District Association<sup>1</sup> the Rev. F. Watkins H.M.I. expressed his approval of the schoolmasters' association, and was glad to find that the members of the society had decided to allow none but those who followed their profession to belong to the association."<sup>2</sup>

Again it is necessary to remark that the exclusion of the clergy from the A.B.C.S. did not alter the attachment of the national teachers to the church. Even after the A.B.C.S. had barred the clergy from membership, they always included an address by a prominent clergyman in the programme of their annual meeting and conference was opened with a prayer. More important, denominational differences kept the church teachers from entering a comprehensive union until 1870.

While the A.B.C.S. was still in process of formation Mr.

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This powerful association was founded in 1852 and in 1856 had 110 members. It excluded the clergy from membership and tended to rely on its own members for lectures. Members of the clergy were however allowed to attend meetings. Prominent members of the association were T. Ward, Hullah and W.B. Simpson. The Yorkshire Association had unanimously opposed the admission of the clergy to the A.B.C.S. "the objects of schoolmasters' associations (being) of an entirely professional and practical character"

See National Society Monthly Paper May 1853, Nov. 1855, May 1856

2

The School and the Teacher May 1856. Watkins also said that..... "although he was sure that he and his reverend brethren wished them every prosperity and success, yet he was persuaded that it was better for the clergy to take no part in the deliberations of the association..... he was sure that if the clergy attended their meetings it would prevent free discussion among them..... it would either lead to a suppression, or a gross exaggeration of facts and therefore he was convinced that the proceedings of the schoolmasters' association should be free and unfettered, and conducted solely by those who belonged to the scholastic profession."

Edward Hughes wrote a letter to the editors of the Educational Expositor suggesting the formation of a comprehensive union "of all those who are professionally engaged in the duties of Christian education, from the highest to the lowest, whether in Church of England schools or Protestant Dissenting schools. We should not like to see any sectarian differences prevent schoolmasters from co-operating with one another for the attainment of this great object. The discussion of questions of dogmatic theology does not and cannot form part of that object"<sup>1</sup>

On the 19th of November 1853 a convening meeting was held at the St. Thomas, Charterhouse Schools in London. The meeting was attended by many prominent London teachers and training college tutors from National, British and Foreign, Home and Colonial, Congregational and "Middle Class" establishments.<sup>2</sup> At this meeting a resolution was proposed by Simpson and Gover

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Educational Expositor July 1853. Hughes seems to have been influenced by the example of the "American Institution of Instruction" (founded 1830). See also "Didascalos", Remarks on the Expediency of Establishing Local Associations of Schoolmasters, as a means of advancing the Theory and Practice of Teaching (Bradford, 1843)

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Among those associated with the "United Association of Schoolmasters" in its nine years of existence were Dunning (Master of Method at the Training School of the Home and Colonial Society), W. McLeod (Master of Method at the Royal Military Asylum, Chelsea), Edward Hughes (Headmaster of the Lower Naval School, Greenwich Hospital) E.C. Daintree (Master of Method at the Highbury Training College), T. Tate (Mathematical Professor at Kneller Hall), J. Langton (afterwards President of the N.U.E.T. 1871), T.M. Day (afterwards President of the N.U.E.T. 1878), E. Coghlan, J. Self, Hassell, Reid, E. Simpson (Leader of the Deputation in 1857), Page, Baines, T. Ryder, Meen, Gover, Abbott, T. Crampton, Kemp, J. Tilleard, J. R. Hay, T. Hall B.A. (of the City of London School), the Rev. C. H. Bromby (Principal of the Cheltenham Training College) and the Rev. W. J. Unwin (Principal of the Congregational Training College, Homerton.)

"that the association shall consist exclusively of masters of public elementary schools." This resolution would have excluded masters of private schools and training college tutors and included Roman Catholic and secular teachers. After an animated and lengthy discussion the resolution was lost and Rule 2 of the association finally ran, "That the association embraces all teachers (public and private) who acknowledge the essential doctrines of Christianity, and the sufficiency of Holy Scripture, as the rule of faith and practice, and who regard the Bible as the only sure basis of true education."<sup>1</sup>

On the 31st of December 1853, the first annual general meeting of the "United Association of Schoolmasters" (U.A.S.) was held at Shaftesbury Hall, Aldersgate Street, London with Alderman Challis (late Lord Mayor of London) in the chair. The U.A.S. welcomed the formation of the A.B.C.S. for "far from impeding, (this association of church schoolmasters) may even facilitate, the establishment of a really general association, as it will enable the church schoolmasters the better to send delegates from their own body to attend the meetings of the larger society."<sup>2</sup> The A.B.C.S. refused to enter into any kind

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Educational Expositor Dec. 1853  
Gazette of the United Association of Schoolmasters (1854)  
 The question of admitting all "who are professionally engaged in education" to membership of the association was taken up again at the annual general meeting on 28th and 29th December 1856. After a heated debate the motion to admit was lost. (American Journal of Education. March 1857 pp. 263-5)

2

Educational Expositor Dec. 1853, Feb. 1854

of relationship with the U.A.S. on the grounds that "church schoolmasters want to avoid the various differences and interminable disputes which appear to be inseparably connected with a society embracing schoolmasters of every religious creed."<sup>1</sup>

Throughout its existence the U.A.S. was under the control of the London training college tutors and masters of central and model schools.<sup>2</sup> The hostility felt by members of the A.B.C.S. towards the U.A.S. was not just due to religious antagonism although this was important. To religious difference was added dislike of the London teachers by the Northern teachers, a general status hostility towards Training College Tutors and

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The School and the Teacher, Jan. 1854

There were later attempts by the U.A.S. to unite with the A.B.C.S. In November 1856 Edwin Simpson wrote to The School and the Teacher in favour of the amalgamation of the two unions. J.T. Rathbone wrote in reply that, "It was hoped..... we should hear no more of a desire that we should sacrifice our principles on the shrine of secularism..... Why are we urged by churchmen to admit dissenters, when the parties most interested, so far from applying to us for admission, set up an antagonistic society, and receive into their ranks, men of all shades of opinion, and likewise willingly accept pecuniary aid in their financial difficulties, from every quarter whence it can be obtained?..... It is an undeniable fact, that the "Associated Body" as well as the "United Association", is crippled in its working through lack of funds; but, proof is not wanting, that our feebleness consists in the extreme degree of caution, combined with an indifference to the advantages of association, evidenced by our brethren in charge of church schools, rather than lack of members to form a good society, without extraneous aid" (The School and the Teacher Nov.-Dec. 1856)

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In 1854, for example, the U.A.S. had 211 members of whom 132 came from the London area. This small membership (which included Honorary members) was in spite of great efforts at advertising. Some 5,000 "statements of character and objects" and 8,000 "Gazettes" were distributed to certificated teachers. See The Gazette of the United Association of Schoolmasters of Great Britain. (1854)

personal jealousies and rivalries between individual teacher leaders.<sup>1</sup> It is true that throughout the period instruction was becoming more secular and the church teachers were becoming increasingly aware of their independent professional existence. Pupil teacherdom, the two years residence at a Training College, augmentation grants paid directly to the teacher, all tended to weaken the teachers' intellectual dependence on the church. Signs of this are to be found not only in the U.A.S. but also in the A.B.C.S., in the titles of the lectures given before them, the attitudes expressed in lectures and discussions and the resolutions proposed at general meetings. The teachers still found it impossible to unite<sup>2</sup> and even the Revised Code controversy, although it brought partial attempts at unity among the London teachers<sup>3</sup> failed to unite the profession.<sup>4</sup>

The U.A.S. concerned itself in the main with "education" rather than with advancing "the professional interests of schoolmasters."<sup>5</sup> Meetings were devoted in the main to lectures

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<sup>1</sup> See The School and the Teacher: Preface to 1861 Volume.

<sup>2</sup> There were local attempts to form comprehensive associations e.g. at Bristol (Educational Record) Vol.III (1854) p.15 and Vol.IV (1857). Note also the comprehensive "Western Union of Teachers" (Educational Record Vol.IV (1857) p.10 and The Schoolmaster March 20th 1909).

<sup>3</sup> See this ~~thesis~~ *Study* Chapter VII

<sup>4</sup> Here I find it impossible to agree with G.W.Hughes who in several places in his thesis (e.g. pp.117,143) suggests that the Revised Controversy permanently united the profession. It was the Act of 1870 and the debates around it which led to the formation of the N.U.E.T. (~~This~~ *thesis* Chapter VIII)

<sup>5</sup> See Appendix for the objects of the U.A.S.

on educational subjects<sup>1</sup> delivered by experienced teachers,  
 training college tutors and educationists.<sup>2</sup> The Association  
 also tried to form an educational library and an educational  
 museum<sup>3</sup> for it hoped to increase the efficiency of primary  
 instruction by promoting "among its members the study of  
 education as a science, whose principles must be investigated  
 with a philosophical spirit, in connection with the laws of  
 mind, and tested by careful observation and experiment."<sup>4</sup>

There were various reasons why the U.A.S. should be less

<sup>1</sup>

Of the 75 papers read before the U.A.S. between December 1853 and December 1860, 34 were on individual subjects of instruction, 20 on general principles of teaching, 11 on educational politics, 5 on professional interests, 3 on the history of education and 2 on school architecture. (The School and the Teacher Feb. 1861).

<sup>2</sup>

At least seven of these papers were published in full.

T. Tate, School Registers, for recording the results of different systems or methods of instruction, and also for testing the capabilities of teachers in relation to these methods (in Gazette .. 1854)

E. C. Tainsh, On the best means of making the Schoolmaster's function more efficient than it has hitherto been in preventing misery and crime (Edinburgh 1858)

A. Jones, The Union of Religion and Social Science (Edinburgh 1858)

J. D. Morell, On the Progress of Society in England as affected by the advancement of National Education (Edinburgh 1859)

Rev. Canon Richson, The Difficulties of the "Education Question" (Edinburgh 1859)

A. Jones, The Principles of Privy Council Legislation (Edinburgh, 1859)

H. Chester, The Proper Limits of the State's Interference in Education (Edinburgh 1861)

<sup>3</sup>

Gazette... 1854

<sup>4</sup>

The School and the Teacher Jan. 1858. This need to make education a science was also expressed strongly by members of the A.B.C.S. See the extremely interesting lecture by T. Ward "The Teacher's Duties in the present State of Education" delivered at the meeting of the A.B.C.S. at York, Christmas 1860 (Educational Guardian Jan. 1861)

concerned with the "professional interests" of the teacher than the A.B.C.S. It has been noted already that the nonconformist teacher had a higher status among the parents of the children he taught and that he tended to be less dissatisfied with his social position. The London teachers were more highly paid than teachers in the rest of the country, and the training college tutors who dominated the U.A.S. were the most highly paid of all. The "social isolation" of the teacher was felt more keenly in the country than in the towns. The U.A.S. was less enterprising in pushing the claims of the teacher (also) because almost all its members were members of other associations.<sup>1</sup>

The A.B.C.S. from its foundation devoted a great deal of its attention to "representing to the proper authorities any defects or abuses in our educational system, and suggesting such modifications or additions as experienced teachers may deem desirable."<sup>2</sup> This was done by sending Memorials, Petitions and Deputations to the Committee of Council. As early as 1853 the A.B.C.S. sent a memorial signed by some 725 church schoolmasters to the Committee. The Memorial was presented by

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<sup>1</sup> "The London Association of Teachers," "British Teachers' Association" "Metropolitan Church Schoolmasters Association", A.B.C.S. or the denominational association of the Wesleyans or Congregationalists.

The U.A.S. disappeared during the Revised Code controversy in which it played no active part. Its members worked through their denominational associations or the "Central Committee of Schoolmasters."

<sup>2</sup> The School and the Teacher March 1856: Object 6 of the A.B.C.S. The U.A.S. also included as one of its objects "The expression of the collective opinion of schoolmasters on matters affecting their professional interests" (Gazette.1854) but in practice did very little in this direction.



H.M.I.'s Moseley and Kennedy and concerned itself with promotion to sub-inspectorships, superannuation, and the need for lists of textbooks and classification of subjects for the pupil teacher<sup>1</sup> and certificate examinations.

By September 1859 the Association had presented memorials on six different points affecting educational progress and the teacher<sup>2</sup> and In 1860 it sent three petitions to the House of Commons,<sup>3</sup> <sup>and</sup> <sup>waited upon</sup> a deputation to Mr. Lowe (Vice-President of the Committee of Council), <sup>Dr</sup> and presented a memorial on the condition of "registered teachers," corresponded with Lord John Russell and Sir John Pakington asking for enfranchisement for schoolmasters and also <sup>submitted</sup> presented a petition on the same subject, and Finally, it corresponded with the Committee of Council on the number of pupil teachers allowed to be apprenticed to each certificated<sup>4</sup> master.

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<sup>1</sup>  
Papers for the Schoolmaster, Dec. 1853  
National Society Monthly Paper Dec. 1853

<sup>2</sup>  
On the needs for a revision of the list of school books, prescribed text books for examination, retiring pensions, preferment of teachers, payment of gratuities for fractions of a year and increased payments to male pupil teachers. Mr. Adderley, while Vice-President of the Committee of Council, held a personal consultation with a deputation from the A.B.C.S. in 1858 on several of the points at issue, the "result of which was extremely satisfactory." (Educational Guardian Sept. 1859)

<sup>3</sup>  
Opposing Mr. Dillwyn's Bill which would have affected endowed schools in a way opposed by the church, praying that in the taking of the forthcoming census every person should be asked to state whether he could read and write, and at what kind of school he was educated and favouring Mr. Adderley's Bill "providing for the education of children employed in manufactures and other regular labour."

<sup>4</sup>  
Educational Guardian March, May, June 1860.

In spite of the relatively small membership of the A.B.C.S. (in 1860 it had only 660 members)<sup>1</sup> there is not doubt~~ed~~ that it possessed much influence both among the church teachers and in educational affairs at large. While it lacked some of the influential support which was given to the U.A.S., amongst its leaders were many influential and competent teachers,<sup>2</sup> and the association received the support of many of the Clergy and Inspectors.<sup>3</sup> Its numbers however, grew very slowly (the U.A.S. in spite of heroic efforts on the part of its supporters actually declined in numbers). In 1861 after the national associations had been in existence for eight years their main problem lay not in the quality of their leadership but in the refusal of the mass of the teachers to provide them with the support necessary if the profession was ever to go beyond petitioning the Committee of Council. It is doubtful, however, if any degree of organisation would have deflected the storm which broke upon

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix for number of teachers in the National Associations.

<sup>2</sup> Amongst the active members in 1860 were J.H.Hay, W.McLeod, (both also members of the U.A.S.), Myers, Monday, Dexter, Hind, Lyne (all of London), Sharratt, J.T.Rathbone, Dakin, Davis, Hunter, Jarrett (All of Manchester), T.Ward (Norwich), J.J.Graves, J.Hare (Northampton) Gill (Crewe), Williams (York), Lyle (Sheffield), Hullah (Chichester), Marcus (Bromsgrove), Robinson (Newcastle), Dee, Wilson, Ullathorne, Sargent, Raden, Hawkins (Bristol), Wolff (South Wales), Hawarth (Ashby-de-la-zauch) and Briscoe (Bolton)

the teachers in 1861.<sup>1</sup>

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One association which lies outside the framework of this thesis deserves mention both for the sake of completeness and also as evidence of the thirst for knowledge of the "new schoolmasters." "The Social Science Association for Schoolmasters" was formed in May 1859 having for its object "the study of social science, and how to teach it." The Association was modelled on the "National Association for the Promotion of Social Science" and by April 1861 had approximately 300 members. Lectures were given at University College, London in the Social and Natural Sciences.

The School and the teacher June, Dec. 1860

The Museum April, 1861.

CHAPTER VI

Educational Reaction and the Report of the Newcastle Commission.

....."It is sad to find, that an appeal is being made, it may be unconsciously made, to old prejudices, which were thought for ever silenced. True to the call, class jealousies, which had retired into corners, have come out to bask themselves once more in popular favour. A tongue has been given to an army of little opponents, who, in their secret hearts, hate and fear the education of the lower classes, but who had been shamed into obscurity at the dawn of a <sup>new</sup> day".....

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Rev. C. H. Bromby (January 1862)

The opposition to the form of state-aided voluntary education established by Kay-Shuttleworth did not cease to exist with the passage of the Minutes of 1846. It sought constantly to find weak points in the system and every minor weakness was seized upon and exaggerated. Eventually this opposition succeeded in convincing Parliament of the need for a Royal Commission "to inquire into the present state of popular education in England, and to consider and report what measures, if any, are required for the extension of sound and cheap elementary instruction to all classes of the people." In this chapter we are concerned with assessing the nature and significance of the opposition and discussing the main findings of the Newcastle Commission.

It is important to realise that the opposition to the 1846

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1. In an address to the "Metropolitan Church Schoolmasters' Association" January 18th 1862 on "The Principles and Prospects of Popular Education" (Papers for the Schoolmaster Feb 1862)
  2. B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pts. I-VI: Report, Reports of Assistant Commissioners, Digest of Evidence, Answers to Questions etc. of the Newcastle Commission.

system came from at least six distinct sources. Firstly, there were those who believed that popular education was not being advanced with sufficient speed by the 1846 system. It was this party, led by Sir John Pakington, that was most active in the long and stormy Commons' debate which resulted in the passage of a motion asking for the appointment of a Royal Commission.<sup>1</sup>

Secondly, there were those who opposed the 1846 system because they considered that it was giving the poor, a better<sup>child</sup> education than the child of the middle classes was receiving in the "middle class" schools of the time. Associated with this opposition were those who did not fear that the poor child was receiving a better education than the middle class child but only that he was receiving an education that unfitted him for his place in society.<sup>2</sup>

As early as 1849 J.C.Wigram (late Honorary Secretary of the National Society) warned the middle classes that unless they educated their children there would be "an inversion of

1. Hansard. Feb 11th 1858 Q.1184-1248. Note also the series of abortive Bills for promoting popular education.
2. The difficulty of getting servants was blamed on the unsettling effects of education. It was said that "young women are monstrously over-educated for their stations, to the neglect of homely and useful acquirements and to their disgust for the plain paths of duty" (Quoted by Papers for the Schoolmaster. Sept 1859 from the remarks of Mr. Warren to the Grand Jury of Hull upon "the vanity and profligacy of domestic servants").  
See the reference to the Recorders' Address in Miss Burdett Coutts "Hints on Dress for Schoolmistresses" National Society Monthly Paper Jan 1860  
See also Derwent Coleridge - The Teachers of the People (1862) Note 4. "On Domestic Service as affected by Popular Education" pp.77-84.

the orders of the society." Unless the middle classes advanced their families "according to the intellectual progress of the age" they would be unable to "maintain the superior position which God (had given them) in society, and preserve to (their) children the inheritance which (their) parents (had) bequeathed to them."<sup>1</sup> Wigram continued, "Look at the difficulties under which farmers and our tradesmen are striving, at the sacrifices they are obliged to make to educate their families; and is it not unjust to tax them in order to give their labourers and workmen's children an education which they cannot give to their own? As long as the education in our parochial schools was confined to religious teaching, it was a matter of Christian charity that all ranks should be taught equally the way to heaven. It was the duty of a Christian State to provide schools as well as churches for those unable to provide them for themselves. But now that we seek to give secular as well as religious instruction in our schools, surely it is unjust to force the middle classes to pay for educating the children of the masses more than they can afford to educate their own."

The middle-classes made attempts to improve their own education.<sup>2</sup> Their main need was for qualified teachers but

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1. "Present Aspects of Popular Education". A Charge delivered to the Clergy and Churchwardens of the Archdeaconry of Winchester, at his Second General Visitation in April 1849, by Joseph C. Wigram M.A. Archdeacon of Winchester, the late Honorary Secretary of the National Society (1849)
  2. For example (1) The suggestion of a "Middle Class Prize Scheme" National Society Monthly Paper April 1857 (2) The petition presented by Lord Brougham on July 22nd 1859 asking for grants and certificated teachers for middle class schools.

despite all their efforts few certificated teachers could be attracted into the middle class schools.<sup>1</sup> Under such conditions they were led to attack the "over-education" of the certificated teachers.<sup>2</sup> It was in vain that Derwent Coleridge advised them to, "Let the education of all classes proceed pari passu, but let it not be checked in any part to preserve the stable equilibrium of stagnation..... Ill indeed do the upper classes understand their own interest if they see in this movement any danger to their prerogative. Its real tendency is to preserve the existing map of society, while it softens its demarcations."<sup>3</sup> The middle classes given no encouragement by the state to re-organise the education of their own children turned their attentions to "controlling" the education of the poor.

Thirdly, there were those who directed their attack on the person of the teacher. The certificated teacher was said to have been over-educated for his position and this over-education had made him conceited and over-ambitious, had led him (or her) to ape his betters in dress and to press for a higher social position. His discontent with his position had led him in turn to move constantly from school to school and finally to desert the profession and compete with the children of the middle classes in the new white-collar occupations. These actions were made more difficult to bear because the teacher was said

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1. Quarterly Educational Magazine, Oct 1848. Correspondence
  2. J.C.Higram. op.cit.  
The School and the Teacher. Feb 1861  
The Times, Oct 5th 1861
  3. Derwent Coleridge - The Teachers of the People (1862) pp.40-1

to owe his education, training and position to the charity of the middle-classes. The "over-education" of the teachers was said to produce two more evil results. In the first place, he was accused of neglecting the groundwork of education and the less intelligent children. Thus it was said that many children left school unable to read or write. In the second place, the certificated teacher was said to over-educate the more intelligent members of his class and make them unfit for their position in life.

Thus stated, the argument has more clarity and logic than ever appeared in the writings of the time. What we find from 1848 onwards is a series of disconnected statements ranging from serious analyses of wastage from the profession to virulent attacks by those who wished to see the teacher "taken down a peg" and put more completely under the control of the clergy. A series of quotations will illustrate this diffuse attack.

Rev. Henry Newland (Vicar of Westbourne) wrote in 1854 that "Schoolmasters are over-educated, that is to say, a parcel of stuff is required of them which they do not in the least want, and which is rather injurious than otherwise if it is anything: ..... Government schoolmasters will shortly be reckoned among the dangerous classes."<sup>1</sup>

H.M.I. J.I. Blandford wrote of the schools in his district

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1. English Churchmen Sept 28th 1854: Correspondence  
See also Rev. Richard Eurgess: National Schools and National School Teachers: A Letter to His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, (1848) National Society Monthly Paper: March 1856, June 1856.



that "the schools in which the certificated teachers are employed are certainly among the most efficient in my district, and I am in justice bound to say that the managers express general satisfaction with their character, conduct, and attention to duty; but I also hear remarks made on the want of common sense, the display of vanity, and overweening estimate of self exhibited by many of the young teachers, of both sexes, who have been students in training schools, and I have no doubt that the exaggerated importance attached to the possession of the parchment certificate has had a tendency to encourage these feelings."<sup>1</sup>

The dress of the schoolmaster (and to an even greater extent of the schoolmistress or schoolmaster's wife) was a constant source of complaint. At a meeting of the "Chew Deconal Schoolmasters' Association" the Right Rev. Lord Auckland, Bishop of Bath and Wells, read a paper on "Hints on Dress for Schoolmistresses" in which he said that, "the importance of propriety of dress is universally acknowledged, but it should be especially remembered by a schoolmistress..... It is not meant that a schoolmistress should dress in the same manner as the

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1. B.P.P. 1854-5 XLIII: Minutes 1854-5 pp.493-4 H.M.I. J.I. Blandford.

Incidents like the following explain much of the hostility to the new teachers, "Is it not ridiculous", exclaimed a lady patron when she saw the first class drawing a map of Europe from memory, "to see girls who will probably be my servants taught to do that which I cannot do myself." I merely replied, "Improve your time: practice makes perfect: in elevating the mind we elevate the body" (National Society Monthly Paper: August 1855: Letter from "Maitre d'ecole" on "The Enemies of Education")

See also Papers for the Schoolmaster Jan 1853: Leader  
National Society Monthly Paper : May, August, October 1854

children of the poor, but that her girls, seeing her always wear a neat and respectable dress, appropriate to her station in life, should learn to dress, in a like manner, in their stations"<sup>1</sup> .... Masters for their part were accused of "coxcombery and pretentiousness" (using seals with crests and visiting cards)<sup>2</sup>. It is not surprising that teachers resented this direct control of their dress and behaviour.<sup>3</sup>

There were many complaints that teachers changed their

1. Papers for the Schoolmaster: March 1859

See also F. Smith - Life of Kay-Shuttleworth p.208 for an account of the letter from the Duchess of Sutherland to Kay-Shuttleworth in which she discussed the problems of William Bragg a schoolmaster she had engaged, "I wish William to be lectured by you, his kindest friend,.... and could anything be said to him about the desirableness of his wife not being smart - the example will be important - and she had very playful ringlets."

2. A speaker at a meeting of the "National Association for the Promotion of Social Science" (Educational Guardian Oct 1860)

3. "That shocking spirit of intolerance, which cannot bear to see another rise to its own level, is but too often manifested by some of the enlightened clergy of our land, who, though they cannot prevent the social success and rising importance of schoolmasters and mistresses, try to depress and annoy them by all the means in their power, for the purpose of keeping them down. This jealous feeling sometimes shows itself in an endeavour to cramp the teacher's authority in the school, by placing curates and others as spies over every action. In the case of a schoolmistress the inquisitorial power is generally vested in the "Ladies' Committee": the sole business of that amiable body appearing to be finding fault with everything done in the school (about which they understand nothing); and taking note of the behaviour and dress of the mistress.

"She must not dress above her station", is the cry of the clergyman's family and committee of ladies, consequently the new mistress is subjected to the painfully unpleasant process of analysis, and being pronounced guilty of "dressing as well as themselves", is punished by being made to feel her inferiority in ways too numerous to mention" (Educational Guardian March 1861: Letter from "A Young Schoolmistress")

schools too frequently and that "there is a continual migration in search of what appears to be a more pleasant and convenient habitation." H.M.I. Kennedy wrote in 1850-51 that "their constant migration was a great evil and would not be remedied until the Committee of Council took authority in some measure to limit the power of the teacher to leave the school or of the local managers to dismiss them."<sup>1</sup>

Not all this "migration" was due to the desire of the teacher to better himself. Managers too often made excessive demands on the time of their teachers and dismissed them on minor pretexts. H.M.I. Mitchell pointed out that "unless some means be devised to render the schoolmaster's appointment and salary permanent and fixed, depending only on his character, there will be no inducing valuable men to take situations, or retaining them if they have been induced by education and training to enter on the career"<sup>2</sup>

The measures adapted to limit migration did not give the teacher any security of tenure. By a Minute of August 1853, it was announced that the certificate of merit would be granted only to those masters who had been in charge of the same elementary school for at least two years, and had been reported upon each year by the Inspector.<sup>3</sup>

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1. B.P.P. 1851 XLIV: Minutes 1850-51 p.442-3 H.M.I. Kennedy
  2. B.P.P. 1852 XL: Minutes 1851-2 p.256 H.M.I. Mitchell
  3. Another "check" upon migration was the previously mentioned proviso that fractional periods of a year did not count for augmentation grants.

The problem of "wastage" from the profession was a matter of even greater concern than the extent of migration. Sir John Pakington concerned himself as early as 1855 with this problem complaining that the "overtraining" of pupil teachers (at the public expense) led to their passing off to other pursuits. He also complained that too many certificated teachers were becoming clergymen.<sup>1</sup>

There were possibilities of wastage at four points in the career of the certificated teacher, during apprenticeship as a pupil teacher, on expiration of apprenticeship but before entering training college, on leaving training college but before commencing teaching and after commencing teaching. There were many rumours of a large wastage from the profession at the expiration of apprenticeship and the Committee of Council made the matter a subject of special enquiry in 1858.<sup>2</sup> The enquiry found that only 12.68% of the total number of pupil teachers admitted were removed during their apprenticeship, either by "death", failure in attainments, misconduct or other causes, including the adoption of other pursuits in life." That 87.32% successfully completed their apprenticeship, and 76.02% became candidates for Queens' scholarships, which most of them obtained. The 11.3% who did not become candidates for Queens' scholarships included those who either adopted other pursuits or followed the calling of a schoolmaster without going through the course

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1. Papers for the Schoolmaster April 1855  
National Society Monthly Paper April 1855
  2. E.P.F. 1859 XXI Pt. I Report of the Committee of Council 1858-9  
p. xxxii. See also E.P.F. 1854-5 XXI p. 387

of instruction given at the training college. Thus this form of wastage was shown to be much smaller than had been supposed.

The two forms of wastage after leaving training college were much more serious. The Newcastle Commission found that from 1847-1859 the number of male teachers who received certificates was 7,343 and at the end of the year 1859 only 4,237 were in charge of schools under government<sup>1</sup> inspection. During the same period 5,261 female teachers had received certificates, but at the end of the year 1859 only 2,762 were<sup>1</sup> in charge of schools under government inspection.

In 1859 the Committee of Council sent a circular to the Inspectors and Principals of Training Colleges in which it urged upon them "the propriety of impressing upon the students that nothing tends more to discredit the present system of training in public estimation than the capricious and inconsiderate manner in which many of the younger teachers abandon engagements."<sup>2</sup> The teachers replied that wastage was to be expected given the poor remuneration and low social<sup>3</sup> position of the teacher and his lack of secure tenure.

In 1861 the training colleges received on intimation that

1. B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt. I p. 676

2. Circular July 30th 1859 The circular contained the threat that "the rule which makes a certificated teacher almost indispensable for obtaining a continuance of public grants to a school, could not be maintained against a strong public opinion, and, in the absence of such a rule, the certificated teachers who are entering upon their profession would find themselves in a very different position from that which they hold at present, with regard to the command of well paid employment"

3. The School and the Teacher Sept 1859

Queens' scholarships would only be allowed to such as bound each Queens' scholar to a life long service. Naturally enough this aroused a great deal of disquiet among the teachers who complained that, "to demand a written promise of a life-long service, is to inflict a bondage which no Englishman can bear."<sup>1</sup> Such a pledge could not in any case have been made binding and had little effect on the numbers leaving the profession.

The view that teachers owed their education and training to "charity" was perhaps put most clearly in an article on "The Social Position of the Schoolmaster" which appeared in the National Society Monthly Paper June 1861 and which said of the trained teachers that, "they have been lifted into their position at the public expense. Had not the nation provided funds for their training, the majority of them would at this moment have been agricultural labourers, in receipt of 12/- or 15/- weekly, or at the best mill-hands and mechanics, earning from 20/- to 30/-..... When public revenue and private munificence have alike been taxed to make a profession for them, and to help them into it, they can surely afford to wait a little before further insisting that their incomes shall be raised above those of half the clergy, three-fourths of the younger barristers and all the junior officers in the Army and Navy."<sup>2</sup> .....

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1. Papers for the Schoolmaster March 1861. See also Educational Guardian March 1861.
  2. National Society Monthly Paper June 1861: See also Ibid July-October 1861.

The chief complaint of the Inspectors was that the certificated teachers tended to despise the groundwork of education and that, "many of the certificated teachers of the present day..... often spend the school time in lecturing rather than teaching, and in displaying their own treasures rather than in increasing the little store of children's knowledge."<sup>1</sup> They were criticised for confining their attention too much to the older scholars, and neglecting the younger. The lowest classes of the school were not however, solely composed of the youngest pupils but included also a large proportion of drifting, transient pupils of all ages who would spend a few weeks in the school and then move on or else would attend only in winter when the farmers did not need their services. The problem before the head teacher (as Frank Smith wrote) "was whether to give his energy to the older children who stayed on till they reached the top class, and showed a satisfactory return for his labour or this migratory and unteachable group at the lower end of the school."<sup>2</sup>

While the Inspectors were most concerned with the under-education of the "migratory and unteachable" group, others paid more attention to the ambitious nature of the teaching at the top of the school. Rev.J.Fraser in his defence of the Revised Code wrote that it was this ambitious teaching which had done more than anything else to alienate the laity from the work of

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1. B.P.P. 1854-5 XLII: Minutes 1854-5 p.431-2 H.M.I. F.Watkins
  2. F.Smith - A History of English Elementary Education p.231

elementary education.<sup>1</sup>

Having given the case against the teachers it is necessary also to give some kind of assessment of its truth or lack of truth. If the teachers' duty was solely to impart a limited store of facts to his children then teachers were certainly over-educated. If, however, their duty was education in Kay-Shuttleworth's or Derwent Coleridge's sense then they were still being under-educated for their posts. It is true that the new teachers were proud of their office (i.e. conceited) and eager for promotion to higher positions in the educational structure (i.e. ambitious). It is true that they were seeking admission to the professional classes (i.e. pressing for a higher social position), attempted to prepare themselves for a higher social position (i.e. aped their betters) and were concerned with matters like promotion and superannuation (i.e. discontented). But all the evidence we have from the teachers' periodicals themselves shows that these feelings were dominant in only a minority of the profession.

From the statistics of wastage it seems true that it was proving difficult to keep teachers in the schools by pride of office alone while there was a high demand for their skills outside. Finally it was true and in fact inevitable that there should be some "under-education" of the lower classes in the

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1. Rev. J. Fraser - The Revised Code etc. (1861)

"The squire said that he did not see the use of all the grammar, geography and fine learning for ploughboys and housemaids, and that if people chose to ride their educational hobby as hard as that they must not expect him to pay for their amusement."



schools but of "over-education" we have no evidence at all.

The fourth group to oppose the 1846 system were the "extreme" nonconformists (and in particular the congregationalists). Many of the nonconformists would rather have had no education at all than church education and many more were only too eager to be convinced that the church schools and the church teachers were utterly inefficient.<sup>1</sup> Any step towards their aim of a "rate-aided, popularly controlled, non-sectarian system" would be sure of a welcome.<sup>2</sup>

The fifth group was composed of those who opposed any extension of state interference in education and attacked "bureaucratic centralization."

The sixth group (led by Gladstone, Bright and Wise) were most concerned with "the growing burden of the government grant for education."<sup>3</sup>

Even before the Newcastle Commission was appointed in 1858 there had been signs of a change in government policy. In July 1857 the Committee of Council decided to withdraw the condition that seven-tenths of the whole school income should be

1. It is possible to detect this "nonconformist bias" among early educational historians. In more recent times an anti-religious bias" and a "flesh-creeping bias" has even further exaggerated the inefficiency of education in 1861.
2. F. Adams in The Elementary School Contest was to call Robert Lowe "the most able minister who has yet held the post of vice-president" (p.189. See also pp.176-7, 188-9.)
3. See Literarium March 18th 1857, Papers for the Schoolmaster May 1860. Edinburgh Review 1860 "Expense of Public Education in England" The grant had risen from £150,000 in 1851 to £396,000 in 1855 and £836,920 in 1859.  
B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt. I: p.578

applied to the teacher's salary and from 1856 onwards much greater stress was laid by "their Lordships" upon proficiency in the three R's.<sup>2</sup> Change after change was made in the Training College syllabus in the direction of limiting the number of subjects taught and the extent to which each was studied. The attention of the Inspectors was specially directed to seeing that the education given should "avoid the charge of flying too high".

After the appointment of the Commission "their Lordships" passed minutes withholding all further building grants for training colleges, reducing building grants for common schools by three-eighths and suspending the extension of opaitation grants to Scotland.<sup>3</sup>

The teachers saw the approaching attack and some of the forces behind it. A leader in The School and the Teacher stated that there had been an increasing agitation against, "Too much education" for the children of the poor; "Too much education" for their teachers", and continued "Too much education, for either teachers or taught?" Nobody believes it. The really true paraphrase should be, "Too dear education, for either teacher or taught."<sup>4</sup>

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1. Minutes of the Committee of Council 1857 (B.P.P. 1857-8 XLV: p.25)
  2. Circulars to Inspectors 1856-8. The Revised Code was foreshadowed by the words, "Your inspection.... should never fail to begin by exacting (through specific exercises) strict proof of power to use the first instruments of knowledge, and no appearance of general intelligence or of general information should be allowed to redeem failure in this respect from a severely condemnatory report".....
  3. B.P.P. 1860 LIV:Minutes 1859-60 p.xxvi  
Papers for the Schoolmaster Feb, March 1860  
Educational Guardian June 1860
  4. The School and the Teacher August 1860 (Contd... next page)

See also Papers for the Schoolmaster May 1860 and Educational Guardian Feb 1860.

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In face of the threat the teachers' periodicals urged teachers to unite.<sup>1</sup> An attempt was made by Harry Chester to unite the London teachers<sup>2</sup> and the A.B.C.S. made attempts to put itself in contact with all the Schoolmasters' Associations in England and Wales.<sup>3</sup> The teachers looked forward with gloom to the report of the Commission.<sup>4</sup> They knew the mood of the middle classes and what they could expect at their hands.

The Report of the Newcastle Commission.

The Report, Evidence and Papers of the Newcastle Commission were published in six large volumes containing between them some 3,450 large closely printed pages.<sup>5</sup> The controversy, which the Report let loose lasted for over a year-streams of pamphlets of varying size and value, leaders in newspapers, articles in periodicals, letters to the press, petitions, resolutions and debates, all add to the difficulty of analysis. Any attempt to reduce this vast wordy conflict to some kind of order must

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1. The School and the Teacher Dec 1860
2. The School and the Teacher March 1860. The Royal Society of Arts called a meeting of schoolmasters in the early part of 1860. The ostensible object of the meeting was to lay before the schoolmasters the plans which the society had made for a system of examinations but the latent object was to unite all London teachers.
3. The School and the Teacher Feb 1861
4. The School and the Teacher Dec 1860  
It was during this period that there is noticeable an increasing interest in the teachers' journals with the "condition of the working classes" and a hope that when they came to power they would "free him (the teacher) from those incumbrances which thwart his efforts and cripple his resources" (The School and the Teacher July 1861. See also Ibid. Oct 1861)
5. B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pts. I-VI

avoid two hazards. The first is that of excessive condensation and simplification and of reducing the whole situation to a conflict of good and evil. The second (which the writer hopes he has avoided) is of unnecessary repetition and overwordiness so that the main trends disappear.

In analysing the conflict various questions will be posed in turn.

(1) What kind of evidence did the Commissioners have before them? From whom did they obtain it? What was the validity of this evidence?

(2) What was the relationship of this evidence to the Report? To what extent did the Commissioners select their evidence to bolster up previously existing views on the nature of the "educational problem"?

(3) Which parts of the Report, recommendations and evidence of the Commission were taken up by the press, public, parliament and teachers and how did this selective bias relate to our previous analysis of the state of opinion in 1861? How did the controversy develop over time?

(4) What was the relation between the Revised Code, the Report and evidence of the Commissioners and the "education controversy"? To what extent did political and personality factors enter into the formulation of the Revised Code?

(5) How did the controversy develop after the promulgation of the Revised Code?

(6) Finally, what were the short-term and long-term effects of the re-Revised Code?

The first two questions will be taken up in this chapter, the next three in Chapter VII and the last in Chapter VIII.

The evidence on which the Commissioners claimed to have based their Report came from seven sources.

(1) The 27 octavo volumes of general reports of the H.M.I's published since 1839.

(2) The reports of ten "assistant commissioners" who were sent out to report on the conditions of education in ten sample

districts (two agricultural, two manufacturing, two mining, two maritime and two metropolitan).<sup>1</sup>

(3) The returns to a paper of questions which was sent to "persons of both sexes interested in popular education" in different parts of the country.<sup>2</sup>

(4) The oral evidence of many witnesses, especially in reference to the working of the annual system of grants administered by the Committee of Council on Education.<sup>3</sup>

(5) The results of a statistical enquiry consisting of, (i) Returns, furnished by the different religious societies connected with education, and by certain public departments of various particulars relating to schools of the denominations and classes with which they were respectively connected, and (ii) Statistical information which was collected by the assistant commissioners respecting every school, public or private, endowed or unendowed in their districts.<sup>4</sup>

(6) Reports on the state of education in Germany, France, Switzerland, Holland, Upper Canada and the United States.<sup>5</sup>

(7) Finally, the Commission collected information on the state of charities which were applicable to the purpose of education.<sup>6</sup>

Not all this information bears upon the main problem of this <sup>study</sup> thesis, i.e. the growth of the elementary teaching profession and its moulding by social forces. As will appear later however, the course of the controversy increasingly made the person of the teacher, his efficiency in performing his duties and his attitude towards his work and towards society, the main issue of conflict.

The most important evidence used by the Commissioners was that collected by the ten Assistant Commissioners.<sup>7</sup> They were

1. Their reports are to be found in B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pts II and III
2. B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt.V
3. B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt.VI
4. B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt.I pp.553-680
5. B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt.IV
6. B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt.IV
7. The Rev. James Fraser M.A., Rev. Thomas Hedley M.A., J.S. Winder Esq., George Coode Esq., A.F. Foster Esq., John Jenkins Esq., Patric Cumin Esq., J.M. Hare Esq., Josiah Wilkinson Esq. and Dr. W.B. Hodgson

appointed on October 7th 1858 and were provided with full instructions concerning the way in which they were to go about their duties.<sup>1</sup> Their statistical enquiries and their enquiries into the "condition, methods and results of education" covered almost the whole field of educational problems. They were directed to inquire into the "will and power of parents to send their children to school and to keep them there".<sup>2</sup> They were also told to inquire into the general condition of the schoolmasters in their districts, whether their schools were public or private and to devote attention to whether there existed "over-education" of teachers leading to the teachers neglecting the elements of instruction, becoming dissatisfied and leaving the profession.<sup>3</sup>

Finally, the assistant commissioners were told that, "personal acquaintance with persons of the labouring classes, educated and not educated, is, of course, the best source of information, (on the intellectual and moral results of education but for this you will not have time or much opportunity. As a substitute you must rely on the evidence of persons who themselves have had this acquaintance. The employers of labourers, the clergy of different denominations, the governors and chaplains of goals, inspectors of police and other officers

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1. B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt. II pp.7-19. They were warned in particular not to allow any bias to enter into their presentation of the facts. (p.7)
  2. The general question was broken up into more detailed inquiries aimed at determining the exact nature of the factors preventing the children of the independent poor from attending school. (B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt. II pp.10-11.)
  3. B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt. II p.16

of justice, and the shopkeepers whose customers are labourers, must all be able to give much information."<sup>1</sup>

Among the assistant commissioners were at least three men of real intellectual ability (James Fraser, Patric Cumin and W.B.Hodgson)<sup>2</sup> and both Fraser and Hodgson wrote interesting and important reports.<sup>3</sup> What is of some interest is why Fraser's report should have received so much attention and Hodgson's equally important report should have been ignored almost completely.<sup>4</sup>

Both Fraser who inspected agricultural districts and Hodgson who inspected metropolitan districts were concerned with what they considered to be the failure of the schools to teach

1. B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt. II p.19
2. See Thomas Hughes Q.C. - James Fraser - Second Bishop of Manchester (1888)  
James Fraser - The Revised Code of the Committee of Council on Education, its principles, tendencies and details etc. (1861)  
W.H.G. Armytage - "Patric Cumin 1823-1890" Bulletin of the John Rylands Library Vol.30 No.2 May 1947  
J.M.D.Meiklejohn - Life and Letters. 1883  
R.L.Archer - Secondary Education in the Nineteenth Century (1922) pp.102-3.  
W.B.Hodgson - Exaggerated estimates of reading and writing as means of education. (1868)  
Dictionary of National Biography for James Fraser, Patric Cumin and W.B.Hodgson.
3. B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt. II pp.23-138 Pt. III pp.23-212, 469-558 for their Reports.
4. One reason for later neglect may be that Fraser's report was published at the beginning of the reports and Hodgson's last.

the "elements of instruction".<sup>1</sup> Fraser put part of the blame on "the impatience with which, when capable, they (the teachers) hurry the children over those elementary but fundamental portions of a subject without a clear perception of which an accurate knowledge of it in its higher branches, or as a whole, becomes ever after impossible"<sup>2</sup> and another part of the blame on "the rapid change of teachers which occurs in some schools".<sup>3</sup> Most of the blame he attributed to the inefficiency of the un-certificated teacher and the lack of "adequate funds preventing the employment of competent teachers."<sup>4</sup> Given sufficient funds and trained teachers and given also that the managers superintended and controlled the work of the young teachers there would be little difficulty with mis-direction of teaching effort unto

1. Fraser (B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt. II p.88); Hodgson (B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt. III pp.546-9). Fraser's words are often quoted, "It appears, that out of 282 schools, only 100, little more than 1 in 3, are in a condition that ought to be satisfactory either to teachers or managers: while not more than 23 - or scarcely 1 in 12 - are in that state of efficiency which shall send forth a child at 10 years of age into the world for the work of life, with that amount of scholarship which, when speaking of the limits of the school age, I attempted to describe." This quotation was used to prove the inefficiency of certificated teachers. It was pointed out in reply that of the 282 schools referred to by Fraser, the great majority were uninspected schools, that only 65 were under certificated teachers and only 58 had the additional advantage of a pupil teacher. It could be assumed that all, or nearly all, of the 23 efficient schools were among the 58 which had the full benefit of the Privy Council grants, and that the remainder of the 58 were among the 100 which might properly be considered satisfactory to teachers and managers. (B.P.P. 1862 XLI pp.233-4: Memorial of the Committee of the Rochester Diocesan Training Institution)
2. B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt. II p.88
3. Ibid. p.88
4. Ibid. pp.115-8



"secondary points of questionable advantage."

Hodgson's analysis of the reasons for the relative failure of the schools was rather different. He put a great deal of the blame on the excessive amount of time devoted to religious instruction and made the striking statement that "whatever may be the case with the rich, the juvenile pauper cannot afford to be narcotised under pretence of being taught; vain is the attempt to engraft morality and religion on the stock of intellectual stupidity, but no amount of failure suffices to enlighten teachers and pastors on this point."<sup>1</sup> An equal part of the blame was due to the excessive size of the classes, high rates of turnover among the pupils, early leaving ages and bad teaching methods.<sup>2</sup> While Hodgson found a disposition to prefer "higher subjects", any such disposition was held effectually in check by regard for the prosperity of the school and the prospect of inspection. He mentioned the "opposite danger of reducing the standard to what is easy of accomplishment, in despair of doing more than it is absolutely requisite and easily possible to do."

Both Fraser and Hodgson mentioned the constant rumours of over-education they had heard during their work and both denied that any such over-education did in fact exist.<sup>3</sup> Both

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1. B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt. III pp. 523-4

2. B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt. III pp. 546-7, 564-5

3. B.P.P. 1861 Pt. II p. 47 and B.P.P. 1861 Pt. III p. 483, 523

again found very little discontent among certificated teachers and denied that what did exist was of any great importance.<sup>1</sup>

It is necessary to say a few words about the Reports of the other assistant commissioners. The Rev. Thomas Hedley (agricultural districts) stated forthrightly, "that the elementary branches of instruction are not sufficiently attended to."<sup>2</sup>

J.S. Winder (manufacturing districts) defended the certificated teachers against charges of over-education and ambition stating that they had "left, on the whole, a very favourable impression on my mind", but he was "inclined, however, to suspect that they have not been sufficiently instructed in the art of their profession."<sup>3</sup> George Coode (manufacturing districts) devoted several pages of his report to the problem of the certificated

1. Fraser did not himself "observe any tendency to dissatisfaction with their position in the masters and mistresses with whom I came personally into contact" but was told by several persons that dissatisfaction did exist. (B.P.P. 1861 Pt. II p.95-6). He believed that cases of arrogance and conceit were "quite exceptional" and bore his "humble testimony" to the very admirable spirit in which the great body of certificated teachers whom I either saw in the course of this enquiry, or have the pleasure of being acquainted with elsewhere, are doing the work to which they have been called."

Hodgson also paid his tribute to the certificated teachers stating that, "in the acquaintance, I may say friendship, that I have formed with several, I have found some compensation for much that tended to discourage". (B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt. III pp. 5+1-4). He noted their self-possession and self-respect and wrote that "there is springing up a spirit of independence and esprit de corps, fostered by associations among teachers themselves, which will command respect or drive away all but the less competent, the less energetic members of the profession." Hodgson also said that, "a well-trained master who knows his business, is not likely to endure without a grudge treatment such as I myself have been grieved to witness, treatment which the presence of a stranger renders more humiliating and more painful."

2. B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt. II p.161

3. B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt. II p.219

teacher. He was enthusiastic about their accomplishments<sup>1</sup> and stated that "no objection applies to trained teachers as a class<sup>2</sup> but one, that they are too few for the wants of the country." He spent some time in analysing the reason for "the disfavour frequently expressed by sincere and active friends of popular education towards the teachers trained in the establishments of the great educational societies"<sup>3</sup> Teachers were said to be above their work, conceited and inclined to devote too much of their attention to a handful of pupils. Coode was "bound to admit, that with all the indisputable benefits secured by the provision of trained teachers, I have also seen very many instances in which there is a just ground for both forms of this objection to them." Coode was convinced that "it would be a great benefit.... if a set of teachers could be trained... with all the other school habits now recognized as indispensable, but with a more exclusive view to the imparting of merely rudimentary instruction."<sup>4</sup> He noticed with pleasure that "self-dependent or independent bearing" of certificated teachers as compared with teachers in non-inspected schools who often carried "respectfulness to abjectness and servility." Coode stated that "in most cases of complaint against trained teachers for want of submissiveness it has appeared to me that, as to the occasion and substantial grounds of complaint, the teacher

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1. B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt. II pp. 263-4

2. *Ibid* p. 273

3. B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt. II p. 271

4. B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt. II p. 271 Coode only intended these teachers for districts like the Black Country and the potteries and did not mean them to supplant the existing certificated teachers.

has been right and the complainant wrong as might be expected in a dispute where one person stands on his professional knowledge, and the other is but an amateur, however intelligent." He did find that some of the younger teachers were "unnecessarily self-assertive and not unfrequently conceited and presumptuous" He attributed this to the "common faults of aspiring and successful youth" which time and experience would cure. He noted that, "the complaint... made against them is least countenanced by the most educated of the clergy, gentry, or employers, who are generally, in proportion to their own accomplishments, the more desirous of securing teachers of high qualifications, and the more tolerant of their pretensions" and thought that, "a good deal of the irritation at their superiority or assumption of superiority will be got rid of as the middle and upper classes themselves acquire the accomplishments which would enable them to view such pretensions with more equanimity."<sup>2</sup>

A.F.Foster, whose district was Durham and Cumberland, found a unanimous opinion, "as to the too elaborate education of teachers and the unnecessary amount of mere scholastic learning that is required of them, in order to obtain certificates of merit."<sup>3</sup> He gave examples of friction between teachers and H.M.I's and of the "restlessness and dissatisfaction" of

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1. B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt. II p.272
  2. B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt. II pp.272-3.
  3. B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt. II p.360

certificated teachers. He commented on difficulties which arose between teachers and managers on matters of finance and of the impatience of teachers at the "control.... exercised over them, whether by inspector, clergyman, or lay committee, who know very little comparatively about the matter."<sup>1</sup>

John Jenkins (Bristol and Plymouth) had nothing to say on the "over-education" or "conceit" of the teachers and he was most definite that as far as Wales was concerned, "there are no grounds for an objection that is frequently urged against public schools.... that they over-educate, or in other words give an education beyond the requirements of the classes who usually resort to them."<sup>2</sup>

Patric Cumin noticed the vehement opposition among the farmers to the education of the labouring classes. He also noted the unanimous opinion that trained teachers were far superior to untrained teachers and mentioned that considerable sums had been offered to one or two of the celebrated trained masters for the purpose of inducing them to start a private school at which the children of the superior tradesmen might

1. B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt. II p.361. He analysed the situation as follows, "the truth is they now occupy a false position. Their superior education has rendered it necessary to attach high salaries to their situations; but the work to be done, and the social position it involves, are not in keeping with these conditions. That is to say, a man of such education, commanding an income of from one to two hundred a year, besides a free house, is out of place teaching a party of poor little children the very elements of knowledge, and comporting himself as the humble servant of those who collect from the charity of the public what he cannot realize from the weekly pence of his scholars." (p.362)
2. B.P.P. XXI Pt. II p.547

attend.<sup>1</sup> Cumin found no evidence that a few clever boys received special instruction to the neglect of the rest of the class.<sup>2</sup>

John Middleton Hare (Hull, Yarmouth and Ipswich) also defended the trained teachers on most counts,<sup>3</sup> although he noted that in "two or three cases the trained teachers are roundly taxed with ignorance and conceit." Speaking "of the class as a class" he saw "little proneness to think of themselves more highly than they ought to think, but, on the contrary, much evidence of their modesty, patience and perseverance, and many reasons for believing that, as an order of men and women, they<sup>4</sup> are conferring substantial benefits upon the British community." While Hare was convinced that reading, writing and arithmetic could be even better taught he did not detect any neglect of the lower classes as compared with the upper, nor any abandonment of the less promising pupils to their stupidity or sloth.<sup>5</sup> He met with little to support the notion that trained masters in general showed any tendency to be dissatisfied with their position and found no evidence of any serious wastage.<sup>6</sup>

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1. B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt. III pp. 82-4

2. Ibid. p. 87

3. "My decided impression is, that the systems of training have been very successful, both in adopting the students to teach, and in furnishing them with solid matter and good methods of instruction... As a class, they are marked, both men and women, by a quickness of eye and ear, a quiet energy, a facility of command, and a patient self-control, which, with rare exceptions, are not observed in the private instructions of the poor" (B.P.P. 1861 XXX Pt. III p. 282)

4. Ibid. p. 282

5. B.P.P. 1861 XXX Pt. III p. 283

6. Ibid. p. 286

Josiah Wilkinson (London) devoted more time than any of the other assistant commissioners to an investigation of teachers' grievances. On three occasions twelve masters of large metropolitan schools met at his house and he also presided at the meeting of the U.A.S. when Alfred Jones delivered his attack upon the Committee of Council.<sup>1</sup> In spite of all this united testimony he was not convinced that the profession laboured under any very peculiar hardships.<sup>2</sup>

Wilkinson commented on some faults in teaching but attributed these in the main to the shortness of time which the children remained at school, the early age at which they left and the "collective" system of examination.<sup>3</sup>

We have now dealt in turn with the reports of the ten assistant commissioners. Only a minute part of their reports have been covered but it is hoped that no undue bias has been allowed to distort the selection of the quotations. In spite of the difference in background of the assistant commissioners and the differences between the districts they were studying a certain general picture does emerge from their reports.

1. A. Jones - The Principles of Privy Council Legislation (1859)
2. "As the cause of education itself rises (and it is every day rising) in popular estimation, so are those who are its able ministers rising in social position; and, so far as I have been enabled to judge, there is no profession which has made of late years so rapid a stride in asserting for itself due consideration and respect. I have exceedingly admired the ability, zeal, and high tone of feeling prevalent among the general body of masters and mistresses with whom I have been brought in contact during the progress of this investigation" (B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt. III p.394)
3. B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt. III p.396

Firstly, they noted the existence (especially among the un-educated middle classes) of a general hostility to popular education and a certain pattern of beliefs about "over-education" which we discussed in the first part of this chapter. None of the assistant commissioners had much sympathy for this attitude or saw any evidence of the "over-education" of the mass of the children in the schools.

Secondly, they noted the existence of a belief that the "elements of instruction" were not being taught as well as they could have been. The middle class public believed that this was due to the teacher's neglect of the lower classes in favour of a few bright pupils and that this in turn was due to the over-education of the teacher. While the assistant commissioners were almost unanimous in the "elements of instruction" being badly taught they gave different reasons for this phenomena. Most of them attributed it to the difficulties of the teacher's work (e.g. shortage of teaching power, truancy, early leaving age, bad teaching methods) and to the lack of practical experience of the young teachers. There was also a natural tendency for the certificated teacher to take the upper classes, leaving the relatively elementary work to the pupil teachers. Fraser, Hodgson and Coode noted a disposition among highly trained teachers to hurry children over the elementary work in favour of the higher branches.

Thirdly, the assistant commissioners noted the existence of a belief that due to the "over-education" of the teachers they were becoming increasingly dissatisfied with the conditions



of their work and with their "social position." Some of the assistant commissioners found evidence of this dissatisfaction. Dissatisfaction was not universal and was stronger among the younger members of the profession, the most highly trained teachers and in the mining districts and London. Some of the assistant commissioners (e.g. Hodgson and Coode) saw the dissatisfaction as inevitable and even welcome and blamed much of the friction on the managers while assistant commissioner Foster saw it as dangerous.

All the assistant commissioners were agreed that the certificated teachers were far superior to private teachers or uncertificated teachers and most of them paid tribute to their abilities.

Volume V of the Report consists of answers to a circular of questions sent by the Commissioners to various persons interested in popular education.<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to know what weight to give to the answers. The circular was sent to all sorts and conditions of people including the Chief Rabbi, the Bishop of Carlisle, the Rev. Derwent Coleridge, the Countess of Macclesfield, Rev. F. D. Maurice, and a large number of clergymen, school managers, "friends" of education and a few

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1. B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt. V: The circular was also sent by some of the assistant commissioners to persons in their districts. See B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt. II ppp. 304-11, 403-34, 599-617. and Pt. III pp. 99-125, 409-56.  
The Circular included questions on what the respondents considered to be the desirable school leaving age, the kind and amount of education the poor child should receive, the success or failure of existing schools, the proper qualifications for teachers, the proper training for teachers and the degree of dissatisfaction among trained teachers.

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 teachers. The answers differ in value and it would be useless to attempt any statistical tabulation.

There was a general vague fear of over-educating the poor and making them unfit for their station in life. Those with most experience of popular education tended to have least to say on the "over-education" of children or the conceit of teachers. Many clergy feared that moral training was being neglected in favour of intellectual achievement. Very few witnesses had any serious criticism to make of the 1846 system although the need for some form of government assistance to the smaller rural schools was mentioned.

Volume VI consists of the Minutes of Evidence taken before the commissioners. It is perhaps the most useful volume for anyone wishing to obtain a true picture of the state of  
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 education at the time. The witnesses who were examined were

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1. Among the teachers were Moses Angel (Headmaster of the London Jews Free School from 1840-1897) whose evidence was of great interest. (See B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt.V pp.44-76). Another teacher was the unfortunate Mr. John Snell of East Coker Yeovil who by stating the usual schoolmaster case (demanding a higher social position, promotion to the inspectorate etc.) played directly into the hands of those who were attempting to show that all teachers were dissatisfied. The Quarterly Review was to say of him that "the unfortunate pedagogue did not know that the commissioners were only giving him plenty of rope, he and other like him.... have thoroughly succeeded in hanging both themselves and their more modest brethren". (Quoted in Educational Guardian August 1862; For Snell's evidence see B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt.V pp.386-406)
  2. The witnesses included R.R.W. Lingen (Secretary to the Committee of Council on Education), Harry Chester (ex-Assistant Secretary to the Committee of Council), Horace Mann (compiler of the Educational Census of 1851), H.M.I's F.C. Cook, F. Watkins, T.W. Marshall and J.D. Morrell, Rev. S. Clark (Principal of the Battersea Training College) Rev. Harry Baber (Principal of the Whitelands Training College),

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Rev. John Scott (Principal of the Wesleyan Training College), Rev. W. J. Unwin (Principal of Homerton College), Sir J. Kay Shuttleworth, Rev. F. Temple (Master of Rugby School), late H. M. I. and Principal of Kneller Hall and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury), H. M. I. E. C. Tufnell, Rev. R. Hey (Diocesan Inspector), Members of the Charity Commission, Mr. W. A. Shields (Master of the Birkbeck School at Peckham), Mr. W. T. Imeson (Master of the Central London District School), Mr. Isaac Todhunter (Master of the South Metropolitan District School), and Mr. J. Randall (Master of St. James School, Westminster)

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educational experts in the full sense of the word. The first thing that strikes one clearly about their evidence is that almost unanimously they were strongly in favour of the 1846 system and had only a few minor complaints to make. The second is that some of the commissioners in their questions to witnesses revealed an intense dislike of the 1846 system.<sup>1</sup>

R. R. W. Lingen has often been blamed as the villain behind the scenes who was responsible for the Revised Code. In his evidence before the commission<sup>2</sup> he appeared as a warm supporter of the 1846 system on every count except one. He defended the existing system of inspection,<sup>3</sup> the pupil teacher and training college systems,<sup>4</sup> denied that teachers were over-educated<sup>5</sup> or wastage constituted a serious problem.<sup>6</sup> He stated flatly that payment

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1. This was especially true of the Rev. W. C. Lake who was constantly harping on the over-education of teachers and the "useless" knowledge taught in training colleges. He suggested a form of "payment by results" to several of the witnesses. Rev. William Rogers and Goldwin Smith also seem to have been unfriendly towards the 1846 system.

2. B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt. VI pp. 5-88

3. Ibid. pp. 44-5, 56-8, 80-87

4. B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt. VI pp. 29-30, 42-3, 45-6

5. Ibid. pp. 46-8

6. Ibid. pp. 26-8

by individual results was impossible<sup>1</sup> and although admitting that the three R's were not as well taught as they could be, thought that much of this was due to shifting and irregular attendance.<sup>2</sup> His one criticism (but this a crucial one) was that by its very nature the 1846 system threw an enormous quantity of detailed work on the central office. There was no way of shifting any of the work on to the Inspector without losing the uniformity of the system. De-centralization would be blocked by the denominational question and because of administrative complications it would not be possible to extend the system much further without considerable changes. The only way in which the system could be extended would be by simplifying the payments and Lingen suggested that the payments should take the form of a capitation grant based upon the existing system of inspection.<sup>3</sup>

Lingen stated clearly that the difficulty of extending the existing system was not inherently impossible but was solely that of obtaining sufficient funds from a Parliament which was not only "alarmed" by the increase in educational expenditure but also jealous of any increase in patronage which would be involved in enlarging the education department.<sup>4</sup>

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1. B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt. VI pp.44

2. Ibid. pp.58-9

3. Ibid. pp 59, 75-6

4. Ibid. pp.77-9

Towards the end of his evidence Lingon answered a series of questions which were to provide the excuse for the Government's "betrayal" of the teacher. He was asked,

631. Where there is a schoolmaster who has been educated to that profession, and receives an augmentation according to his certificate, could you, without a breach of public faith, suddenly say, "We will give him no more"; must you not continue all the payments now existing in which there is a vested right? ... I should say that there was not a vested right, and that it was not necessary to continue those grants, after reasonable notice. <sup>1</sup>

Harry Chester (Assistant Secretary of the Committee of Council 1839-1858 and Chairman of the Royal Society of Arts) also considered that the main defect in the system was the pressure of business on the central office and suggested a de-centralized system with payment by results on examinations set by local boards (in co-operation with the Royal Society of Arts). <sup>2</sup>

H.M.I.'s F.C.Cook, <sup>3</sup> F. Watkins, <sup>4</sup> T.W.Marshall <sup>5</sup> and J.D. Morell <sup>6</sup> all defended the 1846 system in its entirety. Three of the principals of Training Colleges (Rev.Samuel Clark, <sup>7</sup> Rev. Harry Baber <sup>8</sup> and the Rev.John Scott <sup>9</sup>) all gave evidence in favour of the 1846 system and defended the teachers against charges of "over-education" while the fourth (Rev.W.J.Unwin)

1. B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt.VI pp.87
2. B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt.VI pp.98-9, 101-4, 106, 109
3. B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt.VI pp.125-145
4. Ibid. pp.146-165 especially p.153
5. Ibid. pp.166-187
6. Ibid. pp.188-215
7. Ibid. pp.216-232
8. Ibid. pp.233-247 especially pp.234, 236, 237, 242, 247.
9. Ibid. pp.248-271 " " pp.249, 254, 259.

described the educational system and training college of the congregationalists.<sup>1</sup> Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth as would be expected defended the 1846 system warmly. On the question of the administrative difficulty he considered that the solution lay in minor simplifications of the administrative machinery and an increase in staff and accommodation.<sup>2</sup> H.M.I. E.C. Tufnell<sup>3</sup> gave evidence on conditions in workhouse schools, Rev. Robert Hey<sup>4</sup> defended the 1846 system warmly and W.A. Shields<sup>5</sup> emphasised the need for even higher education for masters. The other witnesses with one exception gave evidence on special points without bearing on the general problem of this chapter.

The one exception was the Rev. Frederick Temple (then Master of Rugby School)<sup>6</sup> who objected to the 1846 system on the grounds that it tended towards enormous expense, was over-rigid and tended to diminish local interest in education and lead educators to lean too much on the government.<sup>7</sup>

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1. B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt. VI pp. 272-298. The Congregationalists strongly opposed any government aid for education as they thought it would lead to the pauperization of the poor. The students at their Training College (Homerton College) had to find £20 towards the expense of their training, stayed at the college for from 12-16 months and had mainly been engaged in other occupations before taking up teaching.
  2. Ibid. pp. 299-324, 368-389. See especially pp. 323-4, 385.
  3. Ibid. pp. 390-416
  4. Ibid. pp. 417-435 especially pp. 428-9
  5. Ibid. pp. 550 and 593-603
  6. Rev. Temple played an extremely important part in the development of education in the nineteenth century. The Dictionary of National Biography describes his social views as follows, "In his change from youthful toryism to liberalism two main ideas possessed his mind: first, the need of raising the condition of the working classes, and secondly, the conviction that their amelioration could only be effected by enabling them to help themselves". (Dictionary of National Biography. Second Supplement Vol. III p. 480)
  7. B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt. VI pp. 320, 354 ff.

His evidence reveals that he was thinking his way towards an educational system very similar to that erected by Forster's Education Act of 1870. He favoured a system of local administration with most of the funds being provided from rates (although the Government was to aid the local bodies). Parents whose children paid 2<sup>d.</sup> or more a week in schoolpence were to elect the committee of managers of the school. He favoured the continuance of the pupil teacher, training college and certificated teacher elements of the national system, and thought they worked very well. He disagreed with payment by results but thought that the only government grant should be through a graduated capitation grant (with proportions earmarked for the teacher, pupil teachers, etc.) For districts where voluntary exertion was not sufficient to provide a school he suggested a form of the later "school board" system. The majority vote was to decide the nature of the religion taught with a "conscience clause". Temple opposed the propagandism and excessive religious zeal of the voluntary system.

On the "teacher problem" Temple considered that there was a good deal of discontent among the younger teachers with their social position but that it was neither an important nor a permanent evil.<sup>1</sup> He considered that one of the evils arising from training schoolmasters in separate seminaries was that "it gives them too exalted a notion of their position and of what they have to do, and that they gradually acquire a sort

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1. B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt. VI. p.361 Q.2913-2915

of belief that the work of a schoolmaster is the one great work of the day, and that they are the men to do it"<sup>1</sup>

We are now in a position to answer the first question posed on p. 138.

What kind of evidence did the Commissioners have before them? From whom did they obtain it? What was the validity of this evidence?

The evidence of the assistant commissioners has already been summarised and the evidence of the circulars and the expert witnesses served in the main to substantiate their findings. The leading conclusion is that on the whole the 1846 system was working surprisingly well and that the main needs were to bring the smaller rural schools into the system and to bring the lowest classes of the population into the schools and keep them there. The "elements of instruction" could be better taught and the teachers needed both more instruction in the art of school management and also more qualified assistance in the schools. There was general opposition to any form of "payment by results" and the forms of "payment by results" suggested by a few witnesses bore no relation to the form eventually adopted. There was an almost unanimous conviction of the efficiency of the existing system of inspection.

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1. B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt. VI. p. 363.

Or as the Times put it, "The inflated nonsense which has been talked and written about the sacred and lofty mission of the schoolmaster has had some share in exciting a tendency to dissatisfaction."

The Times April 1st 1861.



The most serious criticism brought against the 1846 system was its administrative difficulty. It was said that a great deal of detailed work was thrown on the central office and particularly on the Secretary. As against this we must put the opinion that much of this difficulty could have been solved by minor simplifications of procedure, re-organization of the office and an ampler staff.<sup>1</sup> The jealousy of a Liberal House of Commons at the growth of the civil service was the main difficulty. There was however, a case for the de-centralisation of the business of the central office and the introduction of a system of local boards partially financed by rates.

Turning to the second question posed on p. 138,

What was the relationship of this evidence to the Report? To what extent did the Commissioners select their evidence to bolster up previously existing views on the nature of the "educational problem"?

It would be of some interest to analyse the background of the seven commissioners.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately there is not sufficient reliable material for such an analysis and we must content ourselves with the scraps of information that do exist. Of the seven commissioners five were educated at Eton and Oxford, one at Rugby and Oxford and one (Edward Miall) by his father who was a private schoolmaster. The Duke of Newcastle was a

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1. The Newcastle Commission (B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt. I p. 26) gives details of the permanent establishment as being composed of one Vice-President, one Secretary, two Assistant Secretaries, 10 examiners, 2 clerks, 47 assistant clerks, one architect and one counsel. The total establishment of 65 cost £17,585 a year.
  2. Henry Pelham Fiennes Pelham Clinton, Fifth Duke of Newcastle; Sir John Taylor Coleridge; Rev. W. C. Lake; Rev. William Rogers; Goldwin Smith; Nassau William Senior; Edward Miall.

"right wing" liberal, Sir John Taylor Coleridge a Tractarian and a Tory, the Rev. W. C. Lake a moderate high churchman, the Rev. William Rogers an educational reformer of wide tolerance, Goldwin Smith a radical anti-cleric, Nassau Senior a Whig and Malthusian and Edward Miall an Independent Master who made life long attacks upon the established church and opposed compulsory education.<sup>1</sup>

In the light of the later criticisms of the efficiency of the Inspectors it is interesting to note that the Report of the Newcastle Commission commences with a warm tribute to the Inspectors and a statement that "no other persons can know so well what is taught in the better kinds of elementary schools, how it is taught, and how much the children retain of the teaching."<sup>2</sup>

The Commissioners considered that the faults which were usually, though somewhat vaguely, ascribed to certificated teachers, and which were supposed to arise from too high a training, were in fact to be ascribed to the opposite cause.<sup>3</sup> They arose, not from over-refinement but from vulgarity.

1. See Dictionary of National Biography, passim. The English Journal of Education July 1858 commented on the Commissioners at their appointment that "this is the most motley group ever herded together in a Royal Commission, and singularly no less for its exclusion of fit men, than for its inclusion of the most antagonistic. It seems intended as a practical joke."
2. B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt. I pp. 7-8
3. "The use of ambitious language, vain display of knowledge, the over-looking what is essential and elementary, a failure to see what it really is which perplexes a child, are the faults which an educated person avoids, and into which an uneducated person falls." (B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt. I p. 132)

The Commissioners agreed with H.M.I. Moseley's opinion, that even when the instruction to be given was elementary, considerable cultivation on the part of the teacher was required. They thought, however, that the teaching of many of the subjects in training colleges was only too likely to degenerate into a mere exercise of verbal memory.<sup>1</sup>

Turning to the character of trained teachers when in actual charge of their schools the Commissioners considered it proved beyond all doubt that they were greatly superior to the untrained teachers.<sup>2</sup> But it was equally clear to the commissioners that they failed to a considerable extent in some of the most important of the duties of elementary teachers, and that a large proportion of the children were not being taught satisfactorily.<sup>3</sup> The commissioners attributed this to "the difficulty which superior teachers find in heartily devoting themselves to the drudgery of elementary teaching" They rejected the proposed solutions of discouraging the employment of trained teachers, altering the course of training or impressing upon the students the necessity of teaching the rudimentary subjects.<sup>4</sup> They concluded that "there is only one way of securing the results, which is to institute a searching examination by competent authority of every child in every school to which grants are to be paid, with the view of

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1. B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt. I pp.133-4, 137  
 2. Ibid. p.149  
 3. Ibid. pp.154-6  
 4. Ibid. p.155

ascertaining whether these indispensable elements of knowledge are thoroughly acquired, and to make the prospects and position of the teacher dependent, to a considerable extent, on the results of the examination."<sup>1</sup>

The commissioners then <sup>next considered</sup> turned to the "behaviour and temper of trained teachers." They stated that "we have met with some complaints of conceit and bad manners on the part of the teachers, but even if each complaint represented a case in which the teacher was to blame, these cases would not be numerous enough to form a ground for any serious charge against the class as a class. It is probable that in many instances the teacher complained of is right, and the manager unduly exacting or susceptible."<sup>2</sup> The commissioners noted the existence of a certain degree of dissatisfaction amongst some teachers mainly on the questions of social position, promotion and salaries and gave their opinion on the "state of the case" as, "Boys who would otherwise go out to work at mechanical trades at 12 or 13 years of age, are carefully educated at the public expense, from 13 to 20 or 21, and they are then placed in a position where they are sure of immediately earning, on an average, about £100 a year, by five days work in the week, the days lasting only seven and a half hours, and they usually have six or seven weeks vacation in the course of the year. After receiving these advantages at the public expense, they seem to complain

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1. B.P.P. 1861 XX1 Pt. I p.157: The commissioners had already dealt with the objection that the State had excited expectations in the minds of the teachers by the system of augmentation grants, which gave them a moral right to their continuance. They stated that the state was not pledged to the permanence of the present system because it supported the present system by "sums voted annually, and not (Contd...)

by a permanent charge on the consolidated fund."

Ibid. p.149)

2. B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt.I p.158

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that they are not provided with still further advantages, on a progressive scale, throughout the rest of their lives."<sup>1</sup>

The Commissioners rejected outright the desire of the schoolmasters to be promoted to the Inspectorate on the grounds that, "it is absolutely necessary that the inspectors should be fitted, by previous training and social position, to communicate and associate upon terms of equality with the managers of schools and the clergy of different denominations."<sup>2</sup> The commission attributed the complaint of the schoolmasters that there was no chance of promotion on their profession, to the fact that the remuneration of a schoolmaster "begins too early and rises by too steep gradients" and stated that "if the emoluments of the young schoolmaster were smaller, those of the older schoolmaster would appear greater,<sup>3</sup> and there would be no complaint of the absence of promotion."

The commissioners attributed much of the dissatisfaction felt by the teachers to the circumstances of their training. They quoted Dr. Temple (op.cit. p.47) on the effect of training schoolmasters in separate seminaries and concluded that "it is desirable that they (students at training colleges) should...."

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1. B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt.I p.160

2. Ibid. p.160 While their low status barred the appointment of teachers as Inspectors the commission suggested that teachers should be appointed as "sub-inspectors".

3. B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt.I p.161

be informed that the amount of honour and emolument attached to their calling depends, as is the case with other callings, not upon its intrinsic importance, but upon the feelings with which it is regarded by society at large."<sup>1</sup>

The commissioners were forced to admit the almost unanimous approval of the inspectors they had heard from their witnesses. Their own criticisms were that the inspectors did not attempt to examine every child individually, that the examinations by the inspectors were so conducted as to make the teaching in the schools more a matter of memory than of reasoning and that inspectors tended to judge a school by its upper classes.<sup>2</sup>

1. B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt.I p.162: This view that the remuneration of the teacher should depend upon the social status of his calling is incompatible with the suggestion on p.161 of the report that "the advantages and disadvantages of their occupation are... dependent upon the market value of their services." On three successive pages (pp.160-2) the commissioners gave three different determinants of the teacher's salary.

(1) The social status of their parents (p.160)

(2) The market value of their services (p.161)

(3) The social status of the teacher (p.162)

This inconsistency was noted at the time (Educational Guardian May 1861).

2. B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt.I pp.229-242

While the inspectors admitted they did not examine each child individually they claimed to use a method of "random sampling" which was fully adequate. The tendency of education to emphasise memory rather than reasoning was one of which teachers and inspectors were aware and against which they struggled. While the inspectors examined the junior classes they tended to agree with the teachers that the efficiency of the school should mainly be judged by the attainments of those children who were allowed by their parents to remain long enough to reach the top class. The nature of the evidence appears to show that while in many schools the junior classes received less than their share of attention it would be impossible for a schoolmaster to neglect them completely as they necessarily included his future top class.

(Cont....)

In their attempt to show that the inspectors neglected the lower classes the commissioners were guilty of fraudulent misrepresentation. See B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt.I p.238 and B.P.P. 1862 XLIII p.167

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The commissioners in their attack on the schools made extensive use of a statement by H.M.I. Norris who claimed to have found that in Cheshire, Salop and Stafford only 24.8%<sup>1</sup> of the children stayed long enough to reach the first class. Norris had calculated this figure to stress the need for some form of compulsion to keep the children longer at school. The commissioners had earlier rejected outright the idea of compulsory attendance for "neither the Government nor private persons can effectually resist, or would be morally justified in resisting, the natural demands of labour when the child has arrived, physically speaking at the proper age for labour, and when its wages are such as to form a strong motive to its parents for withdrawing it from school."<sup>2</sup> Thus the commissioners could take all the criticisms made by inspectors of the inadequacies due to lack of compulsion and turn them

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1. "If I was asked, therefore, to describe generally what the annual-grant schools of Cheshire and Staffordshire were accomplishing in the way of education, I should say that schools of this sort were now within reach of about one-half of the population, and that they were giving a very fair elementary education to one-fourth part of the children who passed through them, - or more briefly, that we had reached one half, and were successfully educating one in eight, of the class of children for which the schools were intended." (B.P.P. 1860 LIV: Minutes 1859-60 p.111 J.P.Norris quoted in B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt.I pp.244-5). See next chapter p.181 for Norris' admission of an error of calculation.
2. B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt.I p.225. On p.264 the Commissioners estimated the "proper age for labour" at 10 or 11 years.

into attacks on the teachers.<sup>1</sup>

The commissioners were fair-minded enough to recognise that the teachers had to contend with great difficulties, that school books were totally unfitted for beginners in reading, that children were removed capriciously from school to school, were often grossly ignorant when they entered the school, and finally that the task of teaching very young children the elementary branches of knowledge and seeing that each child individually acquired them was extremely difficult and irksome.<sup>2</sup>

The commissioners concluded that the schools "have not yet succeeded in educating to any considerable extent the bulk of the children who have passed through them... but they give an excellent education to an important minority."<sup>3</sup> To the commissioners the main defects of the system were, firstly, that it demanded "as a condition of aid, an amount of voluntary subscriptions which many schools placed under disadvantageous circumstances can scarcely be expected to raise." Secondly, "that its teaching is deficient in the more elementary branches, and in its bearing on the younger pupils." Thirdly, "that it enlists in many places too little of local support and interest." Lastly, "that while the necessity of referring many arrangements in every school to the central office embarrasses the Committee

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1. B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt. I pp. 246-60  
See also B.P.P. 1854-5 XLIII: Minutes 1854-5 p. 439  
Report of H.M.I. Watkins quoted in Hansard. Feb. 13th 1862.  
Q. 209 by Robert Lowe.
  2. B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt. I pp. 261-4, 273-4
  3. B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt. I pp. 264



of Council with a mass of detail, the difficulty of investigating minute and distant claims threatens to become an element at once of expense and of dispute."<sup>1</sup>

They rejected the minority view that the State should abstain from making further grants<sup>2</sup> and proposed a scheme which would maintain the leading principles of the 1846 system (in a somewhat simplified form) and combine it with a supplementary and local system. In brief summary the Commissioners proposed, firstly, that a grant on the average attendance of the children, should be paid by the Committee of Council to the managers of every school in which a certificated teacher was employed, and that a further grant should be paid to every school which was properly equipped with pupil teachers, provided that the schools in both cases were certified by the Inspectors to be in proper condition. Secondly, they proposed that a grant should be paid out of the county rate, in respect of every child who passed an examination in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and who had attended any one school whatever for 140 days in the preceding year. This grant would be independent of any conditions whatever, except that the school was open to inspection and was reported healthy. The examination was to be conducted not by inspectors, but by examiners who were to be appointed by a county board.<sup>3</sup>

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1. B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt. I p.327

2. Ibid. pp.298-9

3. B.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt. I pp.328-343.

The commissioners enumerated the objects they hoped to achieve by this new form of grant aid as follows,  
1(a) To maintain, as at present, the quality of education by encouraging schools to employ superior teachers.

(Contd....)

1(b) To simplify the business of the office in its correspondence and general connection with schools in receipt of the grant.

1(c) To diminish the rigour and apparent injustice of some of its rules.

2(a) To enable many schools to obtain public aid which at present have no prospect of doing so.

2(b) To excite local interest, and secure as much local management as is at present desirable.

2(c) Through the examination to exercise a powerful influence over the efficiency of the schools, and thus make a minimum of attainment universal (Ibid pp.337,341)

The training college system was to be left almost intact (although the commissioners suggested shorter hours of study, and more emphasis on infant teaching, political economy and other subjects of practical utility). Under the new system however, certificates were to bear "no pecuniary but only an honorary value"<sup>1</sup>

The Report was recognised at the time as being an attempt to reconcile the conflicting educational, political and religious biases of the commissioners.<sup>2</sup> Because of these conflicting views the commission was unable to come to any decision on the fundamental problems facing education (e.g. compulsion, building of schools in poorer districts). The commissioners accepted as one of their basic premises the impossibility of obtaining much more money from the central government in aid of education.

The Report itself was strongly selective in the evidence it used to bolster up, what must be judged to have been, a

1. E.P.P. 1861 XXI Pt.I pp.542-552
2. Educational Guardian May 1861; The Economist June 29th 1861  
F.Adams - The Elementary School Contest (1882) p.179

previously existing view of the nature of the educational ~~problem~~.  
~~views put forward on the educational situation.~~ The evidence of a witness would be quoted in favour of a point (e.g. R.R. Lingen on the difficulties of the central office) while the same witness' evidence on another point would be completely disregarded (e.g. Lingen on the impossibility of payment by individual results). The almost unanimous evidence of the Inspectors in favour of the existing system was completely disregarded and their reports were combed for quotations which could be used to attack the system.

The commissioners, in spite of their prejudices, had understood some of the main faults of the 1846 system. The four defects (see p. 146) did in fact exist. There was a great need to bring aid to schools in poorer districts and to build new schools where they were needed. There was also a need to enlist local support and interest in aid of the schools. The teaching of the "elements of instruction" was defective and there was a need for some simplification of the grant system accompanied by a measure of decentralisation.

CHAPTER VII

The Revised Code Controversy.

"The points upon which public opinion has been misled are; first, the extent, and still more, the cause of the actual defects in popular elementary education at the present time. Secondly, the bearing of the actual system of training on the efficiency of the teachers."<sup>1</sup>

Rev. Derwent Coleridge (1861)

We can now attempt to answer the third question posed on p. 138 of the last chapter.

"Which parts of the Report, recommendations and evidence of the Commission were taken up by the press, public, parliament and teachers and how did this selective bias relate to our previous analysis of the state of opinion in 1861? How did the controversy develop over time?"

Very few people could have read the report and evidence of the Newcastle commission in its original form. Most of the literate and interested public took their view of what the commissioners had said from the reports which appeared in the press and periodicals. From these they gathered that the main finding of the commissioners had been "that we were over-teaching our masters and under-teaching our children."<sup>2</sup> that "the Privy Council have been long manufacturing razors for the purpose of cutting blocks, and in future the instrument must be better adapted for its purpose,"<sup>3</sup> that "the whole system of popular education has been pitched too high"<sup>4</sup> and "the teacher must not

1. Rev. Derwent Coleridge - The Education of the People (1861)

2. The Economist September 21st 1861

3. Quarterly Review No. 220 p. 506, 1861

4. Edinburgh Review July 1861: This article deserves to be read in full bearing in mind that the Edinburgh Review was a dissenter journal. It contains a vitriolic attack on the teachers as "creatures of the Government". See also a reply to the Edinburgh Review article in the Educational Guardian July 1861 A State Charity Scholar".

be too far removed from his scholars."

The reaction of the teachers to the report was as might have been expected. They were indignant at the slanders on their order and feared that if the proposals of the commission were adopted their salaries would be lowered and they would be delivered into the mercy of the managers.<sup>1</sup> J.J.Graves appealed to the teachers to unite "for a general expression of opinion, when the time arrives at which it will be expedient to express it"<sup>2</sup> and the A.B.C.S. commenced gathering signatures for a petition to Parliament to "continue the money payment conditionally due on teachers' certificates."<sup>3</sup> Most of the local associations held meetings at which the report was roundly condemned.

The teachers especially resented the paragraphs in the commissioners report which implied that as children of "day labourers" they had come up in the world as much as was expedient.<sup>4</sup> They wrote that "the proposition... that a man's labour is to be valued with reference to the position of life be occupied in early years... is monstrous and can only be the

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1. Papers for the Schoolmaster May-Sept. 1861; The School and Teacher May-Sept. 1861; Educational Guardian May-Sept. 1861.

2. The School and the Teacher May 1861

3. Ibid. June 1861. Over 1550 signatures had been collected by September 1861.

4. B.F.P. 1861 XXI Pt.I p.160. See also National Society Monthly Paper June 1861, Edinburgh Review July 1861.

conception of a diseased brain, or a bad heart."<sup>1</sup>

In Parliament discussion of the report was necessarily limited until the Government had prepared a statement of the action they proposed to take. The "voluntarists" welcomed the report as a vindication of their belief that any attempt by the state to interfere in education was doomed to failure<sup>2</sup> and as an attack on the efficiency of church education. The church feared a rate-aided system as a step on the road to secularism.<sup>3</sup> The figure of "one-quarter" of the children in the schools being well educated was introduced into the discussion again and again while in the background of the debate<sup>4</sup> the murmur of "over-education" was never absent.

The interests of the teachers were discussed in the House of Lords on July 8th 1861. Lord Lyttleton said that he "could not believe that such a regulation if adopted, would apply to the present schoolmasters, though, of course, the government would have the right to apply it in the case of future schoolmasters. He thought, however, that such an arrangement

1. The School and the Teacher July 1861

There were some teachers who accepted the "monstrous proposition" and wished the profession to be recruited solely from middle class children. Dr. Brewer in an address to the Metropolitan Church Schoolmasters Association declared that "all hope of relief of the state burden... the real social position of the teachers - the general tone and enlarged success of national schools, appear to me to be put in jeopardy by the very humble class from which the majority of college students are now being drawn." He declared the profession was being swamped by "the children of charwomen, and often not even of the independent poor." There was great cheering at the end of his address. (The School and the Teacher Aug. 1861). See also Derwent Coleridge - The Teachers of the People (1862) pp.60-63.

2. e.g. Hansard July 11th 1861 : Mr. Baines  
 3. e.g. Ibid " " " : Mr. Henley  
 4. e.g. Ibid " " " : Mr. Dillwyn.

would be looked upon by the schoolmasters as taking away almost the whole value of their connection with the Government.<sup>1</sup> The Duke of Newcastle replying for the government said that, "I believe that no injury will be done to the holders of certificates by the new arrangements, because they will obtain the same amount of money under the new system, though in a different form, as at present. I readily admit that, if that should not be the case, the interests of the schoolmasters who are already appointed ought to be considered, as it would not be fair to place them in a more disadvantageous position than when they entered the service."<sup>2</sup>

Robert Lowe<sup>3</sup> speaking in the Commons before the announcement

1. Hansard July 8th 1861: Lord Lyttleton
2. Hansard July 8th 1861: Duke of Newcastle
3. It is not possible in this thesis to investigate the personality and prejudices of Robert Lowe (later Viscount Sherbrooke). His many detractors assume he was actuated by a desire for economy, a dislike of education for the poor, and a "caste" view of society. His few supporters assume his main motive to have been a dislike of bureaucracy and a desire to de-centralize educational administration. After a period of some forty years, which Lowe was treated as the villain of victorian education, there has been apparent in recent years a tendency among educational historians to defend the Revised Code and to salvage the reputation of Robert Lowe. As far as I can trace it this tendency started with G.A.N. Lowndes (The Silent Social Revolution (1937) pp.8-11) who, however, gives very inadequate evidence in support of his views. The argument was accepted uncritically by S.J. Curtis (History of Education in Great Britain - 2nd Edition (1950) pp.225,261-2) who praises Lowe for "making the best of a bad business" and for "saving English Education once and for all from the evils of centralisation". I am inclined to think that detractors and defenders are both equally misguided in their analysis of Robert Lowe's motives. It is true that Lowe opposed any increase of the education grants (See Hansard April 5th 1867: Robert Lowe), that he disliked and feared the lower classes, and that he opposed an inflated bureaucracy. Lowe himself was to declare in 1871

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that the great advantage of payment by results was that it tended very forcibly to the secularization of education (on December 4th 1871 at the Annual Distribution of prizes of the Halifax Mechanics Institute (National Schoolmaster Dec 15th 1871). It is this motive - Lowe's intense dislike of the denominational system - which is usually missed by educational historians.

See F. Joan Stalker - Robert Lowe and Education. Unpublished M.A. Thesis. 1933. Liverpool.

J.P. Sullivan - The Educational Work and Thought of Robert Lowe. Unpublished M.A. Thesis. 1952. London.

R. Lowe - Primary and Classical Education.  
Middle Class and Primary Education.  
Middle Class Education.

(Also speeches by R. Lowe in Hansard, July 11th 1861, Feb 13th 1862, May 5th 1862 etc.)

Lord George Hamilton - Parliamentary Reminiscences and Reflections 1865-85.

of the Revised Code was almost benign in his language towards the 1846 system. He defended the education of teachers and pointed out that their "high" education was necessary if they were to be competent to instruct pupil teachers. He rejected the scheme of the commissioners and sketched the government scheme in vague outline.<sup>1</sup>

Turning to the fourth and fifth questions posed on p. 138 of the last chapter.

(4) What was the relation between the Revised Code, the Report and evidence of the Commissioners and the "Education controversy"? To what extent did political and personality factors enter into the formulation of the Revised Code?

(5) How did the controversy develop after the promulgation of the Revised Code?

1. "We do not intend to break in on the system of pupil teachers as now existing"... "It leaves the whole system of the Privy Council intact"... "It merely substitutes one kind of payment for another, and that a much more simple and convenient one"... "We give the master a much stronger motive for exertion than he has at present."

Mr. Lowe reported in The Times 12th July 1861.



The "Revised Code" was published in August 1861 on the same day that Parliament was prorogued. Parliament did not meet again till February 6th 1862 and the Revised Code was not debated until February 13th 1862.<sup>1</sup> In brief, the Revised Code abolished augmentation grants and pensions for schoolmasters. In place of the previous grants paid directly to certificated teachers and pupil teachers a capitation grant was to be paid to the managers depending on a system of "payment by results" in reading, writing, and arithmetic. For purposes of examination the children were to be grouped by age and no grant was to be given for children above the age of eleven years. The training college course was to be ruthlessly cut down. The number of pupil teachers was to be cut and the amount of instruction they were to receive was reduced.<sup>2</sup>

Thus the Revised Code entirely severed the direct connection of the teacher and pupil teacher with the state and threw them entirely on the mercy of the managers who were free to make their own bargains with them.

While Parliament was unable to discuss the Revised Code, in the country outside an overwhelming flood of pamphlets,

1. A great deal of bad feeling was aroused by this and Lowe was accused of attempting to alter the whole system of education without Parliamentary consent. While the Revised Code as a whole was not due to come into force till 31st March 1862, as from 12th August 1861 no new pupil teachers were to be admitted except upon the terms of the Revised Code. See Hansard Feb 13th 1862: Sir John Pakington and Mr. Disraeli. B.P.P. 1862 XL1 pp. 339-341: Letter of Instruction to H.M.I's. 12th August 1861.
2. See Appendix for Memorandum to Inspectors summarising Revised Code, 12th August 1861.

memorials, petitions and resolutions condemned the proposed changes either in whole or in part.<sup>1</sup> Of all the pamphlets that were issued from the press only a few ventured to approve the code.<sup>2</sup> Up until March 1862 there had been 1,000 petitions delivered to Parliament against the revised code and only one (with one signature) in favour.<sup>3</sup> The same arguments recur

1. See for example:

Sir J.P.K. Shuttleworth - Letter to Earl Granville K.G. on the Revised Code 1861. (Reprinted in B.P.P. 1862 XLI pp.405-434)

Omega - Why is a new Code wanted? 1861

Rev. Derwent Coleridge - The Education of the People - a letter to the Rt. Hon. Sir John Coleridge. 1861

Rev. T.R. Birks - The Revised Code: What would it do? and what should be done with it? In a letter to Earl Granville K.G. 1861.

Rev. C.H. Bromby - A Letter to the Rt. Hon. Earl Granville 1861

The Revised Code - being the resolutions agreed to at the meeting of the Free Church Teachers' Association, Sept. 20th 1861. (Reprinted in B.P.P. 1862 XLI pp.392-402.)

Memorial of the Committee of the Rochester Diocesan Training Institute at Hackerill, to the Rt. Hon. Earl Granville K.G.

B.P.P. 1862 XLI pp.224-236

Also B.P.P. 1862 XLI: Memorial and letters addressed to the Lord President or Secretary of the Committee of Council on Education on the subject of the Revised Code by the Authorities of any Educational Society, Board, or Committee, or of any Training School, etc. (Containing the text of over 300 memorials and letters).

The Library of the Ministry of Education contains a very full collection of pamphlets.

2. Rev. James Fraser - The Revised Code of the Committee of Council on Education, its principles, tendencies and details, considered in a letter to the Lord Bishop of Salisbury. With an appendix reviewing Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth's letter to Earl Granville. 1861.

C.J. Vaughan (Late Headmaster of Harrow School) - The Revised Code of the Committee of Council on Education dispassionately considered. 1861.

3. Hansard March 25th 1862: The petition mentioned was most likely that of Roland Halle (B.P.P. 1862 XLI p.369) a private schoolmaster who thought it "disgraceful.... that public money should be given to those schoolmasters and mistresses who were in possession of good salaries and pupil teachers to do their work, and withheld from those with small salaries" (i.e. his wife and himself). Halle had tried three times

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for a certificate and had been unsuccessful.

Several petitions and memorials approved of some features of the Revised Code while disagreeing with others.

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again and again in these documents and in the later debates in parliament. They can be summarised under three broad headings.

The first set of arguments tried to prove that the Revised Code was based on a wrong view of the state of education. They attempted to show either that the Report of the Newcastle Commission was itself wrong or that the Revised Code was at variance with many of the recommendations of the Commissioners.

The second set of arguments attempted to show that the Revised Code neglected the real problems of the educational system and would do more harm than good. Under this heading should also be included attacks on the motives of the supporters of the Revised Code.

A third set of arguments emphasised that the Revised Code ignored the "vested interests" of the teachers, managers, educational societies etc.

It was obviously impossible to reconcile the Report of the Commissioners, that only a quarter of the children in the inspected schools received a fair elementary education, with the Reports of the Inspectors on the state of the schools.

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1. "What have Her Majesty's Inspectors of Education been about, to suffer so disgraceful an abuse of the public money for so long? For fifteen years it would appear, they have been receiving considerable salaries; and during the whole of that time they have worked at a state of education which would have been discreditable in a dame school.... But is this true? May there not be another view of the question? What if the Inspectors have reported favourably and truly? In that case the defence for the New Minute falls to the ground"

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(Morning Chronicle October 19th 1861). The Inspectors had reported that the following subjects were taught excellently, well, or fairly.

Subject	Percentage of Schools	
	1859	1860
Holy Scripture	90.2%	
Church Catechism	89.8%	
Reading	88.1%	89%
Writing	88.9%	91%
Arithmetic	81.1%	83%

The Inspectors themselves defended their system of examination. The work of the Assistant Commissioners was criticised by those like Lord Lyttleton who said in a parliamentary debate, "it had been stated that in 7 winter months, or 30 weeks, at five days a week, or about 150 working days, 10 gentlemen had inspected 8,926 schools containing 1,000,000 scholars, or at the rate of 10,000 children a day, or 1,000 children examined in 9 different

1. The Inspectors stated that they "do not profess in their visits to have examined every individual child; nor do they think this necessary in order to form a correct judgement upon the school. But they declare that it has been their habit to examine all the classes of a school, the lower as well as the higher; and that their reports have not been based upon vague general impressions. The contrary has been asserted, and that assertion the inspectors wish distinctly to declare to be untrue."

B.P.P. 1862 XLIII pp.171-174.

A "Copy of Memorial addressed by the School Inspectors to Earl Granville in April last, complaining of unjust Aspersions made upon them; of the Signatures thereto; and of all Correspondence thereupon"

The Memorial was signed by 24 out of the 29 Chief Inspectors. Of the five who declined to sign it, one, Mr. Cowie, inspector of training schools, declined on the ground of his limited experience in the inspection of elementary schools.

schools, often wide apart, by each Assistant Commissioner each day."<sup>1</sup>

The "Central Committee of Schoolmasters"<sup>2</sup> sent a circular<sup>3</sup> to over 200 schools visited by the assistant commissioners to test the efficiency with which the assistant commissioners had done their work. They came to the conclusion that, "if the conclusions of the Royal Commissioners are worth anything, they do not derive their value from the examination of the inspected schools by their assistant commissioners."<sup>4</sup> Attacks were made

1. Hansard, March 7th 1862. Lord Lyttelton Q.1143
2. For the formation of this committee see this Chapter p. 171.
3. The circular asked,
  - (a) The Time which the assistant commissioner spent in each school visited.
  - (b) What he did, (1) Did he examine the class? (2) What was the Class doing when he was there? (3) Did he particularly examine lower classes?
  - (c) What did he say to the schoolmaster?
  - (d) What did the schoolmaster think of him?
  - (e) Was his manner brusque?
  - (f) Did he seem to know what he was about?
  - (g) Was he a man who seemed to have any previous experience as to education?
  - (h) How far did his report of the condition of the school correspond with the report of the Queens' Inspector, who had visited the school for a period of years?  
(Educational Guardian Jan 1862)
4. The information received from 220 schools showed that 87 were not visited at all and that 162 were not examined at all by the assistant commissioners, and the Central Committee was convinced -
  - (1) That the lower classes especially were almost entirely overlooked by the Assistant Commissioners; even in schools which they professed to have examined.
  - (2) That the examination made by the Assistant Commissioners bore no comparison to the examination made by Her Majesty's Inspector in respect to (a) their thoroughness (b) their reliability.
  - (3) No trustworthy judgements as to the real state of the instruction in inspected schools could be formed by the Assistant Commissioners from personal examination which they instituted.
  - (4) That if the conclusions of the Royal Commissioners are worth anything, they do not derive their value from the

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examination of the inspected schools by their Assistant Commissioners."

(Returns concerning the Assistant Commissioners of Educational and Inspected Schools in the ten specimen districts: Issued by the Central Committee of Schoolmasters, 1862)

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on the efficiency of individual commissioners and A.F. Foster in particular was attacked for mistakes of fact, using hearsay evidence and gross exaggeration of minor faults.<sup>1</sup>

Quite apart from the validity of the reports of the assistant commissioners it was realized that the final Report of the Commissioners bore, on occasions, little relation to the reports of their assistants.<sup>2</sup>

The most important error revealed in the Report was the complete overthrow of the statement that only one quarter of the children in the inspected schools reached the first class, and received a fair elementary education. This had been repeated four times by the Commissioners, four times by Lowe

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1. An Inquiry into the truth of the Report of A.F. Foster, Esq., Assistant Commissioner on the state of popular education in the mining districts of the County of Durham. Issued by the Northern Association of Certificated Church Schoolmasters (1862, Durham). See also Hansard March 27th 1862 Q.192-3 Mr. Liddell).
2. Educational Guardian: June-Sept 1862. "The poor and their public schools". See also the National Society Monthly Paper August 1863 which reveals that, "In a letter addressed by Mr. Foster to the Methodist Recorder, May 29th 1862, after the issue of the Revised Code he says: "During the whole period that the Assistants were in communication with the Chief Commissioners and with each other, comparing notes on the general facts which had been elicited, I never heard a whisper of the complaint which is now so loud, or of any other, against the general efficiency of the instruction conveyed in the Government schools. On the contrary, one of my colleagues, who had previously distinguished himself as an opponent of the system, declared that his tour of inquiry had made a complete convert of him."

in his speech of February 13th 1862, and innumerable times by the press. It was the fundamental argument on which the supporters of the Revised Code rested their case. The Rev. T.R. Birks M.A. proved conclusively that the figure H.M.I. Norris gave of 24.58% children successfully educated should have been 45-50%.<sup>1</sup> Government supporters tried to belittle Birk's claim but H.M.I. Norris himself admitted that there had been an error in his calculations and that nearly half<sup>2</sup> the children were perfectly educated in the elementary subjects.

1. Rev. T.R. Birks M.A. - The "Great fact", on which the Revised Code rests, tried by its own witnesses and proved to be a gross fallacy; or, a fourfold proof, from the data of the Commissioners' Report, showing that one-half of the scholars in the inspected schools reach the first class, where most of them, by the repeated testimony of the Commissioners, receive an excellent education.

London 1862.

2. E.P.P. 1862 XLIII pp.161-167

"Copies of a Letter addressed by the Reverend T.R. Birks to the Lord President of the Council, on the subject of certain Statements contained in the Report of the Royal Commissioners on Education"

"Of a Letter addressed by the Reverend J.P. Morris, One of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools, to the Lord President of the Council, on the subject of certain Statements contained in his Report for the Year 1859"

Hansard: March 25th 1862 Q.41 Mr. Walpole

March 20th 1862 Q.1862 Earl Granville

Earl Granville stated, "whether 55% or 75% of the children left school without that elementary knowledge which they ought to possess, the case for an alteration in the system was equally strong."

Birk however, had also shown that "A slight encouragement to a longer stay, at the precise point where the New Code will operate as a direct discouragement... would so far modify them, as to secure to three-fourths of the scholars, either "an excellent", or at the least a "very fair" elementary education."

Even without these arguments it was easy to show that the Revised Code bore very little resemblance to the proposals of the Newcastle Commissioners.<sup>1</sup> The Commissioners had emphatically declined to recommend any reductions in the grants to Normal Schools (Newcastle Vol.1 p.153), they had only made part of the grant dependent upon examination in the three R's (Newcastle Vol.1pp.328-9, 336). They had stated that to lower the standard of popular education by discouraging the employment of trained teachers would be fatal and had shown their conviction of the value of Infant Schools (Newcastle Vol. 1 pp.31-2, 169, 545-6).<sup>2</sup> The Commissioners had recommended a higher standard of training for teachers and more certificated teachers.

Most of the arguments used by managers, teachers and educationalists aimed at showing that the Revised Code would harm the cause of popular education both directly, and through its effects on the pupil teachers and Training Colleges.

It was said that true education was more than reading, writing, and arithmetic and the results of moral, intellectual

1. At least one of the Commissioners - Sir John Coleridge - expressly declared that the Code was not founded on the Commissioners' Report, and repudiated all responsibility regarding it.  
See also, Rev. W. R. Morrison - The Re-Revised Code at variance with the facts proved before the Royal Commission on Education. (1862)
2. We have already seen that the Commissioners had praised trained teachers (pp.149-51, 155, 168), the intellectual and moral condition of the schools (pp.266-276), the Pupil Teacher system (pp.102-7, 166-7) and the Training Colleges (pp.138, 143-8, 167-8, 546).



and religious training could never be gauged solely by an examination in the three R's. The Revised Code would lead to a neglect of religion and those cultural and scientific subjects so necessary for the proper education of the poor. Even granted that payment by results based on the three R's was necessary, the details of examination would cripple education. The withholding of the grant from children who had once passed in Group 4 (the highest), would tend to discourage children from remaining at school after eleven years of age, and teachers from giving them due attention if they did remain. The examination of individual children under seven would lead to their exclusion from the school, or if they were not excluded the effort to make them "profitable" at the earliest possible period would change the whole character of good infant school teaching. Grouping by age for purposes of examination would lead to the exclusion of backward and neglected children and would keep superior children down. The teacher would be constantly torn between his desire to help backward, neglected and superior children according to their needs and his need to increase the grant to the school.<sup>1</sup>

Even with the utmost effort on the part of the teacher, the average grant of 10/- per head, after all deductions on examinations and inspection, would seldom if ever be realized. If realised at all, it would only be in the richest schools,

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1. See the Daily News 26th September 1861 for an exceptionally able letter by a Schoolmaster "H.T"

where the children were drawn from a somewhat superior class, and were able to attend regularly. Schools in poor districts, where the attendance was necessarily irregular, and for short periods, would be hopelessly impoverished.<sup>1</sup>

The grants would not only be lowered by two-fifths of the aid hitherto received (the loss bearing most on rural and poor districts with newly established schools) but would also be highly uncertain.<sup>2</sup> The uncertainty of the grants would lead to the closing of many schools or drive them into the hands of mere adventurous speculators. The increased strain on the teacher (both because of his uncertain stipend and because of his desire to give a fair share of his attention to backward children) would lead to many teachers leaving the profession. The emphasis on constant attendance was a temptation to dishonesty and deception in making out the returns. Finally, the effects of the lower standards of training and the lower status of teachers would lead to the handing over of the schools to raw, undisciplined youths, unsoftened and unimpressed with the missionary character of their office.

1. Kay-Shuttleworth analysed returns from 523 elementary schools having an average 66,375 scholars in attendance. The schools had received £43,564 under the Old Code and it was estimated that they would only receive £25,073 under the Revised Code (without taking into account the reductions which were discretionary with the Inspectors)

Sir J. Kay-Shuttleworth - Letter to Earl Granville etc.

B.P.P. 1862 XL1 p.149

2. Children not present on the day of inspection would receive no grant and the number of children present could fluctuate with the weather, epidemics, trade depressions, or times of harvest. It was also feared that parents would keep their children at home to spite the teacher.

The pupil teacher system would be seriously crippled. Under the Old Code it was in the interest of managers and masters to have pupil teachers. They impressed<sup>ov</sup> the school, cost nothing, and the master was paid for instructing them. Under the New Code it would be to the interest of managers and masters to dispense with pupil teachers. They would cost (boys at least) £15 to £20 and the grant on their account was only £10. The managers had to pay them weekly, and if the pupil failed, they would not be reimbursed. The binding indentures would be turned into a mere agreement terminable on six month's notice, so that there was no security for the pupil teachers' services during the last and best half of his apprenticeship. The master was to give special instruction<sub>1</sub> without pay.

Not only would there be less inclination for managers to employ pupil teachers but due to the lessened attractions of the profession the type of pupil coming forward to be apprenticed would be of a lower standard.

The effect of the New Code on the Training Colleges would be even more disastrous. Comparatively few students would remain two years as they would gain no advantage from a

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1. Although the amount of private tuition which the pupil teacher was to receive was reduced from 7½ hours a week to 5, the instruction could be given in the evening school where the pupil teachers would be mixed with "rough youths learning only the humblest elements."

prolonged stay.<sup>1</sup>

There would be no inducement for students to exert themselves in their studies even during the first year as there was no advantage, immediate or prospective, from a high place in the examination list. Finally, the standard of education in the Training Colleges would be lowered as the withdrawal of grants in aid to lecturers would make it impossible to secure and retain the services of men of ability.

While most of the pamphlets and petitions were moderate in their language, a few attempted to examine the motives of the supporters of the Revised Code. The Free Church Teachers Association, for example, suggested that the Revised Code was an attempt to keep down the standard of education in order to keep members of the lower orders from competing successfully<sup>2</sup> for Civil Service appointments.

The Rev. C. H. Bromby was perhaps nearer the truth, when he declared that class prejudices were being aroused to support

1. Article 61 of the Revised Code abolished all distinctions between students who had passed one, and those who had passed two examinations and gave them exactly the same certificates. A first year student in the 3rd division would start in the race for a certificate one year before a fellow student, who, solely because he was of superior capacity, extended his residence for a second year and obtained a 1st class certificate in that year. Article 118 allowed ex-pupil teachers to be provisionally certificated and thus there was less incentive for them to enter Training Colleges.
2. See Petition of Free Church Teachers Association.  
B.P.P. 1862 XL1 p.400

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an administrative measure.

The third set of arguments used by the opponents of the Revised Code was that the Government had "broken faith" or ignored the "vested interests" of the teachers, pupil teachers, lecturers, managers and school societies.

It was pointed out that all the existing certificated teachers (who had been apprenticed) had been furnished by the Committee of Council with a document setting forth the advantages they would derive so long as they fulfilled the conditions on their part, namely they would be entitled to grants in augmentation of their salaries, varying from £15 to £30 per annum, to be paid directly to the teachers.<sup>2</sup> The same privileges were guaranteed to all the existing pupil teachers when they should have obtained certificates.

It was argued that the terms of the agreement were as binding as words could make them. It was submitted that the present Committee of Council ought not to rescind an engagement entered into by their predecessors, confirmed by themselves, and sanctioned by parliament - an engagement with third persons for which they had given valuable consideration. It

1. Papers for the Schoolmaster Feb 1862: "Principles and Prospects of Popular Education" by Rev. C. H. Bromby.
2. "These grants will be made by post-office orders, payable to the teachers themselves. They belong exclusively to the teachers, not to the general funds of the school. Their Lordships cannot sanction a corresponding reduction in the previous salaries of the teachers, even though more than sufficient to fulfil the conditions of the particular grant" (B.P.P. 1862 XLI p.192)

was these prospective advantages which had induced very many of the pupil teachers to accept for seven years a much less remuneration than they would have obtained elsewhere.

While the Committee of Council had argued that the 1846 system as a whole was only experimental, they had acted on the assumption that the indentures and the Government aid received bound the pupils to a life service and had taken steps to prevent trained teachers from obtaining Government employment on that very ground.<sup>1</sup>

The teachers considered that the withdrawal of the prospect of pensions was an equally grave breach of faith.

It is to be noted that teachers were not the only persons to complain. Almost every petition from managers, training colleges, or educationalists mentioned this "breach of faith" or "grievous and unexpected injury". The matter was raised time and again in parliament,<sup>2</sup> and even supporters of the Revised Code condemned this breach of faith.<sup>3</sup>

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1. See Correspondence. B.P.P. 1862 XL1 pp.559-605

2. e.g. Hansard Feb 21st 1862 by Lord Robert Cecil Q.596.  
 " March 7th 1862 " Lord Lyttelton Q.1141-2  
 " March 7th 1862 " Lord Belpers Q.1152  
 " May 5th 1862 " Mr. Wapole Q.1209

etc.

3. e.g. The Economist Nov. 2nd 1861 condemned both the justice of the step and also the expediency.

"It is unnecessary to observe that the schoolmasters are a class with whom we should observe not legal faith, but moral faith. They cannot be expected to understand every refinement which an ingenious London lawyer may impart into the arrangement between him and the State. A schoolmaster is, too, one of the most influential communicants between the English State and the labouring classes. It is of the utmost necessity to convince those classes of the good faith of the Government under which they live, and it is a difficult matter, for the poor do not easily credit honesty in money matters. It is, therefore, very dangerous to

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permit a considerable body of respectable persons just in contact with the poor to have even the semblance of a moral accusation against the Government." See also Quarterly Review Jan 1862, National Society Monthly Paper March 1861.

A second "breach of faith" was with the training college lecturers. The Committee of Council had induced the ablest of the certificated teachers and university graduates, to qualify themselves, by special study and rigorous examination for Lectureships in Training Colleges, by offering salaries of £100 to meet £150 from the college.<sup>1</sup> These lectureships were abolished even for the existing holders. The resources of the Training Colleges would be diminished by the New Code, and no sort of compensation could be made for them in the way of an increased salary.

There was also a breach of faith with the existing pupil teachers. The Committee of Council had sent to each of them on apprenticeship a document, setting forth the provisions made for those who successfully completed their apprenticeship, in which they stated that they, "will award exhibition for one year to as many qualified candidates as answer to the total number of vacancies in all the normal colleges under inspection"<sup>2</sup> The New Code provided that exhibitions to the extent of only four-fifths of the accommodation in the colleges should be granted. This would deprive 20 or 30 per cent of the Queens'

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1. See Minutes of August 20th 1853  
 " " " 25th 1854

2. Quoted B.P.P. 1862 XL1 p.192

Scholars of the reward promised.<sup>1</sup>

Finally there was the "breach of faith" with the promoters of education, the managers of schools, the governors of training colleges and the great religious bodies themselves.

The managers would have not only less money but their money was now very uncertain. They complained that too great a pecuniary responsibility was thrown upon them by having to pay the pupil teachers weekly in advance of the Government grant. Finally they complained that the suddenness of the change must inevitably leave them out of pocket, as the expenses of the school could not only be reduced slowly, while their incomes would be reduced immediately.

The Training Colleges complained that their incomes would be reduced both directly and indirectly by the Revised Code and that as private subscriptions could not be expected to make up for the loss many of them would have to close.

Finally the Religious bodies complained that, "Especially when the state has thus invented and stimulated a system which has cost its promoters £9,600,000 by an outlay of half of that amount of public money, it has incurred obligations to those who have expended nearly £10,000,000 in the confidence that the executive was not a mere abstraction, but a power capable of

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1. In January 1860, Earl Granville had admitted "that no reduction could be made to touch any pupil teachers now apprenticed."  
Quoted B.P.P. 1862 XL1 p.192



contracting moral obligations. The character of a system of public education thus created ought not to be abruptly and harshly changed by the fiat of a minister without the consent of the great controlling bodies and communions who have expended twice as much as the State. Even were parliament to make such a change, it would be a national dishonour. It would be an act of repudiation ever to be remembered with shame." <sup>1</sup> The teachers themselves played an active part, (perhaps too active a part) <sup>2</sup> in the agitation against the Revised Code. All over the country associations met to pass resolutions against the New Code. Most of the large Associations drew up Memorials and Petitions and sent them to the Committee of Council. The Scottish teachers (who were also threatened by the Revised Code) were even more forthright in their denunciations, <sup>3</sup> than the English teachers, (because in all probability they felt they had much more to lose).

Even at this time of crisis it was still impossible to get unity among teachers. In London a "Central Committee of Schoolmasters" was formed after a crowded joint meeting of the "Metropolitan Church Schoolmasters Association" and the <sup>4</sup> "London Association of Teachers" on the 21st September 1861. The Secretaries of many associations all over the country

1. Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth - Letter to Earl Granville etc. B.P.P. 1862 XLI p.430
2. See Derwent Coleridge - The Teachers of the People (1862) pp.23-24 and Educational Guardian March 1862 quoting the Times.
3. e.g. Resolutions of Free Church Teachers Association. 20th Sept. 1861.
4. Educational Record 1861 Vol.V pp.118-9

placed their associations in communication with the committee.<sup>1</sup>  
 The Committee sent a deputation to Lord Palmerston (Nov. 12th 1861) and circulated a memorial which was signed by 2416 memorialists.<sup>2</sup> It was arranged to lobby M.P.'s, to prepare questionnaires to schoolmasters who had been examined by the Assistant Commissioners and to publish pamphlets. The Metropolitan Church Schoolmasters Association made a significant step towards unity when it passed a new rule, "That in order to secure Action, and a general expression of opinion from the largest number of teachers possible upon any question of professional interest, any association of teachers that acknowledges the Bible as the basis of all sound education, may be connected with this association as a "corresponding society".<sup>3</sup>

The Associated Body of Church Schoolmasters, however, preferred to campaign on its own. Its membership jumped to over 1200 members and a petition it presented to parliament had 4519 signatures.<sup>4</sup>

These partial attempts at unity came to an end after the passage of the Revised Code and the profession had to wait another eight years till the formation of a comprehensive professional association.

1. Among those teachers associated with the Committee were Randall, Langton, Barrett, Day, Baines, Ives, Christie, Hardy, Bilton, Ingram, Drage, Easton, Hales, Gover, Horrocks, Perry, H.H. Sales and R. Woods.
2. B.P.P. 1862 XLI p. 556
3. The School and the Teacher November 1861
4. Papers for the Schoolmaster July 1862.

While this flood of criticism raged against the Revised Code there were very few who came to its defence. The Congregationalists were triumphant for they saw in the Code the beginning of the withdrawal of the State from all interference in education.<sup>1</sup> All the old enemies of popular education applauded the Code and it was "quite universally agreed that the mode of training elementary teachers.... is entirely unsuited to its purpose. The sort of education suited to such persons is a sound homely, practical and plain one."<sup>2</sup>

But for a reasoned defence of the Revised Code we must rely on James Fraser's pamphlet, and the speeches of Robert Lowe and Earl Granville.<sup>3</sup>

Fraser's main reasons for supporting the Revised Code were that it was a step towards the decentralisation of education<sup>4</sup> and that it was high time the national expenditure

1. See Memorial of the Congregational Board of Education E.P.P. 1862 XLI p.330
  2. Economist November 2nd 1861
  3. Rev. James Fraser M.A. - The Revised Code etc. op.cit. Hansard Ser.3. CLXV Feb 13th 1862 Rober Lowe Q.191-242 etc. " " " " " Earl Granville Q.170-183 etc.
  4. The demand for "de-centralisation" was composed of at least six different elements.
    - (1) The desire for a decrease in the "bureaucracy"
    - (2) The fear of state control of education.
    - (3) The wish of managers to have more control over their "servants".
    - (4) The fear of the growth of "vested interests."
    - (5) The fear of the growth of a teacher army that would either (a) use its voting power to influence the policies of the government or (b) be a weapon in the hands of the government.
    - (6) The wish for a first step towards eventual rate-aided locally controlled secular education.
- See Museum Oct 1861, English Journal of Education June 1862, Educational Guardian March 1862.

on elementary education was retrenched for "the whole system was growing both too ambitious and too costly". He admitted that the extent of the loss to an efficient elementary school, under the head of income arising from the annual parliamentary grant, would be about 25% but hoped the loss could be made up by raising the school fee or encouraging local charity. He sympathised with the teachers but, "begged them to remember that the fair market value of their services is all that they can expect to command; and that I feel pretty confident they will obtain."

Even this supporter of the Revised Code, could not stomach the government's treatment of the training colleges and wrote that, "I think it to be lamented that in dealing with these, the framers of the code have departed so widely from the opinions and recommendations of the Royal Commissioners.... The most serious defect, of all in the New Code, in its bearing upon training colleges is, that it contains no motive whatever, directly operating upon the students, to prolong their period of study through a second year."

Earl Granville, making the first official reply to the critics of the Revised Code attacked the schoolmasters for considering "it as degrading to condescend to the drudgery of teaching reading, writing and counting" and thought that "the natural view, of the interests of the masters themselves, is that their own independence and self-respect will be increased by placing them in more natural relations with their employers,

and relieving them from their present anomalous position towards the State".<sup>1</sup>

Robert Lowe's speech made on the same day surveyed the whole of the controversy. He argued that the 1846 system was a preliminary provisional and tentative one which had proved to be partial, complex, and destructive of the proper control of the commons. He made a great deal of the statement of the Commissioners that only a quarter of the children were successfully educated. He preferred to trust the Report of the Commissioners rather than that of the Inspectors. Lowe asked the managers why they were so insistent that the examination would be ruinous for the object of inspection was not "simply to make things pleasant, to give the schools as much as can be got out of the public purse, independent of efficiency." Lowe pointed out that most of the children left school before the age of eleven and that the "true and statesmanlike view of the subject", was not "to struggle against early labour - not to interfere between a father who is oppressed by poverty and the labour of his children, but to

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1. Hansard Feb 13th 1862. Earl Granville K.G.

Granville announced that the Government proposed to defend the vested interest of the certificated masters by stating that "the condition of the granting of pecuniary assistance by the State is that there should be a certificated master duly paid, and he will be considered to be duly paid only when he receives from the managers of the school three times the amount of the present augmentation grant attached to his certificate. He will, likewise, have the first lien on the capitation grants given to the managers."

This provision turned out in practice to be completely meaningless (See National Society Monthly Paper July 1862, June-August 1863 and B.P.P. 1864 XLV Minutes 1863-4 pp. xvii-xviii)

make the education of the child during the time he remains at school as perfect as we can."

Lowe warned the country of the "vested interests" in education which if allowed to entrench themselves would dominate the commons.<sup>1</sup> He quoted an extract from the Resolutions of the (Scottish) Free Church Teachers Association<sup>2</sup> to prove his point.

He then announced certain modifications in the code which answered a few of the criticisms that had been made.<sup>3</sup> He denied that the new code would affect religious instruction

1. "The great danger is that the grant for education may become, instead of a grant for education, a grant to maintain the so-called vested interests of those engaged in education. In such a case, if the system were allowed to go on, those persons claiming vested interests would obtain so great a hold in the country that any Government, seeing that the system admitted of improvement, and being willing to make it, would be met by such a phalanx<sup>826</sup> of opposition that they would be scarcely mad enough to make the attempt.... If Parliament does not set a limit to the evil, such a state of things will arise that the control of the educational system will pass out of the hands of the Privy Council and of the House of Commons into the hands of the persons working that educational system, and then no demand they choose to make on the public purse would any Ministry dare to refuse."
2. See Appendix
3. (a) The Code would not be extended to Scotland at present. (In spite of many scares Scotland was to escape the Revised Code.)
  - (b) Infants under six years of age would be entitled to the capitation grant without examination.
  - (c) For the moment the training colleges were to be relieved. The propositions to do away with a number of Queen's scholars and lecturers were withdrawn.
  - (d) The staffing regulations were modified so that less pupil teachers or assistant teachers would be required in the schools.
  - (e) An honorary certificate would be given to every teacher who would remain in a training college for two years.

in the schools while admitting that many schools (e.g. where children were migratory) would find it difficult to earn the grants but that, "the true principle is not to lower your standard to meet cases which are at present below it, but to do what you can to induce them to amend themselves, and if they will not amend themselves, to leave them to the unaided support of voluntary efforts."

Love then attacked the teachers directly. He declared that the teachers were only concerned with their augmentation grants. Teachers had been raised far above their true position in society. For some time past they had been in receipt of large incomes and, considering what they were and the circumstances of their education, they had enjoyed a great amount of prosperity. Teachers were always dissatisfied<sup>2</sup> and it was no wonder they were dissatisfied with the Revised Code. The teachers had no "vested interest" in the grant and they should be left to make their own bargains with the managers, the bargaining process being subject only to "the general laws of political economy."<sup>3</sup>

The Revised Code was not intended to fix a maximum but a

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1. In other words, "If it is not cheap it shall be efficient; if it is not efficient it shall be cheap."  
Love ignored the whole point of the educational opposition to the Revised Code, i.e. that payment by results was not payment for labour and that there was little direct relation between the efficiency of a teacher and the "results" he produced.
  2. Love quoted from the evidence before the Newcastle Commission to show that schoolmasters were discontented even before the Revised Code. He quoted a passage from the evidence of a dissenter schoolmaster as if it were the report of Mr. Wilkinson himself.
  3. And the provision announced by Earl Granville (See p. 195.)

minimum of education but it should never be forgotten "that those for whom this system is designed are the children of persons who are not able to pay for the teaching."<sup>1</sup>

The Revised Code was raised again and again in parliament and every aspect was attacked. As the discussion proceeded there appeared a movement in favour of compromise although opposition was still strong among the "vested interests." One of the most significant speeches was made by Dr. Temple (Bishop of London) on March 14th 1862. After asking that a portion of the grant should be made on attendance he declared his own willingness (and that of a "great many of the clergy") to accept a compromise.<sup>3</sup>

1. "We do not profess to give these children an education that will raise them above their station and business in life; that is not our object, but to give them an education that may fit them for that business. We are bound to take a clear and definite view of the position of the class that is to receive instruction; and, having obtained that view, we are bound to make up our minds as to how much instruction that class requires, and is capable of receiving, and we are then bound to have evidence that it has received such instruction."
2. On February 17th, 21st, 28th, March 4th, 7th, 14th, 25th, 27th 28th, and May 5th 1862.
3. "I believe that a great change of feeling has taken place in reference to this Revised Code during the last few weeks. I cannot say that all the feelings of irritation with which it was at first received - feelings not, perhaps, very unnatural under the circumstances - have been altogether allayed; but there has certainly been a change. I cannot speak for the clergy generally, but I can speak for a great many of them, and I find that those of the clergy with whom I have opportunity of consulting are, on the whole, not unfavourable to the Code. At the same time, they are apprehensive upon particular points....  
 ... It would be wrong to judge of the feelings of the clergy generally by the state of things several months back. It is certain that formerly in different parts of the country perpetual dissatisfaction was expressed with the old code, and perpetual complaints were made that the masters were above their work, and that the education given was not the

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most useful possible. I have repeatedly found it said that, reading, writing and arithmetic ought to be better taught, even though the more ornamental parts of education were left alone; and complaints were also made that the pupil teachers and the masters were so independent of the managers, and considered themselves so much the officers of the Government in Downing Street, that it was difficult to get on with them. I do not say that those complaints were always well-founded, but such a feeling existed, and judging from this fact, a change in the system seemed called for."

Hansard March 14th 1862 Q.1495-6.

It is difficult to say what proportion of the clergy supported Dr. Temple. Certainly many of the school-managers were only too willing to "see the schoolmaster placed in a condition of greater dependence."<sup>1</sup> But to say as G.W. Hughes has done that, "it is significant that it (the Revised Code) met no opposition from the churches, such as had characterised earlier encroachments on the spiritual aspect of education"<sup>2</sup> and to attribute church opposition solely to the new uncertainty of financial support, is to ignore the great amount of "disinterested" opposition that came from the religious bodies."<sup>3</sup>

1. Rev. Derwent Coleridge - The Education of the People (1861) Coleridge attacked this view as he considered masters were already dependent upon managers, and when collisions with the clergy did take place the fault in many cases lay with the clergy. (See Appendix B)

But Lowe himself had stated that, "another advantage of the new system is, that it gives the managers almost unfettered freedom in regulating their schools as they please.... some of these gentlemen do not seem grateful for the privilege."

2. G.W. Hughes op.cit. p.114
3. Even after the re-revised code had been accepted by parliament the "United Education Committee" composed of the representatives of the National Society, the British and Foreign Society, the Wesleyans, the Home and Colonial School Society and others passed a long resolution declaring that the objections they entertained both to the principles and details of the revised code had been left "in the main in their original force" in spite of the changes that had been made in the revised code.

See Papers for the Schoolmaster May 1862 for the full text of the resolution.

The final stages of the debate took place on a series of eleven resolutions moved by Mr. Walpole in which he attacked grouping by age, the system of giving the whole of the grant on examination, the individual examination of children under seven, the regulations regarding pupil teachers, etc.<sup>1</sup>

In the debates on March 25th and 27th the usual arguments were brought forward, for and against the Revised Code. Finally, on March 28th Robert Lowe announced the government concessions. A portion of the grant was to be given on the report of the Inspector, and the plan of grouping by age was abandoned. Instead children could be examined in any one of six standards, the only limitation being that a child should not be presented twice according to the same or lower standard. Furthermore during the transition state the pupil teachers who were already engaged would not be prejudiced in their pecuniary interests.<sup>2</sup>

The government concessions were greeted with great satisfaction from both sides of the House and the debate was adjourned till May 5th 1862. When the House went into Committee on May 5th, Mr. Walpole announced that he was prepared to accept the Code as an experiment deserving of trial for "When the Government have met the objections that were fairly raised in a frank and temperate spirit, it would be...churlish and ungenerous to refuse to accept their propositions." He

1. Hansard March 25th 1862. Q.21.

2. Hansard March 28th 1862. Q.241-2.

sympathised with the certificated masters but thought that, "since certificated masters have got a primary lien on the grant coming from the State, they are not the persons who will be the sufferers."

Other speakers in the Debate still thought an act of great injustice had been done to the certificated teachers<sup>1</sup> but Lowe considered that in getting rid of vested interests growing up under the 1846 system the Revised Code was performing its greatest function.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Walpole's motion were by leave withdrawn.

This final agreement was satisfactory to neither party. It was essentially the result of a political compromise, for there was a regular understanding between Lord Derby and Lord Palmerston which only ended in 1865.<sup>3</sup> The Congregationalists

1. Hansard May 5th 1862 Mr. Puller Q.1216  
Ibid. Mr. Henley Q.1219  
Ibid Mr. Kinnaird Q.1225  
Ibid Mr. Pease Q.1237
2. Hansard May 5th 1862 Mr. Lowe 1240
3. James Howard Harris (3rd Earl of Malmesbury) Memoirs of an ex-minister (1884). G. Saintsbury - The Earl of Derby (1892) Papers for the Schoolmaster June 1862 - "In all probability we owe the present position of the dispute to political complicities. The Government before the Easter recess, made certain concessions in order to avoid a division in the House of Commons, and after the recess the opposition dare not demand more, lest in the defeat of Mr. Lowe, his own retirement and that of the Lord President, who was deeply committed to this measure, should lead to a political position which Lord Derby's Government were not willing at the present moment to accept."

were opposed to the compromise.<sup>1</sup> The Re-revised Code satisfied the demands for retrenchment in public expenditure and an end to the "over-education" of pupil and teacher. If it left the majority of school managers dissatisfied it pleased many who disliked the independence and self-assertiveness of the "government man". It was a compromise between the Church which feared rate-aided, secular education and the industrialist who wished children to be educated "for the coal pit and not for the Church."<sup>2</sup> It left education to the forces of supply and demand.

The final stages of the Debate on the Revised Code saw an attack on the Certificate itself. Mr. Walter moved, "That to require the employment of Certificated Masters by managers of Schools, as an indispensable condition of their participation in the Parliamentary Grant, is inexpedient, and inconsistent with the principle of payment for results which forms the basis of the Revised Code."<sup>3</sup> Walter stated that he came forward, "to advocate the freedom of trade between managers of schools and schoolmasters, in opposition to government

1. See Mr. Baines. Hansard May 5th 1862. Q.1271-1275. A speaker at the 11th Annual Meeting of the Yorkshire Congregational Board of Education lamented that, "Nine thousand tax-eating schoolmasters, supported by a few radical communists, had frightened the Government from their propriety, and compelled them, with a pusillanimity scarcely ever equalled, to relinquish their honest convictions."
- Educational Guardian May 1862
2. "Is not the entire code the work of those who see in the working man's child a piece of machinery which should be at work at 10 years of age?" C.H. Bromby (B.P.P. 1862 XL1 p.206)
3. Hansard May 5th 1862 Q.1243-1271

protection." He was supported not only by opponents of education but also by those who saw in the motion a chance to extend government aid to the poorer districts and ragged schools. Walter himself spent a great deal of his speech in attacking the abilities of certificated teachers and pupil teachers. Mr. Thompson who seconded the resolution was more moderate in his opinions and proposed a compromise by which schools under certificated masters should obtain larger grants. Sir Stafford Northcote warmly defended the certificated masters and pupil teachers but supported Walter's resolutions on the grounds that certificated masters would always command their value in the market and the resolution would bring aid to the poorest class of schools.

Lowe opposed the resolution because a certificated master was an additional security that the public money was properly expended. He also pointed out the vastly increased expenditure which would be involved. He was forced to argue the claims of the certificated teachers and warned that if Walter's resolution was passed it would lead to the destruction of the training colleges. The resolution was defeated by 163 votes to 154 and thus the certificate was preserved as the only protection of the teacher under the new educational system.

## CHAPTER VIII

### The Effect of the Revised Code and the 1870 Controversy.

"Farewell then, those pictures of the future with which we have beguiled our fancy! Farewell mental activity, cheerful looks, bright attention, and other results of moral discipline in our schools: farewell a meeting of English teachers like this, men of thoughtfulness and high purpose; and holy faith. Other men must take your places. Mechanical pedagogues, who to force the children to the standard of the three R's, must call back the rod and the ferrule, those instruments of torture which enlightened teachers had discarded. Other men, not you, will be wanted now. Men to teach words not things, sounds not realities."<sup>1</sup>

Rev. C. H. Bromby.

Turning to the last point mentioned on p. 138 of Chapter VI.

(6) What were the short-term and long-term effects of the Revised Code?

The disastrous effects of the introduction of the Revised Code on English education have been described in all the standard histories of education. From the first announcement of the Revised Code until 1870 the Reports of the more experienced Inspectors were almost uniformly gloomy.<sup>2</sup> They talked of the restriction of education to the three R's and the casting off of "those other subjects of instruction which have been most useful to the children, and highly valued by the parents."<sup>3</sup> They noted the "deadness... slackness, and...

1. In an address on the "Principles and prospects of popular Education" before the Metropolitan Church Schoolmasters' Association Jan 18th 1862. Papers for the Schoolmaster Feb. 1862
2. e.g. Report of H.M.I. Fussell 1862-3 p.7 B.P.P. 1863 XLVII  
       "      "      Tinling 1862-3 p.15 B.P.P. 1863 XLVII  
       "      "      Morell 1866-7 pp.257-264 B.P.P. 1867 XXII  
       "      "      Stewart 1864-5 pp.141-151 B.P.P. 1865 XLII  
       "      "      Arnold 1867 pp.291-2 B.P.P. 1867-8 XXV
3. B.P.P. 1863 XLVII: Minutes 1863 H.M.I. Tinling p.15.

discouragement"<sup>1</sup> as compared with previous years.

To the teacher the Revised Code was an act of betrayal which could never be forgiven. Matthew Arnold described the slackness and discouragement of the teacher and the way in which these feelings were communicated to the pupil teachers.<sup>2</sup>

The immediate effect of the Revised Code on the teaching profession can be considered under three headings - Recruitment, Training, and the effect on the teachers and their associations.  
Recruitment.

There was an immediate and rapid fall in the number of pupil teachers apprenticed.<sup>3</sup> Inspectors complained constantly

1. Matthew Arnold Reports on Elementary Schools 1852-1882. (1908) Report for 1867.
2. .... "But, above all, the pupil teacher has continually before him, he continually sees and hears, a master who ten years ago was rewarded for teaching him, was proud of his own profession, was hopeful, and tried to communicate this pride and hope to his apprentice.... To the trainer thus rewarded, thus animated, thus encouraged to value his profession, thus proclaimed a fellow-worker with the national Government, has succeeded a trainer no longer paid or rewarded, a trainee told that he has greatly over-rated his importance and that of his function, that it is most inexpedient to make a public servant of him, and that the Government is determined henceforth to know no-one in connection with his school but the managers. Is it wonderful that such a trainer should be slack in seeking pupil teachers whom he has to instruct without reward; that he should communicate to what pupil teachers he has his own sense of the change in the school-master's position, his own slackness, his own discouragement; and that under these influences the pupil teacher's heart should no longer be in his work, that his mind should be always ready to turn to the hope of bettering himself in some more thriving line, and his acquirements meanwhile weak and scant?"  
B.P.P. 1867-8 XXV: Minutes 1867-8 pp.291-2 M. Arnold.
3. The number admitted to apprenticeship fell from 3092 (1861) to 2315 (1863) and 1895 (1864). It then started rising again and in 1867 had reached 3446. (B.P.P. 1870 XXII: Minutes 1869-70 p.lxxxii)

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The fall was proportionately greater for male pupil teachers than for female. The total number of male pupil teachers fell by 18.7% from 1863-4 while the number of female pupil teachers in the same period fell by only 9.8% (Museum July 1866 and B.P.P. 1866 XXVII: Minutes 1866 pp.1X-XX)

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of the difficulty of getting suitable candidates to come forward for apprenticeship,<sup>1</sup> The "lachrymose and peevish tones of the teacher,"<sup>2</sup> the lowered prospects<sup>3</sup> of the profession the demand from other occupations,<sup>4</sup> were all put forward as reasons.

Not only were there less pupil teachers but those who

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1. See also National Society Monthly Paper Oct-Dec 1863
2. B.P.P. 1864 XLV: Minutes 1863 p.310 H.M.I. Cowie.
3. The remuneration of the pupil teacher was £15 under the 1846 system and by 1868 had fallen to £13.9.9d. for a male and £12.15.2d. for a female (average). (Museum Sept.1868 quoting from Minutes of the Committee of Council 1867-8 B.P.P. 1867-8 XXV p.VIII.)
4. "The scarcity of boy pupil teachers increases; the large demand for clerks, shop-boys, messengers, and for all kinds of domestic service, and the good wages which are offered, all concur to tempt away the most promising lads from elementary schools. I find that the average age at which boys leave school in my district is diminishing now the schoolmaster finds it impossible to compete with this demand for intelligent lads; he cannot give sufficiently high pay. The schoolmaster also does not care to have pupil teachers, because he gets no pay for teaching them. It is manifestly his interest to get a certificated assistant if he can persuade the managers to engage one, because he is released from a considerable addition to his day's work, and then he perceives that the market is more in his favour; if the teachers are fewer in number than the demand for them, and so he has not only<sup>no</sup> inducement to bring forward boys as pupil teachers, but positive inducement to keep them out." B.P.P. 1866 XXVII: Minutes p.398-9 H.M.I. Cowie. (Quoted in Museum Sept.1866). "It is possible that the teachers were deliberately discouraging entrants to the profession on the supposition that "a less stocked market will raise prices" (Papers for the Schoolmaster February 1864)



remained took less interest in their work, their examinations were less satisfactory, and many of them either entered other callings on the termination of their apprenticeship or else<sup>1</sup> commenced teaching in rural schools without a certificate. There was a marked tendency for teachers to "scamp" the instruction of their pupil teachers as they received no pay<sup>2</sup> for training them.

### Training

The Training Colleges were among the main sufferers from the grave shortage of pupil teachers. As we have seen not only were less pupil teachers becoming apprenticed but many either entered other callings on the termination of their apprenticeship or else commenced teaching without a certificate with the intention of obtaining it by service in the schools. There were general complaints that the applicants for entrance to the Training Colleges were of inferior mental ability and very inadequately prepared.

Under the re-revised code of 1862 the colleges had suffered only minor blows and had been spared the full rigours of "free trade". The curriculum was reconstructed. In the

1. Lowe had created a fourth class in the teachers certificate, especially suitable for "younger and humbler classes of candidates". Any acting teacher over 22 years of age, having obtained two favourable reports from the Inspector, could be presented by his managers for an examination confined to elementary subjects, and might obtain a certificate.
2. Papers for the Schoolmaster, October 1865; H.M.I. Byrne addressed the teachers and pupil teachers assembled for examination at Clifton and complained that "in many apparently good schools, the pupil teachers were shamefully undertaught."

first year syllabus ecclesiastical history was wholly omitted and the mathematics syllabus was reduced. In the second year physical science, mechanics, higher mathematics, English literature and Latin were excluded.<sup>1</sup>

The real blow at the training colleges came in the Minutes of March 21st 1863. The two main features of the new Minute were, that it withheld from the Normal College all payments in regard of any student whom the college could not prove to have been absorbed into the market, and it limited the public grant to a maximum of 75% of the whole expenditure.<sup>2</sup>

The result of this policy (although the 1863 Minutes were not to come into full effect till 1868) was a reduction in the Government grant to training colleges from £113,242 in 1863 to £70,752 in 1867.<sup>3</sup> The altered position of the colleges

1. As H.M.I. Cowie said, "I understand it to be your Lordship's wish that all the work done, or at any rate all that portion of the work of which your officers take cognisance should be the plain and practically useful work which has immediate reference to the calling of the master of an elementary school for the children of the labouring classes."  
(B.P.P. 1862 XLII: Minutes 1862 p.280 H.M.I. Cowie).
2. B.P.P. 1863 XLVI: pp.551-3. To accomplish the former object it cancelled the whole system of Queen's Scholarships, leaving the colleges to make their own terms with candidates for admission. No grant was to be made to a college for a student who was trained for less than two years, nor in respect of such a student until he had served for two years to the satisfaction of an Inspector in an elementary school. The colleges were warned to guard against possible defaulting by a written agreement with their students. Although the system was thus radically changed the successful entrants to training colleges were still referred to as "Queen's Scholars" although the term was not used in the Revised Code itself. It re-appeared in the "New" Code of 1871.
3. B.P.P. 1864 XLV p.282; B.P.P. 1867-8 XXV p.476

made it necessary for some of them to demand payment from their students and this led to a further reduction in the number of candidates for admission.<sup>1</sup> Although the standard of admission to the training colleges was lowered in 1865 and 1866, there were still many vacant places,<sup>2</sup> and two of the colleges (Chichester and Highbury) were forced to close.

### The Teachers.

We have already noticed that the revised code was looked upon by the teachers as an act of betrayal. During the controversy of 1861-2 the teachers had been warned that the code "would reduce the teachers' salaries; would load them with ill-aided work; and worsen, in all respects, that position in which it has hitherto been the object of the government to place them."<sup>3</sup> In practice the new code seems to have reduced the teachers' salaries only slightly<sup>4</sup> (although in a period of rising prices).<sup>5</sup> In many schools however, the managers threw the whole pecuniary risk upon the teachers, and a teacher's market value was generally considered to be his

1. See Papers for the Schoolmaster July 1863
2. In the Report of the Committee of Council for 1867 H.M.I. Fitch reported that the 37 Training Colleges in Great Britain had accommodation for 3,205 students, while the number in residence was only 2,257 (922 male students leaving room for 747 others, and 1325 female students leaving room for 201 others).  
Quoted in Museum Nov. 1868.
3. J. Kay-Shuttleworth - Letter to Earl Granville B.P.P. 1862 XL1 p.425.
4. The average salary of a certificated master fell from £95 in 1861 to £87 in 1866 and then rose until in 1869 it stood at £93 (Minutes of the Committee of Council).
5. G.D.H. Cole and R. Postgate - The Common People (1949) pp.348-357.

ability in getting a large percentage of passes.<sup>1</sup>

The whole sorry story of sick children being carried to school in order to be examined, and of the devices which ingenious teachers invented in order to win a favourable report have been described many times. The teachers' work was reduced from being "stimulating, soul-forming, and like-awakening, to elementary, mechanical and lifeless."<sup>2</sup>

Many of the best teachers left the profession for trade, or commenced private schools. Some took posts in the Colonies. Of those who remained, it was said, that "disappointed and discouraged, they regard themselves as but the defeated remnant of an army whose only hope of safety lies in submission and dispersion."<sup>3</sup>

Most important, the teacher felt that he had lost status. From being a servant of the State he had become a servant of the manager. He was no longer a party to the pupil teacher's indentures. He was at the mercy of the managers, for under the Revised Code the class of his certificate might be raised at five year intervals and there would be no revision if more than one move had been made during the five years. Finally the Inspector who in many instances had been looked on as a friend now became in their eyes an inquisitor whose annual visits

1. B.P.P. 1866 XXVII: Minutes 1865-6 p.xvi

In 1864 Mitchell reported that the first question nineteen out of twenty managers asked was, "How much shall we get?"  
J. Leese Personalities and Power in English Education (1950)  
 p.105.

2. Museum September 1865

3. English Journal of Education 1863.

were occasions of terror and whose inconsistency, caprice or irregularity could break the teacher's career.<sup>1</sup>

The effect of the Revised Code on the teachers is well illustrated by their attitude towards their associations. The first reaction to defeat by the members of the A.B.C.S. was an attack on the leadership of the A.B.C.S. as "cliquish and dictatorial."<sup>2</sup> There were a series of attempts to reorganise the union and to make it more efficient, but in general there were few changes.

By 1865 the British Teachers Association (fostered by the Officers of the British and Foreign School Society) was one of the few remaining associations of teachers. The United Association of Schoolmasters, the Metropolitan Church

1. See T.J. Macnamara - Schoolmaster Sketches (1896) for accounts of the fictitious Inspectors "Faddy H.M.I" and "Sneakson H.M.I"
- Also J. Runciman - Schools and Scholars (1887)
- T. Gautrey - "Lux Mihi Laus" School Board Memories (1938) pp. 157-162.
- G.A. Christian - English Education from Within (1922) pp. 156-168

During the Revised Code controversy the A.B.C.S. had predicted that if the Revised Code was accepted the position of the Inspector "besides being one of monotonous mechanical routine, would be one of great responsibility and unpleasantness. He would be looked upon, not as a friend with whom to advise, but as a mere instrument of the State to impoverish the school; he would be suspiciously watched throughout his examination by both teachers and managers; his decisions continually called in question, and attributed to caprice, ill temper, and a "thousand other ills" that inspectors, in common with other men, "are heirs to". His influence for good would be totally lost; his visit would be looked upon as that of the task-master come to demand "his tale of bricks", when the straw for their manufacture had been discontinued." p.32-3

The New Education Code and its Effects.

Issued by the Associated Body of Church Schoolmasters in England and Wales (Bolton 1862)

2. Educational Guardian September-December 1862.

Schoolmasters Association, the Elementary Teachers Association and others had their vitality (and their funds) absorbed in the Revised Code Controversy and were in obedience. The A.B.C.S. was for the most part confined to the annual conference.<sup>1</sup> The English Journal of Education expressed the substance of a number of communications it had received in a striking article on "Our Associations".

"Is it worthwhile to keep up our Associations at all? What is there left for them to do? and what benefit shall we obtain in return for the labour necessary to maintain them? Has not their futility been established? Have we not had conclusive evidence that their influence is nought? When can we hope to be more unanimous than in our condemnation of the Revised Code? When do you expect to see us acting more energetically than we did in that movement? And yet did we not utterly fail in producing any good effect? Were not all our efforts to prevent the injustice proposed to be done to us utterly vain? Nay, further, did not our action give Mr. Lowe opportunities for ridicule and misrepresentation, by availing himself of which he did more damage to our cause than all we could do for ourselves was able to repair? And are we not still subjected to unjust charges which we cannot repel? And are not our pretensions laughed at, and even our work suspected, because we continue to meet and talk after we have been proved incapable of producing any influence on educational affairs by-

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1. It did however, carry out an enquiry into the financial effects of the Revised Code. (See National Society Monthly Paper Oct 1863).

all our conferences and discussions and petitions and remonstrances? And what tangible benefit can we point to, after all, as resulting from the Associations, which have cost us so much pain, and brought us undeserved disrepute? Granting that all these counts are unjust and suspicions groundless, is it not obvious enough that they do exist, that they are injurious to us individually and collectively? And shall we not show our wisdom by manfully submitting to the defeat we have sustained, and by devoting henceforth all our cares and energies, so long as we continue in what perhaps we ought no longer to call our profession, to making as many as possible of our scholars fit to stand the test of individual examination by which we now have to stand or fall?"<sup>1</sup>

It was in vain that the leaders of the associations declared that but for them the Revised Code would have been even more despotic, that "he cannot expect a victory who breaks up his army at the first defeat", and that there never was a time when associations were more needed, or calculated to be of more service. Most of the unions became defunct and others sank into inaction.<sup>2</sup> This inactivity was reflected in the teachers' periodicals. The only English periodical to survive was the moderate Papers for the Schoolmaster while the

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1. English Journal of Education 1863.

2. One of the main difficulties the unions had to contend with was the belief that by their "extravagance and indiscretion" they had given arguments to Lowe in favour of cutting the link between the State and the teacher.

Educational Guardian merged with the English Journal of Education which in turn merged with the Scottish Museum in 1861.<sup>1</sup>

Throughout the period the attack on the certificated teachers' "monopoly" continued. The main leader in the Commons was J. Walter (Member for Berkshire and manager of "The Times".)<sup>2</sup> While the motive behind the attack was the desire to extend government aid to the smaller rural parishes, in many instances the argument used was along the lines of an attack on the certificated teachers.<sup>3</sup> Lowe resisted these arguments as well as he could but his position was logically untenable as "either he must give up the argument on which he based his last year's legislation, or he must submit to a large increase of the expenditure, to diminish which he robbed the teacher of his hard-earned gratuity and his well deserved reputation."<sup>4</sup>

The certificated teachers were not unanimous in their opposition to "Mr. Walter's motion" for many of them considered that their natural superiority would always secure them employment wherever it was possible to employ them. Moreover the proposed change would bring more schools under inspection

1. See Appendix
2. See his parliamentary speeches on the subject. Hansard 8th May 1863 etc. and also his correspondence with H.M.I. J. Norris (B.P.P. 1863 XLVI pp. 531-9)
3. See for example an article on "Country Village Schools" in Church and State Review, quoted in the Educational Guardian Sept. 1862, and an article in the Leeds Mercury quoted in Educational Guardian April 1863.
4. Educational Guardian April 1863



and several of these schools would sooner or later take on certificated teachers. The fact that the National Society itself supported Walter's motion also had its effect.<sup>1</sup> The Annual Conference of the A.E.C.S. in December 1864 passed a resolution in favour of Walter's motion.<sup>2</sup> This action led to the withdrawal of the Liverpool, Newcastle and North Staffordshire districts<sup>3</sup> and the resignation of many individual members. At the Annual Conference in December 1866 a resolution was adopted unanimously, "that the A.B.C.S. has never been favourable to any schemes for extending the government grant to schools taught by non-certificated teachers (due notice not having been given of the resolution passed at

1. As the pressure for a rate-aided scheme of education grew stronger the defenders of the existing system were inclined to put forward as a counter-proposal that grants should be given to all schools which produced "results" whether or not they had a certificated teacher. (e.g. National Society Monthly Paper Dec. 1867 "Payment for results" and report of speech by Mr. Walter in same issue. Also The Academia Jan. 15th 1868 pp. 62-3).  
As early as December 1856 the National Society had represented "the importance of diffusing education, even at a moderate standard, rapidly over the whole country, not only for the sake of the children themselves, who would otherwise grow up in ignorance, but to prevent the present system from being represented as incapable of providing means of education for the whole body of the people", and they strongly urged that, "if once a sufficient number of schools were established throughout the country - schools in which the education given was a reality and not a mere pretence - measures might be taken afterwards for raising it to any standard which the Legislature might prescribe."  
See National Society Monthly Paper July 1857 and Jan. 1868.
2. Museum April 1863, Feb. 1867.  
Educational Guardian April 1863.  
Papers for the Schoolmaster April 1865  
The Quarterly Journal of the A.B.C.S. Dec. 1865.
3. National Society Monthly Paper Sept., Nov. 1865  
Quarterly Journal of the A.B.C.S. Dec. 1865.

Northampton in 1864), and that it still considers any such schemes as alike injurious to elementary education and the scholastic profession."<sup>1</sup>

While the teachers' associations were generally inactive between 1862 and 1867, they played an important part in the first stages of the movement for professional self-government.<sup>2</sup> The Scholastic Registration movement had been suggested at intervals during the first fourteen years of existence of the College of Preceptors. In 1860 Mr. Barrow Rule suggested that the College should initiate a campaign<sup>3</sup> which was actually launched in 1861. The aim of the movement was to establish a council analogous to the General Medical Council established by Act of Parliament in 1858. This "Scholastic Council" would register qualified schoolmasters and represent the interests of education and of educators. While the movement for scholastic registration was originally a movement of the independent middle class educators it soon won the support of the certificated teachers. As well as its intrinsic merits the teachers' leaders knew that the associations "wanted some such definite object to arrest the disorganisation sure otherwise to result from the reaction arising from the late code agitation and that this particular movement would also tend to unite the elementary teacher with those of a higher grade,

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1. Museum: Feb 1867.

See also Papers for the Schoolmaster: April 1865, Feb 1868

2. For the general movement see G. Baron - "The Teachers' Registration Movement" British Journal of Educational Studies (Forthcoming), May, 1954.

3. B.P.P. 1890-91 Q.301 ff.

who also felt strongly on the point, and so help to bring about union between the different grades of their profession.<sup>1</sup>"

In 1863 the College of Preceptors succeeded in forming a separate "Scholastic Registration Association" on which the elementary teachers were well represented.<sup>2</sup> There was, however, a fundamental difference between the motives of the middle class teachers and the motives of the elementary school teachers in supporting scholastic registration. The middle class teachers had no uniformly recognised certificate of efficiency and wished to create their own professional qualification with government sanction. The elementary teachers already had their government certificates although

1. Mr. Dee at the Annual Conference of the A.B.C.S. December 1862. English Journal of Education 1863. See also Educational Guardian Jan 1863.
2. Among the associations in union with the S.R.A. were the A.B.C.S., the British Teachers' Association, the East Lancashire Associated Body of Church Schoolmasters, the Essex and Suffolk Schoolmasters' Association, the Manchester Board of Schoolmasters, the Norwich and East Norfolk Association of Teachers, the Surrey Association of Church of England Schoolmasters and the Wigan Association of Church Schoolmasters (B.P.P. 1890-1 XVII Q.327). The powerful Northern Association of Church Schoolmasters passed resolutions in favour of Scholastic Registration (Papers for the Schoolmaster May 1863) and on the General Committee for the promotion of Scholastic Registration the A.B.C.S. was represented by J.J. Graves, H. Cummings and W. Macintosh (Museum Nov 1864). When in 1865 Mr. Barrow Rule presented a memorial to the Schools Inquiry Commission in favour of the principle of registration it was signed by 836 teachers, of whom 183 were masters of public schools, 271 of private schools, 262 of public elementary schools, and 120 were masters in training colleges (B.P.P. 1890-1 XVII Q.380). The important part the elementary teachers played in the Scholastic Registration movement has tended to be ignored.

during the '60s they felt these certificates to be in danger from "Mr. Walter's motion". The reasons the elementary teachers gave for supporting scholastic registration were (in rough order of importance) that it would raise their social position,<sup>1</sup> that it would drive the unqualified teacher from the profession, that the "Scholastic Council" would represent the profession as a whole and act as an advisory council to the Government on educational policy, that scholastic registration would promote the science of education and the training of teachers and thus induce men of a higher class to enter the profession, and lastly that it would defend the child against untrustworthy teachers.<sup>2</sup>

In 1867<sup>3</sup> it is possible to see a revival of the spirit of the teachers manifested in the increased activities

1. Both directly and by uniting the elementary teachers with the higher status middle class teachers. Not all teachers were convinced this was possible. See A.J. on "Scholastic Registration" in Museum October 1865 and Correspondence ibid Nov 1865. Also Robert H. Mair - The Educational Guide for Teachers, Parents and Guardians (1868)
2. Educational Guardian March 1863, Papers for the Schoolmaster May 1863, March and Dec 1867, Museum October 1868, The Academia Jan. 8th, 15th, April 11th 1868, Fall Mall Gazette Nov 16th 1867.  
The Scholastic Registration Association ceased to exist in 1873<sup>4</sup> but the agitation was continued by the College of Preceptors.
3. Lowe had resigned in 1864 under unusual circumstances. He had been accused of suppressing Inspectors' reports in favour of admitting uncertificated teachers to government grants. The real reasons behind the attacks in parliament which forced his resignation were,
  - (1) He had never been forgiven for his behaviour in pushing through the Revised Code.
  - (2) He was accused of attempting to enforce a conscience clause in all church schools and seeking every available pretext for refusing a grant to church schools (See National

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Society Monthly Paper Sept. 1860 and July 1862 - Dec 1868, Educational Guardian Oct. 1862).

(3) He had aroused great indignation in the Church by the Minute of the Committee of Council 19th May 1863 which proposed to reduce, by the amount of any annual endowment belonging to the school, the payment to which any such school might be entitled out of the money voted by Parliament in aid of elementary education. Pressure from the church forced the modification of the Minute.

(4) The behaviour of the council office under Lowe and Lingen has been summed up by one who worked in it as, "the Department was always on the watch to find something which deserved a lecture of chastisement, but never ready to help, guide, or sympathise". (G.W. Kekewich - The Education Department and After (1920) p.10. See also Educational Guardian Nov 1862, National Society Monthly Paper April 1864, Museum June 1864).

For the actual events leading to Lowe's Resignation see National Society Monthly Paper July, August 1863, April, May 1864, Hansard April 12th, May 12th 1864, B.P.P. 1864 IX and B.P.P. 1865 VI; 1866 VII, Museum August 1866.

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of their associations. The first shock of the Revised Code was wearing off; and there was an increasing interest in Parliament and outside in educational advance.

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The A.B.C.S. at its conference on December 1866 set up a committee "to devise plans to make the Association more worthy of the support of teachers"<sup>3</sup> and a circular was sent to all church teachers appealing to them to unite and form one union.<sup>4</sup> J.J. Graves had been re-elected to the General Secretaryship of the A.B.C.S. in 1866<sup>5</sup> and his efforts to build

1. The year 1867 also showed an increase in the number of pupil teachers and in the number of ex-pupil teachers entering Training Colleges. (B.P.P. 1870 XXI; Minutes 1870 p. lxxxii)

2. Note the Minute of February 20th 1867 which gave additional grants for supplementary subjects, and increased grants to schools for pupil teachers (B.P.P. 1868-9; Minutes 1868-9 p. xxxv; 1870 XXI; Minutes 1870 p. xxii)

3. Museum Feb 1867

4. Ibid May 1867

5. He had resigned in December 1863 to be succeeded by E.W. Hemming. On his resignation he was "presented with a purse of money, and a well-executed silver lever watch, as a slight token of the estimation in which he is held by the Association".

the union up met with some success.

The A.B.C.S. was attacked for attempting to form another band of sectarian teachers when what was wanted was a general union of all teachers<sup>1</sup> but Graves pointed to the failure of the U.A.S. and the continued survival of the A.B.C.S. to prove the impossibility of a non-denominational association.<sup>2</sup> The re-modelled Association<sup>3</sup> "proposed to co-operate in cases of sick and distressed members and give a candid consideration to the proposal for forming a Teachers' Mutual Benefit Club in connection with this object.... to assist members to procure situations etc."<sup>4</sup>

At the 15th Annual Meeting of the A.B.C.S. in January 1868 over 600 teachers were represented and the papers read at the conference show a new and more hopeful spirit among the teachers.<sup>5</sup> In 1868 the A.B.C.S. sent a memorial to the

1. Museum June 1867. Letter from a Correspondent.
2. Museum July 1867. "Finding that there are above a hundred local associations of teachers, belonging to Church of England schools, it is, I maintain, a great work to get them all, if possible, to unite.... I am no bigot in religious matters, but we find that religious opinions do tend to exclusiveness, and till some tangible proof is given,... that they have ceased thus to operate in education and among teachers, I believe all practical men will agree that they cannot ignore such an everyday fact, and must do the best they can under the circumstances."
3. The name of the association was changed to the "General Association of Church Schoolmasters" (it also is referred to in some periodicals as the "General Association of Church Teachers"). The initials A.B.C.S. will be used throughout this chapter.
4. National Society Monthly Paper August 1867. See also ibid Nov. 1867, March 1868. The objects of the re-born association are to be found in Papers for the Schoolmaster July 1868.
5. Papers for the Schoolmaster February 1868 Museum February 1868.

Lord President on the working of the Revised Code, and joined in a deputation with representatives of various associations and educational institutes on the Revised Code.<sup>1</sup> After an interval of six years it appears that the association had returned to its original form and function.

If we examine the circumstances around the joint deputation more closely however, we notice a growing fundamental unity between various sections of the profession. On February 15th, 1868 Edwin Chadwick delivered an address on "National Elementary Education" to a conference of heads of training colleges, heads of district schools, and other school teachers and educationists.<sup>2</sup> Arising out of the conference a further meeting of school teachers, presided over by Chadwick, was held on April 4th 1868 and a series of resolutions were passed.<sup>3</sup> At the end of the meeting a committee was formed to embody the resolutions into a memorial. Mr. William Lawson (later first secretary of the N.U.E.T.) was

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1. Papers for the Schoolmaster June 1868, National Society Monthly Paper June 1868, Museum May-June 1868
  2. The conference was held in the rooms of the Social Science Association, Adam Street, Adelphi.  
See The Academia Feb 19th 1868 and Edwin Chadwick - National Elementary Education (1868)
  3. The resolutions (1) Condemned the Revised Code and its operation. (2) Stated that the recognition and maintenance of a properly trained and duly qualified body of teachers was essential to any system of education. (3) Stated that provision must be made in any new bill for the due supply of pupil teachers (4) Stated that no system of elementary education supported by local rates would be satisfactory, unless it was checked by higher controlling influences, and directed by the central executive power. (5) Stated that it was not desirable that the terms on which grants were made to schools should be fixed by any Act of Parliament. (6) Approved the employment of elementary teachers in middle

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class schools as opening a chance of promotion to certificated schoolmasters.

Museum May, June 1868, Adademia April 4th, 11th 1868)

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appointed secretary <sup>1</sup>protem. The memorial was presented by a deputation consisting of Chadwick, principals of various training colleges, representatives of the College of Preceptors, the Scholastic Registration Association, the A.E.C.S. and various individual schoolmasters.

As a result of these meetings the "London Association of Church Teachers" <sup>2</sup>was founded on 26th May 1868. From its foundation the association put as its main aim the exertion of political pressure. This political pressure was aimed both at raising the status of the teacher <sup>3</sup>and at aiding the church in the conflict that was impending over the extension of elementary education. <sup>4</sup>The association was supported by principles of church training colleges and by educationalists like Mr. Powell, Edwin Chadwick, Tifnell, McLeod, and Dr. Russell Roberts. William Lawson was the first general

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1. Museum May, June 1868.

2. Frequently referred to as the "London Association of Church Schoolmasters." This association should not be confused with the "Metropolitan Church Schoolmasters Association" which appears to have become defunct some time after the promulgation of the Revised Code. (G.W. Hughes falls into this error in his thesis p.119)

Note the extremely interesting statements issued after the convening meeting. (Papers for the Schoolmaster Aug 1868)

3. See for example Museum Oct 1868 "The Schoolmaster and the Education Department."

4. See for example Papers for the Schoolmaster July 1867 "Educational Schemes and Museum Feb 1869 "The Elementary Teacher".



secretary<sup>1</sup> and among its early leaders were a handful of the old leaders of the "Metropolitan Church Schoolmasters Association" and many teachers who were to become prominent in the N.U.E.T.<sup>2</sup>

Teachers all over the country<sup>3</sup> and of all denominations<sup>4</sup> were becoming increasingly concerned with educational politics. In the 1868 election teachers canvassed candidates on scholastic registration, payment by results, pensions, security of tenure, etc.<sup>5</sup> There was a growing convergence between church and non-conformist teachers on educational and

1. William Lawson was later to become the first Secretary of the N.U.E.T. He had been trained in Durham and had taught at St. Oswalds Schools, Durham (1853-7) and lectured at Durham Training College (1857-65) before joining the staff of St. Marks College, London (1865-94). He had been an active member of the Northern Association of Certificated Church Schoolmasters and as soon as he came to London he worked for the union of Church teachers. He played a leading part in the Teachers' Conferences of 1870 and in the foundation of the N.U.E.T. He was forced to resign from the Secretaryship of the N.U.E.T. after three years of office due to the hostility of the governing body of St. Marks College and his own concern at the increasing militancy of the N.U.E.T.
2. For example, T.E. Heller (Second Secretary of the N.U.E.T.), T.N. Day (N.U.E.T. President 1878), T. Smith (N.U.E.T. President 1873), Sneath, Easton, Judd, Pallatt, Handley, Brady, Alfred Hands, T.H. Smith. Local secretaries were appointed in each of the London postal districts. (See details of the first Annual Meeting on October 30th 1868. National Society Monthly Paper December 1868).
3. Note the formation of the "Midland Counties School Teachers' Association" (Papers for the Schoolmaster Oct 1867, Museum Oct 1867).
4. Note the Memorials of the "London Association of Church Schoolmasters Association" Feb 19th 1869. (See Papers for the Schoolmaster March 1869, Educational Reporter April 1869; National Society Monthly Paper March 1869) and the "British Teachers' Association" (Papers for the Schoolmaster 1870)
5. See Museum Sept. 1868, Nov. 1868, Jan 1869.

professional matters.<sup>1</sup>

The educational ferment which was to produce the Act of 1870 can be regarded as a logical consequence of the Reform Bill of 1867. In Robert Lowe's vehement and revealing speech, on the occasion of the third reading of the Reform Bill, he had pointed out the bearing of that measure on national education.<sup>2</sup> Growing in importance throughout 1868<sup>3</sup> by the end of 1869 the "education question" had become the leading question of the day. Two great "interest groups" were at work to influence educational legislation. The first to enter the field was the "National Education League" with George Dixon M.P. as President, and Birmingham as headquarters. The "National Education Union" was founded almost immediately after the League with the specific intention of opposing the League. Its headquarters were in Manchester and it had a lengthy list of influential vice-presidents. The League and Union agreed in end and object, i.e. "the establishment of a system which shall secure the education of every child in the country." The question was "not whether the work shall be done, or be left undone, - but simply, by what means the work which

1. Papers for the Schoolmaster March 1869, March 1870  
Note also the joint deputation of Church and Wesleyan schoolmasters on pensions which waited on the Lord President 8th May, 1869.
2. .... "I was opposed to centralisation. I am ready to accept centralisation. I was opposed to an education rate. I am ready now to accept it. The question is no longer a religious question, it has become a political one.... You have placed the Government in the hands of the masses, and you must therefore give them education." Hansard July 15th 1867. Q.1549.
3. See Academia Jan-May 1868: National Society Monthly Paper April, June 1868.

must be done, can best be done."<sup>1</sup>

The platform of the League was free, unsectarian and compulsory education supported by "local rates, supplemented by Government grants."<sup>2</sup> The management of the schools would be under the control of local boards elected by the rate-payers. The Union for its part wished to "amend", "extend" or "supplement" the denominational system.<sup>3</sup> It admitted that in poor and destitute districts an educational rate might be necessary and it was also in favour of compulsion but would apply it indirectly. The League aimed at superseding the "denominational" system pronouncing it to a great extent a failure. The Union retorted that the "denominational" system had been a success, and that the onward march of education had been more retarded by penuriousness on the part of the Government than by any lack of vitality and elasticity in the system.<sup>4</sup>

The Government Education Bill was issued on February 19th 1870. Under it the whole country was to be divided into school districts and on or before the first of January 1871, the local authorities in each district were to be required to make a return to the education department containing full particulars with respect to the elementary schools and the

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1. Educational Reporter Dec 1869 quoting the Report of the Birmingham Education Union.
  2. Educational Reporter April, October 1869
  3. Educational Reporter Nov. 1869
  4. Educational Reporter Dec 1869

number of children requiring elementary education in their locality. Where the schools were sufficient in number, and efficient in character, they were to be allowed to remain on the same footing as in the past; where there was a deficiency of school accommodation, notice was to be given that the deficiency had to be supplied within twelve months. If it was not supplied within the given time, a school board, elected by the town council or parish <sup>1</sup> vestry, was to be appointed and power was to be given to the board to levy rates and provide schools. The school board was to have the power to decide whether the education to be given should be denominational, unsectarian or secular. <sup>2</sup> The school board was also to have the power to apply direct compulsion to such parents as ~~did~~ not send their children to some school. The action of the local board was to be strictly limited to the schools which they founded, though they might give assistance to existing schools if they were willing to receive it. <sup>3</sup> In no case was the educational rate to exceed 3d. in the pound. School fees were to be retained, even in rate supported schools; but power was to be given to the local boards to

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1. In the Act as finally passed the School Board was to be directly elected by Ballot instead of being indirectly appointed by the Municipalities.
  2. Under the Act as finally passed the famous "Cowper Temple" clause stated that "No religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught in the school."
  3. In the Act as finally passed voluntary schools were to be helped not out of rate aid but out of increased government grants.

remit the whole or any part, of the fees in the case of any child "when they are of opinion that the parent of such child is unable, from poverty, to pay."<sup>1</sup> Inspection was no longer to be denominational and a conscience clause was imposed upon all schools in receipt of Government grants.<sup>2</sup>

The details of the conflict between the League and the Union and the debates around the Forster Education Act lie outside the field of our enquiry.<sup>3</sup> It is sufficient to note that the Act was looked upon as a victory for the Union.<sup>4</sup>

While there was a great diversity of opinion among the teachers, as a body, their influence was exerted in favour of religious education. The London Association of Church Teachers,

1. This was the famous Clause 25 and was bitterly opposed by the Dissenters.

2. See the summary of the bill in Educational Reporter March 1870.

3. See F. Adams op.cit.  
J.W. Adamson op.cit.  
C.K.F. Brown op.cit.

Educational Reporter April 1869 - Nov 1870.

See A Verbatim Report, with Indexes, of the Debate in Parliament during the progress of the Elementary Education Bill, 1870, together with a Reprint of the Act.

Prepared under the Direction of the National Education Union (1870).

4. The League sent out a circular when the Bill was almost through the Commons saying, "we protest against the permissive character of the clause relating to the election of school boards, free schools, and compulsory attendance. We protest, further against the liberty given to teach sectarian doctrines in rate-supported schools, thus practically imposing a new church-rate. And we specially protest against the increased grant proposed to be given to denominational schools, which imparts a new lease of existence to the present imperfect system, directly stimulates its development in England, and threatens the extension of a similar system in Ireland" (Circular of National Education League July 20th 1870 Educational Reporter Aug 1870). See also the speeches at a Victory Meeting of the National Education Union August 4th 1870

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(Educational Reporter Sept. 1870) and National Society Monthly Paper Sept.-Dec. 1870.

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in conjunction with Wesleyan and British Associations, held a public meeting at Kings College on March 12th 1870 and agreed upon a common policy.<sup>1</sup> On April 9th 1870 an extremely important Conference took place between a number of Liberal members of Parliament, who had taken a prominent part in the education discussion, and a large body of metropolitan school teachers belonging to the Church, British and Wesleyan School Associations. The meeting was convened by Mr. Whitwell M.P., "for the purpose of ascertaining the opinions of men of practical experience in the work of education on points of the deepest importance in regard to the impending committee on the Government Education Bill".<sup>2</sup>

The teachers were questioned by the Members of Parliament on,

1. How far does the present system of Bible teaching in the metropolitan schools prevent parents sending their children to school?

2. Should a time-table for religious instruction be adopted in school? and, if so, in what way would it best work in harmony with the due management of the school?

3. Is it practicable to inculcate the moral precepts contained in the Bible used as a school book without making any reference to sectarian things, so that the school should remain utterly unsectarian?<sup>3</sup>

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1. See Educational Record Vol. VIII p. 90-1 (April 1870) for resolutions passed at the meeting.

2. Educational Reporter May 1870

About 100 teachers and training college lecturers were present to meet the following Members of Parliament - Lord F. Cavendish, Col. Akroyd, S. Morley, A. J. Mundella, Geo. Dixon, J. Whitwell, J. Dent, Jacob Bright, W. M. Arthur, T. D. Acland, J. Pearce, Kay-Shuttleworth, & F. Cowper Temple.  
(Contd....)

3. The discussion is to be viewed in the light of the conflict in the Church itself over the acceptance of the principle of the Conscience Clause. There were at least three parties in the Church.

(1) Many clergy (including the Archbishop of York) were willing from the beginning to accept a Conscience Clause.

See National Society Monthly Paper July 1870

(Report of 59th Annual General Meeting of the National Society.)

(2) Other Clergy rejected the Conscience Clause as unnecessary, because, they said, there was no evidence that National Schools were ever "used by the clergy as places of proselytising."....."It is notorious that the supposed difficulty on this point has been solely the creation of officials, and has in no case been the result of proved intolerance or exclusiveness"

National Society Monthly Paper March 1870

(3) A minority of the clergy declared plainly that one of the objects of National Schools was "to teach Dissenting children as much religion as they could, and try to make them members of the Church of England."

Archdeacon Denison. National Society Monthly Paper July 1869.

On April 6th 1870 the National Society agreed to accept a Conscience Clause but opposed the "Time-Table Conscience Clause" which confined religious instruction to the beginning or end of school hours.

The teachers were unanimous that the present system of Bible teaching had not prevented parents from sending children to school and that the religious difficulty was only a "platform difficulty". They would not be satisfied with merely reading the Bible without explanation and thought that secular teaching would degrade the teachers in the eyes of the public. The teachers also agreed unanimously, "That, while they did not see their way to confining religious teaching to the beginning or the end of school hours, they agreed that it was practicable to work a conscience clause in such a way that the period for such religious instruction should be so known and regulated that any child might be put to other lessons while that was

going on, if their parents desired."<sup>1</sup>

These Conferences were bitterly attacked by supporters of the League as "mere transparent "get-ups" to prove three or four foregone conclusions."<sup>2</sup>

The League issued a "Special Paper No.3" in their Monthly Paper for May 1870 in which they charged the teachers with "levity", "indifference to the doctrines they are teaching", allowing their "egotistical pretensions to stand in the way of Educational Reform", "living by ecclesiastical patronage", "toadying to their "ecclesiastical superiors", "adopting an obsequious course", "conciliating the patrons on whom they depend for subsistence", etc.etc. The paper stated that "only a select number of schoolmasters have spoken at the recent meetings."<sup>3</sup>

While the full truth must always be open to doubt the evidence points to the conferences as having been representative of the majority of the teachers. There was no need to "select" teachers to approve of religious education. The whole nature of their training and their work led them to accept the 1870 compromise.<sup>4</sup>

1. Educational Reporter May 1870 p.11.  
See also Ibid. May 1870 p.10: Conference of Birmingham Teachers.  
Ibid. June 1870 p.11: Further Conference of London Teachers on Time-Table Conscience Clause.  
etc.
2. Educational Reporter June 1870: Letter from "Pungo":  
See also Answers by W.Lawson and "A British Teacher" in Ibid. July 1870.
3. Educational Reporter June 1870.
4. See for example The Schoolmaster March 2nd 1872. Editorial.



These meetings gave the final impetus to the movement for a National Union of Elementary Teachers which had been developing since 1869. Teachers of all denominations had met and agreed on religious questions and there was now nothing to prevent them uniting.<sup>1</sup> The year 1870 gave the Teacher a new employer, the School Board. The controversy over the 1870 Act had removed any lingering doubts among the teachers as to the feasibility of Union and the "National Union of Elementary Teachers" followed soon after the 1870 Act. In the next three chapters we turn to the story of the teachers under the School Boards, the early history of the N.U.E.T., and the development of educational policy up to the Education Act of 1902.

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1. "For the first time in the annals of legislation, the opinions of practical teachers have been allowed to influence the settlement of educational questions, and have been sought after by our legislators. The Conferences at Westminster Palace Hotel, if they did nothing more, proved that our members of parliament held a high estimate of the value of the opinions of practical men, and that there was nothing to prevent schoolmasters taking an important part in the educational enactments of the day".....  
Papers for the Schoolmaster Sept. 1870

CHAPTER IX

The Early History of the N.U.E.T. - Aims.

"We inaugurate in founding this "National Union of Elementary Teachers", no aggressive association. We desire to assail nobody. We do desire to think and act as reasonable and educated men, to advocate improvements in our educational schemes and machinery, to look after the welfare of the nation as far as elementary education affects it, and at the same time try to advance our own interests, convinced that by the elevation of the teacher, we elevate the value of education, and accelerate the progress of civilisation."

1  
J.J.Graves

We have already noted the revival of the teachers' associations from 1867 onwards. While the new or re-invigorated associations were denominational in character, there was in general more willingness to unite on specific issues than there had been before the revised code. In some northern districts non-denominational associations were formed.<sup>2</sup> The movement towards unity was greatly aided by the foundation of the Educational Reporter in April 1869. It soon achieved a large circulation and from its first issue campaigned for an inclusive national union.<sup>3</sup>

At the quarterly meeting of the committee of the "London Association of Church Schoolmasters" on Wednesday June 23rd 1869, it was resolved that "in the opinion of this meeting it

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1. In the first presidential address to the N.U.E.T. (Educational Reporter Dec. 1870).
  2. For example the "Birmingham and Midland Society of Schoolmasters" and the "Manchester District Teachers Association."
  3. Educational Reporter June 1874 "Five Years Work".

is desirable to form a union of certificated teachers by means of a central council, to which any association of certificated teachers may send a representative."<sup>1</sup> The association commenced negotiations with other associations throughout the country but sectorian animosities and the "vested interests" of the existing groups made the movement towards unity a slow and halting one.<sup>2</sup> It was not until April 1870 that two definite schemes were put forward for a national association of teachers. The first was proposed by the A.B.C.S. at its conference at Nottingham on April 19th. It decided to circulate all associations as to their willingness to co-operate in the formation of a "general professional union of elementary teachers."<sup>3</sup> The second scheme was put forward by a committee of metropolitan teachers drawn from the Church, British and Wesleyan Associations. The two schemes agreed as to name proposed, constitution of the executive committee and basis for membership but differed slightly on details of representation and finance. They were put forward as bases for discussion and were considered by associations throughout the country.<sup>4</sup>

1. Educational Reporter July 1869.

2. Educational Reporter Jan-Feb 1870.

By February 1870 so little progress had been made that the "Leicestershire Scholastic Association" passed a resolution, "that the Secretary be requested to communicate with the secretaries of the London Association of Church Teachers, the Associated Body of Church Teachers and the British School Teachers Association to ask the opinion of those gentlemen as to whether, in view of the impending educational changes, which must necessarily affect the teachers, any steps can be taken to form the whole number of certificated teachers in Great Britain into one compact union". (Educational Reporter March 1870).

3. The associations were asked to communicate with William Lawson R. Sykes (Nottingham) or Williams.

#### 4. Educational Reporter May - June 1870.

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On Saturday June 25th 1870 a meeting was held in Kings College, London, "for the purpose of taking steps to bring about a union among elementary teachers throughout England." <sup>1</sup> The resolutions adopted were substantially the same as those of the committee of metropolitan teachers. At this meeting J.J.Graves was appointed President, J.Langton Vice-President, J.H.Devonshire Treasurer and William Lawson Secretary. <sup>2</sup>

Finally on Saturday the 10th of September 1870 the first conference of the "National Union of Elementary Teachers" <sup>3</sup> was held at Kings College, London. From 1870 onwards the N.U.E.T.

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1. Among those present were T.A.Smith, G.Collins, J.W.Grove, Hines, T.E.Holler, W.Lawson, Hare, Perry, J.Langton, Turner, J.J. Graves, J.H.Devonshire and J.R.Langier (Educational Reporter July 1870).
2. Educational Reporter July-August 1870  
A tradition of the N.U.T. has it that the actual foundation of the union was due to "a young man called George Collins who came forward from behind a pillar and made an able speech." (The Schoolmaster June 8th 1901). This tradition is founded on a remark made in the 1890's by J.R.Langier to Sir James Yoxall and on the fact that Collins did actually propose the first resolution at the convening meeting to the effect that a central council be established, consisting of representatives from every association of public elementary teachers in England. (Educational Reporter July 1870). If it is possible to attribute credit for the formation of the N.U.E.T. the greatest contribution was made by Lawson. The circumstances of his resignation tended to estrange him from the union in later years and his efforts in the early years were forgotten.
3. In 1888 the Executive proposed a change of title to "National Union of English Teachers" considering the term "elementary teacher" to be degrading. Heated protests from the Welsh teachers led to "English" being dropped from the title and at the 1889 conference the title was changed to "National Union of Teachers". (The Schoolmaster June 23rd, 30th 1888, May 4th 1889).

has been the main association of elementary teachers and its conferences, activities and publications have mirrored the growth and problems of the profession.<sup>1</sup>

In the proceedings at the first conference the delegates discussed many of the problems which were to concern the Union during the first twenty-five years of its existence. J.J.Graves in the first presidential address discussed the reasons why a national union had not been possible in the past. He claimed that in the voluntary schools teachers had been forced to become religious partisans. The Education Act of 1870 had given the teacher a measure of freedom and independence and the rate-supported schools would provide many teachers with an opportunity to improve their incomes, and better their positions. There was no class of men whose daily duties and personal interests were more frequently interfered with by legislation and hence the teachers must by necessity unite to influence such legislation. The weak resistance the teachers put up against the Revised Code should act as a permanent reminder of the need to unite.

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1. This <sup>study</sup> ~~thesis~~ <sup>is not a</sup> ~~pretend to be~~ a complete history of the Union. Many aspects of the Union's activities and organisation are not covered in the detail they deserve. There have been two previous attempts to write the history of the Union but both are extremely scanty and show very little knowledge of the educational and social background of the time.
- D.F.Thompson - Professional Solidarity among the Teachers of England (1927)
- R.Van Camp - The National Union of Teachers: Its History and Present Status (Ph.D.Thesis 1935. Western Reserve University. Copy in N.U.T. Library)
- The most revealing work on the Union is, G.A.Christian - English Education from Within (1922)

Graves warmly welcomed the Education Act but pointed out that although there was no question that a large number of schools would be created, there was no part of the Act which indicated how properly qualified and trained teachers were to be found for them. Either the operation of the Act would have to be stayed for a time in many places or schools that were built would have to remain unused for want of efficient teachers or inferior and inefficient teachers would have to be employed. Graves feared that the education department would attempt to meet the demand by lowering the standard of the certificate and he considered that it would be better for both the teachers and the country if temporary teachers were recruited and permitted to teach without the certificate until men could be trained professionally for the work.

Graves looked upon the 1870 Act as only one part of a future general scheme which would consolidate the whole means of education in the country, open a way between the elementary schools and the universities and enable elementary teachers to become masters of grammar schools.

The Union would have to be ready at all times to express its opinion on the code. Teachers had latterly been treated with more respect "perhaps.... because it is found that even M.P.'s privately consult teachers on educational matters, and the authorities believe it to be as well to receive views directly from teachers, as to have them retailed over the table of the House of Commons." The Union should also concern itself with a superannuation scheme (promised in the minutes of 1846) and

with the promotion of experienced teachers to the Inspectorate. Inspectors appointed straight from the universities, "whose position in society, whose habits and studies are..., widely separated from those of the working classes," inevitably found it difficult to gauge the capacity of children of the working classes. They took several years to learn their business and during those years they were guilty of many injustices.

Graves then turned to teachers' registration. A committee of schoolmasters (the College of Preceptors) had recommended that certificated teachers employed in elementary schools should not be entitled to registration. This was a very selfish move on the part of one section of the profession. Elementary teachers would have to look out for themselves, attend to their own interests, and not suffer the Bill (the Endowed Schools Bill No.2) to be passed in the interests of any one section of the profession.

Graves supported compulsion being applied to street arabs and wanderers and suggested the opening of special ragged schools for them. He supported religious teaching of the basic truths of christianity but suggested that distinctive denominational teaching ought to be given after a person had left the day school. He concluded with a stirring appeal to teachers to unite for their future was in their own hands.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Educational Reporter Dec.1870.

At the conference itself the main discussion took place on a statement of the objects of the union proposed by Lawson.<sup>1</sup>

The Nottingham Association proposed that the union should raise a fund "sufficient to secure to teachers public protection and social security." Mr. Major (representative of the Nottingham Association) said that he had been deputed to propose that the organisation should be based on the principles of trade unionism, but "without those objectionable features which had made a limited number of those institutions odious to the country.<sup>2</sup> Major suggested as a policy for the union, the protection of the social interests of teachers in "great" cases, (such as that in which the pecuniary value of the certificate was destroyed by the Government), the sending of deputations to "interview" the Lord President of the Council when new codes were in creation, the

1. "The objects of the Union are to unite together, by means of local associations, public elementary teachers throughout the kingdom, in order to provide a machinery by means of which teachers may give expression to their opinions when occasion requires, and may also take united action in any matter affecting their interests. The character of the Union will be more fully seen when it is fairly established, but the following topics will receive its immediate attention:-
  - (1) Revision of the Code.
  - (2) Working of the Education Act.
  - (3) The establishment of a pension scheme.
  - (4) The throwing open of higher educational offices to elementary teachers.
  - (5) The proposal to raise teaching to a profession by means of a public register of duly qualified teachers for every class of schools."
 Compare with the contemporary "Objects" of the N.U.T. in Appendix.
2. The success of the Trade Unions was one factor in encouraging the teachers to unite. (See Educational Reporter Nov. 1869)



publication of pamphlets to keep the public and members of parliament au courant with the opinions of teachers, the protection in the law courts and in times of exigency of distressed or oppressed members, securing the independence of teachers and freedom from all obnoxious interference, securing the fixity of tenure of the teacher's position unless he should prove incapable or unfit for his post, and lastly obtaining the recognition of the teacher as a government official irremovable at the caprice of local management and backed up by the assurance of a government retiring pension after a certain term of good service.

The Nottingham resolutions were opposed by Mansford and T. S. Meller. Mansford considered that if passed they would place the N.U.E.T. in an attitude of hostility to the public which would be detrimental to the interests of teachers. Teachers had other interests besides material ones and all their interests were identical with the interests of education in general. Heller deplored the "pugnacious and warlike character of the propositions" After much discussion the resolutions were defeated by 16 votes<sup>1</sup> to 12.

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1. The "Nottingham Resolutions" were eventually passed by the 1872 conference by 162 votes to 154. The passage of the resolutions led to some uneasy feelings among church schoolmasters (See National Society Monthly Paper May-June 1872) and was the cause of the resignation of William Lawson. In his letter of resignation he wrote that, "the uneasy feeling that is now abroad respecting strikes and combinations has caused the Report of the Special Committee on the Re-organisation of the Union to be viewed with grave suspicion in many quarters, and I find that my position at St. Mark's College

(Contd....)

is no longer compatible with an official connection with the union". (The Schoolmaster Sept. 14th 1872). The resignation of Lawson put the union in danger of disruption but this was avoided by the work of T. Smith and T. B. Heller (The Schoolmaster Aug. 29th 1885). In spite of the Nottingham resolutions the union continued on the non-militant lines laid down by the 1870 conference.

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In this first conference it is possible to see at work the two factors which have shaped the union and the problems which were to concern it in the first thirty years of its existence. The union (like the A.B.C.S. and the U.A.S.) was concerned both with advancing the interests of the teacher and with improving education. In doing these things it had to apply pressure both to the government and to its immediate employers. Its basic problems were,

- (1) Entrance to the profession and teachers' registration.
- (2) The recruitment of the inspectorate and the conditions of inspection.
- (3) Superannuation.
- (4) The revision of the educational code.
- (5) Security of tenure.
- (6) Freedom from compulsory extraneous duties.
- (7) Adequate salaries.
- (8) Freedom from "obnoxious interference".

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1. The establishment of the various benevolent, orphan and provident societies of the union lie outside the scope of this study. There is no doubt that they played an important part in attracting membership.

The first four of these problems were basically matters to be settled between the N.U.C.T. and the state while the last four were primarily matters to be settled between the N.U.C.T. and the immediate employers of the teacher.<sup>1</sup>

In the remainder of this chapter we will be considering the aims of the union in turn. In the next chapter we will consider the methods used by the union to achieve its aims, the internal structure of the union and the changing pattern of recruitment and training.<sup>2</sup>

#### Entrance to the Profession and Teachers' Registration.

The control of entry into the profession is the basic aim of all professional organisations. While it is obviously in the

1. The provisos "basically" and "primarily" are to be borne in mind. As we shall see the union was to turn to the state to achieve the last four aims.
  2. The period covered in these two chapters is roughly that from 1870 to 1895. In this period the educational system grew as follows.
- |  | 1871      | 1895       |
|--|-----------|------------|
| Number of Voluntary Schools                                  | 8,978     | 14,479     |
| "    "    Board  | -         | 5,260      |
| Average attendance in Voluntary Schools                      | 1,231,434 | 2,445,812  |
| "    "    "    Board   | -         | 1,879,218  |
| Expenditure on public education from voluntary subscriptions | £437,401  | £836,428   |
| Expenditure on public education by central authorities       | £919,132  | £6,794,614 |
| Certificated teachers:                                       | 1870      | 1895       |
| Male   | 6,395     | 21,223     |
| Female   | 6,072     | 31,718     |
| Assistant Teachers:  | 487       | 5,047      |
| Female   | 775       | 22,914     |
| Pupil Teachers:  | 6,384     | 7,246      |
| Female   | 8,228     | 26,757     |
| Additional Teachers:   | -         | 11,678     |
- Special Reports on Educational Subjects 1896-7: Education Department: Volume I: "Public Elementary Education in England and Wales 1870-1895."

interests of the existing members of the profession to regulate the supply of new professionals, the professionals have never looked upon their actions as guided purely by "self-interest". To raise the standards of the members of the profession and to protect the public from unqualified practitioners have generally been put forward as the ends to be served by professional monopoly.

In the earlier part of this ~~Sketch~~ the origin and early history of the "certificate" have been described. While from the beginning it was an "employers' license", in the period from 1846 to 1862 it possessed many of the attributes of an independent certificate of merit. The revised code had shown the teachers how easy it was for the government to alter the value of their certificates. The Act of 1870 had caused a sudden demand for teachers and as the teachers had feared <sup>1</sup> the standard of the certificate was lowered to secure the staffing of the schools. <sup>2</sup> All these relaxations caused alarm among the existing teachers

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1. National Society Monthly Paper June 1870: W.L.Sands

2. In 1870 a new clause was inserted to the effect that, during the three years ending 31st December 1873 certificates could be awarded without examination to experienced teachers upon the report of an inspector. "Provisionally - certificated ex-pupil teachers" were also allowed to have charge of infant classes. No less than 1,200 certificates without examination and 1,000 provisional certificates enabling ex-pupil teachers to take charge of small schools, were issued by August 31st 1873 (H.Holman op.cit. p.189). The code of 1876 still further relaxed the conditions for granting certificates without examination.

who feared a glut that would lower their remuneration.<sup>1</sup> There was, however, one<sup>other</sup> factor which added bitterness to their protests. Many of them had obtained their certificates before the revised code when to obtain a first class certificate was a high mark of honour. They now saw the standard of the certificate being continually depressed and their personal chagrin reinforced their professional anxiety.<sup>2</sup> The increase in the number of pupil teachers from 14,612 to 29,245 between 1870 and 1875 threatened the existing teachers with a hopelessly overcrowded profession.<sup>3</sup> The union suggested various devices to prevent over-crowding and sent a deputation to W.E.Forster which was very roughly<sup>4</sup> handled.

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1. "Teachers must never consent to value their services at the price put upon them by those who have the power of influencing, in their own interests, the true market value of the teacher" (The Schoolmaster Feb 17th 1872).
  2. Educational Reporter April 1872: Presidential Address at the third annual conference of the N.U.E.T.  
N.U.E.T. Report 1874: Presidential Address p.15.
  3. Educational Reporter May 1873: Presidential Address at the fourth annual conference of the N.U.E.T.  
N.U.E.T. Report 1876: Presidential Address p.13.
  4. "I entirely approve of your meeting and consulting together, and even of bringing your representations to us; but the gentlemen who first addressed us said there were two objects which you had in view - the benefit of the profession and the benefit of the country. Now, do not let the public suppose that your action, in the endeavour to get changes in the Code or administration, is in order to "benefit the profession & of the schoolmaster, for depend upon it that the inference drawn from that will be that you claim a "vested interest" in the matter, and that it is to be protected. If you had the work that I have had to do in Parliament, you would know that it was not an easy but a very difficult matter to maintain the certificated teacher.... It is against the interests of the teachers to take the line of appearing to desire to place a limit upon the supply of teachers. The teachers the deputation represented obtained their training very much at the public cost, and it should be for them having got into this position,

(Contd....)

to take the schools and leave buyers of education to find out the best article.... He could not for a moment admit that they had any vested interest in the matter or that it was the business of the Department to consider the profession in any way except in connection with the question, what was best for the cause of education?" (W.E.Forster in reply to a deputation on the supply of teachers, The Schoolmaster Jan 24th, 31st 1874)

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While this weakening of the certificate brought forward again the idea of teachers' registration, the issue of "Regulations as to certificates of age, school attendance and proficiency" on February 9th 1877 forced the union into activity. Under clause 25 of these regulations the teacher was loaded with extra clerical work and threatened with cancellation of his certificate if he refused to perform it. T. E. Heller<sup>1</sup> delivered an important address on "The relation between Teachers and the Education Department" at the 1878 conference in which he accused the department of fastening upon the teachers "step by step the responsibilities and trammels of state service.... while all the advantages of such service have been denied or withdrawn." The department had degraded the teachers' certificate from a diploma to a license and flooded the profession with

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1. T.E.Heller had succeeded William Lawson as General Secretary of the N.U.E.T.(he was the first full-time paid secretary). He was born in 1837 the son of a schoolmaster and had been trained at Cheltenham where he came under the influence of the Rev.C.H.Bromby. He commenced teaching in London in 1862 and was a foundation member of the London Church Teachers Association and the N.U.E.T. He became Secretary of the Union in 1873. He was a member of the London School Board for many years and a Royal Commissioner (on the Cross Commission). He retired from the Secretaryship in 1891 due to ill health and died in 1901. He was a church-man and a moderate liberal.

untrained and incompetent persons. He demanded that "the power of controlling the entrance into the profession must be placed in the hands of an independent representative body under the control of parliament, and the teachers' diploma must be placed beyond the caprice or the necessities of a government department."<sup>1</sup>

In 1877 a special committee of the N.U.E.T. on the "Certification and Registration of Teachers" had been set up. A conference was held with teachers of higher and middle class schools<sup>2</sup> and an agreement was reached on a plan for a "Representative Educational Council" incorporated by Act of Parliament which would issue diplomas to teachers allowing them to practice "the vocation of teaching".<sup>3</sup>

In 1879 a Bill was prepared and introduced into the House of Commons by Dr. Playfair supported by Sir John Lubbock "to provide for the Registration and Organisation of Teachers." It was sponsored by the College of Preceptors and related only to

1. "The certificate must become a diploma indeed, and be freed from the annual danger of falling into incompetent hands for endorsement. It must not be liable to cancellation or suspension except after open enquiry before a competent tribunal, and after its holder has had ample opportunity of being personally heard in his own defence. Its retention must not be made subject to conditions subsequently imposed at the will of the department." (N.U.E.T. Report 1878).
2. During the '70s several attempts were made to bring the teachers of various grades together. The most important step towards unity was the foundation of the "Teachers Association" whose annual conference attempted "to draw together.... all the teaching power of the country". Many of the leaders of the N.U.E.T. associated themselves with the "Teachers Association" which in 1880 had over 800 members. See The Schoolmaster Jan 4th, 11th 1873, Jan 8th, 15th 1876, Jan 20th 1877, Jan 5th 1878, Jan 24th 1880, Jan 15th 1881.
3. N.U.E.T. Report 1878

intermediate schools expressly excluding all public elementary schools. The N.U.E.T. opposed the bill for it "set up a distinct line of separation between the certificated teachers and all other parts of the scholastic profession."<sup>1</sup> The union sent communications through the local associations to M.P's and to the promoters of the Bill and it was finally withdrawn. It was publicly admitted that the bill had been stopped by the action<sup>2</sup> of the elementary teachers.

While teachers' registration was regarded as the ideal ultimate means for controlling entry into the profession, the question of "over-supply" was a pressing one. By 1879 the main attention of the elementary teachers was focussed on the "glut" of Queen's scholars and the "over-supply" of teachers. It was being said that employers were already taking advantage of the state of the market to reduce salaries. There were demands that the number of pupil teachers per certificated teacher should be reduced and that all "side entrances" to the profession should be

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1. See N.U.E.T. Report 1879: Annual Report and Report of Special Committee on the Registration and Certification of Teachers.  
N.U.E.T. Report 1880: Presidential Address pp.xiii-xiv  
N.U.E.T. Report 1881: Paper on "The Teachers' Registration Bill"  
by E.W.Moore M.A. Annual Report pp.xxxix-xli  
N.U.E.T. Report 1882: Annual Report p.xxii  
The Schoolmaster 1878-1881 passim.  
 For the views of the secondary teachers see The Schoolmaster  
 Jan.4th 1879, May 14th, 21st 1881.
  2. In 1893 a similar bill was introduced by Sir Richard Temple M.P. excluding from the register certificated teachers. The N.U.T. used "extraordinary efforts... to obtain the repeated blocking of the bill... when it stood on the orders of the day." (N.U.T. Report 1894 xxx). See also B.P.P. 1890-91 XV11: Special Report from the Select Committee on Teachers' Registration and Organisation Bill.



closed.<sup>1</sup>

In the code of 1880 various modifications were made affecting the supply of teachers. The number of pupil teachers per certificated teacher was limited to two, the "side entrances" were narrowed, and it was announced that certificates without examination would cease to be granted after March 31st 1881.

From 1880 onwards the union continued to exert steady pressure on the department to reduce the number of unqualified persons who were allowed to enter as "acting teachers" and to raise the standard of the certificate examination.<sup>2</sup> From 1886 onwards the situation deteriorated and the salaries of certificated masters decreased slightly, untrained teachers were being employed in preference to trained teachers and there was some unemployment among trained teachers.

The Cross Commission considered the question of the supply of teachers in some detail.<sup>3</sup> They found that whilst there was still a growing demand for fully qualified female teachers, the

1. N.U.E.T. Report 1880: Presidential Address pp.xiv-xvi  
Ibid: Paper on "The Supply of Teachers" by Mr.Wild B.A.  
Ibid: Memorial on the Supply of Teachers to the  
Committee of Council.
2. The Schoolmaster Jan.31st, March 13th 1880, July 2nd 1881.  
 See N.U.E.T. Reports 1880 ff (espec. N.U.E.T. Report 1888  
pp.lviii-lx, xciii-cxi)  
 See also B.P.P. 1911 XVI: Report of the Board of Education  
1909-10 for an account of the staffing of public elementary  
schools from 1885 onwards.
3. See the evidence given before the Cross Commission on the  
 supply of teachers.  
B.P.P. 1886 XXV; 1887 XXIX, XXX; Q.15,369; 14,590; 12,574;  
10,346-7 etc. Also a Memorial from the Principals of Training  
Colleges for Masters.B.P.P. 1888 XXXVI: pp.487-8

supply of trained male teachers was "somewhat in excess of the demand."<sup>1</sup> The majority report suggested that the minimum staff of teachers in a school required by the code should be considerably increased but refused to interfere with the pupil teacher system or the system by which the untrained teachers could take certificates.<sup>2</sup> The minority considered "that no persons should be recognised even as an assistant at the close of pupil teachership without at least passing the scholarship examination in the first or second division."<sup>3</sup>

The lack of success of the N.U.E.T. and the Department in their attempts to improve the standards of the profession is shown in the first Report of the Board of Education 1899-1900.<sup>4</sup> In the year 1899 of the 11,982 students examined for certificates 7,113 had received no training. At the Queens Scholarship examination held in December 1899, 12,120 candidates were examined of whom 10,128 passed creditably. Out of these only 2,600 gained admission to a training college.<sup>5</sup>

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1. B.P.P. 1888 XXXV p.79

2. B.P.P. 1888 XXXV pp.80-81.

3. B.P.P. 1888 XXXV p.242. See also ibid p.451.

4. B.P.P. 1900 XIX

5. "So that (a large number of) young persons, the great majority of whom earnestly desired to qualify themselves properly for their life's work, were unable to do, and had to attain recognition as teachers by passing through what I cannot help calling the back door. That is by passing the government examination prescribed for acting teachers with the most inadequate preparation of a heavily hindered course of study pursued amid the labour of school work, with indifferent and insufficient instruction, and with too little time to digest and understand the true meaning and importance of the theory of education as bearing upon its practice." B.P.P. 1900 XIX p.335-6. H.M.I. W.Scott Coward.

The impression that emerges of the teaching staff is of a small band of trained certificated teachers immersed in a growing flood of untrained certificated teachers, assistant teachers, additional women teachers, pupil teachers and probationers.<sup>1</sup> This flood of cheap, untrained labour was mainly female. The proportion of women teachers of all classes had increased from 53% in 1869 to 75% in 1899.<sup>2</sup> The higher proportion of untrained and uncertificated teachers among the women was due in part to the severe shortage of training college accommodation for women.<sup>3</sup> The teachers were beginning to see that an expansion

1. In 1899 there were 62,085 certificated teachers of whom
  - (a) 24,253 were male.
    - Of these 69.3% had been trained for 2 years.
    - 2.6% " " " 1 "
    - 28.1% " not been trained.
  - (b) 37,832 were female,
    - Of these 46.5% had been trained for 2 years.
    - 2.6% " " " 1 year.
    - 50.9% " not been trained.

There were also 30,233 assistant teachers who were "uncertificated" or "provisionally certificated". Of these about 25,500 were women and 4,750 men. Many of these were preparing to attempt or re-attempt the certificate examination.

There were 16,717 additional women teachers (Article 68'ers). There only qualifications were (1) They must be over 18 years of age. (2) They must have been vaccinated. (3) They must satisfy the H.M.I.

There were 30,783 pupil teachers of whom 24,702 were girls and 6,081 boys.

Lastly there were about 2,500 "probationers".
2. See The Schoolmaster Aug. 28th 1897
3. In 1899, 2904 men were admitted to the Queen's Scholarship examination.
  - 2,556 passed successfully
  - 1,008 were admitted to a training college.

In the same year, 9,216 women were admitted to the Queen's Scholarship examination, and

  - 7,572 passed successfully
  - 1,724 were admitted to a training college.

of the training college system was necessary to reduce the "army of unqualified practitioners."<sup>1</sup> This expansion was seen as part of a programme which would also increase the resources of the teachers' employers, establish a system of teachers' registration, remove control of the certificate from the hands of the government and drive the unqualified from the profession.<sup>2</sup>

The Recruitment of the Inspectorate and the Conditions of Inspection.

Of all the teachers' grievances that were taken up by the union, it was the lack of promotion to the Inspectorate that was felt most keenly by the leaders of the profession and roused the deepest emotions. In the period before the revised code the duty of the inspector had been to act as guide and missionary in the schools. In spite of occasional differences of opinion the inspectors of this period were looked upon with affection by the teachers among whom they worked.<sup>3</sup> We have seen how even in those days there were requests from the teachers for the Inspectorate to be thrown open to them and how the Newcastle Commission had rejected these requests. The commissioners did however, recommend the employment of ex-certificated teachers, of not less than seven years standing, to relieve H.M.I's of most

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1. In 1879-80 there were 30,896 certificated teachers to 10,530 uncertificated. By 1899-1900 there were 64,009 certificated teachers to 49,977 uncertificated.
  2. See N.U.T. Report 1901: Presidential Address
  3. "With what yearning and regret must some of our teachers look back to the pre-compulsory age, and to the band of thoughtful, sagacious, and considerate, yet earnest inspectors, who in those days used to visit our schools." (N.U.T. Report 1878: Presidential Address)

of the drudgery of payment by results.

The revised code involved the appointment of approximately sixty "inspectors' assistants" but the terms of appointment were profoundly disappointing to the teachers. They were to be appointed under the age of 30,<sup>1</sup> were to be paid relatively low salaries and were offered no chance at all of promotion to the full Inspectorate. In spite of these handicaps the posts were much in demand by young teachers.<sup>2</sup>

In the course of time many of these "inspectors' assistants" came to be feared and despised by the rest of the profession. Confined, as they were, to the routine testing of the children, they were all too inclined to borrow the tone and grandeur of their H.M.I. in their dealings with the teachers.

Even before the revised code there had been a deterioration in the quality of the inspectors. After 1870 no further clergymen were appointed to the inspectorate which came to be recruited in the main from, "young men.... fresh from the University, who have never seen the inside of a public elementary school, and who were babies in arms when I entered it myself."<sup>3</sup>

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1. See "Regulations for Inspectors' Assistants" issued by the Committee of Council on 19th May 1863. In 1886 the maximum age was raised to 35.
  2. English Journal of Education 1863; Museum Oct 1863; Educational Guardian March 1863.
  3. The Schoolmaster April 20th 1872  
For an account of how an Inspector was appointed in 1871 see E.M. Sneyd-Kynnersley: H.M.I. Some passages in the life of one of H.M. Inspectors of Schools (1908) pp.3, 76-77.

The teachers complained of their lack of knowledge, experience, and sympathy, of the variety of standards they adopted and of their class arrogance.<sup>1</sup> In all too many instances the inspector learnt his job at the expense of the teachers and there was no way in which the teacher could appeal against a decision he felt to be unjust. His salary depended upon the annual grant, his livelihood on his certificate which could be unfavourably endorsed, suspended or cancelled on the report of one of "his lordship's political friends who although quite innocent of the duties to be performed, were willing to learn them to the best of their ability on the receipt of a salary rising from £300 to £900 a year."<sup>2</sup>

The teachers did not ask, in the first instance, for the Inspectorate to be confined to ex-elementary teachers. All they asked was that the best of the certificated teachers should be considered for the posts.<sup>3</sup> Teachers were eminently fitted to become inspectors both by training and by experience. The promotion of teachers to the Inspectorate would raise the

1. Papers for the Schoolmaster April 1869

The Schoolmaster Feb 24th 1872.

2. N.U.E.T. Report 1878: Presidential Address

It is to be noted that several inspectors gave evidence before the Cross Commission in favour of a more extended preparation, before the full duties of their office were entered upon. (E.P.P. 1888 XXXV p.73)

3. Their argument gained in force as certificated teachers succeeded in gaining London degrees (even higher degrees) and as the larger school boards appointed their inspectors from the ranks of the profession. (See N.U.E.T. Report 1878: "Appointment of Inspectors")

profession's social standing and attract ability into the profession. The main argument brought against the promotion of teachers to the Inspectorate was that their low social position and social antecedents rendered them unfit to negotiate with school managers.<sup>1</sup> The teachers were "uncultured" and "ungentlemanly" and the Education Department resisted their promotion to the Inspectorate for as long as possible.<sup>2</sup>

In 1882 Mr. Mundella formed a "Sub-Inspectorate" from the ranks of the Inspectors' Assistants.<sup>3</sup> According to Patrick Cumin<sup>4</sup> they were appointed solely for reasons of economy and it was never intended that they should be promoted to the full Inspectorate.<sup>5</sup> It was not until 1893<sup>6</sup> that the first sub-inspector was promoted to the full Inspectorate. Between 1894 and 1902 six ex-elementary teachers were promoted to the full Inspectorate.

1. See B.P.P. 1886 XXV: Q. 2119-2128.

G. Kekewich - The Education Department and After (1920) p. 151

As was to be expected a few teachers "expressed a strong preference for having their schools examined by those who had not themselves been members of the teaching body". (See

B.P.P. 1887 XXIX Q. 21,613-9 and B.P.P. 1887 XXX: Q. 7, 226-8

2. Both the majority and the minority reports of the Cross Commission recommended the throwing open of all ranks of the Inspectorate to experienced elementary teachers. The minority report recommended that only experienced teachers should be appointed to the Inspectorate. (B.P.P. 1888 XXXV pp. 73-4, 238, 325; B.P.P. 1888 XXXVII pp. 73-84)

3. The sub-inspectors were to do the same work as the Inspectors though subject to the review and supervision of the inspectors to whom they were attached.

4. B.P.P. 1886 XXV: Q. 2092-5, 2119-2128

5. B.P.P. 1886 XXV Q. 2092-5, 2119-2128

6. The Schoolmaster Jan 28th 1893. See also ibid. Dec. 12th 1891, May 14th 1892, Oct 13th 1894.

The battle was by no means won in 1902 as the majority of inspectors were still being recruited from Oxford and Cambridge graduates. The N.U.T. pressed for all Inspectors to have had adequate practical experience within state-aided schools<sup>1</sup> and for the appointment of Inspectors straight from the elementary schools instead of through the stages of "inspectors assistant"<sup>2</sup> and "sub-inspector". The primary school teachers "claim no monopoly of the inspectorate, but they do claim that they shall not be debarred from it. Whatever university degree must be produced as a condition of future appointments may be demanded from them as from others."<sup>3</sup> However, even the slight hold that had been gained on the Inspectorate was lost in 1901. In that year the Inspectorate system was re-arranged. No more sub-inspectors were to be appointed but instead a new grade of "Junior Inspectors" was instituted. By November 1901 it was obvious that the department intended the junior inspectors to be recruited from Oxford and Cambridge. It appeared that all chances of promotion in the state-aided system, above the rank of head teacher,<sup>4</sup> were once more to be removed from the elementary teacher.

As we have seen the power the Inspector possessed over the

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1. N.U.T. Report 1893 p.cxv; 1894 xliv; 1895 lxi and cxxxvii; 1897 cxv; 1898 xciii etc.
  2. The regulation was still being enforced that no teacher could be admitted to the Inspectorate in any capacity after the age of 35.
  3. N.U.T. Report 1901: Presidential Address.
  4. N.U.T. Report 1902: Letter to the Duke of Devonshire on "Teachers and the Inspectorate" pp.xciv-xcv



teacher was immense. Not only did the H.M.I. determine the annual grant and endorse the teacher's "parchment" but he might make personal representations to the school managers, and back up these representatives by threatening withdrawal of the grant in order to have a teacher dismissed. From the earliest days there were repeated efforts to get some means of appeal against the inspector's decision but as we have seen the schoolmaster was not "recognised" directly by the state. He could only appeal through the manager and the manager was often unwilling to trouble himself over the affairs of his teacher.<sup>1</sup> Under such conditions it is no wonder that the pages of The Schoolmaster were filled with teachers' complaints of loss of grant due to the inefficiency, bad humour or stupidity of the inspector.<sup>2</sup> It is important to remember however, that in very many cases where an inspector was attacked by name by a teacher other teachers would write in his defence.<sup>3</sup>

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1. There were instances where the manager supported the teacher against the inspector but there were also instances where the managers refused to intercede. If a dispute arose between a manager and a teacher the teacher could not appeal to the Department while the manager could make representations to the Department to get the teacher's certificate withdrawn. (See N.U.E.T. Report 1878: Presidential Address pp.xvii-xviii and The Schoolmaster March 2nd, April 13th, 20th 1878).
  2. The most vitriolic attacks were made by James Runciman. See his "Mr.Puzzle H.M.I." (The Schoolmaster Feb 25th 1882) and his attack on the Rev.D.J.Stewart H.M.I. (The Schoolmaster Jan.10th 1891).
  3. F.H.Spencer has probably summarised the condition of inspection at that time as well as any man.  
"It was the ex-schoolmaster assistants who did most of the actual work of examination.... The unpopularity of H.M.I. himself was chiefly the outcome of his social superiority, or of a class arrogance not always concealed; that of his assistant was attributable to his skill and knowledge as a

(Contd....)

poacher turned gamekeeper: he knew the tricks of the trade, and too often effectively displayed his knowledge.... But ... it would be unjust not to acknowledge that many of the old type of H.K.I. behaved, within the limits imposed by the system, like the gentlemen they mostly were... and their assistants like excellent schoolmasters performing a duty for which they had no enthusiasm conscientiously and usually fairly."

London Head Teachers' Association Jubilee Volume 1888-1938  
(1938) pp. 114-5

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In 1877 the Department commenced publishing a "black list" of teachers whose certificates had been cancelled or temporarily suspended, in consequence of falsified registration or of drunkenness or immorality, without having given the teachers any adequate opportunity of rebutting the charges against them. This created a great deal of indignation in the profession.

In 1878 began the famous "Goffin Case". Mr. R. E. H. Goffin was headmaster of the United Westminster Schools (now the Westminster City School) and a member of the N.U.E.T. executive. He was accused by the Science and Art Department of having obtained access to examination papers and of passing on the information to his pupils and his certificate was withdrawn. The N.U.E.T., while refusing to deal with the innocence or guilt of Mr. Goffin considered that he had been found guilty before an adequate enquiry had been made and launched a campaign for an official enquiry. Members of parliament were interviewed, a petition with over three thousand signatures was collected and Sir Sidney Waterlow M.P. proposed a motion in the Commons asking for a Select Committee. The government accepted the motion and a select committee of nine members, with Robert Lowe as chairman, heard evidence for nearly a fortnight and concluded that Mr. Goffin

was guilty of the alleged offences.<sup>1</sup> While the union had its doubts about the way in which the enquiry was conducted<sup>2</sup> it accepted the verdict. It attempted to impress upon M.P.'s that a parliamentary select committee was an inefficient and wasteful method for investigating individual grievances and that a permanent means of appeal was necessary.<sup>3</sup>

While it is obviously impossible at this time to decide whether Goffin was in fact guilty of dishonesty, as opposed to astute cramming, the later history of the "Goffin Case" should be mentioned if only in the interests of justice. Goffin continued to protest his innocence and the governors of his school, backed by the parents and the old boys, declared their belief in his innocence and refused to dismiss him.<sup>4</sup> Gradually opinion in the profession swung in his favour and in 1881 the N.U.E.T. took the case up again. The only means of appeal open to Goffin was to sue Colonel Donnelly, of the Science and Art Department, who had accused him of dishonesty. Colonel Donnelly however, pleaded privilege and the plea was accepted. The education department and Lord George Hamilton (vice-president of

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1. B.P.P. 1878-9 X; Report on circumstances as to suspension of Certificate of Mr. Goffin, by Science and Art Department. (also B.P.P. 1878-9 LVII).
  2. The Select Committee held its meetings in private, did not allow Mr. Goffin to employ counsel, to cross-examine the witnesses, or to be present during the evidence given against him. They also failed to call many witnesses who were prepared to give evidence in favour of Mr. Goffin.
  3. N.U.E.T. Report 1880; Secretary's Report of the Proceedings of the Select Committee on Mr. Goffin's Certificate. pp. lxi-lxxi; also p. xxxi.
  4. B.P.P. 1880 LV; 1881 LXXIII; 1882 L.

the Council in 1879) continued to pursue Goffin with implacable hatred and the matter was raised in parliament several times. Goffin never got back his certificate but by 1886, (aided by his pupils' continued success in their examinations,) the charges against him were practically withdrawn. It was only after the 1902 Act that Goffin eventually resigned.<sup>1</sup>

The immediate aftermath of the Goffin Case was to arouse a great deal of ill-feeling towards the union. The union was accused by non-teachers of being desirous of shielding incompetency, fraud and immorality while militant members of the N.U.E.T blamed the executive for deserting Goffin in 1880. The union continued to press for the right of appeal to an independent legal tribunal whenever a certificate was lowered, suspended or cancelled.<sup>2</sup> In 1880 Mr. Mundella promised that "no certificate will be cancelled, suspended, or reduced until the department has informed the teacher of the charges against him, and has given him an opportunity of explanation."<sup>3</sup> The Union did not obtain its demand for a public enquiry and Mundella considered "(no)

1. The Schoolmaster 1879, Oct 2nd 1880, 1881, Feb 18th 1882, July 24th 1886.

The School Guardian 1878-1882.

3. N.U.E.T. Report 1881: pp.xliii-xliv. The provision was inserted in the Education Code of 1881. (N.U.E.T. Report 1882 p.lxxix). In a "Circular to H.M. Inspectors in England and Wales" issued on the 9th of August 1882, Mundella further protected the teacher by allowing him to appeal to the Senior Inspector of the division in the case of an adverse report. (The Schoolmaster August 19th 1882.)

2. The teacher should "be allowed to appear in person, or by a representative to answer such charges." (N.U.E.T. Report 1880: pp.lv-lix and lxxvii).

good purpose would be served by personal explanations and (was) entirely opposed to the intervention of third parties."<sup>1</sup>

The union continued to take up with the department the cases of individual teachers whom they considered to have been wronged. During the tenure of office of Sir Francis Sandford (1870-1884) these representations were well received but when he was replaced by Patric Cumin the union found its representations ignored.<sup>2</sup> It commenced campaigning for a more public means of appeal and attacked the department as autocratic and vindictive. In 1890 Sir George Kekewich replaced Cumin and the relations between union and department were transformed. Difficult cases were decided by personal consultation between Kekewich and Yoxall (Secretary of the N.U.T. 1892-1924).<sup>3</sup> While the union had succeeded in influencing the withdrawal of the certificate, the

1. In the House of Commons 8th July 1880 (The Schoolmaster 17th July 1880)
2. The reasons for the bad relationship between the union and the department during Cumin's tenure of office will be considered later.
3. "One of the principal matters that came up for discussion between the union officials and myself was the protests of members of the union whose teaching certificates had been suspended or cancelled by the Department.... The Secretary, Mr. (now Sir J.) Yoxall, came to see me to inquire into the facts. My invariable practice was to send for all the papers relating to the matter, and ask the Secretary to sit down and read them, and then discuss the merits of the case if he saw any cause to differ from the decision. The whole evidence was in the official papers, and nothing was withheld. I was always as lenient as possible, but I held the view, and often expressed it to the union secretary, that in a really bad case it was better for the union itself that the man should lose his certificate than continue to disgrace an honourable profession, and I think, the secretary fully agreed. I am glad to say that, as far as I can remember, on no single occasion did his verdict, after he had read the whole of the evidence and discussed it, differ from my own." G. Kekewich op.cit. p.67.

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See also G.A.Christian op.cit. pp.16-17 for an account of Kekewich enforcing the retirement of an Inspector who had maltreated the teachers in his area.

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influence rested on the man-to-man relationship of the Secretaries of the Education Department and of the N.U.T. For the profession as a whole the question of the withdrawal of the certificate was the converse of the question of the award of the certificate. A "General Educational Council" controlling entrance to the profession would also control exclusion.

<sup>1</sup>  
Superannuation.

The struggle of the teachers for a satisfactory pension scheme is of the utmost importance in the history of the profession. A pension scheme directly affected the relationship between the teacher and the state. The withdrawal of the right to a pension by the Revised Code served to perpetuate the "ideology of betrayal" which was typical of the N.U.T. until comparatively recently. Finally, the pension campaign was one of the main causes of the foundation of the N.U.E.T. and occupied much of the attention of the union during the period under discussion.

We have seen in earlier chapters how the Minute of 1846 promised teachers' pensions, how the provision was limited in 1851, 1853 and 1857 and withdrawn in 1862. From the revival of the teachers' associations in 1867 until 1875 there was a continuous agitation for the award of pensions to teachers.

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1. For a general account see W.R.Barker - The Superannuation of Teachers in England and Wales (1926).

Various schemes were suggested under which a percentage of the grants to schools would be deducted "at source" in order to build up a pension fund.<sup>1</sup> On the 3rd of June 1872 a Select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to enquire "whether by a deduction from the parliamentary grant in aid of public elementary schools, or by any other like means, a provision can be made for granting annuities to the certificated teachers of such schools upon their retirement by reason of age or infirmity".<sup>2</sup> From the evidence before the Select Committee it appears that the teachers were deeply divided on the kind of pension scheme they desired or on the necessity of a pension scheme at all.<sup>3</sup> The report of the committee generally dealt with the claim which had been set up under the promises contained in the Minutes of 1846 and 1851, and did not deal, except in passing, with the broader question of a general scheme for all teachers. On the whole, the report of the committee was not favourable to the claims of the teachers and the "Teachers' Superannuation Bill" was withdrawn.<sup>4</sup>

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1. These schemes were associated with the names of Thomas Hill and Mr. Whitwell, M.P. (Educational Reporter 1869 ff). A number of Wesleyan and British teachers opposed Whitwell's scheme. (The Schoolmaster Jan 14th 1893.)
  2. In the debate on the proposed Teachers' Superannuation Bill which preceded the appointment of the Select Committee, Mr. W. E. Forster stated that, "Teachers were not civil servants. The state neither employed them nor paid them... he could not recognise any claim on the part of the teachers upon the state." (Educational Reporter June 1872). See also The Schoolmaster Feb 7th 1874.
  3. See also The Schoolmaster Feb 15th 1873.
  4. B.P.P. 1872 IX: Report from the Select Committee on Elementary Schools (Certificated Teachers).

The N.U.E.T did not accept its defeat but continued to agitate for the restoring of pensions. New evidence was brought forward on the "promise" of pensions in 1846 and in June 1875 the Committee of Council revived its pension scheme for entrants to the profession before 1862, subject to the limit of £6,500 a year.<sup>1</sup> The resuscitation of the pension Minutes after a dormant period of thirteen years, and in the face of an adverse report by a Select Committee was regarded as a personal victory for the N.U.E.T. and it was hoped that it would "convince even the most apathetic that the N.U.E.T. is of some practical use, and has achieved some practical good."<sup>2</sup>

Once the claim of the older teachers to pensions, (on however limited a scale), had been recognised, it would seem that not much time would elapse before a general scheme of pensions would be brought into force. Against the parsimony of the Treasury the almost unanimous conclusion of Royal Commissions, Select Committees and the House of Commons itself were of little avail.<sup>3</sup> The Union itself concentrated for a period on the

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1. For details of the agitation see N.U.E.T. Report 1876 pp.16-17 and The Schoolmaster April 24th, May 8th, July 3rd 1875. W.D.Forster stated in the House on July 2nd 1875, "When the Select Committee reported on the subject, they were not in possession of certain important evidence, which had since come to light, and if the strong expressions used in both Houses of Parliament in 1847 when the minutes were introduced, had been known to the late government, he had no doubt they would have introduced a minute similar to that now before the House." (The Schoolmaster July 3rd 1875).
  2. N.U.E.T. Report 1876 p.16
  3. N.U.E.T. Report 1880 pp.181-2; 1888 p.lxxviii; 1890 pp.111-1vii



formation of a provident fund with pension as one of the benefits under the scheme.<sup>1</sup> The question of a general pension scheme was revived in 1881 and in 1883 the union approached the Education Department to enquire if the Department was willing to co-operate in the establishment of a general compulsory annuity fund. Mr. Mandella thought that the difficulties in the way of any scheme were insuperable and would involve government regulation of salaries. In 1884 he did, however, remove the limitation on the number of pensions for entrants to the profession before 1851 and the limit of £6,500 a year was to apply only to entrants between 1851 and 1862.<sup>2</sup>

From 1883 onwards various schemes were proposed by the executive of the N.U.E.T. but the schemes aroused little interest among the members of the union.<sup>3</sup> The Cross Commission

1. N.U.E.T. Report 1876 pp.26-32

2. There had been certain restricting conditions in the 1875 Minutes about which the Union had protested (The Schoolmaster July 3rd, 10th, 24th, Dec 18th 1875). The problem of the "old guard" (i.e. those who had commenced teaching before 1862) was by no means solved by the 1884 Minutes and in 1912 there were still 470 of them receiving only £20 a year pension from the Government.

The Schoolmaster 1897 (Series of articles on the "old guard")

Ibid. May 18th 1912.

3. See N.U.T. Report 1890 pp.111-1vii

In 1881 circulars on a superannuation scheme were circulated to over 300 local associations and only 25 replied. In 1888 the executive issued a special report and scheme and sent it to the 330 local associations for their opinions and only 15 sent replies. The Cross Commission on the other hand, sent a circular to head teachers seeking their opinion of the need for a superannuation scheme and of 3496 answers received, 84% were favourable. (B.P.P. 1888 XXXVII pp.129-131)

reported in favour of a superannuation scheme "by means of deferred annuities, supplemented by the Education Department out of monies provided by Parliament."<sup>1</sup> Nothing was done,<sup>2</sup> however, and the executive continued its pressure.

From 1885 onwards the London School Board had been considering a pension scheme for its teachers.<sup>3</sup> The majority of the London teachers were at first opposed to a contributory scheme but became reconciled to it after various concessions were made by the Board.<sup>4</sup> The voluntary teachers opposed any scheme which would exclude them from its benefits.<sup>5</sup> Finally, in 1891 the London School Board introduced a special Bill for London teachers. The Bill was committed to a Select Committee on 27th January 1891 and on the 26th February the Committee was instructed "to consider the whole question of the superannuation of elementary school teachers in England and Wales." The Committee reported on 27th May 1892 in favour of a general superannuation scheme.<sup>6</sup> After a monster campaign by the N.U.T.<sup>7</sup> the House on 24th February passed without a

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1. E.P.P. 1888 XXXV p.210. See also pp.83-4
  2. N.U.T. Report 1891 pp.lxxii-lxxvii; 1892 pp.lxxiii-xcix; 1893 pp.lxxxv-xcvi
  3. See T.Gautrey op.cit. pp.148-9, G.A.Christian op.cit. pp.132-5 189-90.
  4. B.P.P. 1890-91 XVII: Q.398-403, 418, 609-13, 841, 909-10, 972-8.  
B.P.P. 1887 XXIX: Q.28, 244-28, 252; 29, 636-30, 744.
  5. The Schoolmaster Feb 25th 1888
  6. See B.P.P. 1890-91 XVII: Report from the Select Committee on School Board for London (Superannuation) Bill.  
B.P.P. 1892 XII: Report from the Select Committee on Elementary Education (Teachers Superannuation).
  7. See The Schoolmaster June 4th, July 9th, Dec 16th 1892

division a motion that "it is desirable that a national state-aided system of superannuation for teachers in public elementary schools in England and Wales should be established at an early date." A Departmental Committee was set up to review the recommendations of the Select Committee. It reported on the 28th November 1894 and a Bill was prepared to put its proposals into effect. The Bill was actually in Mr. Acland's pocket, waiting introduction in the next few hours when the Liberal government was defeated in July 1895. It was not until 8th August 1898 that a Bill was eventually passed. Unsatisfactory as the Act was (from the teacher's point of view) it was recognised as a great victory for the N.U.T. and has provided the basis for all later legislation on "Teachers' Superannuation."<sup>1</sup>

#### The Revision of the Educational Code.

From 1870 to 1895 the system of individual examination and payment by results determined the work done in the schools. By far the largest part of the educational work of the union was concerned with the negotiations around the various "codes" laying down the examination curricula on which the teachers worked.<sup>2</sup> The basic aim of the union was clear and simple - it was to secure the complete abolition of payment by results

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1. The Schoolmaster Aug 13th 1898

2. For a summary of the changes in the code see C. Birchenough op.cit. pp.316-322.

and a return to the 1846 conditions of inspection. The teachers considered the revised code unsound in theory and demoralising in practice. It led to an over-emphasis on money motives, to cramming, excessive strain on the teacher and over-pressure on the child. While many of the experienced teachers succeeded in obtaining a high percentage of passes and hence a high salary, (sometimes by rather unscrupulous methods), the profession as a whole was completely opposed to payment by results. The teaching profession, and only the teaching profession, never wavered in its opposition to Lowe's creation.<sup>1</sup> The Education Department, its officials and inspectors, the voluntary organisations, the school boards and the "educationists" supported payment by results until the late '80s and were only weaned from it with great reluctance.

Within the general lines of policy, the union constantly manoeuvred for minor changes in the code in the direction of leniency. Before each revision of the code (the code was generally revised each year) a stream of suggestions would be sent up to the department by deputation, memorial, petition and letter. In many instances these suggestions would be

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1. G.A.N. Lowndes (op.cit. p.14) implies that teachers as a body supported payment by results and inspectors as a body opposed it. This is a complete travesty of the facts. The inspectors with a few notable exceptions (mainly inspectors appointed before 1862) were among the staunchest supporters of individual examination on a fixed syllabus. For the views of the teachers see N.U.C.T. Report 1881: pp. lxxvi-xcviii and 1882-1895 also B.P.P. 1887 XXIX Q.13, 685-14, 047 and B.P.P. 1888 XXXV p.2 and 333-4.

~~sent up to the department by deputation, memorial, petition and letter. In many instances these suggestions would be accepted~~ although the extent to which the union could influence the code varied from year to year. The most controversial changes were those which would increase the standard of the examination without increasing the grant. From Forster's first code of May 1871 there was a continuous tendency to "apply the screw" or to "string up" the work in the schools.<sup>1</sup> If the teachers opposed this "stringing-up" on the grounds of over-pressure on the children they were accused of laziness and of putting their own selfish interests before the interests of education.

The final campaign of the union against payment by results shows the difficulties which the teachers encountered. In 1880 Mr. A. J. Mundella, an "advanced" educationist and a staunch friend of the N.U.E.T., was appointed Vice-President of the Committee of Council. The union settled itself down for a period of "harmonious co-operation between the representatives of the education department and those of the profession."<sup>2</sup> A. J. Mundella consulted the N.U.E.T., the H.M.I.'s and the permanent staff before announcing his proposals for a new code.<sup>3</sup> While the proposals made substantial concessions to the union it laid<sup>4</sup>

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1. Educational Reporter March, April 1871  
P. Spencer - A Schoolmaster's opinion of the New Code of 1871  
(1871)
  2. N.U.E.T. Report 1882 p. xvii
  3. N.U.E.T. Report 1881 pp. cxix-cxxiii, lxxxvi-xcviii  
Ibid. 1882 pp. lxi-lxx
  4. The Schoolmaster August 13th, Sept.-Dec. 1881  
It provided for right of appeal, regulated and reformed the Inspectorate, reduced the number of pupil teachers, etc.

down that the full grant to a school could only be obtained by passing 100% of the children on the roll. The Special Code Committee of the N.U.E.T. circulated the associations and prepared a memorial which was presented by a deputation on December 10th 1881.<sup>1</sup> The memorial thanked Mundella for the concessions he had made to the representations of the union but warned him that the "stringing up" in the code together with the insistence on 100% would produce "over-pressure" on the teachers and the scholars.<sup>2</sup> Greater freedom and flexibility should accompany any raising of the standards of education.

The executive came under severe criticism from two directions. Some of the members of the union blamed the executive for the "stringing up" of the standards and criticised<sup>3</sup> for not acting vigorously enough against Mundella. Liberal "educationists" and Liberal politicians in general accused the union of betraying the cause of higher education and concerning itself with the selfish interests of the teachers. Membership<sup>4</sup> of the N.U.E.T. fell from 13,716 in 1881 to 11,082 in 1885. The executive appealed to the profession to unite and complained

1. See N.U.E.T. Report 1882 pp.lxx-lxxv  
The Schoolmaster 17th Dec.1881
2. The memorial laid down extremely important principles which the N.U.E.T. believed should underlie any future changes in the code. See N.U.E.T. Report 1882 pp.xxxvii-xiv, lxi-lxx, lxx-lxxv.
3. See Percy Dane - Mad by Act of Parliament; or, Groans from Helpless Victims (1887) p.124.  
See also The Schoolmaster March 11th 1882.
4. Part of the setback in membership may have been due to the increase of subscription from 2s.6d. per member in 1881 to 5s. per member in 1885 and to the decision to seek parliamentary representation in 1885.

of apathy, distrust and want of confidence.<sup>1</sup>

The union continued with its attempts to improve the code and the 1882 Code and the subsequent "Instructions to Inspectors"<sup>2</sup> met some of their objections. The executive decided to give the new regulations a fair trial and pressed only for minor changes. After nine months' work, they protested to the department that the pressure upon children and teachers had been intensified rather than diminished and that the grant should either be given upon average attendance rather than individual passes or else managers should be allowed to withhold from examination in elementary subjects not more than 10%<sup>3</sup> of the scholars qualified for presentation. The executive still believed in the good intentions of Mr. Mundella and<sup>4</sup> appealed to the teachers to co-operate in working the code, but in the face of growing discontent among the rank and file the union launched a campaign against "over-pressure" in June 1883.<sup>5</sup> It complained of over-strain upon young, dull, weakly and backward scholars due to the excessive requirements of the code. The issue of "over-pressure" attracted great public

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1. N.U.E.T. Report 1883 pp.xix, xxii-xxiii, 1884 p.xxxix  
The Schoolmaster Feb 14th, 21st Nov.1885  
The School Board Chronicle April 19th 1884
  2. N.U.E.T. Report 1883 pp.xxii-xxiii, lviii-lxiii, The  
Schoolmaster 18th March 1882.
  3. N.U.E.T. Report 1883; pp.lviii-lxiii
  4. N.U.E.T. Report 1883; Letter on "Examination under the New  
Code". Ibid.1884; Presidential Address pp.xxx-xxxiii.
  5. The question of "over-pressure" was raised first by Dr. Treidler in a letter to The Times April 1880. It aroused much interest and led to a protracted correspondence. (The Schoolmaster April 1880ff).

attention with the publication of the report of Dr. Crichton-Browne and J.G. Fitch's comments thereon by the Education Department.<sup>1</sup> The campaign against over-pressure was taken up by conservative and church opponents of the liberal educational policy. The church and the catholics complained that the provisions of the Mundella code bore too hardly on their schools, while many conservatives used the over-pressure issue to campaign against over-education in the schools.<sup>2</sup> The campaign continued throughout 1884 and 1885 and became part of the general "schools question" of the 1885 election.<sup>3</sup>

1. B.P.P. 1884 LXI: Report of Dr. Crichton-Browne to the Education Department upon the alleged over-pressure of work in public elementary schools; also Mr. Fitch's Memorandum thereon.  
B.P.P. 1884-5 LXI: Return of cases which have been reported to the Department, in which over-pressure has been alleged as the cause of illness.  
 The Fitch-Crichton Browne controversy was continued in The Times for several months. (See The Schoolmaster Aug-Nov. 1884)
2. "All those who are opposed to any system of state-aided education, or who believe that three (small) r's should be the alpha and omega of elementary instruction - but who, at this time of day, are afraid openly to oppose education - joyfully re-echo the cry (of over-pressure) as likely to injure the cause." (Sydney Buxton - "Over-Pressure" and Elementary Education (1885)). Note also Dr. J.G. Fitch's reference to the N.U.E.T.'s "mischievous agitation." (N.U.E.T. Report 1886 p. xxiii) and The School Board Chronicle March 29th April 5th 1884, April 18th 1885.
3. See W.H.G. Armytage - A.J. Mundella 1825-1897 (1951) pp. 210-14, 217-19. Also "A.J. Mundella as Vice-President of the Council, and the Schools Question 1880-85" English Historical Review Jan. 1948.  
 See also The Schoolmaster 30th June 1883.  
N.U.E.T. Report 1884: pp. xli-xliv, lvi-lxiv, lxiv-lxx c-cv, cxli-cxxxi  
The New Code and Over-Pressure in Elementary Schools.  
N.U.E.T. Pamphlet (1884).  
T. Gautrey op. cit. pp. 121-4  
B.P.P. 1888 XXXV: Final Report of the Cross Commission pp. 177-8  
B.P.P. 1888 XXXVI: Statistical Report of the Cross Commission p. 5. The Schoolmaster, The School Guardian, The School Board Chronicle 1883-5.



The part played by the union in agitating against over-pressure led to a radical worsening of the relations between the officials of the N.U.E.T. and the permanent officials of the Education Department. The union complained that the permanent officials were no longer paying attention to the representations of the executive on behalf of individual teachers and on the workings of the code. The department, after the resignation of Mr. Mundella in 1885, practically nullified the concessions he had introduced in the codes of 1883 and 1884 by their application of the clauses relating to the withholding and re-presentation of scholars. Overstrain was worse in 1885 and 1886 than ever before and there was an increasing tendency to raise the standard of inspection.<sup>1</sup>

By 1887 there was a growing recognition outside the teaching profession of the dangers of payment by results.<sup>2</sup> Encouraged by these signs of change, by an increasing membership and by increasing militancy among the rank and file of the union, the N.U.E.T. launched a campaign aimed at the complete destruction of payment by results.<sup>3</sup> In 1888 Mr. W. J. Pope

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1. N.U.E.T. Report 1886; pp. xli-xliii, cvi-cviii, cxxvii-cxxxii, cxli-cxliv, cxliv-cxlviii.
  2. Mr. Mundella himself announced his conversion in a speech at Borough Road in January 1887 in the following words "I would get rid of payment by results, and we should get rid of the cast-iron system, which, make it as elastic as you will, we can never adapt to all the varying needs and wants of a large community, and which will always have a tendency to drive teachers to teach that which "pays best". (Quoted in N.U.E.T. Report 1887 p. lxxxviii. See also ibid. pp. xxxix, lxxxvi-clii.
  3. The election of W. J. Pope to the Vice-Presidency in 1887 was an innovation in two ways. He was the first vice-president

(Contd....)

to be elected from outside the executive and he broke the alternation of town teacher president and country teacher president. He was succeeded by R. Wild the first ex-president to be re-elected and whose leadership was demanded by the rank and file in the "educational crisis" of 1888. (See The School Guardian April 11th 1885, The Schoolmaster Jan 28th 1888).

delivered a presidential address which included an attack on payment by results of unparalleled bitterness.<sup>1</sup> The address was very well received<sup>2</sup> and G.A. Christian credits it with bringing matters to a head and leading to a change of policy on the part of the department towards teachers.<sup>3</sup>

The union was taunted with having no alternative to payment by results<sup>4</sup> and the executive devoted a great deal of time to formulating a scheme for a new system of education. As the great obstacle to the abolition of payment by results was then considered to be the want of responsible management in a large number of schools, the union proposed a scheme based on District Boards of Education.<sup>5</sup>

Neither the majority nor the main minority report of the Cross Commission recommended the complete abolition of

1. N.U.E.T. Report 1888: Presidential Address pp. xviii-xxxvi
2. Of 276 press articles on the speech 272 were favourable (The Schoolmaster May 19th 1888).
3. G.A. Christian op. cit. pp. 69, 123-5.
4. e.g. The School Board Chronicle May 13th, 20th, 27th, June 10th 1882.
5. N.U.E.T. Report 1888 pp. lxxiii-lxxxiii, cxxi-cxxciii. Also to be found in B.P.P. 1888 XXXVI: Appendix to the Final Report of the Cross Commission pp. 479-484. See also B.P.P. 1888 XXXVI pp. 121-174. The School Board Chronicle Nov. 5th 1887. The Schoolmaster Jan 28th 1888.

payment by results although both recommended considerable modifications.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Dale and T. E. Heller dissented from the minority report and demanded the complete abandonment of payment by results as also did Lord Norton dissenting from the majority report and J. G. Tabbot M.P. in a division on Dale's and Heller's motion.<sup>2</sup> The N.U.T. was disappointed with the recommendations and organised a public agitation against payment by results.<sup>3</sup> The Code of 1889, in spite of the recommendations of the Cross Commission tightened still further the demands on the teachers. However, it was the last rear-guard move of Patric Gumin. In 1890 George Kekewich was appointed to the Secretaryship of the Education Department and the new code of 1890, the "teachers' code" changed the existing regulations completely. It did not put an end to payment by results and the teachers criticised the details but the increased liberty of classification and

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1. E.P.P. 1888 XXV pp.220, 332.  
The Cross Commission was deliberately constituted so as to include as wide a range of opinion as possible. (See The Schoolmaster Jan 23rd, Dec.25th 1886). It issued (a) A Majority Report signed by 15 commissioners (pp.1-223) (b) Reservations from the Majority Report by 5 commissioners (pp.224-236). (c) A Minority Report signed by 8 commissioners (pp.237-249) (d) Reservation by one commissioner (p.250). (e) Further Report by 5 commissioners who had signed the Minority Report (pp.251-392) (f) Various reservations to the "further report" (pp.333,388, 393). See also the list of recorded divisions (pp.446-488).
  2. E.P.P. 1888 XXV: pp.333-4, 225, 471-2.  
On the other side Sir Francis Sandford dissented from the majority and "resented the slurs cast upon the principle of payment by results." (ibid. p.231)
  3. The Schoolmaster Aug.18th, 25th 1888, Jan 12th 1889.  
N.U.T. Report 1890: pp.xix-xxxv, xliii-xlv, ci-cxxi, cxxvi-cxi

Kekewich's efforts to secure increased fairness in inspection were warmly welcomed.<sup>1</sup> Kekewich soon won the complete trust of the teachers by his obvious intention to put an end to payment by results, by his attitude towards the representations of the N.U.T. and by his determination to raise the level of inspection.<sup>2</sup> Finally, in 1895, he completely abolished payment by results. In future an "annual examination" on the old style would be given only to schools that were below "a good educational standard." Although fragments of the old system still remained yet the union were satisfied "that an honest effort has been made to render school life happier and more useful for all concerned."<sup>3</sup>

The revision of the code was not/<sup>the</sup>only educational aim of the N.U.T. throughout the period under discussion. It pressed for secondary and technical education<sup>and</sup> for the construction of an educational ladder.<sup>4</sup> A great deal of effort was expended in pressing for legislation to ensure compulsory attendance and in attempting to ensure that the law compelling school attendance

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1. N.U.T. Report 1890: pp.xix-xxi, xxxiii-xxxiv, xcvi-cx, cx-cxix.  
N.U.T. Report 1891: pp.xxiii, xli, xlvi-xlix, xcvi-cii  
The Schoolmaster; May 24th 1890, The School Board Chronicle  
 April 12th 1890, April 4th 1891, April 23rd 1892.  
G.Kekewich op.cit. p.62.
  2. The last was a most important point. Increased freedom in the schools gave the inspector an increased range in which he could inspect. Even more depended on the competence and fairness of the H.M.I. than in the past (See N.U.T. Report 1892 pp.xxv-xxx). See also The Schoolmaster Nov.18th 1893.
  3. N.U.T. Report 1895: Presidential Address p.xxxviii
  4. See Chapter XI.

was effectively, stringently and promptly administered.<sup>1</sup>

The union, or sections of it, took up the causes of the "half-timer" and the undernourished, unhealthy or feeble minded child. But it is in the schoolroom itself that the teachers made their greatest contribution to education. As H.C. Dent has rightly written, "Of working class origin themselves, they refused to restrict their working-class pupils to the tools of education, and insisted upon giving them as liberal an education as they could. ....throughout... the initiative has been theirs."<sup>2</sup>

#### Security of Tenure.

Up to the present we have been concerned with the teachers' relations with the state. In turning to the relations between the teachers and their direct employers (the local managers) it is essential to note that there were at least eight different "types" of local management and that the relations varied with each. A church school could be managed by the clergyman alone, by the clergyman plus a "dummy" set of managers who never managed, by a set of managers plus the clergyman, whom the managers were compelled to acknowledge but whom in practice they ignored, or

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1. See Educational Reporter May 1871  
N.U.T. Report 1880 pp.li-liv; 1881 pp.xxxix, cx-cxii;  
1887 pp.xxix-xxxiii.  
B.P.P. 1888 XXV pp.400, 412  
G.A.Christian op.cit. p.19  
T.Gautrey op.cit. pp.81-2  
N.U.T. Report 1892; pp.cxlvii-clxx, cxxii-cxxxii.
  2. H.C.Dent - Change in English Education (1952) p.80-1.

finally by the clergyman plus a set of active managers working happily and enthusiastically together. A school board could be managing one village school, or the schools of an area, or the schools in a large provincial town, and the immense London School Board was a case in itself.<sup>1</sup> A detailed study of the teachers' relations with each of these types of authorities would involve a thesis in itself. There were, however, four major grievances which arose and these (insecurity of tenure, compulsory extraneous duties, inadequate salaries and "obnoxious interference") will be considered in turn.

One aspect of the "tenure problem" has already been touched upon in the discussion of the desire of the teacher for some method of appeal against unjust dismissal. The desire for a satisfactory tenure of office was present in the union at its foundation and in 1878 the N.U.T. took the opinion of a solicitor. He reported that while no statutory tenure existed custom had fixed the practise of giving three month's notice on either side in the case of a head teacher and one month in the case of an assistant teacher. This custom was supported by legal precedents in the case of analogous employments and was generally recognised in common law proceedings. As against this he pointed out that the Act of 1870 (Section 35) had laid down that teachers in board schools held office only "during the pleasure of the Board." The union pressed for an amendment

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1. See N.U.T. Report 1892: Presidential Address pp. xxxiii-xxxiv

to the Act to require notice on dismissal and for a board of appeal in cases of unjust and capricious dismissal.<sup>1</sup> It considered that as the approval of the Education Department was necessary for the recognition of the appointment of a teacher in a public elementary school it should follow that a teacher should not be removed without the consent of the Department.<sup>2</sup> In 1888 the union prepared a Bill on tenure of office but this proved abortive.<sup>3</sup>

Instances of capricious dismissals were constantly coming before the N.U.E.T. executive. A new vicar would often dismiss the teacher on arrival. Teachers were dismissed for failing to carry out minor wishes of the vicar or for failing to show proper respect to their "master". Teachers were dismissed for refusing to perform excessive extraneous duties, for attempting to secure regular attendance or for not buying at one of the manager's shops. Certificated teachers were dismissed in order to make room for an Article 68'er. Owing to the overstocking of the market, old teachers who were dismissed only too often faced utter ruin. The mere fact of dismissal involved a slur and with several candidates for each post<sup>4</sup> the dismissed teacher was at once passed over.

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1. N.U.E.T. Report 1886: p.cii; 1887 p.cv.
  2. N.U.E.T. Report 1888: p.cxxix
  3. N.U.E.T. Report 1888: pp.lvii-lviii
  4. E.P.P. 1888 XXXVI: pp.426-7  
N.U.E.T. Report 1889: pp.lxxxiii-lxxxviii. The Schoolmaster  
April 25th 1896.

The first attempts by the union to secure a Tenure Act were unsuccessful and it was forced to take other steps to deal with recalcitrant managers.<sup>1</sup> While these methods were relatively successful, the union continued to press for legislation. Again and again in the '90s Mr. Acland announced his intention of bringing in a bill but legal and administrative difficulties blocked the way.<sup>2</sup> The Code of 1898 stated that the Department might in future refuse to recognise any teacher whose terms of engagement were not expressed in writing. The N.U.T. prepared a memorandum of agreement and urged members to refuse to take service with any authority which was not prepared to subscribe to the memorandum.<sup>3</sup> In spite of all these efforts the number of tenure cases coming before the executive continued to increase. The Superannuation Act of 1898 still further aggravated the problem and the union pressed for a compulsory form of agreement with a clause specifying the particular causes for which a teacher could be dismissed.<sup>4</sup> The tenure problem became in the late 90's one of the union's most important problems.

The N.U.T. was most concerned to point out that they did not wish to countenance incompetency or misconduct. Indeed if, in any case, the union's Tenure Committee formed the opinion that the interests of the school and the scholars conflicted

1. See Chapter X

2. N.U.T. Report 1895: p.lix

3. N.U.T. Report 1898: p.liii

4. The Schoolmaster March 25th 1899, April 28th 1900, Aug.17th 1901. N.U.T. Report 1899: pp.xxxviii-xi, 1900 pp.xxiv-xxvi, 1901 p.xlv.



with those of the teacher, the teacher was advised to give way and resign. They based their claim to secure tenure on the ground that, as public servants, the government should protect them when they were doing their duty to the State to the satisfaction of the H.A.I. and on the further ground that, as professionals, they should feel free to protest against the actions of their employers, without fear of dismissal, when they felt those actions to be against the interests of education.

Freedom from compulsory extraneous duties.

Village teachers often had to be prepared to play the organ, train the choir, take charge of the Sunday school and perform a variety of parochial offices. The teacher was often the only person in the parish who could perform these duties and it is clear that the ability to perform them was looked upon by many clergymen-managers as more important than mere technical ability to teach. The N.U.T. carried out a survey in four selected districts in 1891 which showed that about 400 out of 1200 teachers were so placed that their position depended upon the performance of extraneous work. Teachers did not object to performing extraneous tasks if it were left to their own decision but objected to compulsion. As almost the whole income of many schools was derived from public money, it appeared to the N.U.T. that state money paid for educational purposes was being improperly used for the payment of work outside the school.

To those who said that the solution lay in the hands of the teachers themselves the union replied that as long as there

was an over-supply of poorly qualified teachers it would be necessary for teachers to undertake employment under any conditions. In 1891 the union sent a deputation to Sir William Hart-Dyke (Vice-President of the Council) on compulsory extraneous duties and on political and religious discrimination in the schools. Hart-Dyke admitted the existence of the evil but stated that the Department could do little about it without extending centralisation to a dangerous extent. He suggested that, "the National Union of Teachers in itself as being a very powerful body might take some action to protect teachers on their engagement." He did, however, make the solid promise that "if a teacher is dismissed without a character, or with one which would injure his future, I think the Department might, on appeal, investigate the circumstances of the case, and, if the managers are found to have acted harshly, do their best to secure the teacher from any injurious consequences to himself."<sup>1</sup> With this promise the teachers had to be content although they continued their regular protests at insecurity of tenure and compulsory extraneous duties until the 1902 Act.<sup>2</sup>

#### Adequate Salaries.

We have noticed previously that the question of salaries played a much smaller part in the activities of the early

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1. N.U.T. Report 1892: pp. clxxi-clxxvi, clxxvii-cc  
The Schoolmaster Jan 16th 1892.
  2. See for example The Schoolmaster March 21st 1896, July 1st 1899.

teachers' associations than it did in the Trade Unions. Raising the teachers' salaries was to be done not through a direct approach to the employers but through separate action on the two main determinants of salary - supply and demand.

We have dealt in some detail<sup>1</sup> with the attempt of the N.U.T. to control the supply of teachers. As long as there was an almost unlimited supply of cheap, inefficient labour the union was almost helpless. Luckily the certificated teacher was both more efficient at obtaining grants and also from 1882 onwards was favoured by the staffing regulations of the Department.<sup>1</sup> Each attempt of the Department to raise the standard of staffing came up against bitter resistance from the voluntary schools.

The demand side was even more difficult to influence. Many of the village schools were unable to afford to pay a certificated teacher an adequate salary. On the whole the teachers working for a large school board were well paid.<sup>2</sup> The teacher working in a small voluntary school knew that his employer could not afford to pay him more, while the teacher under a small school board often had a board of managers who

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1. B.P.P. 1911 XVI: pp.2-30

2. See Final Report of the School Board for London 1870-1904 (1904) pp.161-177 and B.P.P. 1886 XV p.520 for a summary of teachers' salaries.

had been elected to "keep the rates down".<sup>1</sup>

The 1893 conference of the N.U.T. passed a resolution favouring direct action to raise salaries and suggesting the formation of a special sustentation fund for teachers "who refuse to work for a miserable pittance."<sup>2</sup> When the local associations were circulated to obtain their opinion on a levy of 3/- per member, the levy was rejected by 6,354 votes to 1,172. From 1894 onwards, in spite of opposition from nonconformist and radical members, the N.U.T. was increasingly committed to a policy favouring further state aid for voluntary schools as the only means of raising salaries and remedying other existing defects.<sup>3</sup>

Freedom from "obnoxious interference".

By freedom from "obnoxious interference" the teachers' meant freedom from excessive regulation of their work in the schools by their employers. The freedom of the teacher to administer corporal punishment was challenged by the large school boards from their foundation.<sup>4</sup> In 1871 the London School

1. In 1892 the average salary of a certificated assistant master in a Board School was £100, in a Wesleyan School £76, in a Roman Catholic School £74 and in a Church School £67. Of a certificated assistant mistress Board £77, Catholic and Wesleyan £48, Church of England £47. A principal teacher would receive more.

See N.U.T. Report 1893; pp. xcvi-cciii.

2. N.U.T. Report 1893 p. cxvi

3. N.U.T. Report 1894; pp. lxxv-lxxvi, xciv-xcvi

Ibid 1895; pp. lxxxiv-lxxxix

Also Chapter XI.

4. H. B. Highfield and A. Pinsent; A Survey of Rewards and Punishments in Schools (1952) contains much useful material on the historical, sociological and administrative problems of corporal punishment. See especially chapters 2 and 3.

Board absolutely prohibited pupil teachers from inflicting corporal punishment, held the head teacher "directly responsible" for all punishments and recommended the keeping of a formal record of all punishments in a book.<sup>1</sup> In 1874 the prohibition was extended to certificated assistant teachers. This prohibition led to a long and heated controversy between the board, the teachers and the parents.<sup>2</sup> The teachers complained that such regulations showed a want of confidence in the teacher and that every principal teacher should be left perfectly free to adopt such measures as he considered necessary to maintain good discipline. They also maintained that in the elementary schools of the time corporal punishment, judiciously used, was a legitimate,<sup>3</sup> valuable and necessary means of maintaining good discipline.

The teachers objected to the "sentimental theories of those, who neither know the necessities of school work nor understand the nature and amount of the punishment which is

1. Educational Reporter Oct. 1871
2. See M.E. Highfield and A. Finsent op.cit. pp. 41-57, 86-89. The main protest of the parents against allowing assistant teachers to inflict corporal punishment came from politically radical working-men's associations.
3. Educational Reporter Oct. 1871, The Schoolmaster Dec. 17th 1877, Nov. 20th 1880, June 19th 1886, July 15th, Sept. 23rd 1893.  
N.U.T. Report 1879 p. xvii, 1881 pp. cxlii-cxxv.  
N.U.T. Report 1893: pp. c-cii  
G.A. Christian op.cit. pp. 20, 179-80.  
T. Gautrey op.cit. pp. 115-117  
 The teachers' case for corporal punishment is put at its strongest in T.J. MacNamara - Schoolmaster Sketches (1896) pp. 95-104.

inflicted in public elementary schools." It is certainly true that the difficulties of the teachers in the first period of compulsion were immense and it is possibly true that only large doses of corporal punishment could have kept the schools of the time in order. The teachers did, however, lose a great deal of progressive and working class sympathy by their insistence on full freedom to inflict corporal punishment.

We have now considered the eight basic aims of the union in the first twenty-five to the thirty years of its existence. We have noticed two complete victories for the union - the ending of payment by results and the institution of a pension scheme. As against these victories no progress had been made in controlling entrance, teachers' registration seemed as far off as ever and the inspectorate seemed slipping still further out of reach. Security of tenure, an ending of compulsory extraneous duties and adequate salaries waited upon further state intervention. Put thus baldly it must appear that no great progress had been made. The "Heller" period (1873-1892) was, however, mainly a period during which the N.U.T. built up its membership and developed the methods of exerting pressure which were to produce such striking gains under J.H. Yoxall between 1892 and 1924.

## CHAPTER X

### The Early History of the N.U.E.T. - Methods.

"We must remember that our character, our interest, our independence, our prosperity are all in our own hands. ---- We have no right to expect other men to think and act for us, or to look after our welfare.----- Teachers never appear to me to understand what some of our advanced politicians know perfectly, that if they only call out loud enough, and often enough, some of the complaints or demands.... are sure to be heard, and in the long run attended to.

J.J.Graves.<sup>1</sup>

The methods that the N.U.E.T. adopted to achieve its aims stemmed logically from the situation in which the profession was placed and the specific "ideology" of the teachers. Since so much of the teachers' working lives were immediately influenced by government policy the union was forced to devise methods of exerting pressure on the government. While the anomalous position of the teachers had many disadvantages it made the exertion of political pressure an easier matter than if they had been a part of the civil service.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand the disinclination to adopt "trade union" methods was due in part to the desire of

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1. In the first presidential address to the N.U.E.T. (Educational Reporter Dec. 1870).
  2. This has always been recognised by the leaders of the profession and used as an argument against agitations for inclusion in the civil service.  
See N.U.E.T. Report 1878 p. liiiff; N.U.E.T. Report 1895 pp. lxxxix - cvii 1897 pp. lxxxvi-cix.  
N.U.E.T. Future Policy of the Union (1917)  
The Schoolmaster April 25th 1952.

teachers to distinguish their position in society from that of the manual workers but owed still more to the "professional" spirit of the teachers and to the feeling that any direct action would hurt the children more than the employers.

We have seen these factors at work in the discussion and defeat of the "Nottingham Resolutions" at the first conference of the N.U.E.T. The resolutions were passed by a small majority in 1872 and the conference agreed to the accumulation of a reserve fund and the appointment of a paid secretary but no further steps were taken towards "trade unionism". The methods used by the Union can be considered under three headings i.e.

- (1) Exertion of pressure on the Education Department.
- (2) Exertion of pressure on Parliament.
- (3) Exertion of pressure on the "employers".

#### Exertion of Pressure on the Education Department.

The early teachers' associations had sent memorials to the Education Department from 1853 onwards. With the formation of the N.U.E.T. a constant stream of memorials, documents, petitions and letters flowed from the union offices to the Education Department while on major occasions the union executive would send a deputation to the President and Vice-President of the Council.

It is difficult to understand why Kekewich wrote of the higher officials of the Education Department that "teachers they never saw; for teachers were never accorded an interview at Whitehall, and if a teacher dared to ask for one, he was



directed to apply through the managers of his school, who were often the very persons at whom his complaints was aimed. Even the N.U.T. was not recognised, nor were its officials admitted within the scared gates.<sup>1</sup> It is true that individual teachers were not allowed to apply direct to the Department and it was also true that the N.U.T. was not "recognised." But the officials of the union were in constant communication with the Department during the reign of Sir Francis Sandford (1870-1884) and the union had "a very powerful share in that external pressure which regulates the administration of the Department."<sup>2</sup> As the executive reported in 1885, "from that time (1872) to the present every opportunity has been afforded to the representatives of the Union, of making known to the Department their views on any subjects relating to elementary education, and at no time has this valuable system of inter-communication between the Department and the teachers been more freely utilised than since the accession of Mr. Mundella to office. The cordiality of these relations has been due, to no small extent to the courtesy of Sir Francis Sandford."<sup>3</sup>

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1. Kekewich op.cit. p.12

2. The School Guardian April 7th 1877. See also The Schoolmaster 9th March 1878.

3. N.U.T. Report 1885 pp.13-15. Sandford's "uniform kindness and attention" to the communications of the union was not affected by his complete disagreement with their educational aims. (B.P.P. 1888 XXXV p.231). See also W.H.G. Armytage "Francis John Richard Sandford" John Rylands Library Bulletin Jan 1948. F. Smith (A History of English Elementary Education 1760-1902) p.315, and G.A. Christian op.cit. pp.14-5, 119-20 both treat the N.U.T.'s interview with Mundella in 1880 as marking a new era in union-departmental relations. They go too far, however, in considering it as the first interview between Union officials and department officials.

As we have seen, the union's activities in the "over-pressure" controversy led to a worsening of relations with the Department from 1884 onwards. From 1884 to 1890 (i.e. during the Secretaryship of Patric Cumin) the Department was hostile to the union and ignored its representations. The union blamed Cumin personally for the bad relations.<sup>1</sup> While relations remained bad during Cumin's reign it should be noted that it was still possible for satisfactory interviews to be held between the Vice-President of the Council and Department officials and officials of the N.U.E.T.<sup>2</sup>

In 1890 Kekewich succeeded Cumin and he has described the situation as he found it in his autobiography. "The National Union, which had already become a large and powerful body, was not "recognised," and the Department pretended to ignore its very existence. The officials were forbidden to correspond with the secretary of the Union, and if he brought forward any complaint on behalf of a teacher, he was actually told to prefer it through the managers of his school, and no further notice was taken of the letter.... It was, of course, not possible to alter all this and to gain the confidence of the teachers (which was indispensable) with a complete and sustained

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1. N.U.E.T. Report 1885 pp.14-15, 1886 pp.xl-xli, 1887 xl-xli, 1888 pp.xx-xxvi.  
N.U.T. Report 1890 p.xxx.  
W.H.G.Armytage "Patric Cumin 1823-1890" John Rylands Library Bulletin May 1947. G.A.Christian op.cit. pp.44-5  
The Schoolmaster May 29th, Oct.30th 1886
  2. See N.U.E.T. Report 1889 pp.xxxiv-xxxv

change of policy. But it was obvious that the first thing to be done was to enter into direct relations with the teachers by recognising the Union and its officers.....

.... I went accordingly to Lord Cranbrook and placed the matter before him, and he, with his usual good sense, agreed without demur. I have never regretted this step. The teachers understood it, and rightly, as a sort of material guarantee that their complaints and their status would at any rate meet with consideration....

.... From that day until I finally left the office, my relations with the teachers constantly grew more cordial and intimate, and I owed to the advice of the union officials, and the expression of opinion and the resolutions passed at the Union conferences, numerous and excellent suggestions for the improvement, from time to time of Departmental regulations...

.... I was always absolutely frank with the teachers and with the officials of the Union. I never said one thing to their faces and another behind their backs, nor did I ever write anything respecting them in an official minute which I should have had any objection to them reading."<sup>1</sup>

During the Secretaryship of Sir George Kekewich firm and cordial relations were established between the Union and the Department. Besides the more formal letters, memorials and

1. G.Kekewich op.cit. pp.62-66. For an example of the extremely high opinion in which Kekewich was held by the teachers see The Schoolmaster Nov.8th 1902. See also Kekewich's dedication of his autobiography (op.cit.) to the N.U.T.

deputations there were frequent private conferences between the officials of the N.U.T. and the permanent officials of the Department. From 1895 onwards the growing controversy over educational reconstruction began to cloud the harmonious relationship which had been established. While Kekewich remained a supporter of consultation with the N.U.T., the union considered that "the details of the administration of the Board of Education under the rule of Sir John Gorst have not been for the benefit of elementary schools, and in so far as it has been directed to restraining them and the teachers in them within limits which the Union refuses to accept, the administration has been positively hostile."<sup>1</sup>

#### Exertion of Pressure on Parliament.

In Chapter VIII we described the important part played by the conferences between M.P.'s and teachers in the controversy around the Education Act of 1870. It was only to be expected that the N.U.E.T. should imitate this method of influencing members of parliament. As early as March 1871 a conference was held between certain M.P.'s and a number of N.U.E.T. members to inform the M.P.'s on the views of teachers on the new Code and as a result of this conference a joint deputation was sent to Mr. W. E. Forster composed of N.U.E.T. members and six members of parliament.<sup>2</sup>

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1. N.U.T. Report 1902 p. xxxviii.
  2. Educational Reporter April, 1871.

This "conference" method of briefing M.P.'s could only be used on rare occasions. More important in influencing the mass of M.P.'s were the memorials sent to them by local associations and the deputations of schoolmasters that wanted on them almost every visit to their constituencies.<sup>1</sup> The union combined the detailed instruction of a few members of parliament who were friendly towards the teachers' cause<sup>2</sup> with a diffuse and persistent pressure on the mass of M.P.'s.

An early example of a successful "agitation" was the pension campaign of 1875 already mentioned. A detailed statement was forwarded to members of both Houses of Parliament and 435 M.P.'s were seen by the officers and executive of the union or by representatives of local associations. The Educational Institute of Scotland sent a deputation to London for the express purpose of giving information to the Scottish M.P.'s and the Irish Teachers' Association used its influence with the Irish M.P.'s. A large public meeting was held addressed by M.P.'s and members of the London School Board. These efforts,

1. See The Schoolmaster Feb 17th 1872 "Last week witnessed the return to Westminster of the members of the British House of Commons, refreshed and renewed, ... Accustomed to receive deputations of publicans and permissive Bill advocates - malt tax repealers and supporters of women's rights, we trust that a novel and an agreeable sensation has been experienced by many of them while being extensively interviewed by schoolmasters..... It is well that teachers generally should awake to a sense of their power. Few classes of the community could exert more influence in a contested election than teachers, if they only choose to exert themselves."
2. Among these at one time or another were A.J. Mundella, U.J. Kay-Shuttleworth, J. Whitwell, E. Samuelson, W.H. Smith, Samuel Morley, Dent, Pease, and Ackroyd.

combined with the active interest of Lords Lyttelton, Middleton and Cottesloe and J. Whitwell M.P. were eventually successful.<sup>1</sup> This was the first of the "agitations" or "campaigns" when for a few months the whole of the efforts of the union would be focussed on a single issue. Besides deputations to M.P.'s, public meetings would be held throughout the country and the press would be flooded with letters. The focus of the campaign would be the handful of M.P.'s whom the union was always able to find to ask questions or state its case in the Commons. The amount of effort put into these campaigns varied from time to time. While good relations with the Department meant that there were less individual "cases of oppression" to be brought before parliament they also released energies to be used for parliamentary action.

Gradually the parliamentary action of the union became organised. At the 1880 and 1885 elections the local associations were requested by the executive to organise deputations to all parliamentary candidates.<sup>2</sup> In 1888 steps were taken to strengthen and consolidate the influence of the union. A complete register was formed of the constituencies within the district of each local association, of their representatives in parliament and of "prominent politicians" who were interested in

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1. See for example The Schoolmaster July 27th, August 10th 1878. Also N.U.T. Report 1889 pp.xli-xliii
  2. N.U.E.T. Report 1881 pp.xv xvii-cxxx, 1885 pp.cxi-cxliiv  
The School Guardian April 3rd 1880.

educational matters. These "prominent politicians" were sent information on educational matters<sup>1</sup> and it was hoped that they would act as a further pressure on M.P.'s and prospective M.P.'s. In 1890 "parliamentary registers" were prepared in which every promise made by a member of parliament was registered for future reference. Parliamentary correspondents were appointed in a large number of constituencies, to keep the executive fully informed as to any educational action taken in the constituency.<sup>2</sup>

By 1891 the union had reached a position of some strength. It was able to obtain the "blocking" of Sir Richard Temple's Registration Bill and Sir Henry Roscoe's Bill for the Organisation of Secondary Education and the amending of the Finance Bill of 1894.<sup>3</sup> Relying on friendly M.P.'s was not wholly satisfactory to the leaders of the profession and in 1877<sup>4</sup> they had begun planning the election of "Teacher M.P.'s."<sup>5</sup> In that year a resolution was passed at the N.U.T. conference in favour of obtaining direct representation in parliament.<sup>6</sup> Nothing was done by the executive to put the resolution into effect although an unsuccessful unofficial attempt was made by a group of teachers to raise £1,000 to put forward a teachers' candidate at the

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1. For example in the year 1888-9 they were sent papers on "Payment by Results", "Continuation Schools" and "Technical instruction".
  2. N.U.T. Report 1890: pp. xxxv-xxxviii
  3. N.U.T. Report 1895 p.lix, The Schoolmaster July 25th 1891.
  4. Although this aim is to be found as early as the foundation of the N.U.T.
  5. In 1874 the Labour Representation League had secured the return of the first two working class candidates (miners) to Parliament.
  6. The Schoolmaster March 17th, April 7th 1877.

1880 election.<sup>1</sup> The resolution was re-affirmed in 1881 and again in 1882 when it was referred to the executive for action. The executive reported that to secure the election of a teacher would involve increasing the union subscription by at least one shilling. They reported further "that the presence of an expert in the House would be of great service in initiating and guiding educational legislation, but that no candidate could successfully contest a constituency on other than political grounds." They were concerned with how far teachers would be content to contribute to the expenses and maintenance of a member on purely professional considerations when the member might differ from themselves in politics.<sup>2</sup> That this concern was justified was shown by the fiasco of the attempt to get a teacher elected to parliament in the 1885 election.

In March 1885 the executive announced that T.E.Heller and George Collins would stand as candidates at the coming election.<sup>3</sup> The announcement caused a flood of objections as George Collins

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1. The Schoolmaster March 13th 1880

2. N.U.E.T. Report 1883 pp. xxxvi-xxxviii

3. .... "It was desired that neither party nor political considerations should be allowed to enter into the question, the only purpose the Union had in promoting the election of a practical teacher being to secure the parliamentary representation of practical education. The Executive therefore did not feel it their duty to consider the politics of any candidate who might be brought under their consideration, but only (1) to ascertain whether such candidate was possessed of a sufficient acquaintance with the work of schools to qualify him to be the representative of practical education, and (2) the probability of the candidate being able to command, on other considerations, the support of a constituency." (N.U.E.T. Report 1886 p. xxxvii).



was an advanced liberal and T.E.Heller an independent liberal.<sup>1</sup> The church and conservative teachers objected strongly to the union supporting two liberals and in order to satisfy them the executive elected Mr.Clarkson and one other conservative candidate, and took steps to secure their adoption by suitable constituencies.<sup>2</sup> They also adopted as candidates "worthy of the support of the union", Mr.Williams of Liverpool and Mr.Marchant Williams, of Finsbury. Only George Collins was adopted by a constituency, and during the election campaign feeling in the union mounted to such an extent that, as a church teacher declared, "the union is splitting on the parliamentary rack."<sup>3</sup> Collins was defeated but the introduction of party feeling into the union's affairs played some part in the drop of membership from 12,890 in 1884 to 11,082 in 1885.<sup>4</sup>

At the 1886 conference an attack was launched on the executive for its actions during the election. The conference supported the executive by an overwhelming majority but refused to vote for an increased subscription to finance direct representation by 2917 votes. In 1887 the majority against had fallen to 1102 and in 1888 a resolution increasing the subscription by one shilling per member was carried by a large

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1. The Schoolmaster May 1885 ff; The School Guardian March 21st, Nov.21st, 28th, Dec 26th 1885; The School Board Chronicle July 18th, August 1st, 15th, Dec.12th 1885.
  2. N.U.E.T. Report 1886 p.xxxvii.
  3. The School-master 28th Nov.1885
  4. The Schoolmaster Dec.5th, 12th, 1885, The School Board Chronicle Dec.12th 1885, May 1st 1886.

majority after an amendment had been defeated by 2279 votes.<sup>1</sup>

The political question still raised qualms in the minds of many members and the executive hoped "to secure at least two representatives of different political opinions, so that party contention may not be introduced into the union".<sup>2</sup> The executive succeeded in getting the central organisations of both political parties to suggest constituencies to candidates approved by the union and in February 1892, James Yoxall became liberal candidate for the Bassetlaw Division.<sup>3</sup> He was the only candidate to be sponsored by the union at the 1892 General Election but he was defeated and so no political problem was raised.<sup>4</sup>

In January 1893 Mr. Ernest Gray was adopted as prospective conservative candidate for North West Ham and in November 1893 J.H. Yoxall was adopted as prospective liberal candidate for the Northern Division of Nottingham. At the election of 1895 both Gray and Yoxall were elected to the House of Commons and "members of the union who were strong political partisans had the satisfaction of knowing that the vote of one was neutralised by the vote of the other on any purely party question".<sup>5</sup>

1. The Schoolmaster May 1st 1886, April 16th 1887, April 7th 1888. The decision led to some loss of membership ibid. Oct. 19th, 1889.

2. N.U.T. Report 1889 p.xli

3. N.U.T. Report 1890 p.xxxvii; 1892 p.lii; The Schoolmaster March 12th 1892.

4. A group of conservative teachers at Bassetlaw banded together to work for the return of Yoxall's conservative opponent. The Schoolmaster April 2nd 1892.

5. N.U.T. Report 1896 pp.1-11.

Immediately they were elected Yoxall and Gray began pressing the views of the union in the House of Commons. They were both able, modest, unpretentious and gifted speakers who made immediate impressions on the House. While the other means of pressure were not neglected the union was now assured that, with two of its leaders in the House, its views on educational matters would not be overlooked.<sup>1</sup>

Exertion of Pressure on the "Employers".

The formation of the school boards offered the teachers an opportunity of affecting the execution of educational policy. The teachers' periodicals urged individual teachers to put themselves forward as candidates for office.<sup>2</sup> The main handicap to the election of teachers was that no teacher in a Board school could be a member of the Board under which he was serving and no teacher could attend Board meetings during the time of school. In spite of this a handful of teachers were candidates at the first elections to the School Boards. The Nottingham teachers with their usual militancy supported Mr. Thurlow, a national schoolmaster, canvassed for him, organised and addressed public meetings on his behalf and saw him elected

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1. The Times writing of the Education Debate of 1895 declared that "perhaps the most remarkable feature in the discussion was the intervention of the two able representatives of the elementary school teachers who have found seats in the present parliament. The maiden speeches of Mr. Ernest Gray and Mr. Yoxall were modest, to the point and not overloaded with details." (Quoted in The Schoolmaster August 31st 1895)
  2. See Papers for the Schoolmaster Oct. 1870 "At present there appears to be no reason why teachers should not put forward their own candidates, and thus assist in moulding into shape the future governing body of our schools."

near the top of the poll. In January 1874, T.E.Heller was elected to the London School Board. He soon became a conspicuous figure and exercised great influence on the work of the Board.<sup>1</sup>

The movement for the election of teachers suffered a setback when the Code of 1875 was issued. It contained a clause (15b) which forbade the election of any elementary teacher as a member or officer of any school board.<sup>2</sup> Ex-teachers, including the important category of permanent officials of the N.U.E.T. and the "Metropolitan Board Teachers' Association", and private-school teachers were still eligible for election to school boards and many were in fact elected.

As in the union's parliamentary work, direct representation was accompanied by attempts to influence the attitudes and actions of non-teacher representatives. In every large town, (where alone was it possible for the teachers to exercise influence) every candidate for election to the school board

1. See Educational Reporter Jan 1874, G.A.Christian op.cit. pp. 179-183, T.Gautrey op.cit. pp.69-70. Many nonconformist teachers objected to Heller's candidature, (he stood as a church candidate), and a split was only narrowly averted. (The Schoolmaster Nov.15th, 29th 1873).
2. B.P.P. 1875 LVIII p.4; Educational Reporter April 1875; N.U.E.T. Report 1876 p.49. The re-action of the teachers to this clause reveals a potential source of disunity. The militants objected to the Department interfering with teachers' out-of-school activities. A few Board Teachers approved of the Department's action because they themselves could not be elected to School Boards, in any case, and they objected to the election of voluntary teachers. Other teachers objected to the election of any teachers on to School Boards. At the 1876 Conference, however, a motion regretting the clause was passed by a very large majority. The Schoolmaster May 8th 1875, Jan 22, April 22nd, 1876.

would be waited on by deputations of teachers and his attitude on salaries, liberty of classification, religious teaching and corporal punishment would be probed. By canvassing for votes and by their own use of the cumulative vote the teachers wielded a great deal of influence.<sup>1</sup> One of the complaints made against the cumulative vote in school board elections was that it placed too much influence in the hands of minority groups (catholics, working men, women or teachers).<sup>2</sup> Even on the London School Board, where the N.U.E.T. claimed to exercise most influence, only 12 ex-elementary teachers were ever elected.<sup>3</sup>

School board politics were even more bitter than national politics. Candidates stood not only for a political party but for a religious or social creed.<sup>4</sup> It was possible for a militant church majority to take control of a school board with the avowed intention of starving the board schools of money and

1. See B.P.P. 1884-5 XI: Report from the Select Committee on School Board Elections (Voting) Q.1267-9.  
There was some foundation for complaints which were directed against teachers who used their pupils to distribute leaflets. (See B.P.P. 1888 XXXV p.202; 1887 XXIX Q.29,836-29,842; The Schoolmaster Aug.12th, Oct.7th 1876, Jan 25th 1879, Jan 20th 1883).
2. B.P.P. 1884-5 XI. passim.
3. T.E.Heller, W.Roston Bourke, G.A.White, Henry Lynn, Edmund Barnes, George Collins, G.Benson Clough, T.J.Macnamara, J.C.Horobin, T.Gautrey, S.Creswell and one other.  
Of these 7 were moderates and 5 progressives. See T. Gautrey op.cit. passim. G.A.Christian op.cit. pp.181-4.
4. For example at the 1879 election of the London School Board there were candidates representing the Women, the Christian Education League, Liberal Union, Exeter Hall Working Mens' Association, Radical, Liberal and Conservative Clubs, Catholics, Church of England and the National Society.

reducing the salaries of board teachers.<sup>1</sup> Even the most religious of teachers were opposed to this kind of educational politics and a good deal of antipathy grew up between the ultra-religious branch of the church and the N.U.T.<sup>2</sup>

The most important clash between the teachers and the church occurred between 1893 and 1895. In 1893 a religious ("moderate") majority on the London School Board, led by the famous Rev. J. R. Diggle,<sup>3</sup> issued a circular which in effect imposed theological tests at the appointment and during the employment of teachers. The N.U.T. and the Metropolitan Board Teachers' Association (M.B.T.A.) made private representations, which were ignored, and eventually 3130 London teachers refused to sign an agreement to give religious instruction under the terms of the new circular. The "circular" was one of the key issues of the 1894 election and played an important part in the reduction of the moderate majority.<sup>4</sup>

1. An example of this hostility was the statement of Canon J. G. Cromwell, who was a member of the London School Board for six years, that he "thanked God he had never entered a board school". (See T. Gautrey op.cit. p. 54). It should be remembered that many churchmen were as opposed to this attitude as were the non-denominationalists e.g. the work on the London School Board of the Rev. John Rodgers and the Rev. W. Rogers.  
See also B.P.P. 1887 XXX Q.43, 311-43, 527
2. See The Schoolmaster Oct. 18th 1879
3. Chairman of the London School Board 1885-1894. See T. Gautrey op.cit. pp. 44-5, 105-107.
4. See T. Gautrey op.cit. pp. 101-105.  
The Case against Diggleism at the London School Board (London: Published for the Progressive School Board Election Council 1894) The Schoolmaster, The School Board Chronicle, The School Guardian 1894  
N.U.T. Report 1894 pp. xlv-xlvi, 1895 pp. lxi-lxiv, clxxxvii-clxxxviii.

In general the Union left the local associations to negotiate with their own school boards and for the most part the relations between teachers and the larger school boards were good. In the 1890's as the labour movement intervened more effectively in local politics the teachers' influence in school board affairs became more important. The smaller "five man school boards" presented a completely different problem. In many instances the school board members were totally unfitted for their position and had been elected solely to keep the rates down. It was in the schools under such boards and in the rural church schools that we find cases of oppression, insecurity of tenure, degrading extraneous duties and low salaries. For dealing with these employers the Union resorted to legal action, the "register" and the "capture" of the Board.

As soon as the N.U.S.T. was formed, teachers commenced bringing forward individual "cases of oppression" for the executive to consider.<sup>1</sup> It soon became necessary to lay individual cases before a solicitor and the standing committee appointed a solicitor to whom they could refer for counsel in cases of difficulty. By 1874 so many trivial disputes were being brought forward that the union had to refuse to accept cases except on the recommendation of a district union or local association. By 1880, over 750 "cases of difficulty" had been dealt with. Most of them had been settled out of court but some had been carried into the county courts and a few to the superior

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1. Educational Reporter August 1871.

courts. In 1880 the Secretary wrote 134 letters of advice on cases submitted for his opinion, the Law committee dealt with 54 cases and the solicitor with 36 cases.<sup>1</sup> The number of cases brought before the union continued to increase and in 1883 the union decided to set up a special "Legal Assistance and Sustentation Fund".<sup>2</sup> As the union became more efficient in its legal work there was an increasing tendency for cases to be settled out of court.<sup>3</sup> The mere knowledge that behind every union member stood the almost limitless legal resources of the union played an important part in the increase of membership from 1886 onwards. Beatrice Webb considered that, "the command, in every case, of extremely skilled and, in some cases, ruthlessly efficient legal advocacy has contributed more than any other factor to increase the personal freedom and raise the social status of the elementary school teacher."<sup>4</sup>

In 1891 the N.U.T. executive adopted a resolution, "that the executive inform Mr. - - - that if dismissal follow on his

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1. N.U.E.T. Report 1880 pp.xxix and xxxiii-xxxiv.

See also Ibid. 1876 pp.19-20.

2. N.U.E.T. Report 1883 pp.xxv-xxvii, 1884 pp.xlv-xlvi, xxxii-lxxxviii.

The Schoolmaster April 7th, Sept.1st, 1883.

3. In 1894 the Law Committee dealt with 1,268 cases involving law costs of only £1,247. See also N.U.T. Report 1898 p.111.

4. B.Webb op.cit. p.5.

The cases brought before the union for advice or action fell into a few broad categories i.e. (1) Defending teachers from changes arising out of the infliction of corporal punishment. (2) Actions for improper or illegal dismissal and claims for salary. (3) Assaults on teachers by parents or managers. (4) Libel or slander against teachers.



refusal to perform the extraneous duties demanded, they will make a grant from the Sustentation Fund; and that the members of the Union be informed that any member accepting the situation vacated by Mr. - - will be expelled from the Union"<sup>1</sup> The executive intended to use this procedure in dealing with the actions of employers, which, while "legal", were considered by the executive to be "morally indefensible". The procedure was still further developed in 1893 when a "Register of Schools" was opened which was to contain any particulars which might be obtained as to certain schools. The "Register" was designed "to supply members of the union with facts and circumstances other<sup>2</sup> than those likely to be supplied by the school authorities." It became a powerful weapon in the hands of the executive. As a general rule the information collected was reserved exclusively for union members but when it was in the interests of the member occupying the post a "warning advertisement" would be placed in the educational press.<sup>3</sup> It soon became a common occurrence for letters from managers to be received at the union offices, asking if their particular school was " on the Register", as the replies they were receiving to their

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1. N.U.T. Report 1892 p.xlvi. See also ibid. p.cxxxviii  
 2. N.U.T. Report 1893 p.xxxix  
 3. N.U.T. Report 1895 p.lxvii.

advertisements were of so poor a character.<sup>1</sup>

While the union gave general assistance to teacher candidates at school board elections by supplying speakers and pamphlets, there were instances when the whole force of the union was concentrated on the "capture" of a school board. The first attempt was made in 1893 when Mr. Tunnicliffe, a master under the Wimblington school board, was dismissed for reasons which had no connection with his professional work. At the triennial election of the board the union made an attempt to return a majority to the new board pledged to re-instate Mr. Tunnicliffe. The attempt failed<sup>2</sup> but similar attempts at Brighton and Cokermonth were completely successful. In both instances an unjustly dismissed teacher was returned at the head of the poll and at Brighton the teacher (Mr. Baseden) was appointed to the chair at the first meeting of the new board.<sup>3</sup> An even more striking victory was won at Southampton in 1895. In 1893 a Miss Goodwin had been dismissed by the Southampton school board for reporting to the executive of the N.U.T. the unsatisfactory way in which the schools in the locality were examined. The union decided to make Miss Goodwin suitable sustentation grants and supported her as a candidate at the

1. It is also noteworthy that appeals to the executive came not only from teachers but also from managers. In 1897, for example, a manager asked the intervention of the officials of the union in a case in which the teacher was an N.U.T. member against whom certain malpractices were alleged. (N.U.T. Report 1897 p.lxxi). See also N.U.T. Report 1901 p.xlxx
2. N.U.T. Report 1893 pp.xxxviii-xxxix
3. See N.U.T. Report 1894 p.liii. The Schoolmaster Oct.7th 1893

school board elections. Union leaders addressed public meetings on her behalf, she was supported by local trade unions and was returned second on the poll. Together with her were returned a majority of members pledged to redress the injustice done to her. In January 1898 she resigned her board membership and was re-appointed to her original post.<sup>1</sup>

A different type of action was taken at Richmond where the N.U.T. built a new school for a wrongfully dismissed headmaster. The case ended unfortunately for the union as the headmaster appears to have been guilty of the offences for which he had been dismissed.<sup>2</sup>

#### Changes in Recruitment and Training.

During the thirty years after the 1870 Act important changes occurred in the training of both the pupil teachers and of the students in the training colleges. Soon after the 1870 Act we find the introduction of central classes for pupil teachers, whereby instead of, or in addition to receiving instruction from their own head teachers, they were brought together from time to time for collective instruction by teachers especially selected for the purpose.<sup>3</sup> The movement was hampered at first by the regulations of the Education Department but in

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1. The Schoolmaster March 3rd 1894, March 16th 1895, Jan 29th 1898. N.U.T. Report 1895 p.lxx.
  2. The Schoolmaster April 6th 1901, The School Guardian Jan 18th, May 3rd, 1902.
  3. B.P.P. 1907 LXIV pp.8-9  
R.W.Rich op.cit. pp.233-245  
See also The Schoolmaster April 1904 ff. "When I was a Pupil Teacher."

1880 the code was altered to allow the instruction of P.T.'s by any certificated teacher, instead of a certificated teacher of the school in which the P.T. served.<sup>1</sup> In the '80s and '90s the "centre" system spread to all the large towns in the country<sup>4</sup> and the superiority of the pupils of such centres was obvious by the high position they were taking in the Queen's Scholarship lists.<sup>3</sup>

The evidence before the Cross Commission and <sup>the</sup> two main reports showed great differences of opinion on the future of the pupil teacher system. Dr. Crosskey, for example, called it "at once, the cheapest and the very worst possible system of supply.... it should be abolished root and branch"<sup>4</sup> while Mr. Hance declared that, "this country must always look to the pupil teachers as being on the whole the best as well as the main source of the supply of certificated teachers."<sup>5</sup> The majority report stated that, "having regard to moral qualifications, there is no other available or.... equally trustworthy source from which an adequate supply of teachers is likely to be forthcoming; and with modifications, tending to the improvement of their education, the apprenticeship of pupil teachers, we think ought to be upheld."<sup>6</sup> The minority report strongly

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1. See T. Gautrey op.cit. pp.125-7
  2. See G.A. Christian op.cit. pp.21-41 for an account of the centre system in London. Also B.P.P. 1888 XXXV pp.88-91.
  3. The Schoolmaster Nov.14th 1891.
  4. B.P.P. 1887 XXIX Q.32,756-32,758
  5. B.P.P. 1887 XXIX Q.32,113.
  6. B.P.P. 1888 XXXV p.88.

dissented from this proposition and were of the opinion "that the moral securities we should look for in our future teachers are not likely to be diminished, but on the contrary greatly increased by a wider course and a prolonged period of preliminary education before students are trusted with the management of classes."<sup>1</sup>

On the value of the centre system the witnesses also disagreed strongly, some considering it a great improvement, others disapproving of it completely. The majority approved of the system with reservations,<sup>2</sup> the minority accepted it completely.<sup>3</sup> By 1902 central classes had become the ordinary method of instructing pupil teachers in urban areas. In that year 17,000 out of the total number of 32,000 pupil teachers and probationers<sup>4</sup> were receiving some part of their instruction in centres during the daytime. However, out of the first 100 successful candidates in the King's Scholarship examination of 1902 as many as 91 had been instructed in large centres.<sup>5</sup> At Scarborough and other places steps had been taken to render secondary schools available for the instruction of pupil teachers and the Departmental Committee on the pupil-teacher system of 1898 had recommended that all intending teachers should pass

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1. B.P.P. 1888 XXXV p.242. See also *ibid.* p.270.
  2. B.P.P. 1888 XXXV pp.88-92. See also *ibid.* p.227.
  3. *Ibid.* pp.270-277
  4. Probationers were recognised from 13 to 16, pupil teachers from 15 (14 in rural schools) to 19. See B.P.P. 1907 LXIV pp.10-11.
  5. B.P.P. 1907 LXIV p.13

through a secondary school for the completion of their ordinary education.<sup>1</sup>

The committee cordially recognised the improvements brought about by the centres but "many of them are merely classes brought together for the purposes of "cram". It is inevitable that they should tend to produce professional and social narrowness of aim, and to subordinate educational aims to pressure of examinations.... In many cases the scanty staff is imperfectly qualified and narrowly trained, though if it is admitted to be desirable for pupil-teachers to pass through secondary schools, it is even more important that those who instruct them should have had ample means for securing a liberal education.<sup>2</sup>

The ideal held by many educationists of the time was the complete integration of the training of future elementary teachers with the secondary education system. Not only was it intended that all future elementary teachers should have profited by a secondary education but also it was hoped that elementary teachers would be recruited much more freely from the middle classes. Both the Departmental Committee of 1898 and a less formal committee of 1903, "looked forward with confidence to the use of secondary schools as the best means of overcoming

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1. E.P.P. 1898 XXVI: Report and Minutes of Evidence of the Departmental Committee on the Pupil-Teacher System.
  2. E.P.P. 1898 XXVI: p.8.

that narrowness of intellectual and professional outlook which had long been felt to be one of the weakest points of the profession, and which, it can hardly be doubted, was largely due to the inhuman and deadening influences under which generations of pupil teachers had been educated.<sup>1</sup> However, before any systematic or widespread use could be made of secondary schools for training future teachers, there was need for both some sort of organisation of the chaotic system of higher education and for further financial aid to voluntary schools which would enable them to dispense with pupil teachers<sup>2</sup> and employ certificated teachers.

Changes had also occurred in the training colleges<sup>3</sup>. The Revised Code and its aftermath had cramped and confined the training college syllabus and work had deteriorated into the cramming of students with the basic minimum of information necessary for the certificate examination and the examinations held by the Science and Art Department. The lecturers were usually "elementary teachers, sometimes appointed immediately

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1. B.P.P. 1907 LXIV: p.15.
  2. The Schoolmaster April 22nd 1899.  
See also Committee on the Pupil Teacher (National Society): Report with Minutes of Evidence and Papers of Information (1899).
  3. See H.W. Rich op.cit. pp.192-247  
B.P.P. 1914 XXV: Report of the Board of Education 1912-13 pp.1-39  
The Schoolmaster Aug.9th 1902 ff. "When I was in College".  
F.H. Sponcor - An Inspector's Testament (1938)  
F.F. Potter - Educational Journey (1949).  
G.A. Christian op.cit. pp;9-15.  
J. Fanciran - Schools and Scholars (1887).  
B.P.P. 1888 XXXV pp.93-102.

on the completion of their two years course of training"<sup>1</sup> and the students were in an "unsatisfactory and uneducated state.... when they entered into training."<sup>2</sup> Poverty and bleakness characterised the surroundings in which the students were trained and the general disciplinary tone was that of a somewhat inferior boarding school. Of the teachers trained by such a system Rich has written that "they went out into the schools with a sound technique of managing large numbers of children, with an acquaintance with a few "methods" of teaching various subjects, with a mass of undigested miscellaneous knowledge, and no ideas at all on the general significance of education, and the true principles underlying it."<sup>3</sup> This does not seem to me to represent the whole truth of the matter. Granted that the pupil teacher system and the training colleges between them were calculated to deaden any spark of intelligence or desire for knowledge, one is still impressed by the way in which the desire for knowledge and "culture" managed to survive. A small but increasing number of elementary teachers matriculated<sup>4</sup> or took the external degrees of London University and some ex-elementary teachers became distinguished in other professions notably Law, Journalism, the Church and Secondary teaching. It should be remembered also that this generation of teachers

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1. B.P.P. 1888 XXXV: p.288

2. Ibid. pp.277-283. See also pp.288-291.

3. Rich op.cit. p.214

4. B.P.P. 1888 XXXVI: pp. 1-224. See Replies to Question 10.



destroyed "payment by results" and created the higher elementary schools and pupil teacher centres. As G.A. Christian, one of them, has written "the products of that earlier time have as a body deserved well of England. Their difficulties and drawbacks, the meagreness of their advantages and the consciousness of their handicap, enforced self-reliance, bred their resolution, challenged all their powers, evoked the best that was in them and taught them how to tackle and overcome difficulties."<sup>1</sup>

Part of the explanation of their resilience is that the students who were trained were, on the whole, the best of a very large number of pupil teachers, who were in turn selected from the most promising children of the elementary schools. "With so much selection, the material on which the colleges worked could not fail to be sound, and the colleges would have been inefficient indeed had they not made some good use of it."<sup>2</sup>

By the 1890's the quality of the staff of the training colleges had begun to improve. University trained teachers began to be recruited on to the staff and men like P.A. Barnett of Borough Road brought the best traditions of the older universities into the training colleges.<sup>3</sup> The petty restrictions surrounding the lives of the students were gradually

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1. G.A. Christian op.cit. p.14

2. B.P.P. 1914 XXV p.17

3. See G.A. Christian op.cit. pp.14, 75-6

F.H. Spencer op.cit. pp.129-131, 152

P.B. Ballard. Things I cannot forget (1937) pp.35-6

lifted<sup>1</sup> and more facilities were provided for the social and recreational life of the student body. In 1893 provisions were made for especially able students to spend a third year abroad.

The significant new departure in the training of teachers was the foundation of the Day Training College System.<sup>2</sup> The demand for training colleges of a non-residential type came in the main from the great urban school boards. The existing training colleges were providing an inadequate supply of trained teachers and nonconformist students in particular were finding it extremely difficult to get a training. In spite of the Queen's Scholarships many eligible candidates could not afford their part of the cost of training (entrance fee, fares, pocket money, clothes and maintenance during vacation) or would rather live at home than go into residence.<sup>3</sup> Suggestions were also made of linking up the proposed non-residential colleges with the university colleges then growing up in various parts of the country.

The Cross Commission considered various suggestions for "day training colleges". The majority recommended that a system of day training colleges in connection with local university colleges should be tried on a limited scale to meet the needs of those students who could not find a place at a residential training college. Only a limited number of students

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1. Although they still persist in the smaller training colleges even at present.
  2. R.W. Rich op.cit. pp.221-233.
  3. See F.H. Spencer op.cit. p.119

should receive government assistance towards their training and no portion of the cost of establishing or maintaining the day training colleges should fall upon the rates.<sup>1</sup> The minority gave a much heartier support to the suggestions for day training colleges and advocated "rate aid" for them.

In 1890 the Education Department drew up regulations for the administration of grants to "day training colleges" in connection with universities and university colleges. The students were to receive their general education in the ordinary classes of the university institution, their professional training being the work of a special department of the college. Between 1890 and 1900 sixteen such colleges were established and in 1899 they held 1,196 students.<sup>2</sup> Permission was given for students to remain for three years to take a degree and although the number who obtained their degree in this way was not large<sup>3</sup> the fusion of some teacher training with university education was a step towards the fulfilment of a long-cherished dream of the teaching profession.<sup>4</sup> It was at this time also that pupil

1. B.P.P. 1888 XXV pp. 98-102.

2. The colleges were at London, Birmingham, Durham, Manchester, Nottingham, Cardiff, Cambridge, Leeds, Liverpool, Sheffield, Oxford, Bristol, Aberystwyth, Bangor, Reading and Southampton.

3. Many completed their degrees while serving in the schools.

4. An important part in the movement for university education for teachers was played by Canon Barnett of Toynbee Hall. He founded the "Education Reform League" which pressed for university education for all elementary teachers. (The Schoolmaster March 27th 1886) and the "Teachers' University Association" which from 1885 onwards sent elementary teachers to Oxford and Cambridge for three weeks training at a time. The Toynbee Hall "Pupil Teacher University Scholarship Fund" sent pupil-teachers direct to Oxford and Cambridge and in 1900, thanks chiefly to the liberality of the Drapers' and Cloth

Workers' Companies, thirteen Toynbee scholars were studying at Oxford and thirteen at Cambridge. Two-thirds of them were collegiate and they obtained results much above the average. Also connected with Toynbee Hall was the "London Pupil Teachers' Association" aiming "to give to the pupil teachers of London interests and pleasures beyond the strict limits of their school life."

See Canon Barnett: His Life, Work and Friends by His Wife (S.A. Barnett) (1918) Vol. I Ch. XXVII pp. 342-355

B.P.P. 1887 XXX Q. 54, 524-54, 838

B.P.P. 1901 XIX p. 193

B.P.P. 1903 XXI pp. 166-172

G.A. Christian op.cit. p. 36.

The Schoolmaster July 3rd, Oct. 23rd 1886, March 23rd 1889,

G. Baron op.cit. Appendix D.

teachers began competing directly for Oxford and Cambridge scholarships and exhibitions.

The residential colleges did not lag behind the day training colleges and many of them sought affiliation to universities so that their students could attend lectures and qualify for admittance to the degree. In 1899 252 students from day training colleges and 467 from residential colleges presented themselves for university degrees and 185 day and 217 residential students were successful. The failure rate was high for the task of pursuing technical studies (all students had to pass Part 1 of the certificate in professional subjects) <sup>1</sup> while at the same time preparing for a degree involved a great strain on the students and one or the other branch of study was apt to suffer. Although <sup>to</sup> majority of those who failed at their first attempt were successful at subsequent attempts it was suggested by some authorities that it would be better

1. B.P.P. 1901 XIX p. 194.

to let the men take their degree first undisturbed by other work, and then call upon them for a period of continuous training in the science and practice of teaching.

Throughout the period under discussion the type of entrant to the profession had not altered. The profession was still being recruited almost completely from the "respectable" working class. But whereas in 1869-70 there had been 6,384 boy pupil teachers to 8,228 girl pupil teachers by 1895-6 there were 6,674 boy pupil teachers and 24,948 girls. It was becoming increasingly difficult to get boys to become apprenticed as their parents were finding a more lucrative market for their son's services in shop, office or factory.<sup>1</sup> Towards the end of the century the opening up of job opportunities in offices for girls started a decline in the number of girl pupil teachers. From the high point of 26,103 in 1897-8 they fell to 19,699 in 1901-2. The dearth of pupil teachers was most pronounced in the rural voluntary schools as parents were less willing to apprentice their children to a small and struggling voluntary school where their chances of obtaining a high place in the Queen's Scholarship examination were small. Even more important, with the restriction on the hours of work for pupil teachers it had become more economical to employ Article 68<sup>2</sup>ers than pupil teachers.<sup>2</sup>

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1. B.P.P. 1900 XIX p.16+  
 2. B.P.P. 1900 XIX p.16+

By 1900 it had come to be seen that the logical continuation of the changes that had taken place in teacher training was the integration of pupil teacher training with the secondary schools and of the training colleges with the universities. At the same time it was realised that the very existence of the teaching profession was being threatened by the alarming increase of uncertificated and untrained female teachers.<sup>1</sup> Only a general government measure which would resolve the chaos of secondary education, relate elementary and secondary education and aid the voluntary schools could solve the training problems of the teaching profession.

The attitude of the teachers themselves to the changes in training had been almost uniformly favourable. The pupil teacher centres were favoured both because they raised the standards of the profession and because they relieved the head teacher of some of his most difficult work. A few of the more conscientious teachers were loth to lose the training of their apprentices. Also the feeling persisted that while the Pupil Teacher centres (and later the secondary schools) made for a higher academic standard in the entrants to the profession, teachers trained in this manner were less efficient in dealing with large classes of working class children. The affiliation of training colleges to the universities and the alteration of the course of study so as to lead to the university degree had

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1. See H.M.I. Rankine's interesting Report on Training Colleges for 1900 (B.P.P. 1901 XIX pp.185-201).

long been one of the ideals of the N.U.T.<sup>1</sup> It was felt that these changes would raise the teachers status and efficiency, break down the barrier between elementary and secondary teachers, and break the stronghold of the government on the profession.

Combined with these motives was a desire for "culture". James Blacker in his Presidential Address to the N.U.T. in 1901 represented the inarticulate feelings of all teachers when he said that "the organised thousands of the National Union of Teachers have aspirations toward that high intellectual plane which has come to be embodied in one word - "culture."<sup>2</sup>

The elementary teachers were bitterly aware that in spite of their certificates and external degrees, in spite of their long and arduous climb upwards they still did not possess "culture". In their desire that "culture" should be introduced into their education and training there lay the seeds of much friction. The introduction of "culture" could only be through the introduction of "cultured" trainers, that is men and women with experience in secondary and university education.<sup>3</sup> It was almost inevitable that elementary teachers would find themselves being excluded from the secondary schools and training colleges in order to make room for such teachers. Tact and conciliation

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1. For example N.U.T. Report 1879 p.liv, 1881 p.xxix, 1886 p.cxliii, 1887 pp.xxi-xxv, cix 1888 pp.cxxv-cxxvi. The Schoolmaster July 3rd, Oct 23rd 1886.
  2. N.U.T. Report 1901 p.xi
  3. B.P.P. 1902 XXV p.184

would be needed on the part of the administrators if the elementary teachers were not to be goaded into revolt. Unfortunately the crucial post of Secretary of the Board of Education was occupied, from 1902-1911, by a man who was<sup>1</sup> incapable of tact or conciliation.

### The "Social Position" of the Elementary Teacher

The social position of the elementary teachers at the turn of the century was in a state of transition. It is still possible to find complaints of "social isolation" written in almost the same words as the complaints of the 1850's.<sup>2</sup> Although there were less direct complaints of the low "social condition" of the profession, the status anxiety of the teachers can be detected in much of the writings of members of the profession and is a clue to much of the activity of the N.U.T.<sup>3</sup>

The hostile attitudes of much of the middle and upper classes towards the elementary teachers and their organisation reinforced the status anxiety of the profession. The extent

1. See Chapter XII.
2. The School Guardian Oct 13th 1894. "The position of our elementary teachers, especially in rural parishes, is for the most part not a little isolated. They occupy a unique place in society. Their higher education raises them above the labourers, and even the majority of farmers and small shopkeepers; and yet they are not generally the social equals of the clergy or the gentry."  
See also B. Webb op.cit., The Times 17th June 1872, The Schoolmaster July 6th, Oct. 19th 1872, The School Board Chronicle Nov. 23rd, 30th 1872, The School Guardian June 4th 1892.
3. See the strong re-actions of the professions to cases which spotlighted their low position in society e.g. The Schoolmaster March 29th, April 19th 1879, Feb 25th, 1882.



of this hostility should not be under-estimated.<sup>1</sup> The elementary teachers took the brunt of much of the diffuse attack directed by the old middle class against popular education, the social services, and the new white-collar middle class. Certain themes in the attack on the teachers were already familiar in the 1840's and are found even at the present day. It was said that the teacher owed his position to the "charity" of others, that his hours of work were short and his holidays long. The teachers were made responsible for the universal degeneration of every generation of children compared to the one preceding. It was said that due to the low social class from which they were recruited they were uncultured, narrow and foolishly conceited.<sup>2</sup> Many of the suggestions for recruiting the

1. In July 1903 Winston Churchill's bugbears were "Labour, N.U.T. and expenditure on elementary education or on the social services." (B. Webb Our Partnership (1948) p.269).
2. Quarterly Review 1879. "This ignorance on the part of teachers as to their position, and as to their relations to the country, is a point about which no reticence need be shown. They must distinctly understand that their office is not one which calls for any special abilities. Pretensions such as the certificated teacher sometimes puts forth.... must be crushed and checked without mercy." (See also The Schoolmaster Feb 15th 1879).  
Fortnightly Review May 1899. "The Teacher Problem" by Harold Hodge "The elementary school teacher is not likely to be a person of superior type. He is, in truth, a small middle class person.... with all the usual intellectual restrictions of his class. He is, in other words, unintellectual, knowing hardly anything well, parochial in sympathies, vulgar in the accent and style of his talking, with a low standard of manners. He is withal extremely respectable, correct morally, with a high sense of duty, as he understands it, and competent in the technique of his calling.... What we want is educated ladies and gentlemen as teachers."

These are only two out of a mass of attacks on the teachers. See also The School Board Chronicle April 15th 1882, May 5th 1883, The Schoolmaster Sept. 24th, Oct. 1st, 11th, 26th, Nov.

(Contd...)

22nd 1873, Nov.16th 1895, Dec.13th 1902, Sept.27th 1913, June 6th 1914.

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profession more freely from the middle classes were due less to a desire to raise the standards of the profession than to a feeling that such eligible posts should not go to working class children and that such a strategic profession could become a political danger if recruited from the working class.<sup>1</sup>

An even more bitter attack was launched against the N.U.T.<sup>2</sup> It was said that the teachers as "public servants" had no right to any opinions of their own on educational politics, that the N.U.T. was a Trade Union of the worst kind, concerned only with the selfish interests of its members and using unfair means to advance these interests. There were recurrent fears of the "teacher army" and complaints that the N.U.T. had grown too powerful for the welfare of the country.<sup>3</sup> The Times in 1880

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1. "The Socialist leaders already perceive what a splendid field the elementary schools afford for their peculiar propaganda. What better career can they offer to their sons and daughters than to enter the teaching profession, and in a discreet way play the socialist missionary?....(The middle class should) supply teachers of their own class - men and women free from the bias and the envy of a narrow upbringing". (W.R.Lawson John Bull and his Schools (1908).) See also B.P.P. 1886 XXV Q.13,408 - 13, 694.
2. For "public" opinion on the teaching profession and the N.U.T. some of the most useful sources are the comments of the national press on the annual conferences of the union. These are usually reprinted in full in The Schoolmaster. See especially The Schoolmaster 13th April 1874, 14th April 1877, April 10th 1880, April 30th 1881, May 5th 1884, April 11th 1891.
3. See The Times 17th June 1872, The Schoolmaster April 14th 1877, April 30th 1881, The School Board Chronicle 20th April 1st Nov.1884, 28th Feb 1885, Dec.15th 1894, Aug.10th 1901, May 2nd 1903, W.R.Lawson op.cit. p.213

called the N.U.E.T. "a Frankenstein's monster which has suddenly grown into full life"<sup>1</sup>. There were some, who while friendly to the teachers, considered that the N.U.T. was devoting too much time to educational politics and too little to "professional improvements". H.M.I. J.G.Fitch gave evidence before the Cross Commission on this point,<sup>2</sup> but the commission stated "in justice to the teachers, that the alleged decay of professional enthusiasm, and the fact that less time is now devoted by teachers' associations to educational questions, are attributed by the teachers themselves to the unfavourable conditions under which elementary education is stated by them to be at present carried on."<sup>3</sup> An anonymous writer in The Citizen gave the case both against and for the union when he wrote that, "Some observers resent its (the N.U.T.'s) activities, dub it a trades union, and charge it with narrowness and party spirit. But, whatever may be the dangers of the situation, there is no doubt that the position which the union now enjoys has been earned by unceasing effort and devoted labour. To it, and almost to it alone, the country owes the destruction of vicious theories about state interference with the work of the elementary schools which were rampant twenty years ago, and are

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1. The Schoolmaster April 10th 1880

2. B.P.P. 1887 XXX Q. 57,864 - 57,870.

See also The Schoolmaster Nov.16th 1889 ff, The School Guardian Nov.16th 1889 ff. The School Board Chronicle Nov.16th 1889 for the quarrel between Fitch and the N.U.T.

3. B.P.P. 1888 XXXV pp.79-80

still cherished in a sneaking kind of a way by many people who ought to know better. But victories of this kind are not bought for nothing. Fighters have not the virtues of students, and are apt, indeed, to lose perceptions which are necessary to the most far-seeing statesmanship. "Every country" says the proverb, "has the foe it deserves," and when a critic dwells on the failings of the N.U.T., it is well to remind him of the kind of policy against which the Union had so long to protest.<sup>1</sup>

The hostility of a large section of the middle classes towards the elementary teachers and their union, the feeling that the social mobility of the individual teacher had come up against "caste lines", the ambivalent feelings of the teacher towards "culture" and the very real frustrations the teachers experienced in their work due to the gap between what their training and consciences told them "could be" and the actual state of the schools - all these were forcing the teachers into co-operation with the radicals and the working class movement. In spite of the strong conservative and church element in the union, in spite of the desire of the individual teacher to be accepted in the terms of the existing society (i.e. achieve professional status and culture) and in spite of the hostility between the "respectable" white-collar worker and the manual worker there was an increasing rapprochement between the N.U.T.<sup>2</sup> and working class associations.

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1. The Citizen March 1897. See also G.A.Christian op.cit. p.95, B.Webb op.cit. p.11.
2. In 1895 the conference of the N.U.T. had rejected a vote to affiliate to the T.U.C. by 9,721 votes to 4,911 (The School-

Master April 20th 1895, The School Guardian May 18th 1895).  
 In 1897 the N.U.T. conference passed a resolution, by a large majority, to send £150 to help the striking Penrhyn quarrymen (The Schoolmaster March 27th 1897). In several areas district associations attempted to work with trades councils (The Schoolmaster Feb 4th, July 22nd 1893, Aug. 12th 1911). See also The Schoolmaster Sept.-Nov. 1907 and N.U.T. Report 1902 p. xxxvii.

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To analyse the social position of the teacher at the turn of the century solely in terms of isolation, anxiety and hostility is to ignore a secular trend of much greater significance. The elementary teachers in common with the rest of the "suburban and professional people" were rising in status and influence in the social structure. C.F.G. Masterman in his skilful analysis of English social structure in 1909 wrote that, "it would seem that it is from the suburban and professional people we must more and more demand a supply of men and women of capacity and energy adequate to the work of the world... Embedded in them are whole new societies created by legislation and national demand, whose future is full of promise. Here is, for example, the new type of elementary teacher - a figure practically unknown forty years ago - drawn in part from the tradesmen and the more ambitious artisan population, and now, lately, in a second generation, from its own homes. It is exhibiting a continuous rise of standard, keen ambitions, a respect for intellectual things which is often absent in the population amongst which it resides. Its members are not only doing their own work efficiently, but are everywhere taking the

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lead in public and quasi-public activities. They appear as the mainstay of the political machine in suburban districts, serving upon the municipal bodies, in work, clear-headed and efficient; the leaders in the churches and chapels, and their various social organisations. They are taking up the position in the urban districts which for many generations was occupied by the country clergy in the rural districts; providing centres with other standards than those of monetary success, and raising families who exhibit sometimes vigour of character, sometimes unusual intellectual talent. A quite remarkable proportion of the children of elementary schoolmasters is now knocking at the doors of the older Universities, clamouring for admittance; and those who effect entrance are often carrying off the highest honours. This process is only in its beginning; every year the standard improves; these "servants of the State"<sup>1</sup> <sup>have</sup> assured to them a noteworthy and honourable future".

#### The Position of the N.U.T.

By the end of the 1890's the N.U.T. had reached an extremely strong position. Its membership had risen from 16,100 in 1890 to 43,621 in 1900. In 1900 the Union had three <sup>2</sup> "representatives" in the House of Commons. It had developed

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1. C.F.G. Masterman - The Condition of England (1909)  
For the growth of teacher participation in local government see The Schoolmaster Nov. 1st 1884, Feb 2nd, 9th, 16th 1895, N.U.T. Report 1895 pp. liii-liv.
  2. Yoxall and Gray had been joined by T.J. Macnamara in 1900.

its legal work and "teacher politics" to a high degree of efficiency and although many of its aims had not been achieved or only partially achieved it had several substantial victories to its credit. While details of the organisation of the union are beyond the scope of this study, there are two features which need to be examined if we are to understand union policy in the 1890's. The first is the changed leadership of the union in the early '90s and the second the growth of informal and formal pressure groups inside the profession.

For the first twenty years of its existence the union was led by the "founding fathers" or the "old guard". The President was generally elected from among the executive which changed very little from 1870 to 1890. The executive was closely connected with the private company owning The Schoolmaster and with the profitable "London Scholastic Trading Company Limited."<sup>1</sup> There had been some protests against the ruling group. In 1881 an "Advanced Party" was formed inside the union by a group of London board teachers led by David Salmon, H. Maidment, Clark and Clough. Their aim was to strengthen the union and promote the more rapid attainment of its objects. They were very much in evidence at the 1881 conference but only succeeded in electing one new member to the executive and by

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1. See Papers for the Schoolmaster June 1871  
G.A.Christian op.cit. pp.105 ff.  
Also Appendix

1882 little was heard of them.<sup>1</sup> Part of the reason for their failure was the hostility towards London teachers, (and in particular London board teachers), of the rural and provincial teachers. In 1882 the provincial teachers made a coup d'etat and wrested control of the union from the London teachers but the new regime accomplished nothing new and control returned to the "founding fathers"<sup>2</sup> in 1883. It was they who took the decisions to raise subscriptions, attack over-pressure, extend the legal side of the union's work and seek parliamentary representation. After a frightening fall in membership by 1886 the union was once more growing in numbers.<sup>3</sup>

In 1886 and 1887 the ageing executive began to split over religious questions which were once more coming to the fore in educational controversy.<sup>4</sup> This split increasingly inhibited it in the performance of its functions.

It was in this crisis that a new group emerged inside the union who christened themselves the "Indefatigables". They were led by J.H.Yoxall<sup>5</sup> and T.J.Macnamara<sup>6</sup> who seem to have

1. See The School Guardian March 12th 1881, The Schoolmaster, March 12th, 19th, April 30th 1881, Jan 28th, Dec.9th 1882.
2. The Schoolmaster April 15th 1882.
3. The Schoolmaster April 7th 1883, Feb.14th, Nov.21st 1885, Feb 20th, May 15th 1886.
4. See The Schoolmaster 1886 and 1887 for Executive Reports.
5. J.H.Yoxall (1857-1925) pupil teacher and Westminster Training College. While at college came under the personal influence of Matthew Arnold. Taught at Sheffield. In 1888 founded the "Symposium of the Indefatigables" with Macnamara. Elected to the Executive in 1889, became Vice-President 1891 and General Secretary 1892. Built up membership from 23,209 in 1892 to 112,030 in 1924. In 1895 elected to parliament as member for West Nottingham (Liberal) and retained seat until he retired in 1918. Knighted in 1909. A Royal Commissioner (on the

See Next Page for continuation of 5. and Footnote 6.



Bryce Commission).

Yoxall was an educated and cultured gentleman. He favoured a militant union policy but resisted closer relations with the trade union movement.

He retired in 1924 and died the year after.

See The Schoolmaster Feb 6th, 13th, 27th, 1925.

6. T.J. Macnamara (1861-1931). Pupil teacher and Borough Road Training College. Taught at Bristol. Elected to the Executive in 1890, became editor of The Schoolmaster in 1892 and Vice-President in 1895. Although a radical liberal supported compromise in educational politics, supported the 1896 Act but was repudiated by conference. In 1900 elected to Parliament and retained seat until 1924. In 1907 became Parliamentary Secretary to the Local Government Board and relinquished all union offices. Later became Financial Secretary to the Admiralty and from 1920-1922 was Minister of Labour.

Macnamara was a brilliant and powerful speaker and writer. It is certain that if he had moved to the left (as his inclinations might have directed him) instead of falling under the spell of Lloyd George he would have won still higher office.

begun working together in January 1887.<sup>1</sup> They launched a series of attacks on the executive for dissension and "shilly-shally" and, although they did not stand for election themselves, played an important part in the election of five new members to the executive in 1888.<sup>2</sup> They were much more than passive critics of the executive and devoted themselves to enlarging the membership of the union.<sup>3</sup> J.H. Yoxall was elected to the

1. See G.A. Christian op.cit. p.98  
The Schoolmaster Jan 15th, July 9th, 23rd, Sept. 24th, Oct. 1st 1887.
2. The Schoolmaster March 24th, 31st, April 7th, 14th 1888.  
The five included Burns, Mee and Horobin who were supported by the Indefatigables. The other two E. Gray and Organ were not Indefatigables. The touting and canvassing at the 1888 election reached new and disgraceful heights.
3. See The Schoolmaster April 14th, 1888

executive with a large number of votes in 1889 (although he failed to gain the presidency) and T.J.Macnamara in 1890. In 1891 Yoxall was elected to the Presidency and in 1892 he succeeded T.E.Heller as General Secretary. In 1892 also T.J.Macnamara became Editor of The Schoolmaster and the victory of the "Indefatigables" was complete.<sup>1</sup> By 1894 the executive consisted of 6 "old guard from the '70s", 8 "surviving stalwarts from the '80s", and 14 "young bloods of the '90s".<sup>2</sup>

In the late 1880's it is possible to observe the growth of informal pressure groups inside the N.U.T. which in the early 1890's crystallise into definite internal or external associations. As early as October 1887 an editorial in The Schoolmaster warned its readers that "there are organised movements at work with the object of splitting the union up into sections."<sup>3</sup> These sections were formed from certificated elementary teachers and must be distinguished from the completely separate associations of the secondary and public school teachers.<sup>4</sup>

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1. See The Schoolmaster May 6th, June 24th 1893 for the new editorial policy. Also ibid. Feb 16th 1907.
  2. The Schoolmaster March 31st 1894.  
Other breakdowns are (1) 13 Metropolitan teachers, 11 Provincial town teachers, 4 rural teachers.  
(2) 11 Board teachers, 12 voluntary teachers, 5 not at work in primary schools.  
(3) 25 head teachers, 3 assistant teachers.
  3. The Schoolmaster Oct.8th 1887. The particular sections mentioned are rural, assistant, northern and board teachers. See also Percy Dane- Made by Act of Parliament (1887) Ch.XVII
  4. See B.Webb op.cit. p.11 ff.  
G.Baron op.cit. passim.

The two most dangerous potential cleavages were those between teachers in voluntary schools and teachers in board schools and the associated cleavage between teachers belonging to the Church of England and teachers belonging to the dissenting denominations. These two cleavages were associated but not identical as many board school teachers had received their training in church colleges and were loyal to the church. The two cleavages were due firstly, to the desire of many voluntary school teachers that their schools (and incidentally themselves) should receive increased grants from the national exchequer even at the expense of the board school teachers, and secondly, to the general conflict between church-conservatives and dissenter-liberals on the future of the dual system.

The foundation of the N.U.E.T. had not put an end to the denominational organisations of teachers. In some instances the denominational organisations were even strengthened by the advent of the N.U.E.T. as it enabled them to devote their meetings to denominational matters. As the N.U.E.T. began to organise itself into non-denominational district associations the denominational associations either disbanded or else withdrew from the union. In 1873, for example, the London Wesleyan Teachers Association and the London British Teachers Association left the N.U.E.T. and devoted themselves to strictly denominational matters. In the same year the London Association of Church Teachers also withdrew and became the London Association of Church Managers and Teachers. It was in 1873 also, that the "General Association of Church Managers and

Teachers" was founded.<sup>1</sup> While the "General Association" was definitely a church association the teachers insisted<sup>2</sup> on having half the representatives on the executive committee.<sup>2</sup> Many of the early leaders of the N.U.E.T. were also members of the General Association which tended to support the union in all professional matters.<sup>3</sup>

Until 1888 the dual system "was but a cursory and intermittent subject of debate within the union"<sup>4</sup> but as the conflict deepened in the country outside, splits began to develop inside the union. In 1889 the London teachers took the lead in forming the "Metropolitan Voluntary Teachers Association". They had been spurred into activity by the example of the militant and influential "Metropolitan Board Teachers Association"<sup>5</sup> and by the disquiet felt by voluntary teachers of all denominations at Heller's signature of the Minority Report of the Cross Commission.<sup>6</sup> The association was not a breakaway movement but

1. The objects of the Association were:-
  - (a) The maintenance of religious teaching in Church Schools and Church Training Colleges, and the securing to managers and teachers a voice in determining the course of instruction and the system of examination.
  - (b) The due recognition of the office and position of Church schoolteachers, as such, by the Church.
  - (c) The protection of pecuniary and other interests of teachers and managers.
  - (d) General conferences.
2. The Schoolmaster Nov. 9th, 23rd 1872, March 8th, 1873.
3. The annual conferences of the General Association are reported in full in The Schoolmaster and The School Guardian.
4. Sectarian rivalry was, however, always near the surface. The years from 1878 to 1880 saw the union threatened by events stemming from the "Earls Barton" Case when the executive (and in particular Heller and Graves) were accused of taking the church's part in a dispute with a school board. See The Schoolmaster Sept. 1878- April 1880.
5. The School Guardian Oct. 31st 1890.
6. See The Schoolmaster Feb 9th 1889, The School Board Chronicle

(Contd....)

Feb 9th, 23rd 1895, The School Guardian Jan 12th, 19th, 26th, Feb 2nd, 9th 1889.

The N.U.T. executive passed a resolution that Heller signed "the report of the Royal Commission.... in his individual capacity as a member of that commission."

aimed at independent progaganda and "capturing" the N.U.T. It included all voluntary teachers and published a periodical The Voluntary Teacher (later The School Times). From 1890 onwards its activities became increasingly opposed to the activities of the N.U.T. It campaigned against the N.U.T. on the "religious circular" question at the 1894<sup>1</sup> London School Board election. Its attack on the N.U.T. executive became<sup>2</sup> increasingly vitriolic and the executive replied in kind. In 1893 the Metropolitan Voluntary Teachers Association began recruiting members throughout the country and in February 1895 the "National Association of Voluntary Teachers" was formed with Fred Jago as General Secretary and with the aim of capturing<sup>3</sup> the N.U.T.

The N.A.V.T. had, however, overstated its position and by the extravagance of its statements and its seeming willingness to subordinate the interests of the teachers to the claims of the church had failed to gain the support of the mass of the voluntary teachers. It ran lists for the N.U.T. executive, supported the 1896 Education Bill against the decision of the

1. See The School Guardian Aug. 18th, 25th, Oct. 27th, Nov. 10th 1894.

2. The Schoolmaster Jan-Feb 1894.  
The School Guardian April 13th, 27th, 1895.

3. The School Guardian March 18th, Sept. 23rd, 1893, July 14th, 28th, August 18th, 25th, Dec. 21st 1894, Jan 12th, Feb. 9th 1895. The Schoolmaster Jan. 5th, Feb. 9th, 1895, May 2nd 1896.

N.U.T. and held special conferences,<sup>1</sup> but it had mainly nuisance value. The main battle shifted to inside the N.U.T. Vicious letters were exchanged in The Schoolmaster and vicious speeches were made in the executive, the local associations and the annual conference. Conferences and executive meetings became increasingly muddled and bad-tempered.<sup>2</sup> Faced with this danger to the unity of the profession two men set themselves to seek a policy which would be broadly agreeable to both sides. T.J. Macnamara (as a radical liberal) and Ernest Gray<sup>3</sup> (a moderate conservative) faced personal misunderstanding and much vilification from both sides in their desire to find a compromise solution which would maintain the union intact. This effort was eventually successful and in spite of the bitterness

1. The School Guardian Jan 4th, March 7th, May 2nd, 16th, 23rd, June 13th, 27th, July 4th, Aug. 15th, 22nd, 29th, Aug. 8th, 15th, 22nd, 29th, Sept. 5th, 12th, 1896, Feb 20th, March 27th, 1897.

2. The Schoolmaster April 27th, 1895, May-June 1896, Sept. 12th 1896.

3. Ernest Gray (1857-1932) was the third of the great triumvirate of Yoxall, Macnamara and Gray who remoulded the union. Pupil teacher and Battersea Training College. Taught in Westminster He was not an "indefatigable" although he sympathised with their aims. Elected to the Executive in 1888, Vice-President in 1893, Secretary to the Education Committee 1895-1925. Elected to Parliament in 1895 and an M.P. from 1895-1906 and 1918-1922. A member of the L.C.C. from 1907-1925 and Vice-Chairman 1915-16. Knighted in 1925.

A moderate conservative, where children were concerned he was a passionate reformer. In parliament he worked in close co-operation with Yoxall, had a great influence on the 1902 Act and fought the Geddes Axe with all his strength. In London he pioneered Central and Open-Air Schools.

He resigned from his union posts in 1925 and died in 1932 after many years suffering.

and mis-representation the membership of the union continued to increase.<sup>1</sup>

The N.A.V.T. continued to campaign separately although it suffered losses in membership when the N.U.T. set up a loyal "National Federation of Voluntary School Teachers" inside the union.<sup>2</sup> After the 1902 Education Act its membership narrowed down to London and it dissolved in 1905 when its members joined the "London Teachers Association."<sup>3</sup> Between 1906 and 1908 the religious controversies over the series of abortive education bills<sup>led</sup> to the formation of a "National Council of Church School Teachers" which attempted to act as a pressure group inside the N.U.T.<sup>4</sup> but with little success.

While the religious cleavage was by far the most important there were four other cleavages which were important in the 1890's and the first ten years of the twentieth century. They were the cleavages between the head teachers and the assistant or class teachers, between the collegiate and the non-collegiate certificated teachers, between men and women teachers and between rural and urban teachers. All these cleavages, like that between voluntary and board teachers, followed a similar pattern. In the first stage there would be an organised pressure for the

1. See N.U.T. Report 1896; Presidential Address The Schoolmaster April 27th, 1895, May 30th 1896.
2. See The Schoolmaster July 17th, 24th, Dec. 25th 1897, April 16th 1898. The School Guardian July 10th, 1897, June 25th 1898.
3. The School Guardian Feb 28th, 1903, March 18th, Nov. 18th 1905.
4. The School Guardian Oct. 26th, Dec. 14th 1907. The Schoolmaster Oct. 12th, 19th, Nov. 9th, Dec. 14th, 1907, March 21st, April 4th, Sept. 12th 1908.

N.U.T. to adopt certain policies or take up the cause of certain teachers. In the second local associations would be formed and an organised canvas would carry on propaganda inside and outside the N.U.T., would attempt to push motions through conference or capture a majority on the executive. In the third stage, a national association might be formed with members who need not also be members of the N.U.T. In the last stage, the national association would be openly hostile to the N.U.T. and would ban its members from being members of the N.U.T. None of the cleavages reached the last stage in this period although as we will see the male-female cleavage led to some secession of membership from the 1920's onwards.

The first cleavage to develop was that between the head teachers and the assistant teachers. In the '70s and '80s every assistant teacher could look forward to rapid promotion to head teacher.<sup>2</sup> But "when the multiplication of schools slackened, and those in the densely populated centres grew in size, so that a single head teacher found himself in command of a staff of a dozen or even a score of class teachers, it became evident that a majority of the assistants would remain in that position throughout their whole careers. Meanwhile the administration of the N.U.T. continued naturally to be directed by the more prominent of its members, who were nearly always head teachers."<sup>1</sup> In 1887 and 1888 the grumbles of the assistants

1. Webb op.cit. p.6.

2. Although there are complaints from assistants of small salaries and lack of opportunity for promotion as early as 1874 (e.g. The Schoolmaster April 4th, 1874).



increased and they formed separate associations. By 1889 there were five Assistants' Associations and in January 1892 the first national conference of class teachers was held at Sheffield.<sup>1</sup> Salaries and corporal punishment regulations were discussed and four class teachers were adopted as candidates for the N.U.T. Executive.<sup>2</sup> The "National Federation of Class Teachers" (often called the "National Federation of Assistant Teachers") had a great deal of success in its campaign and from its foundation onwards the opinions of the class teachers were well represented (perhaps too well represented) in the formulation of N.U.T. policy.<sup>3</sup> In 1900 and in 1902 assistant teachers were presidents of the N.U.T. and they were well represented on the executive. Besides their particular grievances of salary and promotion the organised assistant teachers have tended to be more militant, left-wing and trade-union minded than the mass of the teachers.<sup>4</sup>

The separate organisation of the assistant teachers led, in 1897, to the formation of the "National Federation of Head Teachers' Associations" (later the "National Association of Head Teachers").<sup>5</sup> The organisation was too small to be an effective

1. See B.P.P. 1887 XXIX Q.28, 171-28, 574.  
The Schoolmaster Sept. 7th 1889, July 4th 1891, Oct. 15th, Nov. 5th, Dec. 17th, 1892, Sept. 2nd, Nov. 4th, 11th 1893.
2. For the objects of the "National Federation of Class Teachers" see National Federation of Class Teachers (Webb Trade Union Collection: Miscellaneous Trades: Coll E. Sect. B. CLX).
3. See for example N.U.T. Report 1892 pp. cxxxix, cxlii, cclvii 1893 p. xcviii ff.
4. The Schoolmaster Oct. 5th 1906, Dec. 24th, 1910.
5. See The First Fifty Years: Jubilee Volume of the National Association of Head Teachers (1947).

The London Head Teachers had founded the "London Head Teachers Association" in 1888. See The London Head Teachers Association 1888-1938 (1938) pp. 17-43.  
Also The Schoolmaster April 14th 1888.

pressure group inside the N.U.T. but functioned mainly as a discussion group which applied informal pressure to Local Education Authorities on matters affecting head teachers. While the cleavage between the "Heads" and the "Assistants" roused a good deal of heat it was never in any danger of breaking the union.

The second cleavage was of far less importance. As we have seen, an increasing number of certificated teachers had not been through a training college. These "Non-collegiate certificated teachers" or "independently trained teachers" complained that they suffered from certain disabilities in comparison with teachers who had been through a training college. The Department and the larger school boards discriminated against them in their regulations, promotion was more difficult and their salaries were lower. Although the N.U.T. took up their case strongly they still felt the need for a separate organisation. In 1890 they formed an "Independently Trained Association" and in 1899 a "National Association of Non-Collegiate Certificated Teachers."<sup>1</sup> With the increase in college accommodation after the 1902 Act the untrained certificated teachers formed a diminishing section of the profession. As late as 1914, however, the N.U.T. was defending

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1. See The Schoolmaster June 14th, July 5th 1890, March 1896  
N.U.T. Report 1895 pp. clxiii- clxix, 1896 pp. lxxxiv- lxxxv

them against discriminating regulations,<sup>1</sup> while their own national association reminded the N.U.T. of their existence.

The third cleavage was to prove of the most importance in the latter part of the period and has continued to weaken the profession until the present. Down to the end of the nineteenth century the women teachers seem to have been prepared to allow the men teachers to monopolise the N.U.T. They accepted without any recorded complaint the lower scales of salaries and the lesser opportunities for promotion. They were less inclined to join the N.U.T. and played little part in the running of the union.<sup>2</sup> There were scattered associations of women teachers in the 1860's<sup>3</sup> but it was not until after 1900 that we find springing up various sectional organisations of women teachers for the purpose of levelling up the status of women teachers to that of men teachers or of capturing the N.U.T. for the suffrage movement.<sup>4</sup> Among these were the "National Federation of Women Teachers" and the "L.C.C. Mistresses Union"

1. See The Schoolmaster July-Aug 1906, March 27th, May 22nd, 1909, April 22nd, 1911, June 8th 1912, N.U.T. Report 1911, p.xlii, 1912, p.cxxiii ff. 1914 p.xxxix ff.
2. For example in 1895, 83% of the male certificated teachers were members of the N.U.T. and only 35% of the female certificated teachers. The first women president of the N.U.T. took office in 1911.
3. The School Guardian Feb 2nd 1884 mentions the "Metropolitan Board Mistresses Association" (Founded 1861) and the "Association of Married Mistresses".
4. See The Schoolmaster April 22nd, 29th, May 20th, Sept.9th 1911 Jan-Feb 1912 for an account of the attempt of the suffragettes to gain N.U.T. support.

which acted as pressure groups inside the N.U.T. and the "Women Teachers' Franchise Union", "Equal Pay League" and the "Womens' Social and Political Union" which campaigned outside the N.U.T. In 1909 the "Women Teachers' Franchise Union" and the London Unit of the "National Federation of Women Teachers" broke away from the N.U.T. to form the "National Union of Women Teachers". Inside the N.U.T. women teachers gained in influence<sup>1</sup> and after several unsuccessful attempts succeeded in adding "equal pay" to the aims of the N.U.T. in 1919.<sup>2</sup> The results of this success will be taken up in later chapters.

The last cleavage, that between rural and urban teachers, arose out of the feeling of the rural teachers that their particular problems (extraneous duties, insecurity of tenure, low salaries) were being ignored by the executive and that there was a need for more rural teachers on the executive and committees of the union. In July 1890 a "Confederation of Rural Teachers' Association" was established inside the N.U.T. to agitate for increased representation.<sup>3</sup>

Besides these "organised" pressure groups there were various jealousies and informal pressure groups. The most important

1. In 1910 women were Presidents of the N.F.A.T. and the Lancs. County Association of the N.U.T. and Vice-Presidents of the N.U.T. and L.T.A. (The Schoolmaster Dec.10th 1910)
2. See The Schoolmaster April 18th 1914.  
B.Webb op.cit. p.8
3. See The Schoolmaster Feb 2nd 1889, Dec.13th 1890, Dec.1897, Jan 1898, April 25th 1908, May 20th 1911.

jealousies were those between the London teachers<sup>1</sup> and the Northern teachers, between the Infant teachers and the Senior teachers, between teachers with first class certificates and those with third class certificates, and between graduates and non-graduates. There were separate associations of teachers in higher grade schools, central schools, evening schools, manual schools, half-time schools, special schools, technical institutes and training colleges.<sup>2</sup> There were associations of uncertificated teachers, married women teachers, unemployed teachers and inspectors. There were subject associations, political associations and religious associations. Most of these were compatible with membership of the N.U.T. and it would require a separate study to describe the internal politics of the N.U.T. and the caucus organisation, "log rolling" and vote-swapping which were features of its conferences. Some of these sectional groupings were obviously allied e.g. Class teachers, Urban teachers, Infant teachers and Non-collegiate certificated teachers in the early days. The general trend until the late 1930's was for the class teachers and women teachers to gain

1. While there was a London association of the N.U.T. the majority of the London teachers were members of the separate "Metropolitan Board Teachers Association" (Established 1872 and after 1903 the "London Teachers Association"). While it worked in the closest co-operation with the N.U.T. (and in certain periods dominated the N.U.T.) it maintained an independent existence until 1922.

See B. Webb op.cit. pp.9-10. G.A. Christian op.cit. p.126 ff. The School Board Chronicle Nov.17th 1877. The Schoolmaster Nov.12th 1910, Nov.9th 1912.

2. Usually separate associations for heads (or principals) and assistants.

power at the expense of the head teachers and men teachers.

Beatrice Webb has written of these sectional organisations that "insofar as they correspond with a genuine differentiation among the membership, (they) may have been necessary, if the union was to continue all embracing. But such internal sectional developments have certain harmful results. They distract the energy, which might otherwise be given to the advancement of the interests of the N.U.T. or of the profession as a whole to internal intrigue"<sup>1</sup>. Of equal importance they distracted the energies of the leaders of the profession in the educational crisis from 1896 to 1903.<sup>2</sup> One cannot but sympathise with the leaders of the N.U.T. in their devoted but thankless task of maintaining the union intact. The number of "latent sectional antagonisms to be watched and controlled"<sup>3</sup> seem almost infinite. If the N.U.T. is among the most democratic of all large unions it is<sup>partly</sup> because any grievance among any section of its members will almost automatically bring forth a "National Association" of sufferers from that grievance with a periodical publication and an annual conference. In minimising the number of such associations the officials tend by and large to obey the will of the majority of the members.

1. E. Webb op.cit. p.9. See also The Schoolmaster March 4th 1911

2. N.U.T. Report 1896 p.xlvii. "A year of almost unprecedented success.... Nothing within the range of educational and professional policy is now to us impossible or improbable."  
N.U.T. Report 1897 p.liv "A year of unprecedented anxiety and stress.... Never in the history of the union had a crisis so acute, involving issues of such magnitude, arisen before: and the labours, difficulties, and risks of dissension experienced by the union were a cause of the gravest anxiety to all concerned".

3. G.A.Christian op.cit. p.100

C H A P T E R X I

The Teachers and the Education Act of 1902.

"We do not long for the extinction of the voluntary school; neither do we consider the board school an invention of the devil. We rejoice in the extension of a system of schools under elected control, but we wish concurrently to maintain every efficient volunteer agency. It is against the inefficient agencies of either kind - against the improper management of either kind of school - that we take up our parable. In dealing with this subject we are not theological, we are not political - we are only educational."

1  
J.H.Yoxall

By 1890 it was clear that events were shaping towards a further great measure of educational legislation.<sup>2</sup> The three needs of the time were, firstly, to provide some form of financial assistance for the hard-pressed voluntary schools, secondly, to resolve the chaos of secondary education and thirdly, to raise the standards of education and training of the teaching profession both elementary and secondary. While these "needs" were obvious to all interested in education any attempt to meet them came up against fierce sectional antagonisms - religious, social, political and professional. These sectional antagonisms prevented any effective legislation

1. N.U.T. Report 1892 : Presidential Address p.cxxiv
2. The Act of 1902 still awaits its historian. The most useful accounts of the forces operating in the moulding of the Act are in Elie Daley: A History of the English People, Epilogue. Vol.1. 1895-1905. Book II (1949) Chapter I  
 B.M.Allen: Sir Robert Morant (1934) Pt.III  
 G.A.N.Lowndes: The Silent Social Revolution (1937) Pt.I. Chs.II-V  
 R.L.Archer: Secondary Education in the Nineteenth Century (1932)  
 B.Webb: Special Supplement on "English Teachers and their Professional Organization." New Statesman Vol.V Sept. 25th and Oct. 2nd 1915.

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from passing through Parliament until 1902.

Aid to the Voluntary Schools.

While the tendency in contemporary writing is to emphasise the contribution of the 1902 Act to the growth of secondary education, the issue which raised the most violent emotions at the time was whether further aid should be given to the voluntary schools and if so on what terms should it be given.<sup>1</sup>

G.A.N.Lowndes has summarised the state of the voluntary schools very clearly. "The voluntary schools... numbered over 14,000 and contained more than half the school population. In at least 8,500 districts, too, the parent had no choice at all. The law compelled him to send his child to the denominational school.....

However devoted the teachers, the voluntary schools could very rarely offer anything comparable to the strictly educational advantages of the rate-fed board schools. Their premises and equipment were inferior; their teaching staff less well qualified; their income from subscriptions, although double that raised in 1870, only equivalent to 6s.5d. a child plus a

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1. Halevy op.cit. p.210. fn.1 gives as an illustration of this - in an article written by M.Ch.V.Langlois, only a few weeks after the Act was passed, only 3 pages were devoted to the question of secondary education and 18 to the struggle between the church and the sects. The ratio of 1 to 6 if anything over-estimates the attention given by the politicians to secondary education.



special aid grant of 5s. as compared with the 25s.6d. per board school child contributed by the rates.... It was clear that the voluntary schools must either be ended or mended.<sup>1</sup>

Generally speaking, the Anglicans, supported by the Conservative party, wished to "mend" the voluntary schools whilst the nonconformists, supported by the Liberal party, wished to "end" them.<sup>2</sup> The Anglicans complained that the heavy financial burden of supporting their schools was becoming too much for them to bear. In the unequal contest with the rate-fed schools they felt that the voluntary schools (and with them the Anglican church) were slowly losing ground. They asked for increased grants from the State or from the local rates. There were suggestions that the Government "should take on itself the duty of maintaining the entire staff of teachers."<sup>3</sup> They complained with some justice that as the supporters of denominational schools were compelled to contribute their share of the rates levied for educational

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1. G.A.N. Lowndes op.cit. p.71.

2. Some educational reformers who were neither Anglicans nor Conservatives supported the 1902 Act because they considered that the religious controversy was of little importance compared with the need for immediate comprehensive legislation e.g. Sidney Webb - The Education Middle and the Way Out: A Constructive Criticism of the English Educational Machinery: Fabian Pamphlet 106 (1901)

Beatrice Webb - Our Partnership (1948). *passim*.

Margaret Cole - The Webbs and their Work (1949) pp.68-70, 86-91.

Mary Agnes Hamilton - Sidney and Beatrice Webb (1932) pp.119-30

3. Report by the Archbishop's Committee on Voluntary Schools N.U.T. Report 1895: "The Question of the Teachers becoming Civil Servants and the bearing on it of the Archbishops' Report on Voluntary Schools." pp.lxxxix - cvii.  
Contemporary Review February 1895: Archdeacon Wilson.

purposes, they were, in justice, entitled to participate in the distribution of them.

The Nonconformists were completely opposed to any extension of financial aid to the church schools which would aid the "tyranny of the parson" in the country districts.<sup>1</sup>

Closely allied with the two religious parties were the two political parties. The Conservative party was bitterly opposed to the school boards and the Cecils (Lord Robert Cecil and Evelyn Cecil) led a virulent campaign against them. It was easy enough to find evidence against the smaller school boards<sup>2</sup> but it is clear that the main campaign of the Cecils was directed against the larger school boards with their "progressive" majorities.<sup>3</sup> These boards (and in particular the London School Board) were hated for their "extravagance" and "waste",<sup>4</sup> their supposed "atheism" and perhaps most of all for

1. To understand the full depth of the feelings aroused, the conflict between Church and dissent must be seen against the fears of both bodies that they were losing ground in the country. See Halevy op.cit. pp.168-189.
2. G.A.N.Lowndes op.cit. pp.67-70
3. For the work of the great school boards see  
 T.A.Spalding - The Work of the London School Board (1900)  
 H.B.Philpott - London at School: The Story of the School Board 1870-1904 (1904)  
 T.Gautrey - "Lux Mihi Laus": School Board Memories (1937)  
The Final Report of the School Board for London 1870-1904 (1904).  
 J.H.Bingham - The Sheffield School Board (1949)  
 A.J.Evans - A History of Education in Bradford during the Period of the Bradford School Board (1870-1904) M.A.Thesis. Leeds.1947. Walthamstow School Board - History of the Walthamstow School Board (n.d.)  
 Asa Briggs - History of Birmingham (1952)  
 See also School Board Gazette and School Board Chronicle. In general one must agree with Dr.P.E.Ballard (writing in T.Gautrey, ibid. p.12) that "the School Board was for ever pressing forward, the Department was for ever pulling back".
4. D.C.L. - The Education Craze and its results. School Boards,

(Contd....)

their extravagance and inefficiency. (1878)

The Schoolmaster June 7th, 14th 1879.

C.A. Elliott - "Extravagance and Economy in the London School Board" Nineteenth Century Oct. 1900

As an example of the campaign against "extravagance" see T. Gautrey. op.cit. pp. 108-9. The London School Board Election of 1891 was fought on the issue whether or not pianos should be provided in board schools. The "distressed ratepayers" were led by the Bishop of London, the Duke of Westminster and the Earl of Wemyss. (See also educational periodicals 1890-91. passim on the "piano" question).

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their tendency to push upwards into the field of secondary education.

The Problem of Secondary Education.

The early history of "secondary" education in England and Wales lies outside the scope of this <sup>study</sup> <sup>1</sup> thesis. We have seen in earlier chapters how the provision of elementary education for the poor was looked upon as a threat to the interests of the middle class child. We have also seen how numerous attempts were made to put "middle class" education in order. <sup>2</sup> Finally, we have seen that among the pressures leading to the revised code was the desire to prevent the "over-education" of the poor.

With the gradual lifting of the revised code the "danger" had returned. There was an increasing tendency for children

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1. See R.L. Archer. op.cit.

2. e.g. "At a numerously attended and highly influential meeting held on Saturday, the 8th of June 1861, in St. James Hall, the Archbishop of Canterbury proposed, "That considering the growth of intelligence among the lower classes, owing to the impulse given of late years to education, the establishment of public boarding schools for the education of the lower middle classes, which may be cheap and self-supporting, is of great national importance."

English Journal of Education July 1861

to stay longer at elementary school (especially the children of the "respectable" working class). By 1895 there were over a quarter of a million children over 13 years of age in the elementary schools. Every year an increasing number of children worked through the seven standards of the Code and were found to be capable, where the necessary equipment existed, of earning for the school the grants made available by the Science and Art Department. The more enterprising School Boards, imitating those of Scotland, applied the principle of concentration (already applied to pupil teachers) and formed Higher Grade, Central or Higher Elementary Schools. These schools were staffed by certificated teachers (in many instances graduates) and provided in 1895 a technical or commercial education to 24,584<sup>1</sup> scholars.

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1. G.A.N. Lowndes op.cit. pp.52-4

In some notable instances (e.g. Cardiff, Leeds and Manchester) the Higher Grade Schools sent some of their pupils direct to the Universities themselves. The Cardiff Higher Grade School had, up to 1902, no less than 114 boys and girls who matriculated at the London and Welsh Universities. In the London and Victoria University Matriculation Lists for 1902-3 appeared the name of 51 boys and girls from the Leeds Central Higher Grade School. The Manchester Central Higher Grade School carried off 47 National Scholarships and Royal Exhibitions up to 1904. From 1900 to 1904 twenty five pupils matriculated, and twenty-three old pupils, who went direct from the school to the Victoria University, in the same period graduated 2 as D.Sc., 9 M.Sc., 1 M.A., 7 B.Sc. (6 with Honours), 3 B.A., and 1 M.B. and Ch.B.

While the number of children attending Higher Grade Schools was still small the Higher Grade Schools were becoming competitors to the Grammar Schools and in London and Leeds their competition was to reduce the numbers in the endowed secondary schools before 1902.

For evidence of the "overlapping" of the Higher Grade Schools with the Endowed Schools see B.P.P. 1895 XLIII: Report of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education pp.66-70, 289-90, B.P.P. 1898 LXX pp.521-532: Return of the Summary of Statistics

(Contd...)

concerning certain Higher Grade Board Schools and Public Secondary Schools etc.

B.P.P. 1897 IXVIII : Copy of the Joint Memorandum from the I.A.H.M. and Mr. Laurie on matters of public interest connected with the Report of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education.

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While the elementary school system was pressing upwards, the condition of the secondary school system was still chaotic. The public schools had been "saved and made respectable by a galaxy of strong headmasters and rendered accessible by the development of the railways." The process of rescue of the grammar schools had been begun by the Endowed Schools Commission and continued by the County Councils (the dispensers of "Whisky Money"). But by 1895 "apart from those pupils in attendance at certain of the specially favoured schools, usually those in the large towns, probably not more than 30,000 out of a total attendance of 75,000 were as yet receiving an education which would be recognised either in part of quality or length of school life as a sound secondary education to-day."<sup>1</sup>

There can be no doubt that a large part of the opposition to the Higher Grade Schools proceeded from those who feared the competition of the working class children they were training with the children of the middle classes.<sup>2</sup> There were, however, two

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1. G.A.N. Lowndes op.cit. p.55

2. See for example The Schoolmaster 26th June 1880  
The Sheffield Telegraph writing in 1883 on the local central (higher grade) school said, "They offer a middle-class education at half the prime cost of the commodity to be supplied - they compete destructively with useful and honoured institutions which are based on honesty to pay their way without help from the rates". (Quoted W.H.G. Armytage op.cit. p.217)

other factors at work. In the first place there was the growing realisation of the need to modernise the English arrangements for secondary and technical instruction. The pressure of German competition and the influence of German philosophy had both had their effects.<sup>1</sup> The pre-requisite for any modernisation was to resolve the chaos which prevailed in every branch of the educational system. But who was to organise secondary education? Should it be organised by a completely independent authority or should both elementary and secondary education be controlled by the same authority? In the latter case should the authority be the School Board, the County Council, a composite board, or an independent ad hoc authority?

In the second place what exactly was "secondary" education? Was it simply the education appropriate to the existing middle class or was it an education above that which was given in the elementary schools?<sup>2</sup> If it was the latter what should be its nature and on what terms should it be available to the children of the working classes? It was said by many educational reformers that the instruction given in Higher Grade Schools and Pupil Teacher-Centres, while efficient within its limits, was deficient in many of the real elements of education. It was said that they confined themselves to cramming their pupils for examinations to the almost complete neglect of their health, their social accomplishments and their general education. Thus, many educational reformers who

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1. E.Halevy op.cit. pp.139-163.

2. The Schoolmaster Feb 15th 1879: Letter from A.C.Auchmutz

sincerely desired that educational opportunities should be available to the worker's child believed that this should be done by the closing down of the separate "working class secondary schools" and the bringing of their pupils into the "middle class secondary schools." Whilst it would obviously be necessary to open many new secondary schools these schools should share the traditions of the older secondary schools and their staffs should be recruited from teachers trained in the secondary tradition. As against this there were those who either refused to accept the superiority of the education given in the older secondary schools or else accepted the Bryce Commission's Report that "higher grade elementary schools must be regarded as agencies which supply a widely felt need without overstepping the fair limits of a province which they have legitimately and usefully made their own."<sup>1</sup>

#### The Reconstruction of the Teaching Profession.

We have seen in earlier chapters how the need to raise the standard of education, training and "culture" of the elementary teacher was felt not only by the educational reformers but also by the teachers themselves. The pupil teacher centres had done great work but they suffered from the general harshness and sterility of all schools whose finances depended upon examination successes. There was some opposition to an abandonment of the centre system by those who considered that distinctive institutions were necessary for the education of

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1. B.P.P. 1895 XLIII pp.66-70. See also Report of the Cross Commission.

B.P.P. 1888 XXXV pp.164-171, 239. H. Holman op.cit. p.239.

The Schoolmaster Feb. 19th 1898, Nov. 11th 1899.

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pupil teachers.<sup>1</sup> Teachers in pupil teacher centres were also loth to lose their hardly won positions. In general however, it was accepted that the education of future teachers should be the task of a unified secondary system.

The allied question of the reconstruction of "training" was less easily solved as it involved the working out of new relationships between training colleges and universities and between elementary teachers and secondary teachers. We have seen how in the latter part of the nineteenth century there was an increasing tendency for certificated teachers to take degrees and to seek posts in secondary schools.<sup>2</sup> Allied with this process was the tendency for training colleges (both Day and Residential) to affiliate to Universities or University Colleges and for their students to work for University degrees. At the same time there was a growing concern with the lack of training of teachers for secondary schools.<sup>3</sup> Attempts had been made as early as 1846 (when the College of Preceptors was established) to provide some means of training and some standard of qualification for teachers in secondary schools but the fifty years struggle had been singularly unsuccessful.<sup>4</sup>

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1. The Schoolmaster Jan 11th 1902: Report of the First Annual Conference of the Federation of Teachers in Pupil Teachers' Central Classes.
2. See G. Baron op.cit. for a full treatment of this trend.
3. See R.W. Rich op.cit. Ch. IX
4. See R.W. Rich op.cit. and B.P.F. 1890-01 XVII: Special Report from the Select Committee on Teachers' Registration and Organisation Bill p.326. The figures given for teachers passing through the Agency of the College of Preceptors in 1890-1 show that out of 1418 teachers only 250 were in any way qualified for secondary school work. Agency figures do  
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not give a fair sample of either qualifications or salaries but there was in fact very little training for secondary school teaching.

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Closely linked with the movement for training secondary teachers was the movement for Teachers' registration. We have already discussed the early history of this movement. It originated among the teachers in secondary schools in an attempt to establish a barrier against inefficiency and to constitute a self-governing profession. This basic aim won the support of the elementary teachers who wished to preserve the standard of their certificate and drive the uncertificated teacher from the profession. The secondary teachers were not anxious to accept the support of the elementary teachers whom they considered to be far beneath them. While the secondary teachers were willing to accept a registration bill for secondary teachers only, the N.U.T. opposed any such Bill with all the means at its disposal. The elementary teachers claimed that they were the only teachers in the country who had been specifically trained to teach and that the non-registration of the elementary teachers would be a barrier to their teaching in

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1. The bitter class hostility between the "cultured" middle class secondary teacher (who had often "come down" in the world) and the "uncultured" elementary teacher (who had "come up" in the world) has affected relations between the two branches of the profession to the present day. Each side had a stereotyped view of the other. The elementary teacher was regarded as uncouth and uncultured, a drillmaster employing tyrannical methods to enforce rote learning while the secondary teacher was regarded as incapable of teaching his limited store of knowledge and relying solely on the snob value of his class background and his degree (if any). These stereotypes still poison relations in the profession long after any justification there may have been for them has vanished. (See for example The Schoolmaster Sept 23, 1911)

the secondary schools. They also opposed any attempt to define the exact status of an "elementary" school and claimed that many "elementary" teachers were engaged in "secondary" education in higher grade schools, pupil teacher centres and science and art classes.<sup>1</sup>

Throughout the century, various attempts which were made to institute training for secondary teachers met with the passive indifference or active hostility of the headmasters. Similarly, a series of bills to establish a Register for secondary teachers were successfully opposed by the N.A.T.<sup>2</sup>

By the end of the century it was realised that the Day Training Colleges could be extended to cover the training of secondary teachers. Several of the universities had established post-graduate diplomas in education for graduates. It appeared to some that the logical step forward was the unification of the education and training of elementary and secondary teachers. All would be educated at secondary schools, would proceed to university, graduate and then take University diplomas in education. A unified profession would be welded together in a "General Educational Council" which would lay down standards of entrance and advise the Government on educational policy. While this ideal was only held by a few far-sighted teachers the establishment of the new "University County Council Training College for London" in 1902 showed that the ideal could become reality.<sup>3</sup>

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1. N.U.T. Report 1893: Presidential Address pxxi
  2. See D. Webb op.cit. Part II pp.14-16 for details of the abortive bills of 1869, 1879, 1881, 1890, 1893 and 1896. See also B.P.P. 1890-91 XVII Q.3832-4126, 4132-4279
  3. B.P.P. 1903 XXI: General Reports of H.M. Inspector's Report on Training Colleges for 1902 N.A.T. Rankine.

The N.U.T. and the Educational Conflict.

In dealing with the part played by the N.U.T. in the developing educational conflict one point must always be borne in mind. The N.U.T. policy was forged as a result of a willed compromise between the voluntary teachers and the board teachers inside the Union. On many points these two groups were in agreement, on others a compromise solution was readily accepted, while on a few points the Union's policy wavered with the relative pressures of these two groups. That Union policy was in the main successful is shown by the absence of any secession and the rise of membership between 1896 and 1901 from 32,000 to 45,000.

The Union had three basic demands for educational reconstruction. Firstly, it wished for more money for the voluntary schools. This money was needed irrespective of who controlled the schools in order that the managers could offer higher salaries, employ certificated teachers, and improve the conditions under which the teachers worked. Secondly, it wished to end irresponsible one-man management in the voluntary schools and the tyranny of the small school boards. In general the teachers wished for larger District Boards controlling responsible committees of managers. Only such authorities would be able to grant the teachers security of tenure, free him from extraneous duties and impose effective compulsory school attendance. Finally, the Union wished for a unified educational system under a Minister of Education. It also wished for a unified profession with a single teachers' register, a single

scheme of education and training, and a single "General Educational Council" to advise (and even control) the Minister.

The Union and the Voluntary Schools.

Both voluntary and board teachers were convinced that the "religious problem" was to a large extent a pseudo-problem. Their direct contact with working class parents had taught them, that the parents of the children <sup>in their schools</sup> they taught were far less inclined to worry about the specific brand of denominational teaching than they were about other aspects of education. <sup>1</sup> The teachers were also convinced that in the main the Cowper-Temple clause was adequate to prevent "clerical tyranny". Similarly, they were convinced that the undenominational "scriptural" instruction of the Board schools was not "secular" or "atheistical" as the champions of the church wished to prove. <sup>2</sup>

The teachers had even less liking for the small school boards than for the denominational schools with their "one-man management." <sup>3</sup> They demanded again and again that "education

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1. N.U.T. Report 1896: Presidential Address

2. Thus we find T.E.Heller, a staunch churchman, telling the Church Congress in 1882 that if the Church could not afford to keep up its schools adequately it should let the School Boards take them over. (N.U.T. Report 1882 ppeviiiiff).

3. N.U.T. Report 1893: Presidential Address pxxviii "Which of us would not prefer to be dismissed from our position as teachers because we would not play the organ in the church or attend the Sunday school, rather than because we refused to marry or not to marry a petty school board or parish council member's daughter, to trade or not to trade at a certain shop - or because we would not clean the schoolroom or whitewash the offices connected with it at the command of such a board."

See also The Schoolmaster March 14th 1891.

The Schoolmaster during the 1890's contained a series of verbatim extracts from the Minutes of School Boards to show the low level on which decisions on educational matters were reached.

ought to be in the hands of bodies, intelligent, active, educated, acting over sufficiently wide areas to prevent local jealousies from creeping in and injustice to teachers being done."<sup>1</sup>

The teachers as a body were insistent that some means had to be found as quickly as possible of providing more money for voluntary schools. There can be no doubt that they were just as concerned with "the miserable condition of rural schools" as they were with the miserable salaries offered to voluntary school teachers.<sup>2</sup> It was because of the teachers' detailed knowledge of the state of the voluntary schools that they were impatient at the religious wrangling and acrimonious partisanship that blocked every suggestion of educational reform. The conferences of 1894 and 1895 showed that the voluntary teachers were supported by a majority of the delegates in their demand for further financial aid to voluntary schools.<sup>3</sup>

With the return of a Conservative Government in 1895 the Church soon showed that only a complete victory would satisfy it. The President of the N.U.T. complained in 1898 that "benevolence in education has become an excuse for limiting the education of the people. Looked at from every standpoint, the

1. N.U.T. Report 1893: Presidential Address p.xxviii
2. N.U.T. Report 1894: Presidential Address pp.xvii-xxi and ibid pp.lxxvi-lxxxix "The Village Schoolmistress" by T.J.Macnamara. The Conference was reviewed by the School Board Chronicle Nov.3rd 1894 under the heading of "The N.U.T. to the Rescue of the Churches"
3. N.U.T. Report 1894: Resolutions p.xcv-xcvi  
N.U.T. Report 1895: Presidential Address p.xli and ibid pp.lxxxiv-lxxxix. Scheme for "Further Financial Aid to Schools"

Theologian blocks the way." <sup>1</sup>

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The Union and Secondary Education.

The educational ideal of the N.U.T. has been described by Beatrice Webb in a passage which deserves extensive <sup>2</sup> quotation.

"The leaders of the N.U.T. and the energetic administrators of the progressive School Boards, had a vision of an all-embracing system of public education from the infant school to the modernised university, administered by one ad hoc elected local authority, regulated by one central Government Department, and served by a homogeneous body of salaried men and women, disciplined by one type of training and belonging to one professional organisation. All educational posts, not only in the public elementary schools, but also in the secondary, technical and university institutions were to be thrown open without favouritism to all the members of this united profession, in which promotion was to be exclusively by merit, measured not by the social antecedents or previous educational advantages of the candidates, but by their personal character and their ascertained professional and technical qualifications. The inspectorate, both local and central, was to be mainly recruited from the more experienced and more able teachers. There were some idealists, indeed, who looked forward to seeing members of the N.U.T. appointed to the Secretariat of the Board of Education, whilst even the post of President of the Board of Education might come normally to be filled by a member of the profession with a talent for politics. This logical and attractive ideal of one homogeneous educational service... was usually accompanied by a generous aspiration for a greatly improved education of the manual working class out of public funds. According to the programme of the N.U.T., the school life of the ordinary child was to be considerably extended; and wherever a boy or girl showed sufficient strength and capacity for superior technical or university education, this should be provided without cost to the parent. Above all, there was to be no distinction between the schooling of the manual working class child and that of the middle-class child: in the extent, quality, or salaries of the teaching staff, or of the educational apparatus provided: in the amenity of the buildings: in the size of the class rooms: or in the games, sports and recreation grounds maintained by the Local Education Authority.. It was this part of the N.U.T. programme that attracted the support of the organised Labour movement. Moreover, this ideal appealed incidentally to a powerfully organised cause - the creed antagonisms of the Evangelical Free Churches and the Secularists. The absorption of all educational institutions

(Footnotes from previous page.)

1. N.U.T. Report 1898: Presidential Address pp. xxxvii-xlviii. Waddington's whole address was a powerful attack on the "shibboleths of fanatics in politics, religion, or industry" who were preventing the "realisation of the State's duty to the child."  
See also N.U.T. Report 1901: Presidential Address pp. xxxviii-xxxix "The teachers.... are compelled to recognise.... that the clerical educational authorities - a great "combine" - are raising serious obstacles to the progress of the child, and are sacrificing the prospects of the boys and girls of England to the greed for temporal power, secured and maintained by associations whose proceedings do not face the light of publicity."
2. S. Webb on.cit.  
Beatrice Webb's work on the 1902 Education Act has been completely neglected by educational historians. This is in spite of the fact that Sidney Webb was one of the main architects of the Act and was intimately acquainted with the negotiations which preceded it.

aided by any public money, whether derived from endowments, from Government grants, or from rates into one system of education, administered in all its details by one directly elected ad hoc authority, seemed to imply the casting out of all denominational tests for teachers and of all dogmatic religious teaching - and therefore of the Anglican and Roman Catholic influence - from the public educational system." 1

It is necessary to stress four points in Webbs' description of the situation. Firstly, there was no necessary antagonism between the ideals of the N.U.T. and the religious claims of the church. The antagonism that did arise was mainly due to the almost complete link-up between the Church, the Conservative Party and the Public Schools. Secondly, an intrinsic part of the "ideal" was an enlarged conception of Secondary education which was to include a less "academic" type of education than that provided in the grammar schools. 2 Thirdly, not only did the programme of the N.U.T. "attract the support of the organised labour movement" but the Union set

1. The development of this policy can be traced in Educational Reporter March 1871; N.U.T. Report 1880: p.lxxv Resolution 18, 19, N.U.T. Report 1886 p.cxliv; N.U.T. Report 1887 p.lxxx-lxxxvi; N.U.T. Report 1888 p.cxxviii; N.U.T. Report 1893: pp.xxii-xxiv  
B.P.P. 1888 XXXV pp.308,311-323 and B.P.P. 1895 XLV pp.174-189, 230-256. B.P.P. 1895 XLVII pp.33-7, 322-330. The Schoolmaster Nov.9th 1895.
2. N.U.T. Report 1893: Presidential Address p.xxv. "There will still be a place for these grammar schools and a foremost place too in our scheme of education, but the majority of the secondary schools of the future must be of a modern type, and must answer the expectations and fulfil the needs of the common people. No scheme of scholarships from elementary schools to endowed schools or grammar schools of the ordinary type will suffice to provide either the amount or the kind of higher education required, but the secondary school must grow organically out of the elementary schools, and have its curriculum based on the foundation laid by us in the primary schools, and must be so comprehensive in its character that it will lead to the universities, if necessary, on the one hand, or to proper technical schools or colleges on the other". See also B.P.P. 1897 LXVIII pp.33-4. A.P.Laurie



itself to organise that support and make it effective.<sup>1</sup> Fourthly, while it is true that the N.U.T. favoured an "ad hoc" local authority the Union was by no means unanimous on this issue. The main alternative candidates for the post of Local Education Authorities were the County and County Borough Councils (already administering the "Whiskey Money") and the union considered that education was so important that the local authority should be directly and especially elected. Behind their pressure for an ad hoc authority was the idea that such an authority would prove as susceptible to "teachers' politics" as the large School Boards. In the event that an ad hoc body was found impracticable the Union was ready to accept a composite body with representatives from various local bodies and the teaching profession.<sup>2</sup>

The ideal of the N.U.T. for the re-organisation of education met with strenuous, determined, and successful opposition from the "secondary" teachers. Beatrice Webb has described the action of the secondary teachers as follows,

"It was the desire to.... insist that both the local authorities and the central government should maintain and develop a separate system of publicly subsidized controlled secondary education - a system of genuine secondary schools, staffed by secondary school teachers, instead of mere "tops" to elementary schools - that led in 1890 to the establishment of the Headmasters' Association.... During the following decade,

1. N.U.T. Report 1894: Resolutions p.xciii: The Schoolmaster May 16th 1901.
2. See N.U.T. Report 1893: Presidential Address pp.xvii-xdix N.P.P. 1895 XLV. Q.8163-4, 8152, 8191-5, 8957.  
The Schoolmaster Nov.9th 1895, April 11th 1896, April 8th, 1899, July 22nd 1899.  
School Board Chronicle. April 11th 1896, April 13th 1901, Feb 8th, 15th, 1902.  
 The Union abandoned "ad hoc" in 1899 under rather peculiar circumstances.

right down to Mr. Balfour's Acts of 1902-3, the Headmasters' Association, backed up by all the other associations of masters and mistresses in secondary schools, whether private proprietary or public, and encouraged by the expert opinion of educationists, carried on, in the Lobby of the House of Commons, in the audience chambers of cabinet ministers, in the offices of municipal councils and school boards, and even in the press and the electorate, a perpetual struggle against the encroachments of the powerfully organised elementary school teachers, who were supported by the larger and more energetic school boards, by the organised labour movement, and by enthusiasts for a "democratic" education." <sup>1</sup>

The motives of the secondary teachers and their supporters were both personal and professional. The secondary teachers wished to maintain their status and their monopoly of middle class education. They were constantly complaining that "the normal development in the numbers attending secondary schools has been checked by the erection of lavishly equipped board schools." <sup>2</sup> They were supported by conservative politicians who wished to reduce the amount spent on the education of the working class. <sup>3</sup> They were supported also by the advocates of the voluntary school system who could not compete with the attractions of higher grade education offered by the "extravagant school boards. Beatrice Webb shows the other side of their support,

"But besides this interested opposition, we find public-

1. I.E. Webb. op.cit. p.19
2. See E.P.P. 1897 LXVIII and The Schoolmaster Jan 18th 1896
3. Lord Salisbury (Conservative Prime Minister 1885-6, 1886-1892 and 1895-1902) told a deputation that he would like Mr. W.E. Forster's statement in 1870, that in his belief the school rate would not exceed 3d. in the £. to be written in letters two feet long over every school board school in the country. (The Schoolmaster Nov. 1895). Halevy op.cit. p.207 and Lowndes op.cit. p.58 have pointed out that in all probability the leaders of the Conservative Party would not have accepted the 1902 Act if they had realised the great expansion of higher education that it would involve, with the expense and bureaucracy.

spirited and fervent educational idealists who found serious shortcomings in the "new model" as actually carried out by the School Boards and the teachers who served them, and who struggled hard to keep alive what they deemed to be a better educational atmosphere. They had a vision of a national system of education which should afford both a greater variety and what they consider a higher type of physical, moral and intellectual training than was likely to be introduced by an extension upward of the elementary school as it was even under the best and most powerful School Boards. They realised that, in the existing social conditions and with the existing public opinion, it was impracticable, possibly even undesirable, to ask for this higher type of education for the whole community of children. But to them this fact seemed no reason why the sons and daughters of the professional and middle class, who could afford to forgo their children's earnings, and the pick of the boys and girls from the manual working class to whom scholarships could be awarded, should be deprived either of the training which would fit them to take their part as the pioneers, the directors and the organisers of industry, commerce, art, science and government, or of a fair share of the public funds available for educational purposes. The mere fact that it was impossible to provide the best educational atmosphere for all the millions of children was, it was urged, no reason why it should be provided for nobody at all." <sup>1</sup>

It is important to realise that we have here a very real clash of educational principles and one which is still with us. In one form or another the conflict between "education for an elite" and "secondary education for all" has lain behind all <sup>2</sup> proposals for educational reform in the last sixty years. It crops up in discussions on the place of the public schools in the educational system, in the role of the comprehensive schools, in the place of the Universities in technical education and in the relation between "Oxbridge" and "Redbrick". While class attitudes enter into the discussion, there is an influential

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1. E. Webb. op.cit. p.20

2. See E. James - Education and Leadership. (1951)  
 H.C.Dent - Secondary Education for All (1949)  
 F.C.Happold - Towards a New Aristocracy (1943)  
 G.Wallas - The Art of Thought (1926)

element in the Labour movement itself which supports the theory of "education for an elite" on the ground of the essential<sup>1</sup> inequality of man.

"Now the best educational atmosphere, it was thought, could be maintained only by keeping up a high standard of culture. It could not, as a rule, be given by teachers, however industrious and sharp-witted, who came from working-class or lower middle-class homes, who had never enjoyed the advantages of outdoor sports and games or a cultivated leisure, and who had concentrated their energies from an early age upon the acquisition of the technique of instructing large classes of undisciplined children in multifarious subjects. The accent, the manner, the expression, even the physical characteristics and the clothes of the elementary school teacher were compared adversely with the more attractive personal characteristics resulting from a well-to-do home and the ordinary public school and university education" 2

Thus the victory of the "secondary" teachers ideal would almost inevitably mean the exclusion of the majority of the elementary teachers from the secondary schools. But it is important to add that the elementary schools and the elementary teachers would not be left forever "uncultured". An essential part of the plan for educational reconstruction was that future elementary teachers were to have been educated in the secondary schools. It was hoped that, aided by the advice of the Inspectors and the Upper Division of the Secretariat of the Board of Education which was to be recruited from the public schools and older universities, the traditions of the public schools were to be transmitted - even if at third hand - to the elementary schools.

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1. Among these must be included R.H.S. Crossman M.P. and perhaps the Webbs themselves.

2. Webb, op.cit. p.20

"It was an essential feature of this ideal that the education of the higher type could not be a mere extension and continuation of the education given in the elementary school, but should be from the earliest years adapted to a school life carried on to the age of 17 or 18. Thus even in the case of boys and girls picked from the elementary school for special ability, their transfer to the finer educational atmosphere should take place not when they would normally have left the elementary school at 14 or 15 years of age, but directly their exceptional capacity could be recognised by examination - say, at 10 or 11. This double-barrelled system necessitated, it was suggested, not only different types of teachers, but also different systems of administration." 1

It is in the light of this conflict of ideals that we can understand the insistence of the N.U.T. that no scheme of secondary education could be satisfactory which treated secondary schools as a separate class, did not arrange that the work of Higher Grade Board Schools and other schools should grow organically out of the work of the primary schools, or did not provide free education throughout the various grades for every child showing the necessary ability.<sup>2</sup>

The Headmasters' Association, when it started in the early '90s, found that it was impossible to beat the N.U.T. with its own weapons of "teachers' politics". Methods which could be used by the N.U.T. with its large and disciplined membership and its close contact with the working-class electorate were not open to the less numerous and more socially exclusive secondary school teachers.

"Hence the representatives of the Universities and of the Secondary Education Associations had to fall back on another method - a method which I may call "teachers' diplomacy". Owing to the fact that the leading members of the Headmasters' Association and the Headmasters' Conference belonged to the same

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1. B. Webb op.cit. p.20

2. N.U.T. Report 1898: Resolutions p.xciii

Ibid. : Memorandum on Higher Grade Schools pp.cxxiii-cxxviii

social class as the cabinet ministers, the chief permanent officials, and the majority of members of parliament, and had, in fact, often been their tutors and headmasters, they had easy access to them in unofficial and informal ways. Cogent reports were prepared, informative memoranda drafted, and pressing resolutions passed for submission to Cabinet Committees, heads of Departments, and sub-committees of Local Councils. The County and Borough Councils were pressed to appoint on their Technical Education Committees representatives of university and secondary education. The "Whiskey Money" began to be devoted not merely to haphazard technical classes, but also to the systematic development of Scholarships and Secondary Schools." 1

A persistent agitation (in which the N.U.T. joined) led in 1894 to the appointment of the Bryce Commission.<sup>2</sup> The Commissioners (with the exception of J.H. Yoxall) were men who were steeped in the social and educational ideals of the two older universities and the public school system. Hence their recommendations took the form of a separate national organisation of secondary schools, to be administered in the several localities by newly constituted composite councils, which were to be made up of county council representatives, crown nominees, and co-opted persons of educational experience. There was also to be a Minister of Education to be advised (so far as concerned secondary education) by a Central Council of <sup>3</sup> university representatives and crown nominees.

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1. B. Webb op.cit. p.21.
2. B.P.P. 1895: XLIII-XLIX. See especially B.P.P. 1895 XLIII, XLV, XLVII
3. N.U.T. Report 1896: Report of the Executive p.1111 "With the exception of the proposals for the constitution of local authorities, the commission adopted a policy similar to that recommended to them by the Union"  
See also J.H. Yoxall - Secondary Education (1896)  
The Schoolmaster Nov 9th 1895  
B.P.P. 1895 XLVII: pp.33-7 "On the advantage of having the same Central and Local Authorities for Secondary and Elementary Education" by Mr. J.H. Yoxall. M.P.

In 1895 a powerful Conservative Government took office, with an educational policy unfavourable to the daily growing influence of the School Boards. It was faced with the problem of satisfying both the educational reformers and the Church of England.<sup>1</sup> A Bill introduced into the House of Commons on March 31st 1896<sup>2</sup> was at first favourably received by some leaders of the N.U.T. (in particular T.J. Macnamara) as offering a basis for compromise. However, when it became clear that the Bill necessarily involved "religious tests" for board school teachers and "right of entry" for teachers of denominational religion into board schools, the N.U.T. swung into complete opposition and it was largely due to this opposition that the Bill was<sup>3</sup> withdrawn.

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1. See I.A.H.M. Report 1896 p.23: "Memorial of the I.A.H.M. relating to a Draft Scheme for a Bill dealing with Secondary Education".  
The Schoolmaster Nov 1895 for an account of the Archbishops' Deputation (also T. Gaultrey op.cit. p.168)
  2. The Bill if passed would have constituted each county council the supreme educational authority within its area. The council was to appoint for that purpose an education committee, the numbers and qualifications of whose members were left by the bill to the choice of the council. The county council, acting through the education committee, was empowered to promote secondary education by making grants to institutions already in existence and founding new ones wherever in its opinion they were needed. The committee was entrusted with the distribution of the grants made by the government to the "free", as well as to the board schools, and in areas where no bill existed to see that the laws which rendered attendance at school compulsory was carried out. Additional funds were placed at the disposal of the education committee to assist voluntary schools and necessitous board schools. Educational institutions were exempted from rates, the period of compulsory attendance was extended to twelve years and a provision was added that if parents objected to the religious instruction provided, their children might, in certain specified cases, receive separate religious instruction in the school buildings. (Halevy op.cit. pp.191-2.)
  3. N.U.T. Report 1896: Presidential Address pp. xxxiii-xlvi, Resolutions pp. lxxiii-lxxvi.  
The Schoolmaster April 18th, May 16th 1896.

The next three years were spent in minor acts of legislation e.g. increasing the grants to voluntary schools, authorising the school boards to establish special schools for defective children, raising the school leaving age and finally setting up a Board of Education uniting the functions of the Education Department and the Science and Art Department (1899). Associated with the bill for setting up a Board of Education was one for setting up a "Consultative Committee". The Bryce Commission had recommended the establishment of an educational council<sup>1</sup> which would advise the Minister of Education and whose first duty would be to form a register of teachers.

The "Consultative Committee" as set up by the Board of Education, was composed of eighteen miscellaneous persons<sup>2</sup> only one of whom was an ex-elementary teacher (Ernest Gray M.P.). The committee was nowhere near a council of the teaching profession.<sup>3</sup> It continued in existence until 1914 and although it issued a series of notable reports on secondary education it was never allowed any initiative or any independent judgement as to what it should consider and was specifically<sup>4</sup> barred from any consideration of administrative practice.

1. One-third crown nominees, one-third representatives of the universities and one-third co-opted.
2. Including three ministers or ex-ministers, seven M.P.'s, four ministers of religion and several representatives of the universities. There were no representatives of the assistant secondary teachers.
3. L. Webb op.cit. p.16 dubbed it "an almost comical travesty of a professional council" and in 1907 a President of the N.U.T. described it as "badly constituted and irresponsible" and as "pursuing nothing useful and pursuing it with incredible pride and zeal". N.U.T. Report 1907: Presidential Address p.xcix.
4. See R.V.Vernon and W.Kansergh - Advisory Lodges (1940) pp.176-227. Report of the Ministry of Education for 1950 (Cd 8244) pp.10-12.



In 1898 the famous "Joint Memorandum" between the "Incorporated Association of Head Masters" and the "Association of Headmasters of the Higher Grade Schools" was signed after a series of conferences had been held at the Education Department with Sir George Kekewich presiding.<sup>1</sup> The Joint Memorandum represented a victory for the secondary school interests.<sup>2</sup> It was immediately rejected by the N.U.T. which attacked the Higher Grade teachers for signing it and re-affirmed its original position.<sup>3</sup> The Memorandum has been used as a justification for Morant's engineering of the Cockerton Judgement and for the Higher Elementary School Minute of 1900. The "Association of Headmasters of the Higher Grade Schools" however, stated at their annual meeting in March 1901 that "anyone who says that the Minute (i.e. the Higher Elementary Minute) is in general agreement with the Joint Memorandum adopted in 1898 is guilty of wilful and malicious representation."<sup>4</sup>

The Cockerton Judgement and the Education Act of 1902.

The details of the intrigues inside the Education Department before and after the 1902 Act are happily outside the scope of

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1. See B.M.Allen op.cit. pp.115-117
  2. See B.P.P.1898 LXX pp.533-540: Return of the Joint Memorandum on the relations of primary and secondary schools to one another in a national system of education.  
Ibid. pp.521-532: Return of the summary of statistics concerning certain Higher Grade Board Schools and Public Secondary Schools etc.etc.
  3. See The Schoolmaster Jan 29th 1898  
N.U.T.Report 1899: Memorandum on Organisation of Secondary Education. pp.civ-cv.
  4. The Schoolmaster March 16th 1901  
See also Ibid Jan 19th, Feb 2nd, 1901 for the views of the I.A.H.M. and Ibid Nov.11th 1899 for an important speech by W.Dyche.

this ~~stead~~<sup>1</sup>.

Although Sir John Gorst (Vice-President of the Education Committee of the Privy Council) seemed to have hoped, as late as 1899, for an agreement between the school boards and the county councils, and Sir George Kekewich (Secretary to the Department) was a firm supporter of the School Boards, the issue was taken out of their hands by Robert Morant (then Assistant Director of Special Inquiries and Reports). Morant had discovered that the School Boards had been acting illegally in voting any money for post-elementary education. He had "arranged" for this knowledge to be communicated to the enemies of the School Boards, and on July 26th 1899 the auditor Mr. T. Barclay Cockerton decided that the London School Board did not possess the right to apply to a form of education which came under the control of the Science and Arts Department, any portion of the school fund (i.e. any portion of the funds to which the School Boards were entitled under the 1870 Act). The London School Board was defeated in its appeal to the Court of Queens' Bench and the Court of Appeal and by May 1901 it had been decided that all the higher work of the School Boards was illegal.<sup>2</sup>

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1. See George Kekewich - The Education Department and After (1920)  
 B.M. Allen - Sir Robert Morant (1934)  
 M. Sadleir - Sir Michael Sadler (1949)  
 Lynda Grier - Achievement in Education (1952)  
 Articles in Public Administration Summer, Winter 1950,  
 Spring 1953.  
Journal of Education July 1950 "Notes and Comments"  
 The debate is by no means concluded.
  2. For a description of the struggle see The Schoolmaster Dec.  
 28th 1901.

It would have been possible to legalise the higher educational work of the Boards but instead the Government decided on a comprehensive measure of legislation. Pending such legislation steps were taken to empower school boards temporarily to carry on certain schools by permission of the municipal authorities. It was plain that the School Boards and their higher grade schools were doomed. From 1897 onwards the Education Department had put every obstacle possible in the way of further development of the higher grade schools and schools of science and art. Some school boards which had built and equipped schools for purposes previously approved by the Education Department or the Science and Art Department had been refused official recognition and the government grant withheld.<sup>1</sup> A tendency developed in the Department to encourage the formation of schools of science in endowed schools while at the same time hindering science teaching in existing Higher Grade schools and preventing the opening of new schools of science in Higher Grade schools.

On April 6th 1900 a Minute of the Board of Education gave official recognition to "higher elementary education" but laid down the rule that no child could remain in a higher elementary school after the age of 15.<sup>2</sup> The minute was administered in a most restrictive manner, admission to a Higher Elementary School being subject to the absolute decision of the Inspector and restricted to children who had been for two years in an

1. N.U.T. Report 1900: Memorandum on Higher Grade Schools pp. cxii-cxiv

2. In this it diverged sharply from the Joint Memorandum which had recommended a four year course beyond Standard VI.

See The Schoolmaster April 4th, August 14th, 1900.  
N.U.T. Report 1900: Correspondence on the Code for 1900  
 pp. xcix-c. E. Lyulph Stanley "Higher Elementary Schools"  
Contemporary Review November 1900.

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elementary school. Scholars newly admitted had to commence with the first year's course whatever their qualifications or abilities and recognition for grants was refused to classes or departments, only full schools being considered. The Evening Continuation Schools were crippled by their restriction to children under 16.<sup>1</sup>

After the failure of two partial "Secondary Education Bills" in 1900 and 1901,<sup>2</sup> on March 24th 1902 the Government introduced its final and definitive solution.<sup>3</sup> The bill stated that, "Any county or county borough council, any borough council with a population over 10,000 and any urban district with a population of over 20,000 would have power by resolution to take over the work of the school boards in their area, so becoming the "local education authority."

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1. N.U.T. Report 1901: Resolutions on "Higher Elementary Schools" pp. lxxiii-lxiv.  
Ibid: Petition to Parliament on Higher Grade and Evening Continuation Schools and Documents. pp. xc-xciii.  
 The London School Board made application for recognition of 79 existing Higher Grade Schools. The Board recognised only 7 as Higher Elementary Schools and the remainder received nothing beyond the ordinary elementary school grants. (H.B. Philpott - London at School: The Story of the School Board 1870-1904 (1904)).  
The Schoolmaster June 30th 1900
2. The Schoolmaster June 30th 1900, May 11th 1901.
3. Sir George Kekewich had for a long time been "frozen out" of the policy decisions of the department and was replaced by Morant under extremely shady circumstances in October 1902. (See Kekewich op.cit., Allen op.cit., Sadler op.cit., and E.M. Sneyd-Kynnersley - H.M.I. Some passages in the Life of one of H.M. Inspectors of Schools. (1908) p. 148.

The county and county borough councils (but not the borough and urban district councils) were, in addition changed to consider the education needs of their areas and to take such steps as might seem to them desirable, after consultation with the Board of Education, to supply or aid the supply of education other than elementary and to promote the general co-ordination of all forms of education; over and above the "Whiskey Money" they might expend a 2d. rate upon such higher education.

The new Local Education Authorities so created were to have the control of all secular education in the schools hitherto provided, or to be provided in future, by the denominations. Thus the aid of the rates was for the first time to be brought to the "non-provided" schools, but significantly - although the ratepayer was to find the cost of maintenance as distinct from the provision and upkeep of the fabric, four foundation managers might be appointed by the denomination compared to two by the local authorities.

The appointment of teachers was vested in the managers subject to a veto on educational grounds by the local education authority. Assistant and pupil teachers - as distinct from the principal teacher - might be appointed if thought fit without reference to creed or denomination.<sup>1</sup>

The story of the great conflict which took place on the "religious question" has been told in detail in most educational

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1. Lowndes op.cit. pp.79-80

and social histories.<sup>1</sup> The Act met the main demands of the progressives and the N.U.T. in that it envisaged a comprehensive, unified scheme of education under a single central authority with a single local authority in each district. For this reason and for granting financial aid to the hard pressed denominational schools it was warmly welcomed by the N.U.T.<sup>2</sup> On the "religious question" the Union as a body disassociated itself from the Nonconformists. It claimed that the vital interests of the children should not be sacrificed to the "theologians." The Union was bitterly attacked by the extreme nonconformists for its "betrayal"<sup>3</sup>.

It was on the "permissive clauses" or "local option" that the Union ranged itself not only against the Liberals but also against the Liberal Unionists who supported the Conservatives. "Local Option" had been put forward by the N.U.T. in 1901 as the basis for a compromise but at the 1902 Conference a resolution opposing "Local Option" was passed without<sup>4</sup> opposition.

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1. The best descriptions are in Lowndes op.cit. pp.80-87, Halevy op.cit. pp.207-210 and Allen op.cit. pp.171-198
  2. N.U.T.Report 1902: Presidential Address pp.xxvi-xxxvi  
N.U.T.Report 1904: Presidential Address pp.xxx-xxxiii  
J.H.Yoxall - The Coming Education Bill (1902)  
The Schoolmaster Jan 3rd 1903.
  3. See for example the "leader" in Daily News (Quoted in The Schoolmaster Sept. 6th 1902) "The Bill, which holds out promise of more public money for salaries, has produced something like political demoralisation among school teachers .....For the first time in any election the teachers as a body were found working hand in hand with the publicans. Perhaps they will adopt their new found friend's motto: "Our trade is our politics."  
See also School Board Chronicle August 30th 1902.
  4. See School Board Chronicle April 13th, Nov. 2nd 1901, Feb 8th, 15th April 5th, 1902.  
The Schoolmaster Oct 5th, 12th, Nov.2nd, 23rd 1901.  
N.U.T.Report 1902: Resolutions pp.lx-lxiv. Resolution 13.

To the teachers, educational unification was more important than the rights of dissent.<sup>1</sup> In the debates on the bill Yoxall and Gray played exceptionally active parts and the views of the N.U.T. were presented at every stage.

As the Bill was first drafted not a single member of the Education Committee need be an elected member of the local authority. The N.U.T. had abandoned "ad hoc" but it demanded that a majority of the members of the Education Committee should be answerable to an electorate. During the debate the Bill was amended so as to assure that except in the case of a County Council, all Education Authorities should elect at least a majority of other members on the Education Committee.<sup>2</sup>

The elementary teachers feared that the Act would lead to a cutting down of the standards of elementary education and a restricting of the elementary schools within rigid limits. There were also fears that the sharing of the rates between the voluntary schools and the Board schools would lead to a dragging down of the standard of the Board schools.<sup>3</sup> The Bill was amended to raise the age for possible attendance at Day Schools from 15 to 16 (even this age could be extended if no suitable higher education was available within a reasonable distance of

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1. After a struggle of extreme bitterness the House decided to abolish School Boards and to compel the new authorities to give rate-aid to voluntary schools. Allen op.cit. pp.178-181.
  2. N.U.T. Report 1902; Resolutions pp.lx-lxix. Resolution 14.
  3. N.U.T. Report 1902; Executive Report p.xxxviii and Resolution pp.lx-lxix. Resolution 15.  
The Schoolmaster Jan.4th, Sept.27th 1902.

the school). The limit on age for evening schools was abandoned, the Prime Minister gave an undertaking that the Code Standard of 1901 would be maintained in all schools and the 2d. in the pound rate limit for higher education was removed for County Boroughs.<sup>1</sup>

The greatest achievement of the N.U.T. and its "parliamentary representatives" was the passage of an amendment to Clause 7(1) (c) stating that "the consent of the Authority shall also be required to the dismissal of a teacher unless the dismissal be on grounds connected with the giving of religious instruction in the school." This amendment was secured after considerable trouble and difficulty. In addition, the teachers were promised that the next Code would contain a Minute providing for prevention of the carrying out of any extraneous duties. The Union was also successful in obtaining a promise from the Prime Minister that the grants to Day Training Colleges should be augmented so that provision on equal terms should obtain for students "not of the same religious beliefs as the existing training colleges" and in the insertion of a clause in the Bill giving power to the L.G.A. to spend money on the training of teachers. All these advantages were obtained through the pressure of the Union's representatives in Parliament.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Although not for County Councils who were still prevented from raising the rates unless the Local Government Board consented to the increase.
  2. The Schoolmaster April 18th 1903.



The 1902 Act gave the N.U.T. a great deal. While it was not the Bill the Union itself would have drafted, the majority of the elementary teachers accepted it as the best bill that could have been hoped for in the circumstances of the time. The Union entered the new educational era with great hopes. Much depended on the detailed administration of the Act and the story of the next nine years is of the slow blighting of the elementary teachers' hopes and the final explosion of the "Holmes-Morant" Circular.

CHAPTER XII

"At all times it (the policy of the Board) has been a steady pitiless delimitation of "elementary" schools, the "elementary" scholar, the "elementary" teacher, and the law of elementary education. When is this nightmare to cease? Is it not degradation enough for a Liberal Government that five years of Liberal rule have seen the education of the country restricted, the teachers depressed and insulted, and the public service paralysed by a personal tyranny which is as inept and wayward as it is cruel."

The Nation June 1911. 1

The Education Act of 1902 had placed the control of existing schools in the hands of new authorities and had opened the way for future growth. In no sense however, did the Act lay down the direction in which English education was to proceed. The development of education was determined not by Parliament but by the Board of Education in conjunction with the new L.E.A.'s.<sup>2</sup> From 1902 until 1911 Sir Robert Morant was Permanent Secretary of the Board of Education and it was his will which was mainly operative in shaping English education in those key years. His personality and influence was such that even forty years after his resignation it is difficult to see him clearly and without prejudice.

The recent tendency to blame Morant for many of the weaknesses of English education (in particular for the neglect

1. Quoted in The Schoolmaster July 1st 1911.
2. For details of the educational changes during this period see C. Birchough. op.cit. pp.151-163  
L.F.W.White - The Administration of Education 1902-14.  
Unpublished. Ph.D.(Economics) University of London. 1934.

of technical education)<sup>1</sup> does not seem to me to be either a fruitful or a truthful approach to the study of secondary education. As we saw in the last chapter there were essentially two concepts of secondary education in opposition to each other at the time of the 1902 Act. Morant was a singularly able and forceful exponent of the majority opinion of the time, that is, the opinion of the "secondary school interests" of "secondary education for leadership" or "an aristocracy of brains"<sup>2</sup>. One must remember also that Morant was handicapped by the need for financial stringency.<sup>3</sup>

In minimising the importance of Morant's individual beliefs in determining the direction which English education was to follow, it is in no way my intention to minimise either his great services as an administrator or his equally great failings as a human being. His services to education are well documented in his biography and his failings as a human being can be deduced

1. For example in John Graves - Policy and Progress in Secondary Education 1902-1942 (1943) pp.17, 39-48.  
H.C.Dent - Secondary Education for All (1949) pp.28, 33, 70.  
M.Sadlier - Sir Michael Sadlier (1949) p.221.  
The most useful work on the subject of secondary education in the twentieth century is Olive Banks - The Concept and Nature of the Grammar School in relation to the development of Secondary Education since 1902. Unpublished Ph.D.(Arts). University of London. 1953.
2. B.M.Allen op.cit. pp.126,135.  
I must disagree with the significance given by Mrs. Jean Floud (in her "The Educational Experience of the Adult Population of England and Wales as at July 1949" Chapter 5. Social Mobility in Britain (Ed.D.V.Glass)) to the statements in the Annual Reports of the Board of Education for 1909-10 and 1912-13 which deny that the Board policy was to aim at an "aristocracy of brains". These isolated statements seem to have been intended to placate the opposition and bear little if any relation to Board policy under Morant.
3. J.Graves op.cit. pp.50-51 explicitly recognises this.

equally from references to him by his friends as from attacks by his enemies.<sup>1</sup> Even if the changes which Morant instituted were "inevitable", (given the educational ideals and political necessities of the times), it appears certain that his personality and the methods he adopted to put the changes into effect built up such a feeling of ill-will towards himself and his department as to render his eventual overthrow almost equally "inevitable".

It is not possible in this sketch to examine all the changes made between 1902 and 1914 in the English educational system but only those changes which directly affected the elementary teacher. Among these are changes in the recruitment and education of teachers, changes in the relationship between elementary and secondary schools, and changes in the regulations<sup>2</sup> for training colleges.

#### The Recruitment and Education of Teachers.

We have seen in Chapter X how during the 1890's there had been an increasing tendency for pupil teachers to receive their education at "Pupil Teacher Centres" instead of at the schools in which they worked. Towards the end of the century the buildings and staffs of secondary schools were beginning to be used for the instruction of P.T.'s. By 1903 there were also a considerable number of secondary schools from which boys

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1. B.E.Allen op.cit. p.203  
Almeric Fitzroy - Memoirs (1925)  
M.Sadler op.cit. pp.148-151, 169-191, 210-221  
E.Wobb (Ed.M.Colo) - Diaries 1912-1924 (1952) pp.98, 178.
  2. For the general policy of the Board in those years see  
A.Tropp "The Changing Status, etc." op.cit. pp.163-4.

and girls were going on to become elementary school teachers and some of these children had not themselves passed through the elementary schools.

The Education Act of 1902 had empowered the new L.A.'s to make provision for the training and instruction of teachers and in July 1903 the Board issued a body of Pupil Teacher Regulations to replace the articles in the Elementary Code hitherto dealing with the matter.<sup>1</sup> The new regulations were based upon two main principles. Firstly, the deferring of all employment in public elementary schools until a later age than had previously been the case, in order to facilitate the preliminary education of future teachers. Secondly, the continuance as far as possible of that preliminary education during the age of pupil-teachership.<sup>2</sup>

The Prefatory Memorandum to the regulations laid stress upon the importance of providing a sound general education for all potential teachers, in spite of the heavy initial expense entailed, as an essential condition of the production of adequate results from all other expenditure upon elementary schools. It suggested that the provision of a well-organised scholarship system intended to assist the preparation of candidates for the

1. These regulations became operative on the first of January, 1904, but some of their provisions did not immediately come into force. Various amplifications and modifications were introduced into the original scheme when the regulations were annually revised in 1904, 1905 and 1906, and the new system may be regarded as being for the first time completely established during the year 1906-7.
2. B.P.P. 1907 LXIV: Memorandum on the History and Prospects of the Pupil Teacher System. p.16.

teaching profession should be the first care of every L. .A.<sup>1</sup>  
 The Memorandum concluded by suggesting that L. .A.'s might  
 probably wish to try various experiments in organising the  
 education of prospective teachers, and that while some might  
 think it necessary to retain a form of pupil-teacherhip others  
 might think it desirable to forgo every form of service in an  
 elementary school until the age of 17 or later, or even until  
 after the conclusion of a training college course.

The board was fully aware of the difficulties which would  
 arise as P.T.'s entered the secondary schools.<sup>2</sup> Not only would

1. L.P.P. 1903 XX: Report of the Board of Education 1902-3.  
 Probationers were no longer recognised as part of the staff of  
 a Public Elementary School, and the minimum age for the  
 recognition of P.T.'s was raised to between 16 and 17 years,  
 except in a few rural districts remote from Pupil Teacher  
 Centres. The employment of P.T.'s in elementary schools was  
 strictly limited to half of the meetings during which the  
 elementary schools to which they were apprenticed were open,  
 and during the remaining half of their time they were to  
 receive approved courses of instruction extending over at  
 least 300 hours annually, and must wherever possible, be given  
 in fully equipped and staffed Pupil Teacher Centres. P.T.'s  
 might only be employed in schools specially selected for the  
 purpose, in which they would have a chance of receiving some  
 preliminary training in the art of teaching, and of not being  
 regarded merely as cheap assistant teachers. Pupil Teacher  
 Centres might either be attached to Secondary Schools or,  
 with the special consent of the Board, which was only given  
 if Secondary Schools were not available for the purpose, to  
 Higher Elementary Schools; or they might be separately  
 organised institutions. It was contemplated that, as a rule,  
 the preliminary education of P.T.'s, before they were  
 recognised as such, would have been given in secondary schools  
 but a special provision was made by which, where Secondary  
 Schools were not available, such education might be given  
 between the ages of 14 and 16 in preparatory classes attached  
 to pupil teacher centres.
2. L.P.P. 1904 LXXV: Some hints on the Organisation of the  
 Instruction of Pupil Teachers pp.30-31.

there be difficulties of organisation but there was "the "class problem" to be faced." Both parents and secondary teachers objected to the introduction of P.T.'s into their schools and the elementary teachers resented the fact that some secondary schools made a distinction between the pupil teachers and the other pupils.<sup>1</sup> The social and intellectual advantages of secondary school education were considered by the Board to be of such importance as to warrant disturbing the "character" of the secondary schools.

During the period from 1904 to 1907 there was a strong tendency for Pupil Teacher Centres to close down and for their pupils to be transferred to Secondary Schools. Some of the earliest and most successful centres were converted into secondary schools.<sup>2</sup> The movement to close down the centres was warmly supported by the Board<sup>3</sup> and was just as warmly opposed by the teachers in the centres<sup>4</sup> supported by many L.E.A's. The Board considered that it was of the first importance that when

1. The two groups were separated from each other as much as possible, had separate playtimes and so forth. The Schoolmaster Oct. 28th 1911.
2. The degree to which the need to provide education for future teachers contributed to the extension of secondary education (especially for girls) has often been neglected. In 1910 no less than 57% of the 736 recognised secondary schools were taking part in the education of bursars or P.T.'s. (E.P.P. 1910 XXI; 1914-16 XVIII).  
See also O. Banks. op.cit.
3. The Board attacked the Centres as inefficient cramming establishments and were particularly concerned at the lack of facilities for physical education (E.P.P. 1907 LXIV)
4. E.P.P. 1907 LXIV pp. 19-21  
N.U.T. Report 1907: Presidential Address p. xxxv  
The Schoolmaster Jan 9th 1904.  
G.A. Christian op.cit. pp. 38-41

children were transferred from elementary schools to secondary schools, this transfer should take place between the ages of 12 and 13. When children entered the secondary schools at a later age it was said that they came up with "their minds starved from want of nourishment."<sup>1</sup> The Board which had written in 1903 that, "it is clear that pupil teachers not only must, but should, continue to be an important part of the educational system of the country"<sup>2</sup> was in 1907 asking "whether (pupil-teachership) is worth keeping in existence at all, whether the continuous contact with the child mind... is worth struggling for at the cost of the disorganisation of the secondary schools and the overwork, dissipation of energies, and in many cases neglect, which are too often the result of the half-time system to pupil teachers themselves."<sup>3</sup> These words forecast the death of the pupil teacher system. For sixty years it had been the main avenue of recruitment to the profession, the main method of obtaining a higher education open to the working class child and thus an important avenue of social mobility. While the system lingered in rural areas for many years, the new means of entrance to the profession and to the white collar occupations was through the secondary schools.

It was still not possible to leave the recruitment of the profession to the scholarship system and the "attractions of the

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1. B.P.P. 1907 LXIV: Historical Introduction to the General Report on the Instruction and Training of Pupil Teachers p.21
  2. B.P.P. 1904 LXXV: Regulations for the Instruction and Training of pupil teachers. p.30.
  3. B.P.P. 1907 LXIV: p.26.



profession." In 1907 an "alternative to the traditional method of pupil teachership"<sup>1</sup> was instituted. Under this scheme secondary school pupils of 16 and over, who had been attending a secondary school for at least three years, were eligible for "bursar" grants, to enable them to stay at school until 17 or 18, when they could enter a training college or become "student teachers" for a year prior to entering college. While these bursar grants could include maintenance allowances the Board hoped that the parents of the new recruits would be prepared to maintain them until the age of 17 or 18. Most of the Local Authorities found it necessary to provide "teaching" or "probationary" scholarships to secondary schools for children of 12 to 16 on condition that they undertook to become teachers.<sup>2</sup>

The first effect of these new regulations was an alarming decrease in the number of entrants to the profession.<sup>3</sup> In 1909 the Board estimated that 14,000 new Pupil Teachers and

1. E.P.P. 1907 LXIV: Regulations for the Preliminary Education of Elementary Schoolteachers.  
See also The Schoolmaster April 27th 1907.
2. For an earlier example of this see The Schoolmaster Jan 21, 28, Feb 4, 11, 1905.
3. The figures for England are:

Year	Pupil Teachers commencing		Bursars		Total Entrants
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	
1906-7	2468	8550	-	-	11018
1907-8	2092	6205	637	1406	10340
1908-9	1302	3907	1112	2393	8714
1909-10	894	2956	1090	2251	7191
1910-11	583	2029	723	2001	5376
1911-12	393	1562	723	2135	4813
1912-13	296	1173	614	2225	4308
1913-14	282	1400	590	2422	4703

(Contd....)

Sources: B.P.P. 1914 XXV p.148; 1914-16 XV111 p.59.  
 The same trends are to be found in Wales but the rate of decrease in total entrants was slightly smaller than in England.

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Bursars a year would be needed so that the decline in total entrants to less than a third of that number threatened the whole existence of the educational system.<sup>2</sup> The decline was particularly serious for boys and as early as 1906 the Board was complaining that "we seem to be approaching a condition of things in this country similar to that in America, where the male elementary teachers<sup>3</sup> is a rara avis interro".

The most important reason for this fall was the postponement of the time of wage-earning involved in the "Bursar" system. The ambitious boy or girl who entered by what was now the commonest avenue to the profession, could not begin full wage-earning before at earliest, the age of 19, and had often to wait until 21. During the secondary school period they were a drain upon their families' resources and the maintenance allowance during the Bursar year was comparatively small. A barrier had been set up against the entrance of working class children into the profession and the children of the middle classes were still not entering the profession in sufficient numbers.<sup>4</sup>

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1. B.P.P. 1909 LXVII p.vi
2. B.P.P. 1913 L p.vi; B.P.P. 1914 XXV p.71
3. B.P.P. 1906 XXVIII p.37
4. An article in the Manchester Sunday Chronicle on the subject was headed "A Stolen Profession". (The Schoolmaster Sept.5th 1908).

The 1902 Act had imposed no express obligation on L.T.A.'s to recruit teachers and much of the burden of supplying new recruits was left to the rural areas and small towns while London and Middlesex did very little.<sup>1</sup> The profession, on the whole, was becoming less attractive to entrants. While the average salaries of certificated teachers had risen in the first decade of the twentieth century the increase had been swallowed up by a rise in the cost of living. There had been a change for the worse in the prospects of promotion to headships<sup>2</sup> and the "demarcation" between the elementary teacher and secondary teacher was closing an important avenue of promotion to the elementary teacher.

The increase in training college accommodation from 1902 onwards<sup>3</sup> had meant that a much larger number of newly trained teachers were thrown upon the market at one time. As early as 1907 it was found that a certain number of ex-students were finding it impossible to obtain employment as trained certificated teachers on leaving college. From 1909 onwards the Union was concerned to dissuade entrants to the profession and to demand a stiffening up of staffing regulations in order to absorb the unemployed teachers.<sup>4</sup> The Union and the Board clashed

1. E.P.P. 1906 XXVIII p.38.

2. E.P.P. 1914-16 XVIII: General Report upon N.W.Division: Prospects of the Class Teacher p.201.

The Schoolmaster Oct 5th 1912

3. In 1903 there were 7,000 and in 1910, 12,000 places in the training colleges.

4. N.U.T. Report 1909: Presidential Address pp.xxxv-xxxvi

continually on the amount and significance of unemployment and the Board accused the N.U.T. of exaggerating the number of unemployed and of deliberately disseminating "the idea... that a large proportion of young persons newly trained and qualified for teaching posts will find themselves permanently unable to obtain employment."<sup>1</sup>

The N.U.T. pressed for the abolition of the Acting Teachers examination, the weeding out of the unqualified and partly qualified teachers and the establishment of better staffing conditions.<sup>2</sup> The Board, while honestly desiring to see the untrained and uncertificated teacher driven from the profession and better staffing conditions established, was unable to press too hard against the "backward" (mainly rural) authorities. Many authorities had strained their resources to the utmost in supplying aid to the voluntary schools and building secondary schools and had little money to spare to improve staffing

1. B.P.P. 1910 XX11 p.45  
 See also B.P.P. 1909 LXVII: N.U.T. Report 1910 p.xlii  
The Tragedy of the Unemployed Teacher (1910) Pamphlet in  
Ministry of Education Library Box D.11.7  
School Government Chronicle Feb 19th 1910  
The Schoolmaster Sept.12th 1908, Feb 27th, Oct.9th, 1909,  
Oct.1st, 15th, Nov.5th 1910, April 29th, June 17th, Sept.23rd  
1911.

N.U.T. Report 1911 p.xliii; 1912 p.xliii: 1913 p.xcviii  
1914 p.xlvi-xlvii

B.P.P. 1912-13 LXV

2. N.U.T. Report 1910: p.xlii  
The Schoolmaster July 4th, 11th 1908, June 17th, Sept.23rd  
1911.

Many L.E.A.'s were getting certificated teachers "on the cheap" paying them the salary for uncertificated teachers. On the 31st January 1913 there were over 400 men and over 2,000 women certificated teachers in England employed at salaries below those ordinarily paid by the Authority to teachers of that Grade. In some cases the salary received was that of

(Contd...)

the uncertificated grade; in others it was the minimum salary of the certificated grade without increment. (See B.P.P. 1914 XXV p.86).

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arrangements in elementary schools.<sup>1</sup> The Board's policy appeared self-contradictory, for while on the one hand it seemed to reconcile itself to a measure of unemployment in the profession its main concern was with the "extremely serious" position with regard to the future supply of teachers.<sup>2</sup>

In spite of its deep concern with the shortage of teachers the Board refused to abandon the Bursar system and return to the pupil teacher system. However it made changes "designed to assist Local Education Authorities in facilitating the entry to the profession of children at present prevented from reaching it."<sup>3</sup> These changes had their effect and the years 1913-14 and onwards showed a slight rise in the number of entrants to the profession.<sup>4</sup> The number of entrants was, however, still far below the number required to make up for the yearly wastage.

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1. The N.U.T. itself was aware of this and pressed for larger Treasury grants for the L.E.A's. See N.U.T. Report 1909: Presidential Address p.xxxv: N.U.T. Report 1910 p.lxxv: N.U.T.Report 1911 p.lxxvii.
  2. B.P.P. 1913 L
  3. These changes included (1) The development of Rural pupil-teachership on improved lines (B.P.P. 1914 XXV p.152, The Schoolmaster Nov.15th 1913) (2) Some further assistance by the State to meet the expenses incidental to preliminary education where the Bursar system was applicable. (B.P.P. 1913 L; B.P.P. 1914 XXV) (3) The encouragement and assistance of schemes other than the Bursar and Pupil Teacher Systems for bringing recruits into the profession. (B.P.P. 1914 XXV)
  4. B.P.P. 1914-16 XVIII pp.47, 139.

The shortage of certificated teachers was seriously handicapping the attempts of the Board to drive the "Supplementary" (ex-Article 68) teacher from the profession.<sup>1</sup> In 1909 the Board restricted the engagement of "supplementary" teachers<sup>2</sup> as to confine new appointments in future to infants classes, or to the lowest class of older scholars in a small school in a rural parish. The Board granted five years grace to supplementary teachers engaged in schools for older children and between 1909 and 1913 the total number of supplementary teachers fell from 17,204 to 13,473. Towards the end of the five years the Board was approached by many L.E.A.'s and urged to postpone the date at which the recognition of supplementary teachers in departments for older children would cease. The Board agreed reluctantly<sup>2</sup> and granted another five years grace.

We have already noted some features of the N.U.T.'s policy on the recruitment and training of teachers. It demanded better staffing, the exclusion of the un-certificated and the prevention of "over-supply".<sup>3</sup> Among the teachers as a whole there was at first a disinclination to see the end of the pupil teacher system. In part this was due to a sentimental attachment towards the system which had brought the majority of them into the profession. There were also frequent complaints that many ex-Bursars when they entered the elementary schools proved to be altogether

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1. For the Board's attempts to introduce higher standards of staffing see B.P.P. 1911 XVI: pp.2-30
  2. B.P.P. 1914-16 XVIII p.56
  3. See for example N.U.T. Report 1909: Resolutions pp.lxxix-lxxxi

ineffective as teachers and very unfavourable comparisons were drawn between their capacity and that of the ex-P.T., particularly in regard to the power of keeping discipline. The Board considered that it was unreasonable to expect as much of the Bursars as of the P.T.'s when they entered the schools but was convinced that the average Bursar was likely to make in the end a more efficient elementary school teacher than the average product of the old pupil teacher system. In face of the continued demand from the N.U.T. that potential teachers should undergo some practical test before entering college<sup>1</sup> they at length gave their grudging consent to the "withdrawal of candidates for bursarship during a short period from the secondary school in order that they might undergo a test in the elementary school designed to weed out any who are obviously unsuitable, or manifest a dislike for teaching."<sup>2</sup>

In exactly the same way as there was a disinclination to see the end of the pupil teacher system so also there was a disinclination to see the end of the pupil teacher centres. The reasons were partly sentimental, partly the "vested interests" of the teachers in P.T. centres and partly educational. While the N.U.T. admitted the importance of enlarging the future teacher's experience and culture it was not convinced that the

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1. N.U.T. Report 1909: Resolutions p.lxxvii, lxxix  
Ibid. 1910: Report of Executive p.xli, Resolutions p.lxxv  
Ibid. 1913: Resolutions p.xcvii  
The Schoolmaster July 13th 1907.
  2. E.P.P. 1914 XXV

secondary schools were capable of doing this efficiently.<sup>1</sup>

After 1907 the fear of over-supply became dominant in determining the attitude of the Union towards recruitment and education.<sup>2</sup> The proposal of the Board to increase the supply of teachers by providing maintenance allowances for future bursars throughout their secondary school career were strongly condemned by the Union.<sup>3</sup>

The period from 1902 to 1914 had thus seen the complete transformation of the method of recruitment to the profession. The main problems for both the teachers and the Board were, firstly, how to obtain an increase in the state grant towards education and thus increase the number of trained and certificated teachers employed. Secondly, how to secure a balance between the over-supply and the under-supply of certificated teachers. Thirdly, how to balance the teachers' demands that recruitment to the profession should be left to an adequate scholarship system and the "attractions of the profession" (which would involve an increase in both secondary education and the remuneration of the teacher) with the Board's necessity to economise in education.

#### Elementary and Secondary Schools.

Morant has been widely praised for sweeping away the last

1. See The Schoolmaster Feb 11, May 13, 27, July 1, 22, August 5, Dec. 1905. B.P.P. 1906 XXVIII p.52. and especially N.U.T. Report 1907: Presidential Address p.xxxv
2. N.U.T. Report 1909: Resolutions pp.lxxix-lxxxiii  
Ibid 1910 : Resolutions p.lxxv  
Ibid 1911 : Resolutions p.lxxvii
3. B.P.P. 1913 L  
N.U.T. Report 1914: pp.xlvi-vii, xc-xci, lxxiv, xxxix.



traces of "payment by results".<sup>1</sup> The "Elementary School Code" of 1904 and the "Suggestions for the consideration of Teachers and others engaged in the work of Public Elementary Schools" of 1905, put forward ideals of the true nature of the teacher's work which have hardly ever been bettered. While recognising the nobility of the conception of education which lay behind these words, it is necessary to point out that Morant was only concluding the work which had been one of the main pre-occupation of the elementary teachers since 1862. The destruction of "payment by results" was not the work of one man but of many men.

As with all educational changes it was difficult for some of the older administrators and teachers to accustom themselves to the changed conditions. The last years of the London School Board had been marked by a struggle between the N.U.T. and the School Board over the Board's attempt to reinstate individual examination of scholars by its own inspectors.<sup>2</sup> Many of the Inspectors from the School Boards were taken over by the new L.E.A.'s and there were constant complaints both from the teachers and from the H.M.I.'s that these local Inspectors were inclined to perpetuate the evils of "payment by results."<sup>3</sup>

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1. Report of the Ministry of Education for 1950 p.36  
S.J.Curtis - Education in Britain since 1900 (1952) pp.34,65
  2. N.U.T. Report 1903: Presidential Address pp.xxxii-xxxiii  
Ibid. 1903: "Examination versus Inspection" pp.lxxvii-lxxviii  
Ibid. 1904: Presidential Address p.xli  
Ibid. 1904: Report of Executive pp.xlii-xliiii
  3. Allen op.cit. pp.252-4  
E.G.A.Holmes - What is and what might be (1914)  
G.A.Christian op.cit. pp.150-2.  
N.U.T.Reports 1905 p.lxxi; 1906 p.lxxvi; 1907 p.lxxv; 1908 p.lxxviii 1909 p.lxxxii; 1910 p.lxxvii; 1911 p.lxxviii

These complaints led up to the famous incident of the "Holmes Circular". It is important to note that both before and after the Holmes Circular the N.U.T. found it necessary to protest against undue interference by both Local Inspectors and H.M.I.'s<sup>1</sup> and attempts to revive the old examination system.

The policy of the N.U.T. concerning secondary education was founded on two principles. The first was that a secondary or technical education could only succeed if based upon a satisfactory primary education. The second was that the normal avenue of education should be from elementary school to higher grade school, from higher grade school to secondary or technical school and from either of these to the University College or<sup>2</sup> University.

While it would be unjust to accuse the Board of deliberately neglecting the elementary school it is undeniable that its major concern was with constructing an adequate system of secondary education. In part this was due to their belief that no improvement could be hoped for in the elementary school until a majority of elementary teachers had been educated in the secondary schools. The Board's conception of secondary education was of something far superior to elementary education

1. N.U.T. Report 1913: Resolutions pp.xcviii-xcix  
Ibid. 1914: Resolutions p.xci  
The Schoolmaster March 28th 1913: "Inspection versus Examination"
2. N.U.T. Report 1903: Presidential Address pp.xxviii-xxix  
Ibid. 1904: Presidential Address pp.xxxvii-xl

and it concerned itself from 1895 onwards with the "demarcation", "definition" or "delimitation" of the two forms of education. As secondary education was to be superior to elementary education it would be necessary to spend far more money per pupil in the secondary school than per pupil in the elementary school. The Board believed that the advantages the ex-elementary school child would obtain from the secondary school would be as much social as educational. These social advantages would be missing if the teachers in the secondary school were to be the "uncultured" ex-elementary teachers. Equally the advantage of mixing the working class children with the middle class children would be missing if too many scholarship children were admitted. Finally the earlier the ex-elementary school child entered the secondary school the greater the social advantage he would obtain from his stay.

Against the Board's policy the N.U.T. pressed for "parity of conditions" as the only way in which "equality of opportunity for all, regardless of rank, fortune, or social status" could be implemented.<sup>1</sup> The Union also bitterly resented the exclusion of ex-elementary teachers from the secondary schools. There is no evidence that the exclusion of ex-elementary teachers as such was a deliberate policy of the Board but it followed almost

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1. The Schoolmaster Oct. 22nd 1910, April 22nd 1911.  
N.U.T. Report 1912; Resolution p.xc  
Ibid. 1913; Presidential Address pp.xxxiii-xliv; pp.xcviii-xcix  
Ibid. 1914; Resolutions p.xc.

automatically from the Board's conception of secondary education. To the elementary teachers it appeared as one more example of the "caste" attitude of the Board.<sup>2</sup> It appeared to be part of the same policy that was excluding the ex-elementary teachers from teaching posts in the training colleges.<sup>3</sup>

It is interesting to follow the fluctuations of N.U.T. policy regarding the Higher Grade Schools as it shows the dilemma in which progressive educationalists were placed. Once the scholarship system to the secondary grammar schools was well under way, they were almost forced to press for more scholarships and more grammar schools. Any attempt to build technical or higher elementary schools was liable to be met by the criticism that higher elementary schools were intended as poor substitutes for grammar schools. While in 1903 the President of the Union had suggested Higher Grade Schools as a step between the Primary

1. G. Baron op.cit. pp.194-197, 268-281 has studied the reports of the Inspectors of secondary schools for the period. His general conclusion is that there was no definite policy laid down by the Board which Inspectors necessarily had to follow. What the Inspectors opposed was the introduction of the rigid methods of the elementary school into the secondary school. On occasions (e.g. in a badly staffed older grammar school) they were willing to recommend to the Governors the employment of "trained" (i.e. ex-elementary) teachers to "put the school on its feet." There was, however, a general tendency for Inspectors to urge the introduction of teachers with direct knowledge of grammar or public schools (preferably Oxford or Cambridge graduates). They were most insistent on this in the Higher Grade and Municipal secondary schools which had previously been staffed almost completely by ex-elementary teachers.
2. N.U.T. Report 1907; Presidential Address 1907 pp.xxxiii-xxxiv  
The Schoolmaster Aug 8th, 1908, April 22nd 1911.
3. Hansard 21st March 1911. Mr. Goldstone.  
Regulations for the Training of Teachers 1904, 1911.

School and the Grammar School,<sup>1</sup> in 1907 the Union's policy was that "there is in reality, no place for Higher Elementary Schools ...If they were to be established in any numbers, they would, like the old Higher Grade Schools, gradually become Secondary Schools in scope and aim, and the few Higher Elementary Schools now existing should be termed Secondary, and treated as such."<sup>2</sup>

The Union accused the Board of "thwarting and hindering the higher educational interests of the children of the working classes" and of conserving "the public supply of higher education as a social rather than a national provision." The narrowing of the curriculum of the Higher Elementary Schools and the Board's policy of encouraging high fees in the secondary schools<sup>3</sup> were looked upon as steps in a "deliberate attempt to "fend off" from the secondary schools proper all but a few of the children of the workers."<sup>4</sup>

The attack of the Union on the Higher Elementary Schools can be understood only in the light of the Report of the Consultative Committee upon Higher Elementary Schools.<sup>5</sup> The committee had attempted to draw a distinction between "secondary

1. N.U.T. Report 1903: Presidential Address p.xxix
2. N.U.T. Report 1907: Presidential Address pp.xxxii-xxxviii  
See also N.U.T. Pamphlet: Higher Education and the People's Children: An Appeal to the People against the policy of the Secondary Schools Branch of the Board of Education. (1907)
3. The Schoolmaster April 22nd 1911.  
See also O.Banks Op.cit.
4. N.U.T. Report 1907: Presidential Address p.xxxii
5. See Board of Education: Consultative Committee upon Higher Elementary Schools (1906) and Board of Education: Higher Elementary Schools: Evidence, Verbatim Reports (1906)

schools" proper and "lower secondary schools" (or "pseudo-secondary schools"). The report considered that higher elementary schools were needed for children who were to complete their day-school education, at the age of fifteen, and go "to earn a living in the lower ranks of commerce and industry." These children needed a kind of education "that is likely to make them efficient members of the class to which they will belong." The committee attacked the existing higher elementary schools for "too broad and too ambitious educational aims" and deprecated the taking of "secondary school examinations" as "apt to influence unduly the character of the curriculum, and to act in the direction of producing a pseudo-secondary school".<sup>1</sup>

Against the committee's view of a full "grammar" education for a small group of children and a "lower" secondary education for a larger group, the N.U.T. put forward its ideal of free higher education for all children. This higher education should not be limited in character, but, "by means of a properly graded system of schools, should include general, commercial, professional, technical and trades, and domestic training so as to develop the natural tendencies of the children."<sup>2</sup>

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1. See also The Schoolmaster August 11th, 1907, April 8th 1911. School Guardian. April 13th 1907.

It is interesting that John Graves op.cit. p.75 declares the Report to have a "curiously modern ring" and criticises the Board's regulations for higher elementary schools as "rather exacting". Precisely the opposite criticisms were made at the time by left-wing educationists.

2. N.U.T. Report 1908: Resolution p.lxxx

See also Ibid. 1907: Presidential Address p.xxxviii

Ibid. 1911: Presidential Address p.xxxvii-xxxix

It is almost certainly true that Morant did not conceive the tremendous expansion in numbers of the secondary schools. Secondary education was intended for those children who would enter the professions (including elementary teaching) or take higher posts in industry or commerce. Against this the N.U.T. was constantly demanding an extension of the scholarship system to secondary schools and the abolition of fees.<sup>1</sup> The controversy was put by Mr. Pickles in 1911 as, "the old liberal policy.... was to provide an open road with no unbridged moat for every scholar able and willing to continue his education. The policy of some of the permanent officials was the mediaeval plan which barred the road to the masses, picked up here and there a clever lad of lowly birth, took him out of his order, fitted him with the education of the ruling classes, and made him one of them - a system which had been described as providing a handful of prigs and an army of serfs."<sup>2</sup>

Much of the Board's activity in regard to Training Colleges was concerned with enlarging their number and enabling more teachers to be trained. The Board recognised a new type of college, the "municipal day training college," supplied by the

1. The Schoolmaster Aug. 27th 1904, March 11th 1905.  
The first attack was on the Board's regulation imposing a minimum fee of £3. per annum in secondary schools and limiting free places to 25% of the total number of the scholars. See also N.U.T. Reports 1911, 12, 13, 14. Resolutions  
N.U.T. Report 1913: Presidential Address pp. xlii-xliii and on early problems of selection for secondary education  
N.U.T. Report 1904: pp. lxxviii-lxxix Ibid. 1905: p. xlvi
2. Mr. Pickles at the N.U.T. Conference April 8th 1911 (N.U.T. Pamphlet The "Holmes-Morant" Circular (1911) p. 47. See also N.U.T. Report 1913: Presidential Address p. xliii.

L.E.A. The Board also abolished the "75% limit of grant" which had hitherto been applied to residential colleges and under the Liberal Government determined and successful attempts were made to free the colleges from denominational and social restrictions.<sup>1</sup> These activities were warmly welcomed by the teachers.

At the same time, however, the Board was engaged in constraining (or "demarcating") the course of study in the training colleges. We have already seen how in the 1890's students at training colleges began reading for university degrees instead of taking the ordinary certificate examination. Each year a large and increasing number of students were able to take advantage of the degree courses and the N.U.T. looked forward to the day when a university degree would be "part of the ordinary outfit of a student when he left college." As early<sup>2</sup> as 1902 the Board announced that in 1904 and following years, if a student in a residential college working for a degree failed in his final examination he would leave college unclassified and have to take the Acting Teachers Examination the following year. This Circular and succeeding changes in the training college regulations were all intended to prevent "the ordinary

1. B.P.P. 1907 LXIV; B.P.P. 1908 XXVI; B.P.P. 1909 LXVII p.11  
The regulations forbade training colleges to reject candidates on the grounds of religious faith, social status or social antecedents. The regulations were fiercely opposed by the church and finally an agreement was reached by which one-half of the places were filled without denominational tests.
2. Circular 469 to the training colleges (15th December, 1902)



training college student... from preparing or sitting during the college course for University Examinations." <sup>1</sup> The N.U.T. saw these changes as part of the general policy aimed at excluding the certificated teachers from the secondary schools.

The Board justified its policy on the grounds that training college students should devote their energies to professional training rather than to some branch of special study. <sup>2</sup> While the decision may have been justified by the need to raise the standard of professional training it was bitterly resented both by the N.U.T. and by the powerful Association of Training College Principals and Lecturers. <sup>3</sup> In 1911 the Board recognised "training departments attached to university institutions as providing a four year course of training, of which the first three years will be devoted wholly or mainly to study in preparation for the work of teaching in a public elementary school." <sup>4</sup> The teachers and training college lecturers welcomed this step for its breaking down of the barrier between the primary and secondary teacher. In practice, however, the traini

1. N.U.T. Report 1905: "Training of Teachers and Examinations of Training College Students" pp.cvi-cix  
Also N.U.T. Report 1903: Presidential Address pp.xxxiii-xxxiv  
Resolution p.lxxx
2. B.P.P. 1906 XXV111 pp.40-41
3. N.U.T. Report 1907: Presidential Address p.xxxvi, xli  
Ibid. 1908: Executive Report p.xlvii  
Ibid. 1909: Executive Report p.xli  
Ibid. 1911: Executive Report p.xliv  
Ibid. 1913: Resolution p.xcix  
Ibid. 1914: Presidential Address p.xl-xli  
The Schoolmaster March 5th 1910, April 8th, 29th 1911, May 17th 1913.
4. B.P.P. 1911 LIX

system continued as "training college for the elementary teacher, university for the secondary teacher" and until the 1940's only unemployment could drive the graduate teacher into the elementary school.

We have now considered the main educational changes of the period and the tensions each of these changes produced between the elementary teachers and the Board. Three other sources of tension must be mentioned to give a complete picture. Morant's policy regarding the recruitment of Inspectors and Administrators, his attitude towards the teachers' register and finally his personal attitude towards the N.U.T.

As early as 1901, Sir John Gorst (who was later to be accused of having acted under the influence of Morant) had created a new class of Junior Inspectors. He had thus blocked the avenue of promotion to the sub-inspectors in favour of young men straight from the Universities. On Morant's appointment as Secretary, he used all his influence to place in key positions at the Board men educated at the public schools and the older universities. The teachers were naturally unwilling to see the Inspectorate closed to them and they regarded Morant's policy as yet another example of the "caste" mind in education.<sup>1</sup>

1. N.U.T. Report 1902: "Teachers and the Inspectorate" pp.xciv-xcv  
Ibid 1903: Resolution p.lxxi  
Ibid. 1906: Resolution p.lxvi  
Ibid. 1907: Presidential Address p.xxxvii  
 Resolution p.lxxi  
Ibid. 1908: Resolution p.lxxx  
Ibid. 1909: Resolution p.lxxxii  
Ibid. 1910: Resolution p.lxxvii  
Ibid. 1911: Resolution p.lxxvi  
Ibid. 1914: Presidential Address p.xli  
The Schoolmaster March 18th, Oct 28th 1911.

In 1914, the then President of the Union, Mr. W. B. Steer, put the teachers' feelings succinctly by declaring that, "[frankly I have to confess to a reasonable amount of envy of the 'varsity man, and, though my own college career is a thing of the long ago, I still resent the insistence of the Board of Education which forced me into its own mould, and then declared that mould to be a poor thing by shutting the door against me and my colleagues." <sup>1</sup>

In 1899 Parliament had explicitly enacted that a "teacher's register" should be set up with the names of all grades of teachers arranged in alphabetical order. Without any public discussion, or any explanatory report, either by the Consultative Committee or by the Board, there was issued in 1902, an Order in Council, prescribing, not as the Act of 1899 had directed, a single alphabetical list of teachers, but two lists. This was the notorious double-columned Register, Column A being for the

1. N.U.T. Report 1914: Presidential Address p.xli

During the Holmes Circular Controversy many figures were issued of the antecedents of Inspectors in the Elementary Education Branch.

The figures given by Mr. L. A. Selby-Bigge to the Royal Commission ~~and~~ the Civil Service (B.P.P. 1912-13 XV Appendix XII. II. pp 522-53), provide the most comprehensive picture of recruitment to the Inspectorate.

Of the 106 Junior Inspectors, 85 were graduates of either Oxford or Cambridge.

Of the 86 Inspectors in the Elementary Education Branch only 17 had 5 or more years experience of teaching in a Public Elementary School and only 6 had 10 or more years experience.

See the Evidence of Selby-Bigge before the Royal Commission B.P.P. 1912-13 XV: Q.8839, 8910-28, 9062-8, 9083-97, 9259-98, 9390-4, 9444-51.

names of those qualified to teach in public elementary schools, and Column B for those qualified to teach in secondary schools. The regulations specified that Column B was to be open only to those teachers who, besides having prescribed academic qualifications, had actually taught for a prolonged term in a secondary school. To adjudicate on claims a strictly subordinate and purely administrative body called "The Teachers Registration Council" was appointed by the Board.<sup>1</sup> This amazing perversion of the Teachers' Register for which the N.U.T. had worked and which Parliament had sanctioned<sup>2</sup> naturally provoked the bitterest resentment among the elementary teachers.<sup>3</sup> For four years the N.U.T. campaigned against the "caste" register. During this period the ill-starred "Teachers Registration Council" struggled with a maze of vacillating and inconsistent instructions from the Board, the Consultative Committee and the Lords of the Treasury. The Treasury refused to allow any money to be spent, other than that extracted by fees from the teachers who registered. The certificated elementary teachers were

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1. The council consisted of six nominees of the Government (not one of whom was an elementary teacher), and one representative each of the six principal associations of teachers (the Head Masters' Conference, the Incorporated Association of Head Masters, the Association of Headmistresses, the College of Preceptors, the Teachers Guild and the N.U.T.). The secondary school assistants were completely ignored, the elementary teachers (by far the majority group) had one representative and the secondary school heads three.
  2. There are strong doubts as to the legality of the Board's action.
  3. For example N.U.T. Report 1902: Resolution p.lxx (also passed in 1903).  
N.U.T. Report 1903: "Register of Teachers" p.civ  
Ibid. 1904: Resolution p.lxxi-lxxii  
Ibid. 1906: Resolution p.lxv

automatically registered without personal application or fee and the less numerous secondary teachers paid a guinea fee. Thus there was never sufficient money to warrant even the printing of the register. The Board was indifferent if not hostile to the whole idea. It insisted on keeping in its own hands the "recognition" of secondary schools, service at which alone could qualify for registration in Column B; and yet failed in its regulations for secondary schools, even to refer to the existence of the Register, let alone give a hint that registration of teachers was regarded as desirable.

After four years vain struggling, the T.R.C., - denied control over the conditions of registration, refused the funds necessary for its own expenses, prevented from printing the register, smudged by the Board and under bitter attack from the N.U.T. - reported that it could not hope to carry out successfully<sup>1</sup> the work which the Board had assigned to it. The Board, always antagonistic to the idea of a teachers' register, now seized the opportunity to abolish the register. The eight thousand secondary teachers who had paid their guineas were to have their money refunded and the obligation to frame a Register which the Act of 1899 had imposed was to be got rid of by a new Education<sup>2</sup> Act. The destruction of the T.R.C. would have proceeded with

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1. Final Report of the Teachers' Registration Council Jan 1907 - March 1908 in B.P.P. 1909 XVIII; Report of the Board of Educ. 1907-8 pp.121-129.
  2. Memorandum on the Registration of Teachers and the abolition of the Register 1906.

only scattered resistance had it not been for the rapprochement between the elementary and secondary teachers which had grown up since 1902. The increased control of education by the bureaucracy (both central and local) had forced the secondary teachers to realise that it was impossible for them to remain aloof from the elementary teachers.<sup>1</sup> In January 1907 we find Dr. Rendall of Charterhouse saying at the annual meeting of the I.A.H.M. that "distinction of head and assistant, of elementary and secondary, of technically trained and untrained, of graduate and non-graduate, are certain to break down in a country where neither unity nor co-ordination has obtained in any of these matters."<sup>2</sup> In the same year the N.U.T. noted with pleasure that the I.A.H.M. and Teachers' Guild had agreed in principle to a one column register.<sup>3</sup>

Hence, when the Board declared its intention of simply abolishing the teachers' register, and introduced the Education (Administrative provisions) Bill in 1907, it found considerable opposition from both the elementary and the secondary teachers. When the Bill reached the House of Lords the Board found itself constrained by statute, for the future establishment of "a

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1. The rapprochement was hindered by the attempts of the N.U.T. to organise the secondary teachers.  
See N.U.T. Reports 1909-1914: Executive Reports.  
The Schoolmaster Feb 13, Aug. 7th 1909, March 4th, 25th, April 29th, May 6th 1911, Nov 9th, Dec 14th, 21st 1912, March 1st 1913, May 9th, 23rd, July 4th, 18th 1914.  
For the general relationship between the N.U.T. and the secondary teachers see G. Baron op.cit. pp. 424-432
  2. N.U.T. Report 1907: Presidential Address p. xxxvi
  3. N.U.T. Report 1907: Executive Report p. liv

Registration Council representative of the teaching profession" to which was to be assigned the duty of forming and keeping a register of such teachers as should satisfy the conditions of registration which the Council was itself to prescribe.<sup>1</sup>

From 1908 till 1911 the various teachers' associations were in constant consultation with each other and with the Board in an attempt to come to some agreement as to the constitution of the council and the lines on which the new Register was to be produced.<sup>2</sup> After three years of complicated and delicate negotiations the teachers managed to agree among themselves and with the officials of the Board as to the constitution of the Council. For several years Morant hesitated to give effect to the provision of the 1907 Act as he feared that the council would be dominated by the elementary teachers.<sup>3</sup> The delaying policy of the Board added still more to the bitterness<sup>4</sup> of the elementary teachers against Morant.

1. There was also an explicit statutory provision that the new register was to "contain the names and addresses of all registered teachers in alphabetical order in one column together with the date of their registration, and such further statements as regards their attainments, training, and experience as the Council may from time to time determine that it is desirable to set forth."
2. See Memorandum on the Registration of Teachers and the Abolition of the Register (1906). Cd.3017  
Scheme for a new Teachers' Registration Council proposed to the Board of Education by the representatives of certain Educational Associations (1908) Cd.4185  
Scheme for a new Teachers' Registration Council (1908) Cd.4402.  
Further Papers relating to the Registration of Teachers and the Proposed Registration Council (1909) Cd.5726  
and G. Baron op.cit. pp.460-497
3. Allen op.cit. p.251
4. The Schoolmaster Jan 16th 1909, July 31st 1911

On the 14th of June 1911 Morant finally gave way and the new "Teachers' Registration Council" was established by Order in Council in 1912.<sup>1</sup> The new council consisted of eleven representatives of the elementary teachers, eleven of the secondary teachers, eleven of the specialist teachers and eleven representatives of the universities. It had no power to compel registration or to put under any disability those who chose to remain unregistered or those to whom registration was refused. While the Council only partially met the demands of the teachers it was welcomed by all sections as a step forward and set to work in a fine spirit of enthusiasm.

We have attempted to show how the policy followed by the Board from 1902 till 1911 inevitably brought it into conflict with the .N.U.T. On many of the most important details of education the Union felt that the Board's policy was "undemocratic" and "caste-ridden". The growth of the educational bureaucracy, the increasing flow of Circulars, Codes and Suggestions and the encroachment of the Board upon the autonomy of the Local Authorities were regarded with disfavour by all branches of the teaching profession and many of the L.E.A.'s.<sup>2</sup>

While there were many sources of tension it is doubtful

1. The Schoolmaster March 9th 1912  
N.U.T. Report 1914: Executive Report p.xliii
2. The Schoolmaster March 10th 1906, Dec.2nd 1911.  
N.U.T. Report 1907: Presidential Address pp.xxxviii-xxxix  
Hansard 21st March 1911: Hoare  
Education Dec 1st 1911



if the conflict, when it came, would have been waged with such bitterness had it not been for the personality of Sir Robert Morant. He has been described by his biographer as "ready to sweep aside ruthlessly.... any particular individual that hindered... the achievement of his end."<sup>1</sup> It is plain that Morant considered the N.U.T. and its officials to be among those that hindered the achievement of his end.<sup>2</sup> Only violent personal hostility can explain the venom with which the N.U.T. officials attacked Morant over the Holmes Circular. The N.U.T. had welcomed Morant on his appointment to Secretary of the Board and the Schoolmaster had described him as "tall, of striking appearance, and with a mind both acute and courageous, he seems.. precisely the man for the moment."<sup>3</sup> In 1911 the same paper was writing that "we do not wish to gag civil servants ... but some of them must learn to be more open-minded, less haughtily prejudiced, more patient, more accessible to argument, less class-conscious, and less cocksure, than some of them have been."<sup>4</sup>

We have already seen that both teachers and H.M.I.'s had been complaining of the activities of some of the L.E.A. Inspectors. When Mr.E.G.A.Holmes was appointed Chief Inspector

1. B.M.Allen op.cit. p.203
2. The Schoolmaster Dec.2nd 1911, May 17th 1913.
3. The Schoolmaster Nov.8th 1902  
At that time it does not seem that Morant's part in bringing about the Cockerton judgement was known. By 1911 he was being directly accused of being the man behind the "Cockerton conspiracy" (The Schoolmaster July 1st 1911, May 17th 1913)
4. The Schoolmaster April 15th 1911.  
See also N.U.T. Report 1912: Executive Report p.xli  
The Schoolmaster March 25th, April 1st, April 22nd 1911.

for Elementary Schools in 1905 he asked his Divisional Inspectors to inquire into the matter.<sup>1</sup> The information they obtained was discussed at an inspectors' meeting in November 1906 and shortly afterwards the Chief Inspector circulated to his principal colleagues a private hectographed memorandum, stressing the deficiencies of some of the local authorities' officials. Two years later it was decided to obtain more detailed particulars upon the subject, and a further schedule of questions was circulated to the Divisional Inspectors.<sup>2</sup>

On the basis of the answers to this schedule of questions, a summary was prepared showing the areas in which local authorities had appointed their own inspectors of elementary schools. This information was communicated to inspectors of schools of all types with a further Memorandum from Holmes calling attention to the bad results arising from the appointment by local authorities of inspectors of the wrong type. This memorandum was the famous "Holmes Circular"<sup>3</sup> and the order to

1. The investigation seems to have arisen out of a conversation between Holmes and Foxall in which Foxall complained that local inspectors in certain districts were re-imposing vicious systems of examination.  
The Schoolmaster March 2nd, 1912.
2. The schedule was as follows: "I shall esteem it a favour if you will let me know which (if any) of your Local Education Authorities have school Inspectors of their own. In the case of those who have school Inspectors, will you kindly inform me:-
  - (1) How many Inspectors of each sex are employed by each Local Education Authority.
  - (2) What their antecedents have been (social, academical and professional etc.)
  - (3) What salaries they receive
  - (4) What work they have to do (please describe in some detail)
  - (5) How they do this work
  - (6) How far you find them a help or hindrance in your own district work"

(Contd...)

Quoted in Parliament by Mr. Hoare, 21st March 1911 and reprinted in the "Holmes-Morant" Circular.

3. Also called the "Holmes-Morant Circular" or "Memorandum E.21". For the full text of the Circular see Appendix.

print and circulate it to over a hundred Inspectors was signed by Morant himself.<sup>1</sup>

Through some unexplained leakage<sup>2</sup> the printed Memorandum fell into the hands of "someone who was not a member of the Board's Inspectorate"<sup>3</sup>. Early in 1911 extracts from the circular began to appear in the newspapers, and on March 14th 1911, Samuel Hoare (Conservative Member for Chelsea) raised the matter in Parliament.<sup>4</sup> From March 14th onwards the President of the Board of Education was harassed by a storm of questions.<sup>5</sup>

1. Allen op.cit. pp.256-7 claimed that Morant was tired and overworked when he signed the order for publication.
2. Morant had made several bitter enemies among the Board's Inspectorate and a few of these were ex-elementary school teachers.
3. Allen op.cit. p.257
4. .... "Whether a circular was issued from the Board of Education on or about 6th January 1910 in which the Board's inspectors were advised to use their influence with local education authorities to persuade them to restrict their important administrative appointments to candidates educated at Oxford or Cambridge.  
Mr. Runciman (President of the Board of Education) - "No Sir, the Board have given no such advice and intend to give no such advice." (Hansard, March 14th 1911).
5. No description of the Circular controversy is complete without some mention of the part played by Walter Runciman (later Viscount Runciman and Lord President of the Council 1938-9). During the controversy he appeared as a weak, vacillating and even pathetic character. He took the almost unprecedented step of putting the responsibility on to Holmes and Morant and disclaiming all responsibility. In all fairness it should be added that he was not aware of the existence of the circular till February 1911.

Ironically enough Walter Runciman was the nephew of one of the most radical, capable and gifted elementary teachers

(Contd...)

that the profession has ever known. For the life of James Runciman see,

T. Gautrey op.cit. pp.131-133

The Schoolmaster July 11th 1891

J. Runciman Schools and Scholars (1887)

J. Runciman School Board Idylls (1885)

J. Runciman "Pupil Teachers" in The Schoolmaster June 2nd 1877

In the general political atmosphere of the time <sup>1</sup> the Circular appeared to the Conservatives as an ideal weapon to use against the Liberals. The Liberals could be taunted with inconsistency <sup>2</sup> and their ranks could perhaps be split. The attack was reinforced by Liberals who blamed Morant for the passing of the 1902 Act and the Cockerton Judgement <sup>3</sup> and by all those who resented the "reactionary" educational policy of the Board. <sup>4</sup> As the controversy developed it was enlarged to include a general attack on "feudalistic bureaucracy" <sup>5</sup> and a more particular demand for "democracy" in all the higher posts of the Civil Service. <sup>6</sup> A great protest meeting held at the Albert Hall on May 13th 1911 was addressed not only by N.U.T. leaders but also by speakers from the Civil Service Unions. After the resignation of Morant the Parliamentary influence of the Union was used to secure signatures by Members of Parliament to a memorial praying the Prime Minister to appoint a Committee or

1. See G. Dangerfield - The Strange Death of Liberal England (1936)  
R. Jenkins - Mr. Balfour's Poodle (1954)

2. See Mansard 21st March 1911. Samuel Hoare.

3. Allen op.cit. pp.259-60 has perhaps exaggerated the part they played in securing Morant's downfall.

4. See The Nation quoted in The Schoolmaster July 1st 1911

5. See The Nation quoted in The Schoolmaster May 6th 1911

6. The Schoolmaster April 22nd, May 6th 1911

Commission of Enquiry into the system of admission to the Upper Division of the Civil Service and promotions in it. The Union claimed that it was largely due to its efforts that the Royal Commission on the Civil Service of 1912 to 1916 was set up.<sup>1</sup>

It is the contention of this study that the significance of the "Holmes Circular" can only be realised in the light of the educational, political and social tensions of the time. Any attempt to explain it mainly in terms of the N.U.T.'s "resentment at loss of influence over the policy of the Board"<sup>2</sup> or of a Union's natural desire to keep the plums of the profession for its members<sup>3</sup> tell only a minute part of the story.

Seen in this light the question of whether Morant was mainly responsible for the circular is of little importance. When E.G.A.Holmes (who had resigned in November 1910) wrote a letter to the press in which he took entire responsibility for the sentiments expressed in the circular the teachers refused

1. N.U.T. Report 1912: Executive Report p.xlii

2. Allen op.cit. p.260

3. D.C.Somervell's account of the controversy (in his "British Politics since 1900 (1950) p.40) is so naive as to be hardly worth criticising.

"The N.U.T., like all Trade Unions, was more interested in the careers of its members than in the quality of the service they gave to the community. Just as the candlestick makers' union is more concerned that the makers of candlesticks should wax fat than that the rest of us should get good cheap candlesticks, so the N.U.T. was more concerned that as many as possible of its members should rise to the inspectorate than that the schools should have the best inspectorate available. Morant so long the friend, was now pictured as the enemy of "education". He had to go."

Historical explanation has always been easy for those who ignore nine-tenths of the factors involved.

to believe him.<sup>1</sup> Another example of the way in which the teacher's attack was focussed on Morant was their attitude to L.A.Selby-Bigge. When Selby-Bigge forwarded the Holmes Circular to his superior (Morant) he attached a note in which he said, "I think this will interest you. I see no way of tackling the local inspection difficulty directly. Where we find the teachers of a locality in thrall to the mechanical and unenlightened and rigid methods of Local Inspectors, the best way of turning their flank seems to me to be the concentration of a selected body of our inspectors on one or two of the most objectionable features, and their drastic condemnation in a sort of full inspection report. We have done a little of this kind of work lately and I wish we could do much more."<sup>2</sup>

In spite of his close identification with the issue of the circular, Selby-Bigge was not attacked by the teachers and his period of office as Permanent Secretary in succession to Morant was singularly free from conflict with the N.U.T.

It is unnecessary to go into the course of the controversy. From March 14th 1911 when Hoare first raised the question in the Commons till November 1911 when Morant resigned, (he had been preceded by Runciman), the matter was never allowed to drop out

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1. See The Schoolmaster April 29th 1911  
The "Holmes-Morant" Circular pp. 64-6  
See also The Schoolmaster April 1st 1911.
  2. Quoted in The Schoolmaster July 22nd 1911.  
Selby-Bigge was later to call the Holmes Circular controversy "A lively controversy over a matter of no intrinsic importance"  
See Dictionary of National Biography 1912-1921 (1927) p.387.

of mind. There were full debates in the Commons on March 14th and July 13th and questions were continually being asked on the antecedents of inspectors, the existence of secret circulars, the status of the President of the Board of Education, the staffing of the Board and allied topics.<sup>1</sup> The teachers' associations, the Association Of Education Officers, the Association of Clerks of the Second Division of the Civil Service, the Convocation of the University of London and other groups passed resolutions against the Holmes Circular and the full force of the N.U.T.'s political machine was brought to bear. While the circular agitation was only a source of party advantage to the Conservatives, to the teachers, civil servants and left-wing liberals it was much more. It was a "lance-head, a point of a spear, directed against a system which has<sup>lasted</sup> for<sup>2</sup> many generations and is supported by many interests."

The teachers claimed, with some justice, that the majority of the educational reforms of the past forty years "had been brought about not by the 'varsity type of Inspector.... but by the increasing advocacy of the National Union of Teachers."<sup>3</sup> While they did not defend all the L.S.A. Inspectors they claimed

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1. If a vote had been taken after the Debate on July 13th it is possible that the Government would have fallen, so great was the dissatisfaction among the Liberal Party. (The Times July 14th 1911, The Schoolmaster July 22nd, 1911)
  2. The Schoolmaster May 27th 1911
  3. Mr. Pickles in moving the resolution on the Holmes Circular at the N.U.T. Conference The "Holmes-Morant" Circular pp.46, 52, 58. See also The Schoolmaster May 31st 1902.

that they were preferable to the "public school men from Whitehall."

The resignations of Runciman and Morant were regarded as great victories by the N.U.T. As the Saturday Review wrote, "Ministers are fleeting things at best. Sir Robert Morant was a fixture. However, he has gone at last. The N.U.T. can now be still. Has it not shown its power? Has it not humbled the Government?"<sup>1</sup>

So far in this chapter we have been concerned with the relationship between the elementary teachers and the Board of Education. Of equal importance were the N.U.T.'s policies in the religious conflict of the time and the attempt of the Union to find a stable relationship with their new "employers" the Local Education Authorities.

The passing of the 1902 Education Act had in no way ended the religious controversy and the antagonism between the nonconformists and the church increased rather than diminished.

1. Quoted in The Schoolmaster Dec 2nd 1911.

See also Morning Post Nov 24th 1911

"When The Schoolmaster" raises its slogan and the clans of the N.U.T. furiously rage together, statesmen are apt to shake in their august footwear, whether it be at Westminster or Whitehall or Spring Gardens. There is a tradition among political agents that the teachers' vote counts for a good deal. Not only is the N.U.T. probably the best organised Trade Union in the country, but the teacher is a very keen politician and a powerful canvasser. Strong majorities in the County Councils have ere now melted away at their battle cry. Hence it is unwise to ignore what they are thinking and saying.... The N.U.T. is a body very powerful for good or evil. On the whole, it is generally on the side of light against darkness in education. It is to be devoutly hoped that it will not misuse its powers."

See also The Schoolmaster Dec. 30th 1911.



Resistance to the application of the Act was especially strong in Wales and there were signs of a complete breakdown in educational administration.<sup>1</sup> In the Autumn of 1904 the Union offered its services as an intermediary between the Welsh County Councils and the managers of the non-provided schools. The action of the Union was generally received by the press and the public with favour, as well as by the conflicting parties concerned. It was in large part due to the N.U.T. that the impending educational disaster in Wales was averted.<sup>2</sup> Throughout the controversy the N.U.T. continued to assert that in the school itself there was no religious difficulty and that it was quite possible to teach religion to young children without teaching dogmatic theology.<sup>3</sup>

In December 4th 1905 Arthur Balfour tendered his resignation and at the ensuing General Election the Liberals were swept into office. They had placed the repeal of the Education Act of 1902 in the forefront of their programme and they owed their victory in large part to the organised nonconformist vote. On April 6th 1906, Augustine Birrell expounded in the House of Commons the main features of the Government's bill. The first clause would lay down the principle

1. See E.Halevy op.cit. Epilogue Vol.1 pp.374-5  
Also A.F.Eden - Chronicle of the Dealings of the Local Education Authority of the Borough of Swansea, with the Church Schools of that Town, during the past two years (Swansea 1906)  
Correspondence Files on The Working of the Education (1902) Act in Wales in the National Society Library.
2. N.U.T. Report 1905: Presidential Address p.xxxiv
3. N.U.T. Report 1905: Presidential Address p.xl

that no school should be recognised as a public elementary school unless it was a school provided by the L.E.A. In other words, no denominational teaching would be given in any public elementary school. The only form of religious instruction which would be legal in future would be undenominational teaching, simple Bible teaching, and would be given by the teacher himself.<sup>1</sup> The Bill was intended to deal only with the religious difficulty, the great act of unification was left alone and the county councils and county boroughs were accepted as the L.E.A.'s. The N.U.T. welcomed the Bill as a corollary to the 1902 Act. It considered that as all schools were now financed by public funds so they should be managed by publicly elected bodies.<sup>2</sup> The general impression that emerges from reading the account of the 1906 Conference of the N.U.T. is that the teachers were less concerned with the religious difficulty than they were with the need for educational progress. They demanded more financial support for education from the Imperial Exchequer and the "equalisation" of the local charges, the abolition of the "half-time" system, better staffing, smaller classes and an extension of the school age. The only echoes of the 1895-1902

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1. There were various supplementary clauses in the Bill meant to appease the Roman Catholics. "Extended facilities for religious instruction" could be granted in urban areas if four-fifths of the parents asked for them.
  2. N.U.T. Report 1906: Presidential Address pp. xxx-xxxvii  
Ibid. : Resolutions pp. lxxiii-lxxiv  
 For opposition inside the Union to the Act see School Guardian May 26th, August 4th 1906, The Schoolmaster May 26th 1906  
 For earlier N.U.T. proposals for the reform of the 1902 Act see N.U.T. Report 1905: Presidential Address p. xxxiii  
The Schoolmaster Oct 21st, 28th 1905.

controversy were that they opposed the "devolution" clause,<sup>1</sup> and asked for an "ad hoc" authority for London. After passing the Commons the 1906 Bill was finally dropped due to the crippling amendments imposed by the Lords.<sup>2</sup>

In 1907 a renewed attempt was made to deal with the religious difficulty. A short one-clause bill proposed that the local authority should continue to be responsible for the general maintenance of voluntary schools, but that the managers should be required to provide and to pay for "special religious instruction", the cost of such instruction being calculated as one-fifteenth of the total salaries bill.<sup>3</sup> The Bill was extremely unpopular with the voluntary teachers, was strenuously opposed by the Anglicans and attracted little support from the Nonconformists. It was silently dropped at the end of the session.

In 1908 two more attempts were made to solve the religious question. In February, McKenna introduced a Bill whose first clause laid down that there should be only one category of public elementary school, in which the teachers should not be

1. Which gave certain powers of devolution to county councils dealing with large and scattered areas.
2. E. Halevy op.cit. Epilogue Vol. II pp. 65-8  
T. J. Macnamara "The Education Bill and After" Contemporary Review Jan. 1907.
3. The bill arose out of the refusal of the West Riding County Council to pay the teachers in four non-provided schools that portion of their salary which in the Council's opinion was the remuneration for their denominational instruction. The matter was taken to the House of Lords.  
See The Schoolmaster August 1906 B.P.P. 1907 LXVII  
N.U.T. Report 1907: "The West Riding Judgement" p.c-cii

subject to any religious test and the only type of religious instruction was to be "simple bible teaching". Schools which refused to accept these terms would cease to receive rate-aid (although they would receive government aid) and would be regarded as "contracting out".<sup>1</sup>

It was obvious that the Church would not accept such a measure and that the Lords would refuse to pass it. An attempt was made to reach a settlement by agreement and in March the Bishop of St. Asaph introduced a bill into the Lords which attempted a compromise based on mutual concession.<sup>2</sup>

The N.U.T. Conference of 1908 was thus faced with two important Education Bills. The President in his address warned the country that the real educational questions were being neglected and that "the <sup>list</sup> object of all legislation on education should be to secure for every child in the realm an equal opportunity to obtain a sound education, given by qualified teachers, under the best possible conditions, irrespective of creed or of the social position of the parents."<sup>3</sup>

It was in the light of this belief that the Union launched a bitter attack on the principle of "contracting out" as

1. See E. Halevy *op.cit.* Epilogue Vol. II pp. 70-71  
B. Webb - *Our Partnership* (1948) pp. 384-5
2. The Bill provided that there should be only one category of school in which the teachers would be free to give or not to give the religious instruction, and the normal religious instruction would be undenominational, but on three days a week those children whose parents desired it might receive denominational instruction provided it was not at the public expense.
3. N.U.T. Report 1908: Presidential Address p. xxx. See also Ibid. pp. xl.

"calculated to please certain extremists, political and religious, but it is dead against the best educational interests of the children who will be taught in "contracted-out" schools.<sup>1</sup> With equal bitterness it attacked the "right of entry" allowed for<sup>2</sup> in the Bishop of St. Asaph's Bill.

Throughout the Spring and Summer of 1908 Runciman (now President of the Board of Education in succession to McKenna) negotiated with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the provincial<sup>incidental</sup> Bishops on the one side, and the leading nonconformists on the other. Finally on November 20th a Bill was introduced which it was hoped would be supported by all parties to the religious controversy. The Bill contained not only the principle of "contracting out" but added to it the "right of entry" into council schools, together with power to employ council school teachers in giving denominational religious instruction. The N.U.T. was not consulted until the week prior to the introduction of the Bill when Sir James Yoxall had interviews with Runciman and the Archbishop of Canterbury. At these interviews he "very definitely pointed out that the projected Bill was from several points of view bad in conception, and would produce great evils if it became an Act, and further that the whole force of the

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1. N.U.T. Report 1908: Presidential Address pp. xxx-xxxviii  
Ibid.: Resolutions on "Education Bill"  
The Schoolmaster Feb 28th 1908  
 The N.U.T. was supported in its attack by the Fabian Society and the Association of Education Committees.
  2. N.U.T. Report 1908: Presidential Address p. xxxviii  
 See also Ibid. 1904: Resolutions p. lxxx.

Union's influence would be cast against those parts of the Bill which admitted contracting-out, right of entry, and denominational teaching by council school teachers."<sup>1</sup>

The Bill was finally killed by a revolt of the "stalwarts"<sup>2</sup> of the Anglican Church against the Bishops. There can be no doubt that the attitude of the N.U.T. and the influence it brought to bear upon Parliament had a good deal to do with the withdrawal of the Bill. The 1908 Bill was the last major attempt to deal with the religious controversy. The Anglicans and Nonconformists were united by the fear that Parliament, weary of their disputes, might solve the problem by secularizing the schools.<sup>3</sup>

The Teachers entered into their relations with the new L.E.A.'s with some reservations.<sup>4</sup> The transition from the School Boards to the County Councils and County Boroughs was eased by the passage of Clause 17(4) of the 1902 Act (against the opposition of the Lords). This clause prevented teachers actually at work from being disqualified from sitting on the Education Committee. Teachers were disqualified from sitting

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1. N.U.T. Report 1909: Executive Report pp.11-111  
The neglect of the Board to consult the N.U.T. until the last moment was resented deeply. (See N.U.T. Report 1909: Executive Report p.11-111 and The Schoolmaster Dec 12th, 1908, Sept.2nd, 1911.)
  2. E.Halevy op.cit. Epilogue Vol.II pp.71-2.
  3. N.U.T. Report 1909: Presidential Address p.xxxiii  
Ibid. 1912: Presidential Address pp.xxxii-xl  
Ibid. 1914: Executives view on Education Bill pp.cxxxi-cxxiii
  4. N.U.T. Report 1903: Presidential Address pp.xxvi-xxvii

on L.E.A.'s under whom they were serving or by whom they were being paid, not because they were teachers, but because they were servants or received pay from the funds of such a body. A teacher was eligible to serve on a Council outside the area in which his school was situated, or on any council which was not on L.E.A. As soon as the passage of the Bill appeared certain, the N.U.T. commenced making arrangements for taking full advantage of clause 17(4) and by the 1904 Conference 592 teachers were either members of the authorities or on advisory committees.<sup>1</sup>

The formation of L.E.A.'s dealing with large numbers of schools meant a change in the nature of the problems with which the Union had to deal. The older forms of compulsory extraneous duties tended to disappear but at the same time there grew up new forms of extraneous duties connected with the social services. With the growth of school feeding of necessitous children and the formation of boot clubs, old clothes clubs,

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1. N.U.T. Report 1903: Report of the Executive p.xxxviii  
Ibid. 1904: Presidential Address p.xxxiii  
Ibid. 1904: Report of the Executive pp.xliv-xlv  
Ibid. 1905: Report of the Executive pp.xliii-xliv  
 Teachers were still not allowed to become members of their own Borough and County Councils and attempts were made to remove this barrier from time to time (N.U.T. Report 1912: Resolution p.xc). At the same time continued pressure was put on Education Authorities to appoint more teachers on to Education Committees (N.U.T. Report 1914: Presidential Address pp.x-xi). There were some complaints that teacher "representatives" tended to alienate local sympathy from the education committees. (J.J.Findlay The School (1911) p.174)

breakfast clubs and dinner clubs teachers were increasingly becoming concerned with the question "how far may they gratify their natural desire (as human beings) to help the poor and comfort the miserable without at the same time mortgaging their professional interests."<sup>1</sup>?

Whilst problems of tenure continued to occupy a great deal of the attention of the Union, the adoption by the L.E.A.'s of regulations providing for an enquiry where charges were made against teachers or consent to their removal was required, tended to lessen the number of "frivolous dismissals."<sup>2</sup>

The main change was made in the nature of the salary problem. Before 1902 the Union had found it almost impossible to influence salaries except in the case of the larger School Boards. Many of the new L.E.A.'s were from their formation desirous of placing the whole of their teaching staff under one comprehensive scale of salaries and the N.U.T. did a great deal of work in preparing and circulating information on existing

1. The Schoolmaster Jan 21st 1911. See also Ibid. Dec 17th 1892 It must be pointed out that London Teachers had pioneered the provision of school meals. Mrs. E.M. Burgwin (Headmistress of Orange Street School, Superintendent of Special Schools under the London School Board and the first woman member of the N.U.T. Executive) started voluntary feeding of school-children as early as 1882 and the "Penny Dinner" movement was started by teachers and managers. The movement for clothing poor children was also due to Mrs. Burgwin. For a description of the early school meals movement see Charles Morley - Studies in Board Schools (1897) pp.35-50. "A Little Dinner in the Borough".
2. For procedure on dismissal after the 1902 Act see N.U.T. Report 1904 p.lviii



scales of salaries for the guidance of the L.E.A's and in advising on the principles upon which the scales should be constructed.<sup>1</sup> The Union soon went beyond circulating details of existing scales of salaries and formulated a standard scale<sup>2</sup> of salaries for certificated teachers in primary schools.

To improve salaries in backward rural areas the Union adopted the procedure of paying the removal expenses of teachers in such areas. In preparing papers showing the scales of salaries enforced by every authority the N.U.T. had the definite intention of showing "employers" that if the authority were not prepared to pay at least a respectable wage the teachers would without difficulty move to other districts where the rate of remuneration would be higher. Attempts by adjacent L.E.A.'s to combine to fix low salaries were in the main unsuccessful.<sup>3</sup> The efforts of the Union were, however, hampered by the existence of the mass of supplementary and acting teachers who were prepared to accept posts at almost any salary. During the period when there was some unemployment among certificated teachers many authorities employed certificated teachers at the salaries usually paid to uncertificated teachers and there were various attempts made to lower the salaries of teachers.<sup>4</sup>

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1. N.U.T. Report 1904: Executive Report p.xlv-xlvi
  2. N.U.T. Report 1904: Resolutions p.lxxix-lxx
  3. N.U.T. Report 1905: Executive Report p.xliv-xlv
  4. N.U.T. Report 1909: Resolutions p.lxxix

In 1907 the Union was concerned in a prolonged and difficult dispute with the West Ham Council which had decided to lower the existing scale of salaries of its teachers. The Union claimed that such action was a breach of agreement. The action of the Council was upheld in the courts and the Union began to prepare for strike action. It held public meetings and conferences in the Borough, "black-listed" the authority, began to withdraw teachers from the schools and threatened 200 resignations. Eventually a conference was arranged between representatives of the West Ham Education Committee and of the N.U.T. and an honourable settlement was effected.<sup>1</sup>

Towards the end of 1912 the increasing cost of living led to a widespread movement in the teaching profession corresponding to the unrest among the industrial workers. Attempts to economise at the expense of the teacher were giving place to agitations on the part of the teachers to secure more adequate salaries and better increments. A special Salaries Committee was set up in 1913 to "formulate and put into operation, a national campaign to secure the adoption of the Union Scale of Salaries."<sup>2</sup> The salary campaign was carried out in two ways. Firstly, the committee directed and assisted the efforts of local associations in demanding increased salaries.

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1. N.U.T. Report 1908: Executive Report p.lx  
N.U.T. Report 1907: Resolutions pp.lxix, lxxiv  
The Schoolmaster May 11th, June 8th, August 10th, Oct 12th 1907.
  2. N.U.T. Report 1913: Resolutions pp.xcv-xcvi

Secondly, the N.U.T. invited ten national organisations of teachers (public, secondary, technical and elementary) to appoint delegates to meet representatives of the Union. The Conference took place in October 1913, under the chairmanship of the President of the N.U.T. and passed a resolution urging that substantial proportions of any further grants of money to L.E.A's... should be definitely assigned to the specific purpose of improving the staffing of schools and increasing the stipends of teachers.<sup>1</sup> In January 1914 an influential deputation was received by the President of the Board of Education.

In a large number of localities salary scales were adopted or improved as a result of the campaign.<sup>2</sup> It became increasingly obvious, however, that only a national scale of salaries backed by the resources of the state would answer the teachers' demands and increase the number of entrants to the profession.

The "Herefordshire Case" was the first occasion on which the N.U.T. resorted to strike action on a large scale. In 1910 the Herefordshire Authority passed a resolution to the effect that they could not see their way to establish a scale of salaries.<sup>3</sup> Representation by letter, by deputation and by

1. N.U.T. Report 1914: Executive Report p.lxxi  
    . The Schoolmaster Jan 17th 1914
2. A full account of the campaign is given in D.F.Thompson  
    op.cit. pp.217-270.
3. Herefordshire boasted that its education rate was the lowest  
    in the kingdom (The Schoolmaster Nov. 8th 1913. See also  
    Ibid. Jan.20th 1912).

interview having failed, the teachers in the country appealed to the Executive of the N.U.T. to take strong action. In September 1913 a Special Committee was set up by the Herefordshire L.E.A. to ascertain whether the salaries paid were less than in other countries, and to report whether it was desirable that any alterations should be made in the method of payment. This Committee afterwards recommended the improvement of individual salaries here and there but decided against the establishment of a scale. The teachers did not regard this decision as satisfactory and the Executive of the N.U.T. sent in the resignations of 130 teachers (nearly 240 had placed their resignations in the hands of the Union). On February 1st 1914 more than sixty schools in the county were closed. Before all the notices expired, however, the intervention of the Bishop of Hereford led to a meeting <sup>before</sup> ~~before~~ the authority's special committee and representatives of the teachers but no agreement was reached. <sup>1</sup> Subsequently negotiations of a private character took place and ultimately the two sides agreed on a scale which compared favourably with those in force in similar localities. The N.U.T. also secured the reinstatement of all

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1. Negotiations were hampered in the beginning by the refusal of the Herefordshire Education Committee to recognise the N.U.T. Executive as representing the Herefordshire teachers.

teachers where no new permanent teachers had been brought in.

The "salary question" was now the most important question facing the union. The President of the N.U.T. in his address to the 1914 conference quoted Board statistics to show that "at least 14,650 fully qualified teachers serving to-day in the nation's schools.... cannot be said to be earning a living wage" and insisted that the Board should discover the way out of the difficulty.<sup>2</sup>

There were other difficulties which arose between the L.E.A's and the teachers. Corporal punishment regulations, staffing, individual examination of scholars, the demand by some authorities that head teachers should send in private and confidential reports on the work of their assistants were continual sources of friction. In the case of West Ham and Hereford major clashes occurred and there was much bad feeling in West Yorkshire<sup>3</sup>, Durham<sup>4</sup>, Norfolk<sup>5</sup>, Brighton and Hove<sup>6</sup>,

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1. The Herefordshire Authority had attempted to secure teachers to take the place of those who had resigned, but without much success. Throughout the strike the teachers' position was supported by the national press, the managers of the local "non-provided" schools, the Board of Education, the working-class movement and even the schoolchildren (who refused to be taught by "blacklegs").

See N.U.T. Report 1914: Executive Report p.1xi

The Schoolmaster Oct. 4th, 25th, Nov 1st, 8th, 15th, 22nd, 29th, Dec 6th, 13th 1913: Jan 3rd, 10th, 17th, 24th, 31st, Feb 7th, 28th, March 7th, May 9th 1914.

D.F.Thompson op.cit. pp.232-260.

2. N.U.T. Report 1914: Presidential Address pp.xxxvi-xxxvii
3. N.U.T. Report 1908: Executive Report pp.xlviii-xlix
4. Ibid 1913: Executive Report pp.xlvii-xlviii
5. Ibid. 1914: Executive Report pp.xlvii-xlviii
6. Ibid. 1914: Executive Report pp.xlvii-xlviii

Aberdare,<sup>1</sup> Swansea,<sup>2</sup> Glamorgan,<sup>3</sup> and Cosely.<sup>4</sup> The N.U.T. developed a technique for dealing with these disputes. A Local Committee would be set up consisting of local members and members of the national executive. Questionnaires would be circulated to teachers, public meetings held and interest aroused and finally an influential deputation would visit the Education Committee of the Local Authority. Usually this procedure, backed up by the threat of strike action, would be sufficient to gain the union its ends.

By 1914 the Union had more than recovered its pre-1902 influence. It had driven Morant from office and the new Permanent Secretary (Selby-Bigge) had adopted a policy of conciliation and consultation. The Executive could report that "relations with the Board of Education have become cordial and co-operative again; and in other ways the proper influence of the Union has been extended and progress made."<sup>5</sup>

In the political sphere the Union seemed to be moving more and more into the general working class movement. The secondary teachers were beginning to lose their fear of being swallowed up by the N.U.T. and it was possible to hope for a "united front" of teachers' organisations. For the profession

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1. The Schoolmaster Sept. 12th 1908
  2. Ibid. Dec 16th 1911
  3. Ibid. Oct 25th, Nov 8th, 1913.
  4. Ibid. March 8th 1913.
  5. N.U.T. Report 1913: Executive Report p.xlv  
For Selby-Bigge's views on consultation see  
A. Selby-Bigge - The Board of Education (1934) pp.275-279  
Times Educational Supplement 29th July 1951: Letter from  
Spencer-Leeson.

as a whole it was obvious that only an increase in the salary and status of the teacher could solve the recruitment problem.

CHAPTER XIIIThe Profession and the Union 1914-1914

"In 1950 the Department attained the fiftieth year of its age, and this Report passes in review some of the events and traces some of the developments that have marked its progress from the beginning of the century to the end of 1950. It is the story of a progressive partnership between the Central Department, the local education authorities and the teachers."

1  
George Tomlinson

While the first World War did not involve the large scale evacuation of children, it disrupted the work of the schools in various other ways. It involved the withdrawal from the schools of over half the male teachers and many of the women teachers and the virtual cessation of the recruitment of men into the profession. To take the place of these teachers, retired teachers, married women who had previously been teachers and even clergymen were encouraged to teach during the emergency. Many of the schools and training colleges were taken over for use as billets for the troops, hospitals, or for the accommodation of refugee children from the continent. The strictly "educational" work of the schools suffered from the amount of time devoted to war savings, school gardens and allotments, the collection of wild fruits and horse chestnuts, and in the secondary schools the "O.T.C." Lastly, there was an economy panic among some of the L.E.A.'s and a tendency for

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1. In his introduction to the Report of the Ministry of Education for 1950. (H.P.P. 1950-51 XI)



employers (particularly farmers) to demand the release of children from school to aid the war effort.

It became obvious to the N.U.T. in the first few months of the war that the diversion of educational effort had gone too far and that the very existence of the schools was in danger. It urged the necessity of retaining a reasonable proportion of male teachers in the schools, of making use of every available qualified teacher before taking on untrained teachers, of maintaining the school leaving age in rural areas, of continuing the existing provision of higher education and of not neglecting the feeding and medical treatment of the children.<sup>1</sup> On December 30th 1915 an important conference of L.E.A.'s, teachers' organisations, educational associations and working class groups was held at the N.U.T. office to urge these points upon the government.<sup>2</sup> Throughout the war the union continued to fight the battle for "education as usual" against the opposition of those who wished to save the rates and taxes and preserve "business as usual". The N.U.T. was also represented on the "War Emergency Workers' National Committee" a body which included representatives of the Labour Party, General Federation of Trade Unions and the Co-operative Union.<sup>3</sup> While pressing for

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1. The Schoolmaster Dec.19th 1914, Feb 6th 1915, Feb 5th, 19th, April 29th 1916
  2. The Schoolmaster, 8th Jan 1916
  3. S. and B. Webb - The History of Trade Unionism (1920) p.691  
B. Webb - Diaries 1912-1924 (1952) pp.45-6

"education as usual" the profession and the union contributed their utmost towards the war effort.<sup>1</sup>

The war had accentuated the gravity of the problem of the supply of teachers. In spite of a slight increase in the number of intending teachers<sup>2</sup> and a decrease in the wastage of pupil teachers and bursars (due to improved teaching in the secondary schools) the number in 1915 was still insufficient to replace ordinary wastage still less to make up the arrears of past years, or to provide for improvements in the number of children attending school. The Board of Education saw no hope of meeting this shortage "except by a general improvement in the prospects of the teaching profession."<sup>3</sup>

If the Board had been forced to this conclusion by the shortage of entrants, the teachers for their part were growing increasingly restive. The pre-war salary campaign had improved teachers' salaries in 149 out of 321 L.E.A. areas. The success which had attended the campaign represented an increased annual expenditure of many thousands of pounds on teachers' salaries but, apart from this, the campaign had been valuable in leading public opinion to a knowledge of the inadequate remuneration received by teachers. Immediately following the outbreak of war the executive decided to suspend the national campaign on salaries "believing that to continue it would be both unpatriotic

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1. See National Union of Teachers War Record 1914-1919 (1920)  
2. From 4588 in 1912-13 to 6096 in 1915-16.  
3. B.P.P. 1917-18 XI: Report of the Board of Education 1915-16 p51

and selfish". There were then anticipations of extensive unemployment and distress but as the war progressed it was seen that far from there being distress and want there had been systematic, regular and well-paid employment for all grades of workers. In practically every occupation wages were considerably increased, overtime was the rule in most industries and war bonuses were generally conceded. Many L.E.A.'s were able to reduce their education rates and of the others only a small group were compelled to increase their rates. Faced with a rapidly rising cost of living and growing discontent among the rank and file the N.U.T. executive first wavered and then in July 1916 decided to re-open the salary campaign in all areas.<sup>1</sup>

The local associations entered into negotiations with their employers and when these failed strike action was threatened. In October 1916 the N.U.T. executive resolved to "initiate and develop a national movement to secure an immediate and substantial increase on salaries."<sup>2</sup> Two months later it urged the Board of Education to "publicly express its approval of the scale of salaries adopted by the union", to "require...L.E.A.'s (to) put into operation the full union's salary scale" and to "procure and administer increased immediate grant to L.E.A.'s sufficient to cover an immediate increase of salary."<sup>3</sup> Faced with the imminent breakdown of the educational system due to the shortage of teachers and the growing agitation of the teachers

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1. N.U.T. Report 1916 pp.lxvii-lxviii, 1917 pp.lxi-lxiii
  2. N.U.T. Report 1917 p.lxi
  3. The Schoolmaster Jan 6th, March 10th 1917

themselves the Government was forced to take action. By a Minute dated 18th April 1917 the Board prescribed regulations for supplementary grants to L.E.A.'s to assist them in improving the salaries of teachers. The regulations provided that the Board "might prescribe minimum rates for the salaries of teachers, and after due notice may make it a condition of the supplementary grant that the salaries paid by the authority throughout its area shall comply therewith."<sup>1</sup> In answer to a question in the House of Commons, on the 8th May 1917, the President of the Board (Mr. H.A.L. Fisher) announced that he contemplated prescribing minimum salaries for certificated male teachers of £100, for certificated female teachers of £90 and for uncertificated teachers of £65.<sup>2</sup>

In June 1917 Fisher appointed a departmental committee to inquire "into the principles which should determine the construction of scales of salary for teachers in elementary schools" which took a great deal of evidence and reported in February 1918.<sup>3</sup> Between 1917 and 1919 unrest among the teachers increased and militant action was taken in 32 areas.<sup>4</sup> In the Rhondda led by a young class teacher, (W.G. Cove later N.U.T. President and Member of Parliament), the class teachers called an unofficial strike without sustentation pay, obtained full backing from all local teachers and forced the

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1. B.P.P. 1918 IX p.7. The Schoolmaster April 28th, May 12th 1917
  2. The intention was carried into effect by a Minute of the Board dated 1<sup>st</sup>th January 1918.
  3. See B.P.P. 1917-18 XI; 1918 IX, The Schoolmaster June 9th 1917, Feb 9th 1918.
  4. See N.U.T. Report 1919 p.lv. B.P.P. 1919 XXI p.6 1920 XV p.13 The Schoolmaster 1917-19.

N.U.T. executive to back them. They sent representatives to London to lobby H.A.L.Fisher and the Prime Minister and after a month secured the N.U.T. basic scale in their area. This victory doubled their salaries and a wave of strikes seemed impending.<sup>1</sup> It seemed clear that the State itself would have to intervene to avert a breakdown in the educational system.

H.A.L.Fisher was faced with a grave shortage of teachers at a time when more teachers were urgently needed to implement the 1918 Education Act. He was aware that the teachers themselves were warning off entrants. He wished to raise the standard of the profession and attract men of scholarship and ability into it. He was impressed also by the scandalously low salaries teachers were receiving in many areas and by the consequent maldistribution of teaching power throughout the country. Of equal or even greater concern was the significance of the deep unrest among teachers and the increasing militancy of the profession. As W.G.Cove wrote in 1931 Fisher "saw clearly enough that an underpaid, restless, resentful, teaching profession was a menace to the stability of the State. He knew that teachers possessed a power in the community that would make itself felt".<sup>2</sup> Fr. Fisher was not the only politician to realise the significance of the European revolutions of 1917 onwards. As in 1848 "at the head of every continental revolutionary movement, or near the head of it, stands an ex-teacher."<sup>3</sup> As

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1. See The Schoolmaster March 22nd, April 5th 1919, Oct.9th 1917  
 2. The Schoolmaster May 14th 1931  
 3. The Schoolmaster March 9th 1923.

Chamberlain said in 1921 "You ought to pay your teachers a fair salary; and it was only common prudence to do so. They have the moulding of the young minds of the future citizens of the country in their hands; and if you keep them in a situation of depression under a sense of hardship, ill-paid compared with anybody among their friends with whom they can compare themselves, how can you think it is safe to trust the education of children to their hands"<sup>1</sup>?

A solution had to be found on a national scale. Fisher considered the possibility of making teachers civil servants but "the policy disclosed such a prospect of danger to educational freedom and to a wholesome variety ~~of~~ experimentation, such a menace to local responsibility and so formidable an accretion of work and power to the Board at Whitehall that I dismissed it from my mind."<sup>2</sup> In June 1919 the Association of Education Committees (A.E.C.) at its Annual General Meeting called upon Fisher to "bring into being a mechanism for the settlement of the salary problem in the schools on a national basis." A meeting of teachers' representatives and L.E.A. representatives was held at the Board of Education on 25th July 1919 and after two months of negotiations Fisher on 12th September established the "Standing Joint Committee on a Provisional Minimum Scale of Salaries for Teachers in Public Elementary Schools"<sup>3</sup>.

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1. The Schoolmaster Jan 15th 1921

2. H.A.L. Fisher - An Unfinished Autobiography (1940) p.97

3. See The Schoolmaster July-Nov. 1919, Dec. 3rd 1936, Jan 28th, Feb 4th 1937.  
B.P.P. 1919 XXI

The Committee was composed of equal numbers of representatives from the L.E.A.'s and the N.U.T. and its object was "to secure the orderly and progressive solution of the salary problem in public elementary schools by agreement, on a national basis, and its correlation with a solution of the salary problem in secondary schools." Committees were also set up to deal with teachers in secondary schools and technical schools. The elementary committee presented its proposals for a "provisional minimum scale of salaries" on the 21st November 1919 and the proposals were accepted by an overwhelming majority at a special N.U.T. conference. The L.E.A.'s with a few exceptions also adopted the provisional minimum scale within a comparatively short time of its issue.<sup>1</sup> The elementary committee continued its work by laying down four "standard scales" on 30th September and 16th December 1920 and allocating the scales to the various areas on 25th April 1921.<sup>2</sup>

There is a general belief that the Burnham scales, (so called after Lord Burnham the first chairman of the committee), improved the economic position of the teaching profession. The truth is that the provisional minimum scale recommended when the cost of living was about 125 per cent above pre-war, on a

1. The only areas where the teachers had to apply pressure were Breconshire, Newcastle-under-Lyme, the Isles of Scilly (all settled by negotiation), Worcestershire (settled after strike notices had been handed in) and the Isle of Man (after strike notices). N.U.T. Report 1921 p.1vii
2. See W.R.Barker *op.cit.* pp.222-244. The Schoolmaster Dec.31st 1936. Jan 21st 1937.

rough average doubled the pre-war pay of assistant teachers and more than doubled that of head teachers. When the recommendations were made for the standard scales the cost of living was 16<sup>4</sup> per cent above pre-war, and the standard scales meant extra remuneration to elementary teachers of 159 per cent above the pre-war average.<sup>1</sup> The teachers were if anything slightly worse off than they had been before the war and the standard scales were only adopted at a special conference of the N.U.T. on November 6th 1920 by 64,982 votes to 37,547.<sup>2</sup> The teachers refused a scale based on the cost of living and thus gained from the fall in prices from 1921 onwards.<sup>3</sup>

Of greater importance in increasing the attractions of the profession was Mr. Fisher's Superannuation Act of 1918.<sup>4</sup> The 1898 Act had offered a contributory deferred annuity scheme. It had led to much dissatisfaction among the teachers many of whom had refused to accept the Act. The "Elementary School Teachers (Superannuation) Act" of 1912 had made the government scheme slightly more attractive and many local authorities allowed teachers to participate in their local superannuation schemes. The Act of 1918 introduced a generous non-contributory scheme whose general effect was to pension certificated and uncertificated teachers in elementary schools and teachers in

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1. B.P.P. 1920-31 XVI: Report of the Committee on National Expenditure.
  2. The Schoolmaster Oct.-Nov. 1920
  3. The Schoolmaster July 9th 1931 Also Appendix
  4. See W.R. Barker op.cit. pp.23-42



grant-aided places of higher education on terms which closely resembled those which had hitherto been applied to civil servants. The main flow was that the "Old Guard" were left out of the Act and the N.U.T. opened a Thanks-Offering Fund (which collected over £100,000) to care for the men who had fought the long battle for superannuation in the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

It is interesting to look at the profession in 1920 and to see to what extent the traditional problems and grievances that had given the N.U.T. its dynamic were still present. While the proportion of uncertificated teachers was falling, the profession had still not gained control over the means of entrance. A Teachers' Registration Council had been set up but this had no influence over entrance. Fear of dilution was still present especially in the period of shortage during and after the war.<sup>2</sup> Promotion to the Inspectorate was now assured<sup>3</sup> and through the influence of the N.U.T. on the

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1. See The Schoolmaster Jan 11th, June 21st, Sept. 13th 1919, May 2nd 1924, Jan 30th 1930.
  2. See N.U.T. Report 1919 pp. lxxvii-lxxviii; 1920 pp. lxxix-x.
  3. In 1913 the "Junior Inspectors" were replaced by a new class of "Assistant Inspectors" recruited from experienced elementary school teachers with at least eight years teaching experience (preference being given to candidates who had acted as head teacher). The maximum age for appointment was 45 (subsequently raised to 50).

Education Department a teacher who considered himself wronged by an H.M.I. was sure of a hearing. The union was still pressing for a statutory appeal tribunal to consider cases where cancellation or suspension of certificate was the penalty.<sup>1</sup> The superannuation scheme was extremely favourable.

While "payment by results" was a thing of the past the mid-twenties saw a demand from the L.E.A.'s for a return to an external examination system.<sup>2</sup> The demand caused a great deal of ill feeling between the A.E.C. and the N.U.T. but in his presidential address of 1927 Frederick Kander appealed for co-operation between the two associations. His appeal was met by the A.E.C. and a Joint Advisory Committee was set up to consider the function of examinations in public elementary schools. This committee was the beginning of the co-operative activity of the A.E.C. and the N.U.T. which was a feature of the 1930's.<sup>3</sup>

Tenure problems were as numerous as ever but were increasingly being settled by private negotiations rather than

1. The matter was to be brought up again in the "Towers Case" (1927-1929). John Towers had his certificate withdrawn by the Board of Education for caning two children in the canteen. The N.U.T. took up his case and the appeal procedure was improved as a result of its protests. See The Schoolmaster April 22nd, Nov. 17th 1927, April 13th 1928, March 7th 1929.
2. The demand was put at its strongest by A.R. Pickles (President of the N.U.T. 1907) who had become Director of Education for Burnley. (See The Schoolmaster June 11th, July 2nd, 1926).
3. The Schoolmaster March 8th 1928, Dec. 11th 1930, June 23rd 1932, Oct. 1st 1936, Oct. 22nd 1936, March 13th 1947.

by public action. The machinery which L.E.A.'s had set up for dealing with charges and complaints against teachers, had practically done away with glaring cases of injustice and capricious dismissals. Disputes between teachers and managers were dealt with by mediation and when this failed a full inquiry would be held by the L.E.A. with the teacher being represented by counsel. For the most part, the Union and the L.E.A.'s worked together and it was not at all unusual for local authorities to invoke the aid of the N.U.T. in dealing with problems of re-organisation which threatened teachers in their employ.<sup>1</sup> Extraneous duties had almost disappeared and the newer forms of "social service" extraneous duties were just beginning to affect the profession. While the profession was dissatisfied with the Burnham scales, the salary problem had moved from the realms of local caprice and individual squabbling to a national bargaining board.

We have already mentioned the co-operation between the L.E.A.'s and the N.U.T. which was to increase steadily from 1920 onwards. The habit of consultation on salaries and tenure problems was extended to other fields. The fact that many Directors of Education and L.E.A. Inspectors had been elementary school teachers and N.U.T. members helped in bringing teachers and employers closer together.<sup>2</sup> Relations with individual L.E.A.s

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1. See N.U.T. Reports : Tenure Committee
  2. For example Marshall Jackman (Twice President of the N.U.T. later Inspector under the L.C.C.), G.A. Christian, A.R. Pickles and Spurley Hey. Sir Percival Sharp (the leader of the L.E.A. panel on the Burnham Committee) had also been a teacher and a member of the N.U.T.

varied from one district to the other and the "strikes" of 1917 to 1920 had left some ill-will behind.

Under H.A.L. Fisher and A. Selby-Bigge the relations between the N.U.T. and the Education Department were extremely cordial.<sup>1</sup> The tradition of co-operation was continued by Selby-Bigge's successors and the "friendly and conspiratorial" triumvirate of Sir Percival Sharp, Sir Maurice Holmes (Permanent Secretary of the Board of Education 1936-1945) and Sir Frederick Mander (General Secretary of the N.U.T. 1931-1947) was to do great things for English education.

In 1918 the membership of the union was over 100,000 and by 1920 the decision of the 1919 conference to admit uncertificated teachers had brought in 11,000 new members.<sup>2</sup> The union was also strengthened by the scheme of joint membership with the London Teachers' Association which became effective in 1922. The

1. See N.U.T. Report 1921 p.xxxvi; 1925 p.xxxviii  
The Schoolmaster Jan 30th, April 17th, 1925

2. The decision to admit uncertificated teachers had been hotly contested and the resolution was only passed by 35,514 votes to 30,695. The bulk of the uncertificated teachers at first remained outside the N.U.T. and many were members of the "National Union of School Teachers" which in 1921 had some 14,000 members. The union was almost completely female and was affiliated to the T.U.C. Its representatives used the T.U.C. congress to make attacks on the "National Union of Certificated Teachers". As the N.U.T. showed its determination to raise the status of the uncertificated teacher the membership of the N.U.S.T. shrank although it continued to exist until the death of its founder in 1945.  
See The Schoolmaster Feb 15th, April 26th, 1919, Sept. 18th 1920, Sept. 17th 1921, Feb. 18th, March 18th, April 1st 1922, July 27th 1923, Oct. 9th 1930, Oct. 18th 1945.